

Report prepared by
Leeds Love It Share It CIC
Editor: Rachael Unsworth

Margins within the City

Social networks, under-utilised space
and under-valued enterprise

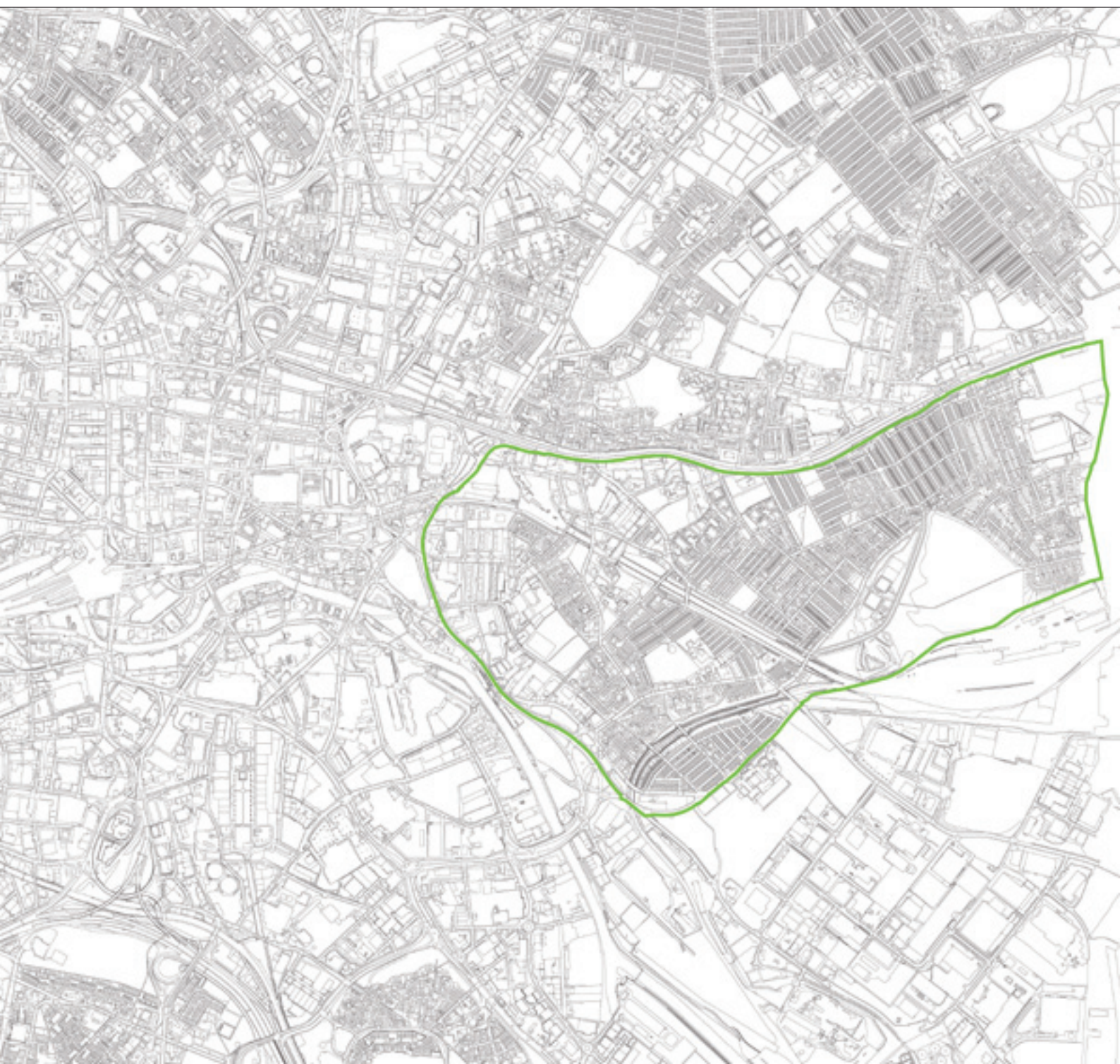




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Supported by:



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Preface

Leeds Love it Share It is a registered Community Interest Company that operates as an open source forum for ideas, debate and action in Leeds. It aims to create new scenarios and visions for how Leeds could be in the future and to identify the skills and ideas it will need to deal with the challenges ahead.

It was formed in late 2007 when a number of people got together in recognition that Leeds is at an important crossroads and that we need urgent policy debate on how key issues will affect Leeds' future, such as climate change and energy use, land use and planning, participation and community empowerment. We believe that the city needs to prepare for the future challenges in each of these areas and that there is a need to galvanise debate and action.

The management group of Leeds Love it Share It consists of academics and cultural and architectural practitioners. Their expertise is drawn from the University of Leeds (School of Geography), Leeds Metropolitan University (School of Architecture, Landscape and Design), Bauman Lyons Architects, the Permaculture Association and Media And Arts Partnership. The group aims to conduct programmes of education and research that support the citizens of Leeds, local organisations and policy makers to promote understanding as well as design and implement solutions to sustainability and climate change.

Margins within the City emerged as a first project for the group in order to develop and test new methodologies for understanding how an inner suburban neighbourhood might be strengthened.

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Executive Summary

Project Context

The context for this project is that a number of stresses are being felt in urban areas: environmental – as the climate rapidly changes, social – as cities experience rapid social change, and economic – as the speculative, free-market model exhibits major fault lines and energy scarcity and price hikes point towards relocalisation. These stresses are putting new demands on cities and require new ways of looking at city futures. It is this context that now makes it urgent to look at the ways in which cities can adapt and respond to the effects of climate change, social exclusion and financial instability.

Project Description

Regeneration is economic restructuring of city neighbourhoods through reinvestment in areas that have suffered downturn. Leeds Love It Share It used this context to explore how inner cities can adapt and respond to these rapidly changing times in innovative new ways. The main idea motivating our work was the conviction that there are untapped resources in neighbourhoods that can be mobilised for a different kind of regeneration. The project looks at three areas: social networks, undervalued skills and under-utilised spaces. The primary focus was on mapping and recording these three themes in one pilot study area to look at how a better understanding of each theme, and their inter-relationships, can contribute to more sustainable and ethical development that is more bottom-up than top-down and builds on the assets that do exist.

Pilot study

The pilot study was Richmond Hill, chosen because it is within the 'Rim' of Leeds where baseline research was undertaken by Bauman Lyons Architects in 2006. This established key findings and the potential for further detailed research. The area was also chosen as it contains communities that fell within the lowest 3% of Super Output Areas (SOAs) nationally (Index of Multiple Deprivation 2007). This classification has since changed but it still acts as a good indicator. This demonstrates that these communities are relatively deprived in terms of the official measures and/or in a state of transition.

Richmond Hill is of strategic interest at city and regional level as it sits at the city end of the major Aire Valley development corridor. This area has been supported in recent years by the not-for-profit development agency Re'new that leads and co-ordinates local housing and regeneration strategy, in partnership with Leeds City Council and the private development sector.

Gaining access to existing data and information on enterprise, skills and land use was a key consideration in selecting the area. As Richmond Hill is within the inner city priority areas, Leeds Enterprise Growth Initiative (LEGI) has existing data on local enterprise, which when supplemented from Leeds Ahead, Leeds Voice and Leeds City Council provide good local intelligence and secondary data as baseline information from which to proceed to ensure non-replication of past surveys.

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Project Partners

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To set this study programme within an Action Research methodology and to ensure that outcomes have a direct impact on local understanding and future service provision, a range of neighbourhood, city and regional partners were brought to the table to discuss potential collaboration. Early stage conversations proved to be very positive and each stakeholder agency welcomed the ambitions and principles of the programme, recognising potential benefit in terms of future service provision.

Partners were:

- Re’new
- Leeds Enterprise Growth Initiative
- East and South East Leeds Regeneration
- Leeds City Council (Director of Regeneration)
- Yorkshire Forward (Economic Inclusion and Renaissance Units)

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Project Aim and Objectives

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The **aim** of the project was to examine a new approach to the regeneration of inner city neighbourhoods within the context that, despite economic growth in the City Centre, the poverty gap between the City Centre and the neighbourhoods situated closest to it was growing rather than shrinking. This is situated within the broader context of new social values that are arising from the need to mitigate climate change and adapt to its effects.

The research method was designed to uncover and make visible the under-utilised assets within the neighbourhood (categorised into social networks, enterprise and space) that can be mobilised for regeneration by the community itself. This challenges the mainstream value system to redefine the

characteristics by which communities are evaluated economically and socially (for example in measures such as the Index of Multiple Deprivation).

The intention was to identify how regeneration strategies can be built on resources that are already available rather than an approach relying solely on an input of resources into a neighbourhood to stimulate regeneration.

The **objectives** of the project were as follows:

1. Test a new methodology in a single community area in order that the study could be replicated in other inner city areas of Leeds.
2. Find and record the under-utilised or under-valued social networks, enterprise and spaces in an inner city neighbourhood.
3. Investigate attributes of social networks, enterprise and spaces with a view to understanding the capacity and potential for these attributes to contribute to the regeneration of the neighbourhood and progress towards a sustainable city.
4. Investigate potential for strengthening social networks, developing community enterprise and greening the neighbourhood.
5. Investigate mapping techniques and information graphics to communicate the findings in an accessible way.
6. Deliver the project within an Action Research framework to facilitate skill development and learning within the project team, project partners, and city and regional agencies.

Summary of key findings

Research Methods

- **Real-life stories.** The project develops new criteria and methods for the mapping of neighbourhoods that extends away from standard approaches toward their regeneration. It pays attention to the skills, social networks and spatial practices that are currently un(der)recognised. It shows the need to regard the real-life stories of a locality as vital to establishing its long-term resilience
 - **Focusing on potential and production.** Two core attitudinal approaches should be followed. The first is that the research focuses on a notion of under-utilised resources within its practices and spaces that facilitate forms of re-imagining a locality. This leads to the second, which is that a locality should be perceived primarily as a producer rather than consumer of resources and services.
 - **Understanding the relational qualities of a neighbourhood's resources.** Any project examining the dynamics of a neighbourhood shouldn't accept current scales and boundaries, either perceived or operational. Instead these should be configured using a range of both 'hard' and 'soft' attributes such as topography, built form, service delivery or communities of interest but also guided by the stakeholders' viewpoints and self-image as well as an intuitive response to the context. Single neighbourhoods rarely exist; they are usually clusters of sub-neighbourhoods and this has a major impact on the social networks and community cohesion. There should be resistance to the 'flattening' effects of standard forms of representation (eg. statistical). Instead it should pay attention to intensities and vectors in the resources of the neighbourhood.
 - **Adopting a flexible approach.** It should be accepted that there are sometimes characteristics of a neighbourhood (eg. some 'hard to reach' groups) that cannot be included within its time-frame and resources – we accept the need to be strategic in the level of detail that is arrived at. The research frame, however, must be approached organically, the researchers working their way through layers of key stakeholders, important nodes and spaces, following the lines of connectivity between them wherever possible. The details of the research process cannot be entirely pre-determined but should be guided by data as it emerges.
 - **Going beyond standard measurement.** Sufficient time and money has to be available to develop adequate understanding of the local communities. We need to recognize that only certain aspects of a neighbourhood are currently measured – those that add value to economic growth. Many other characteristics are below the radar as they are more difficult to quantify and measure. As a result these are often not seen for their economic or social value.
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Regeneration

- **Changing perceptions: statistics, appearance, reality and potential.** The way an area is perceived, both internally and externally, has a significant influence at a number of levels. These include an ability to mobilise people and organisations, and a capacity to tell a story about a neighbourhood that can lead to positive outcomes. Richmond Hill shares with many poor inner-city areas a narrative of decline, neglect and conflict, some of which stems from a lack of recent investment and some prominent dereliction. Decline and neglect of the physical environment can have a significant impact on community well-being: the overall perception of a community in a spiral of decline reinforces low self-esteem amongst residents and undermines the ability of the community to participate in its own regeneration as residents feel disempowered and stigmatised (Rowson *et al*, 2010).
- **Making connections: building social capital and networks.** Social capital is defined as the collective resource embedded in and released from informal social networks (Lin, 2002). Shared initiatives and solidarity, together with associated norms of behaviour, trust and co-operation, enable a society to function effectively. In addition to social networks between individuals and groups, buildings where people can meet for a variety of informal and formal social activities are important in fostering wider networks and generating social cohesion.
- **Realising potential: under-utilised assets.** It is too easy to write off areas with high concentrations of deprivation as having insoluble problems and lacking positive qualities, but we have found that with innovative leverage of what is already there, greater potential could be drawn out of the area. This under-utilised potential can be seen across skills, social networks and land assets.
- **Plugging the leaks: localising resource use and economic activity.** This relates to the flow of resources out of the area. Any community generates and circulates resources, money, skills and ideas. The ability of a locality to generate, capture and reuse these is a crucial task for improving well-being and resilience. This includes ways to increase production of food and energy locally, and skilling local people to maintain local infrastructure and services and to trade goods and services. The concept of 'Plugging the Leaks' was created by the New Economics Foundation (2008) to support people in communities to take a different approach to local economic development, one that can have a greater, more sustainable impact on their local economies than traditional regeneration initiatives. The first task is to understand the activities that take place, what is being circulated and what is being lost.

Margins within the City shows that there is huge potential to rethink the way that inner-city communities function.

Existing social networks, skills and physical assets can be consolidated and developed in order that neighbourhoods can adapt and develop resilience in the face of the pressing environmental and economic changes that lie ahead.

Understanding the connectivities between a neighbourhood's assets is paramount. Initiatives to integrate them are needed.

1 Research Context

Introduction

Margins within the City has taken place at a pivotal point in the trajectory of local, national and global priorities. Severe economic recession, the threat of climate change and of peak oil conspire to require a reassessment of physical and human resources, the structure and functioning of neighbourhoods, and the ways in which citizens live their daily lives. The transition to a sustainable economy and society involves the most challenging shift in policy since the industrial revolution. There are special challenges in areas of concentrated deprivation. Yet there are also opportunities linked to the under-recognised and under-utilised physical and human assets.

The latest economic boom in the city (mainly based on financial, legal and other services) ground to a halt in 2007 as the world financial system suffered the most severe shock for 80 years. Employment in Leeds peaked at 455,000 in 2007 and although some people who have been out of work are finding employment, the full impacts of public sector funding cuts are yet to be felt. Activity in the development industry has fallen away. If even 'prime' land is paralysed, how can regeneration happen in less favoured locations? What might be the alternatives to the kind of regeneration undertaken so far?

The aims of the Vision for Leeds (Leeds Initiative, 2004) assumed that the underlying growth-orientated economic system would persist and enable Leeds to 'Go up a League' and to 'Narrow the Gap' between the richest and poorest areas. Yet the poverty gap between the City Centre and the neighbourhoods situated closest to it was growing rather than shrinking (Hodkinson and Chatterton, 2007). This 'rim' forms a collar of disconnection, deprivation and neglect that surrounds the prosperous core (Bauman Lyons, unpublished), creating 'margins within the city'. Most of the rim falls within the lowest 3% of Super Output Areas (SOAs) nationally (Communities and Local Government, 2008). If the gap was widening in the era of strong wealth creation, what is the likely trajectory for absolute and relative deprivation in prolonged recession?¹

¹ For Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Tunstall (2009) addressed related questions, with Day (2009) providing an accompanying report on four communities: Gellideg in Merthyr Tydfil; Hedworth in Jarrow, South Tyneside; Broadgreen in Swindon and Barkerend in Bradford.

The problems of the contrast between the city centre and inner city were highlighted by Brian Robson, professor with long experience in the field of urban policy, in 2002:

'... the growth of the doughnut city – jam in the middle; unleavened dough in the ring beyond. There is a deepening gulf between the city centres and the collar of decayed areas that surround them. Half a mile from the new penthouses, restaurants, offices and multi-screen cinemas, and you are in the land of the forgotten. The colonisation of city centres by young professionals living in new and refurbished apartments may have done wonders for the vitality of the cores of places like Manchester, Leeds and Birmingham. But a stone's throw away is the sad mix of decaying nineteenth-century terraces and post-war council housing which, in northern cities, has seen ever-increasing problems of collapsing housing markets. Residents are not only poor; many are trapped by negative equity. The environment of such areas is a mix of boarded-up houses, syringes in the alleyways, litter and dirt, abandoned shops, unruly packs of children 'bunking off' school. A new instability has been added through unregistered private landlords profiting from asylum seekers and refugees' (Robson, 2002, *The Guardian*, Society, 30 October).

The *Margins within the City* project focused on Richmond Hill, a part of Leeds that presents many characteristics typical of inner suburbs in UK post-industrial cities. These are both negative and positive. Richmond Hill is dominated by terraced housing of the industrial era, though many local factories have closed since the mid-20th century and there are streets characterised by transience, worklessness and crime. It also carries a number of other assets in its land above the floodplain, its solid building stock and plentiful green spaces, views, density, social networks and surprisingly rich and varied skills base. It provides a variety of different types of affordable housing close to city centre employment opportunities for a range of households. Richmond Hill is of strategic interest at city and regional level as it stands adjacent to the city centre and the major development corridor of the Aire Valley. Community identity and infrastructure have been changed as a result of the

acquisition of land to provide new housing and infrastructure. There are therefore both opportunities and threats arising from the neighbourhood's geographical relationship to the rest of the city.

1.1 Defining the area

For our work, we took the Richmond Hill area to include Cross Green, East End Park and part of Osmondthorpe. It does not correspond exactly to the areas covered by the electoral wards, the Super Output Areas used to calculate the national Index of Multiple Deprivation or the Leeds Neighbourhood Index, created by Leeds City Council to summarise the characteristics of 108 sub-areas of Leeds and compare them against the city average. Some information is given below drawn from the Neighbourhood Index and then the Index of Multiple Deprivation.

1.1.1 Neighbourhood Index data

http://www.leeds.gov.uk/About_Leeds/Statistics/Neighbourhood_Index.aspx

Leeds City Council's Neighbourhood Index profiles each area of the city. The Index is constructed from 26 indicators that have been grouped into seven domains: Community Safety, Economic Activity, Education, Environment, Health, Housing, Low Income (see Table 2 on p.19).

In the area defined as Cross Green, East End Park and Richmond Hill, there are 6,400 people living in 3,900 households. In the adjacent area to the east, including Osmondthorpe as well as East End Park, there are 6,200 people in 2,700 households. This gives a total population of 12,600 people in 6,600 households.

While the population is classed as 'predominantly white British' in the Neighbourhood Index, in recent years new households have included refugees and asylum seekers from a range of countries. East European migrants have also found rented accommodation in this relatively affordable area.

1.1.2 Cross Green, East End Park and Richmond Hill

The area is bounded by the river to the south-west, York Road to the north, cutting down through Raincliffe Road and Londesboro Terrace in the east and along Victoria Avenue to take in the upper part of the Cross Green industrial estate. East End Park itself is included in the adjacent area to the east.

This is an area of mixed tenure although 48% of households are renting from the local authority (through an ALMO) or from other registered social landlords. Terraced housing accounts for 52% of stock with purpose built flats accounting for a further 25%. Sixty-eight

per cent of properties are classified in Council Tax Band A and 12% in Band B (80% in A and B combined).

1.1.3 Osmondthorpe, East End Park

The area is bounded by York Road to the north and the Cross Green industrial estate to the south and stretches across from Raincliffe Road and Londesboro Terrace in the west to the Rookwoods and Halton Moor Avenue in the east.

It is also an area of mixed tenure. Terraced housing accounts for an even higher proportion of the stock: 55%. Semi-detached housing accounts for a further 37%. Seventy-four per cent of properties are classified in Council Tax Band A and 24% in Band B (98% in A and B combined).

1.1.4 Evolution of an inner city neighbourhood: realities and perceptions

In the 1950s, 75% of the Leeds workforce was in manufacturing. By the early 1990s, manufacturing accounted for 23% of employees and in 2008 the figure was down to just 9% (Leeds City Council, 2010).

Industrial decline and worklessness underlay the rise of serious anti-social behaviour in some parts of Richmond Hill. As a substantial number of households moved to escape such stresses, their properties were mainly bought at low values by private (absentee) landlords. This enabled people from a variety of backgrounds and origins to access affordable housing (either paying their

rent themselves or via Housing Benefit). The remaining public sector housing was in relatively low demand (though this is no longer the case). As a result of these changes, there was an inward movement of more transient and unstable households (Jones *et al.*, 2004). Remaining longer term residents became more defensive and the authorities responded with a range of preventative and security measures.

Changes in policing (the advent of police community support officers and new ways of working) and the neighbourhood warden's work from 2003 have led to reduced levels of crime and anti-social behaviour. Residents' groups (see Appendix E) with dedicated leaders have helped to bring about improvements. 'Extended services' work in schools, connecting pupils to additional support beyond school, have also helped. While the area is not entirely transformed, it is less beset by problems than was the case at the turn of the millennium. There are no extensive areas of abandonment and the Index of Multiple Deprivation showed slight improvements between 2004 and 2007 (Communities and Local Government, 2008).

Table 1: Leeds Neighbourhood Index: Richmond Hill compared with Leeds score

	Leeds score	Cross Green, East End Park and Richmond Hill			Osmondthorpe, East End Park		
		Rank out of 108 areas	Score	Gap between this area and Leeds average	Rank out of 108 areas	Score	Gap between this area and Leeds average
Economic activity	67.44	6	18.01	-49.43	21	38.62	-28.82
Low income	67.29	5	23.80	-43.49	27	49.21	-18.08
Housing	54.69	6	28.49	-26.20	25	50.15	-4.53
Health	58.78	3	21.34	-37.44	23	42.98	-15.79
Environment	83.05	16	70.84	-12.21	56	90.40	7.34
Education	56.46	27	41.47	-14.99	24	39.66	-16.80
Community safety	72.93	3	41.35	-31.58	35	69.00	-3.98
TOTAL	65.73	3	31.83	-33.90	28	50.96	-14.76

[http://www.leeds.gov.uk/About Leeds/Statistics/Neighbourhood Index.aspx](http://www.leeds.gov.uk/About%20Leeds/Statistics/Neighbourhood%20Index.aspx)

The data show that in these two Index areas, scores are significantly below the average Leeds level on every 'domain' except for the environmental quality of the area to the east.

Table 2: LCC Neighbourhood Index – elements and weighting

Domain/Indicator	Weighting
Economic Activity	22.5%
% of working age population claiming Job Seekers Allowance	33.3%
% of working age population claiming Incapacity Benefit	33.3%
% of working age population who are Lone Parents claiming Income Support	33.3%
Low Income	22.5%
Number of children in working age households in receipt of IS/JSA and claiming Housing/Council Tax benefit	45%
Number of working age households claiming Housing/Council Tax benefit but not in receipt of Income Support of Job Seekers Allowance	30%
Number of older age households in receipt of Housing/Council Tax benefit	15%
Number of liability orders issued for non-payment of Council Tax	10%
Education	15%
% pupils who are persistent absentees	22.5%
% pupils achieving level 4+ in Key Stage 2 English and Maths	22.5%
% pupils achieving 5 or more GCSEs at grades A*-C, including English and Maths	22.5%
% pupils achieving 78+ points plus 6+ in CLL and PSE at Foundation Stage	22.5%
% of school leavers who are NEET	10%
Health	10%
Circulatory Disease Mortality (under 75 years)	33.3%
Cancer Mortality (under 75 years)	33.3%
Low Birthweight	33.3%
Community Safety	10%
Crimes against individuals	25%
Acquisitive Property Crime	25%
Environmental Property Crimes and Disorders	25%
Community Disorders	25%
Environment	10%
Number of Fly Tipping clearance jobs attended by City Services	33.3%
Number of Graffiti clearance jobs attended by City Services	33.3%
Number of services requests received by Health and Environmental Action Services dealing with Waste Issues	33.3%
Housing	10%
Average house purchase price	17.5%
Purchase price to Income Ratio (lowest quartile)	27.5%
Housing turnover (churn)	27.5%
% of properties that have been empty for 90+ days over the course of a year	27.5%

Combined Neighbourhood Index for Leeds, 2009.
[http://www.leeds.gov.uk/About/Leeds/Statistics/Neighbourhood Index.aspx](http://www.leeds.gov.uk/About/Leeds/Statistics/Neighbourhood%20Index.aspx)

1.1.5 Index of Multiple Deprivation

The national Index of Multiple Deprivation was calculated for 2004 and 2007. In all but one of the 5 sub-areas of Richmond Hill, there was an improvement in the score in 2007 compared with 2004, though only one area improved significantly. In all areas, there were some indicators that moved in the wrong direction. See Table 3.

Table 3: Richmond Hill Index of Multiple Deprivation

Lower SOA	Area covered	IMD 2007 Ranking out of 32,482 areas	Income deprivation	Employment deprivation	Health deprivation and disability	Education, skills and training	Barriers to housing and services	Crime and disorder	Living environment	Deprivation affecting children	Deprivation affecting older people
E01011618	Dawlish Avenue, Vinerys, Ecclesburns	6,779 – improved the most of all areas in Richmond Hill since 2004. Improved on every indicator except health. The least deprived of the 5 SOAs in this area.	9,906	10,609	10,077	3,177	27,608	7,079	362	8,460	7,925
E01011619	East Street, Upper Accommodation Road, Lavender Walk	2,108 – improved since 2004 except on crime and income deprivation affecting children, but still in worst 10% nationally.	2,617	3,640	2,388	2,487	18,607	293	6,375	942	1,363
E01011623	East Park Drive, Glensdales, Raincliffes	2,049 – improved since 2004 across all indicators, except on crime, but still in worst 10% nationally.	3,617	4,172	5,562	1,261	27,116	268	749	3,558	4,662
E01011625	St Hildas, Copperfields, Gartons	3,699 – improved a little since 2004 but still in worst 20% nationally. A notable fall on income and employment deprivation. Remains in worst 3% for living environment.	5,588	6,912	9,696	1,546	24,333	1,350	461	6,033	11,272
E01011626	Cross Green Lane, Easy Road, Dial Street, Dent Street	305 – a slight fall in ranking since 2004 with declines on 5 indicators and remains in the worst 3% nationally. This is the worst of the 5 areas in Richmond Hill.	857	805	1,227	275	21,048	652	2447	926	1,340

In worst 20% nationally
In worst 10% nationally
In worst 3% nationally

A rank of '1' indicates the most deprived area and the rank of '32,482' is the least deprived.

1.2 Regeneration and Policy

Margins within the City comes after more than a decade of government-led Urban Renaissance and Neighbourhood Renewal, which did have important benefits for post-industrial cities. However, their limitations are becoming clearer. Innovative approaches have to take into account a new landscape of reduced public resources while drawing more fully on the creativity and ingenuity of citizens.

1.2.1 Urban Renaissance

The publication of Urban Task Force report, *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (Urban Task Force, 1999) and the subsequent Urban White Paper (DETR, 2000) provided important impetus in recognizing the value of the built environment in securing economic and social well-being. The application of the recommendations over the past decade does, though, show a number of deficiencies listed below:

- Renewal of city centres is over-emphasised at the expense of inner and outer suburbs
- An excessively 'behaviouristic' approach has been taken to urban design – assumption that certain urban forms will engender specific attitudes and aspirations without attention being paid to the fine and complex grain of citizens' lives
- Too little benefit from urban regeneration flows to the poor and the 'spatial fixes' of regeneration policy do not address deep-seated reasons for poverty (Porter and Shaw, 2009)
- Design standards are applied in a highly codified and generic way without attention

being paid to the specific physical, social and economic contexts of locations

- Renewal of urban fabric can lead to gentrification and further exclusion of marginalised citizens in a neighbourhood (Lees *et al*, 2008).

1.2.2 Neighbourhood Renewal

The government's second regeneration strand was spearheaded by the Social Exclusion Unit's Neighbourhood Renewal policies. A key feature of these was to bring together private, voluntary and public sector resources to create Local Strategic Partnerships. This would in turn promote more 'joined up thinking' in neighbourhood development (Social Exclusion Unit, 2001). This approach is more people-focused than the 'bricks and mortar' tendency of Urban Renaissance. Nonetheless it too has experienced some deficiencies in the past 10 years. The creation of special purpose zones by different government ministries – eg. Sure Start, New Start, Health Action Zones – arguably causes more fragmentation of development initiatives.

Neighbourhood Management was charged with the challenging task of ameliorating problems at ground level that are caused at a macro-scale (eg. misdiagnosis by government of lack of skills where basic issue is a lack of jobs [see Turok and Edge, 1999]). In other words, an area approach to social exclusion does not address the fundamental economic roots responsible for this. Piecemeal and inconsistent funding streams to various agencies and stakeholders in Neighbourhood Renewal make a coordinated Neighbourhood Management approach highly challenging.

1.2.3 The shifting role of the state

While approaches to urban regeneration have varied and evolved, the nature of governance structures and the role of the public sector have also shifted. From the 1980s, the public sector moved from a 'public administration' approach of centralised bureaucracies to so-called New Public Management (Osborne and McLaughlin, 2002; Du Gay, 2004). Performance measurement and ratings, responsiveness to public demand and contracting out to competitive tendering have gradually become features which brought the culture of public services closer to the private sector. A third phase is 'network governance'. Here, 'the role of the state is to steer action within complex social systems rather than control solely through hierarchy or market mechanisms' (Hartley, 2005: 30). A requirement for creativity in local management and development has been a cornerstone of government policy over the past decade. The UK Government's White Paper, 'Innovation Nation' (Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills, 2008) lists climate change, the ageing population, globalisation and higher expectations of public sector users as drivers of the need for innovatory approaches to service delivery (Hill and Julier, 2009). Changing governance relations involves changing social power relations within communities and between communities and local government and other actors (Moulaert *et al*, 2010).

This phase has been accelerated by the new environment of fiscal austerity: public sector spending was cut in 2009 and even more substantially in the emergency budget of 2010. Welfare and development responsibilities will be 'downloaded' from central government to local authorities and neighbourhoods with voluntary sector organisations expected to step into the service delivery gap: not-for-profit companies, charities and community groups. This new regime has huge implications for already precarious and deprived communities.

Is it possible to achieve a creative fusion of the most fruitful elements of autonomous, community-based experiments with support from the pared-down state, and still deliver good quality services (Bichard, 2008)? Maybe the new government's talk of 'big society' can be turned into a workable option after the failure, in turn, of 'big government' and 'big market'? (See Blond, 2010). New strategies for urban renewal, as well as their management and delivery, may be more 'co-created' and community-led (Promise/LSE Enterprise, 2009; Rowson *et al*, 2010). This can embed resilience thinking into policy which moves away from command-and-control managerial approaches and instead embraces interconnections, complexity and adaption to changing environmental pressures (Walker and Salt, 2006).

1.2.4 Community-based initiatives

Many community-based initiatives exist to demonstrate that it is possible to stimulate innovative local approaches to generate significant improvements. These include: the Goodwin Development Trust which was set up as a charitable organisation in 1994 by residents of the Thornton Estate in Hull to improve their quality of life and the services available on their estate; Glasgow 2020 Vision, a project that developed a future vision for Glasgow that was not constrained by institutional interests; Imagine Chicago, a non-profit organization in existence since 1992 which aims to cultivate 'hope and civic engagement in a variety of cross-cultural and intergenerational initiatives, projects and programs' (Imagine Chicago website) and began by a city-wide Appreciative Enquiry process; Transition Towns, originating in Totnes, UK, which provides methods for

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building community resilience for a post-carbon future; the Eldonians in Liverpool who have turned a housing estate around using a housing co-operative model; Coin Street Community Builders founded in 1977 to resist a large-scale hotel and office development that would have had a major negative impact on this small London community; the BalanCity Project, an urban renewal project that works with Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD); Biz-Fizz, an approach developed jointly by the New Economics Foundation (NEF) and the Civic Trust in 2001 to provide business support to people in communities experiencing economic disadvantage, as well as challenging the mis-conception that there is a shortage of entrepreneurs and enterprising ideas in these communities. Moulaert *et al's* (2010) study of initiatives in less privileged areas concludes that '... these neighbourhoods – in contrast to the elite and the 'integrated' exclusive areas of the city, where, as Henri Lefebvre famously insisted 'nothing ever happens and nothing ever will' – are brewing with life in all its heterogeneous forms, are cradles of innovation, and are marked by a desire to make the impossible real, often against all odds, indeed often against the powers that be, whether they be the state or the market logic' (p.221).

Many innovative experiments seem to have occurred in spite of the state rather than via its mechanisms. Moulaert *et al* argue that '... the most creative and innovative [projects] in terms of generating new forms of delivery, attending to new needs and experimenting with innovative institutional or organisational arrangements, are those that originate from within civil society' (p.225). They go on to say that where bureaucrats get involved, the innovative dynamics are often weakened by inflexible practices, though of course policy and financial support often have a leveraging effect on generating and maintaining activities. Ideally, support structures should allow locals

to take the lead and funding arrangements should enable long-term viability.

Local authorities can, of course, play an influential role. For instance, the Young Foundation studied the role of local authorities in forging relationships between sustainability and well-being in Manchester, South Tyneside and Hertfordshire (Young Foundation, 2009). The findings shows that as pro-environmental behaviour becomes embedded in everyday practice, the well-being benefit can grow.

A report for the Barrow Cadbury Trust (Wind-Cowie, 2010) concludes that there are several factors that help to secure more thorough regeneration that 'sticks':

- long-term funding that inspires confidence and promotes engagement
- support to end 'brand deserts' and to bring big corporates into the regeneration mix
- genuine community involvement and democratic outreach to encourage collective efficacy
- highly skilled leadership that has real legitimacy in the eyes of the community
- a 'broken windows' strategy that targets 'easy wins' and physical decay to improve the infrastructure of the community and inspire confidence
- transition planning to enable the effective passing-on of responsibilities and leadership

'Wherever possible government needs to put in place the overarching infrastructure to support the development of these factors within communities and to ensure that, where they develop, they are nurtured and encouraged' (Wind-Cowie, 2010: 11).

1.3 Climate change, resource constraints, sustainable development and well-being

The already complex arena of urban policy and service delivery is made more complex still by the need to rise to the challenges of climate change and resource shortages. Urban regeneration has to contribute more towards reducing carbon emissions and also respond to the high likelihood of changing patterns and greater extremes of temperature, precipitation and wind (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2007). The repeated failure of the UN climate negotiation process to reach substantive international agreement has already stimulated citizens and local authorities to take the lead (Heiskanen *et al*, 2010; Peters *et al*, 2010; Bulkeley *et al*, 2011). Some progress is being made with climate change strategies at local authority level, for example the Cities for Climate Protection Campaign, and the World Mayors' and Municipal Leaders' Declaration on Climate Change. In the UK, the core cities (and many other local authorities) have signed the Nottingham Declaration on Climate Change and Leeds City Council has recently adopted its own climate change strategy (Leeds City Council, 2009).

The test for cities is to take radical action to mitigate climate change when fundamental lifestyle shifts in contentious areas such as car dependence, air travel and overall levels of consumption are implied. In fact, the UK Climate Change Act 2008 and evolving local authority policies give a stronger framework for action, but individual city authorities consider themselves relatively powerless to interfere in individual consumption decisions and are wary of being associated with actions that might prejudice their city's economic competitive position or reduce their electability. Moreover, there remain established and new environmental justice issues which cities have to deal with, such as the siting of incinerators.

Since 2006, with the publication of the latest set of IPCC reports and the Stern Review, the climate change agenda has tended to overtake the wider sustainability agenda as a priority for policy formulation and implementation (While *et al.*, 2009). What must not be overlooked in the rush to reduce greenhouse gas emissions are broader holistic outcomes that pay attention to environmental, social and economic factors together. The most fruitful actions are those that not only have beneficial effects in terms of combining climate change mitigation and adaptation (Howard, 2009) but also improve or create opportunities for enhanced economic prosperity and community well-being (Brown and Corbera, 2003; Greenstein *et al.*, 2007; Rydin, 2009; Morecroft and Cowan, 2010; Sustainable Development Commission, 2010). Embedding a climate justice perspective is essential for poorer neighbourhoods, where priorities continue to be better home energy efficiency, public transport and access to local opportunities that will enhance earning potential and access to affordable fresh food.

The climate change and energy agendas have recently come together (Hopkins, 2008; Lovell *et al.*, 2009). As well as needing to reduce carbon emissions, we will in any case need to recognise the profound implications of peaking oil and gas supplies: a way of life that has been predicated on the profligate use of cheap fuel will be under threat (Kunstler, 2005; Heinberg, 2005) and thus so will the underlying structure and functioning of the economic and social base of cities (Atkinson, 2007-8; Girardet, 2008). There seems little alternative but to devise and implement a new macro-economics for urban sustainability with an emphasis on minimising throughput, harnessing new sources of energy and maximising well-being, as argued by

Jackson (2009) in his report for the government's Sustainable Development Commission. This concept of 'prosperity without growth' can only be operationalised if the focus is principally on mobilising and enhancing social capital (see section 1.6), not principally on investing in material consumption and physical assets. This includes tackling systemic inequality (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2009; Cabinet Office, 2010) and measuring prosperity in new terms to include healthy life expectancy, educational

participation, trust in the community, and other non-economic indicators that make up the concept of well-being (New Economics Foundation, 2010). Forms of urban policy are needed that are not simply geared towards maximising property values and returns on investment but instead promote a diverse, locally-responsive and needs-based economy. This would take climate change and energy scarcity seriously, and begin to draw on the untapped potential of neighbourhoods to help deliver prosperity and sustainability.

1.3.1 Copenhagen Agenda for Sustainable Cities (2009) 10 Principles for Sustainable City Governance

The investigation of the interconnectivity of space usage, social networks and enterprise by the Margins within the City reflects the conclusion of the Copenhagen Agenda for Sustainable Cities that sustainability can only be achieved by paying attention to environmental, social and economic factors together. The development of a new value-system of urban living that lays importance on the relationships between environmental, social and economic factors is very much at its heart. Within this process, the need to recognize non-mainstream practices – particularly in enterprise – is important. Prior to the 2009 Summit the committee of the Copenhagen Agenda for Sustainable Cities asked 50 of the world's most important urban experts to tell us what it is will take to create sustainable cities. These were synthesized into 10 Principles For Sustainable City Governance.

1. Rediscover the city
2. Redefine city value
3. Involve everyday experts
4. Break down silos
5. Redistribute urban decision making
6. De-design urban planning
7. Promote corporate urban responsibility
8. Go global
9. Embrace chaos, crisis and change
10. Encourage passion in urban leadership

1.4 Transition Towns

The Transition Town movement brings further impetus to this thinking. In particular, it foregrounds the need to re-localise the production and consumption of goods and services because external sources will become increasingly unstable and unreliable as Peak Oil causes ever greater fluctuations in price and availability of energy, food and other resources. Where a neighbourhood is less reliant on external inputs, greater environmental and economic resilience will result (Hopkins, 2008).

In turn, the Transition Town movement looks to enabling the ingenuity of citizens to develop positive responses to economic and environmental pressures. There is particular emphasis on the enrichment of local food networks. In support of this, the UK Government's *Food 2030* strategy was unveiled by the Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs in early 2010. This recognised the need for more localised food production, including the promotion of allotments and community gardens.

1.5 Co-creation and Service Design

1.5.1 Co-creation

In co-creation, systems, products or services are developed through the collaboration of all stakeholders. Co-creation in social enterprise and private commerce abounds. Examples include:

- Linux – open-source software;
- Wikipedia – distributed authorship of global encyclopedia;
- Threadless – customers submit, inspect, and approve t-shirt graphic designs;
- LEGO Factory for personalised LEGO models and sharing co-creation of virtual LEGO models with other consumers;
- Samsung Virtual Product Launch Center – to enlist customers’ help in diffusion of new product information;
- www.data.gov.uk is encouraging co-creation of useful applications of government datasets (Crabtree and Chatfield, 2010).
- The focus in these examples is toward product and service innovations. Co-creation goes beyond ‘market research’ or ‘consultation’ by actually engaging users in shaping them.

Many research projects conclude that genuine involvement is a critical success factor (Giddings and Shaw, 2000; Moulaert *et al*, 2010).

Facilitation plays an important role here. The process of co-creation has to be instigated and brokered between producers and users. It also involves on-going learning whereby the development process is constantly reviewed and renewed (Promise/LSE Enterprise, 2009; Moulaert *et al*, 2010).

1.5.2 Service design

This is very much concerned with the relations and exchanges that go on between users and environments. Its method involves deep user research in order to understand the variety of requirements and experiences. In addition notice may be taken of small scale innovations that users and producers of services create themselves, seeing that their ‘unofficial customization’ may be of significance and can be up-scaled.

It has been of particular interest to public sector thinking in the UK government. Strategy documents such as *Building on Progress: Public Services* (Cabinet Office, 2007) lay important emphasis on the role of design in the creation of personalized public services in which users play a more participative role both in their configuration and their delivery. The pedigree of this thinking itself leads back to the influence Charles Leadbeater (himself an associate of RED) (Leadbeater, 2000; Leadbeater 2008). His position is that much can be made of the intrinsic creativity of citizens, ‘empowered’ through the free-flow of information, and this in turn means that solutions to complex challenges can also provide cost-effective innovations.

Margins within the City recognizes the strength in the intrinsic creativity of citizens. At the same time it recognizes the need for a research-driven, creative approach to the facilitation of new forms of economic and social resilience. Citizen-driven responses to climate change provide another important underpinning of the project’s thinking.

The findings recognized the importance of understanding the interconnectedness of environmental, social and economic aspects of the city in order to achieve sustainability. They lay emphasis on the engagement of citizens in determining solutions within a changed value-system of urban living.

1.6 Social and human capital: networks and skills

1.6.1 Capital is more than money

What do 'social capital' and 'human capital' imply and what is the significance in the context of this research?

- Social capital: *networks of relationships among persons, firms, and institutions* in a society, the shared initiatives and solidarity, together with associated norms of behaviour, trust, co-operation, that enable a society to function effectively (Putnam, 2000; Porritt, 2005). Societies with high levels of social capital show high levels of membership of social organisations, participation, volunteering, informal socialising.
- Human capital: *stock of knowledge & skill embodied in an individual* as a result of education, training, experience, making them more productive.

Putnam and other social capital researchers make a distinction between 'bonding' and 'bridging' social capital. Bonding is more inward looking: the building and reinforcing of ties between people with common characteristics, most particularly families. These are the relationships for 'getting by'. Bridging networks are more outward looking and encompass people with non-homogeneous characteristics. These are the networks that enable people to 'get ahead'. 'Bonding social capital provides a kind of sociological superglue, whereas bridging social capital provides a sociological WD-40' (Putnam 2000: 23). In addition, some researchers draw a distinction between 'bridging' and 'linking': the former is informal whereas the latter consists of involvement in structured voluntary organisations (Sabatini, 2008).

The high sense of responsibility to reciprocate within a relatively small, tight network can stifle the chances of making links beyond the familiar networks and

reduce chances for innovation that wider, if weaker, bridging and linkages could bring (Granovetter, 1973; Garguilo and Benassi, 2000; Green and White, 2007; Sabatini, 2008). Dale and Newman (2008) stress that while bonding is the stuff of community resilience, both linking and bridging are necessary for accessing additional kinds of capital, and they argue that vertical linkages to higher levels of governance are also critical for sustainable community development. Indeed, if bonding within communities is the dominant form of networking, it may be counter to community development if it engenders a closed mentality, lack of trust or prejudice (Porritt, 2005; Gilchrist, 2009).

Blokland and Rae (2008) show that the old patterns of linkages in neighbourhoods full of industrial workers and their families no longer have such dense and overlapping networks. With the end of large scale industrialism, the migration of many workers into the service sector and the expansion of outer suburbs, the old rationale for working class urban communities has been undermined and the people still inhabiting the 'inner cities' find themselves in somewhat hollowed out neighbourhoods with weakened bonding capital and a lack of effective bridging and linking. Rowson *et al* (2010) found that a quarter of their respondents could not name anyone in their social network who they thought was a) good at bringing people together or b) could help them contact someone with influence, power or responsibility to change things locally. However, our interest is in exploring in detail the kinds of social capital that do exist, especially the social networks that are largely invisible to the outsider. Musterd *et al.* (2006) assert that not all concentrations of poverty are severely lacking in opportunities. Not all are isolated, and few are substantially

abandoned and without infrastructure and activities. They are just relatively less fortunate and perhaps under-rated.

There are benefits to be derived from social media of various kinds: for community networking and co-operation, service delivery and small-scale enterprise. This will be increasingly the case as user-friendly interfaces and cheaper hardware and connections enable a reduction in the 'digital divide' (Townsend *et al*, 2010), though there will still be a percentage of people excluded from the benefits.

1.6.2 Skills

Enterprise, employment and skills need to be re-assessed to include elements not usually measured or given recognition. Success in employment may be measured in economic terms. But the social and environmental contribution of work, and thus skills, should also garner more recognition and attention.

Skills are the capacity to do something well. Skills are usually acquired or learned, as opposed to abilities, which are often thought of as innate.

In terms of recognising the skills potential of an area it is important to differentiate between life skills and livelihood skills. The first refer to a large group of psycho-social and interpersonal skills which can help people make informed decisions, communicate effectively, and develop coping and self-management skills that may help them lead a healthy and productive life. Life skills may be directed toward personal actions and actions toward others, as well as actions to change the surrounding environment to make it conducive to health. The latter refer to capabilities, resources and opportunities to pursue

individual and household economic goals. Livelihood skills relate to income generation and may include technical/vocational skills (carpentry, sewing, computer programming), job-seeking skills such as interviewing, business management skills, entrepreneurial skills, and skills to manage money. The crucial point for increasing community well-being and resilience is finding ways to promote both types, building on what is already there and focusing on the kinds of capacities that the community will need in order to deal with future challenges.

While many people have skills, there are two major problems of mis-match: formal skills that are developed are not always the ones that are needed (Horton and Gregory, 2009) and both formal and informal skills could be better used for the benefit of the community (Lownsborough *et al.*, 2009; Mulgan, 2008). 'SkillCity', a research project undertaken in Rotterdam, addressed the latter issues stating the need to preserve and promote non-standard or under-recognised skills in terms of their necessity in a post-carbon economy but also for their social value. The project's director, Henk Oosterling, argues that, 'being skilled is per se not an individual, but a collective and concrete practice. The invested creativity does not refer to an autonomous individual, but is always already 'interested', i.e. embedded in social, cultural and economic networks' (Oosterling, 2007). Furthermore, by focusing on skills, 'wills' are produced – the will to be socially engaged, to connect to others, to take an interest in one's immediate environment. The UK skills development agenda is focused on competing in a global economy (Department for Education and Skills, 2006; HM Treasury, 2006; Department for Business Innovation and Skills, 2009) with associated formal qualifications (such as GNVQs, HNDs) and on improving professional

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skills (ODPM, 2004), all relating to mainstream employment, business start-ups and development. In contrast, SkillCity emphasised a bottom-up approach to understanding skills and their social and environmental value. In the context of tackling dangerous climate change and possible post-petroleum economies, many commentators, including Hopkins in the Transition Towns movement and Heinberg (2005), have talked about the need for a wholesale 'great re-skilling'. Practical skills such as cooking, growing food, repairing and reusing, composting, caring, as well as making democratic decisions, conflict resolution and mediation, take on renewed importance in attempts to re-establish in a low energy economy. These are skills that are not just related to capacity for generating personal income, and thus the potential perhaps to move away from a deprived area. Some skills can be used to enhance economic activity for the benefit of the whole area and unpaid work has an important role to play in encouraging mutuality, social capital development and active citizenship amongst residents in deprived areas, thus improving their coping capacities and overall quality of life (Williams and Windebank, 2001; Evans, *et al.*, 2006). Yet there is no data on informal activity (Syrett and North, 2008) or on skills beyond those recognised in the formal labour market.

In this study, we are interested in the skills that are more every day, ordinary and routine but nonetheless vital. We aimed to identify the existing skills within the community that were marginalised, unclassified, unmeasured, under-utilised and unrecognised – those that could be a potential starting point for sustainable regeneration.

1.6.3 Plugging the Leaks

The Plugging the Leaks tool was created by New Economics Foundation (2008) to support people in communities to take a different approach to local economic development, one that can have a greater, more sustainable impact on their local economies than traditional regeneration initiatives.

Plugging the Leaks goes further than simply getting more money into the local economy through tourism, inward investment or funding. It re-generates the local economy from within, and takes advantage of the resources that a community already possesses.

A plugging the leaks approach is built around supporting community-based action towards developing a more sustainable local economy. This is described as having the following outcomes:

- Diverse range of businesses and enterprises in terms of size, social & private mix, and diversity of goods and services produced.
- Positive local money and resource flows (a high local multiplier and local re-use of waste).
- Strong local asset base including local people's attitudes, skills and knowledge; physical, financial and natural resources.
- Responsive public and business sector which is working to strengthen and invest in the local economy.
- Strong community and civic voice including local activism, leadership, volunteering, and engagement in debate.
- Sustainability and a reduced environmental footprint.

- Increased understanding of economic, cultural and ecological inter-connections that link communities, span the globe and impact on the future.

The NEF uses the metaphor of a leaky bucket to open up conversations in communities about a local economy and how money flows into and out of that community. The local economy is described as a bucket with water being poured into it – to represent for example tourism spend, local school budgets, benefits or salaries of people living in the area. They then consider all the ways that money leaks out of the bucket, such as in taxes, utilities, and purchases of goods and services from outside the area. The aim in 'plugging the leaks' is to find ways to reduce the amount of money draining away and maximise the amount of money being spent within the area. As more goods and services are provided locally, some of the proceeds can in turn be spent locally.

2 Methodology

2.1 Scope of the research

The project seeks to map and record information about the Richmond Hill neighbourhood. The purpose is to make visible the capacity and potential in the area, and to find connections between the social networks, spaces and skills that may provide the key to securing a sustainable future and enable the community to adapt to climatic and economic shifts.

The project is innovative in its ambition to bring together data on the social and physical infrastructure within a neighbourhood. The research approach draws upon social science and design methods, and the outputs are highly visual.

The research was carried out by project teams working on three distinct themes: social networks, spaces, and skills, with a further team working on a Reflective Learning Framework and project management. Each theme used a tailored research method, and the themes were regularly brought together, shared and cross-referenced at Learning Days and Workshops.

Partners and advisors were invited to collaborate with the research team throughout the project. This was useful because it has brought different perspectives and expertise into the research, as well as enabling the project to become solidly embedded in local organisations and initiatives. This also aided the evaluation of the impact of the research on the neighbourhood

2.1.1 Research assumptions

The method for the research we developed from a set of ideas about the value of the resources within the neighbourhood. These were as follows:

- The city has boomed but the inner city has not benefited fully from this renaissance.
- There is likely to be rapid change in the inner city as the city centre expands outwards.
- There are skills and networks in the inner rim communities that are valuable and useful; these are under-valued by mainstream policy and our pro-growth value system.
- If we document these skills they can be more valued and visible, be used more and become more useful to the community.
- These kinds of skills and networks can provide wider lessons for the whole of Leeds – especially in terms of generating new ways of thinking to tackle big challenges like climate change and creating sustainable mixed communities.

2.1.2 Learning about process

We developed a research practice based on a number of principles articulating the values of our group. Carefully considered but flexible structures were developed to manage the work and provide an environment for research that was both robust and able to accommodate the dynamism and complexity of a very messy qualitative research process that inevitably had to be adapted as we learned about the opportunities and limitations in the 'field'.

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Implicit in this project is a challenge to traditional ways of researching and understanding the needs of the city's neighbourhoods. Current methods used to investigate and analyse the themes that we have identified are not producing the understanding required to address the challenges that neighbourhoods face in a changing climate. This project is intended to investigate these methods of analysis by practising new methods within an action research framework to develop the practice of Love It Share It and its partners.

We took the following as a working definition of Action Research in this context:

'Action research is a participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human endeavour, grounded in a participatory worldview which we believe is emerging at this historical moment.'

Reason and Bradbury, 2001

The most recognisable element of action research as a method is the cyclical process of planning, acting, collecting or observing what happens, and reflecting in order to begin the cycle again. The Margins project was designed to do this by using a series of learning days and workshops as critical moments for reflection to feed into planning for next steps. Within this cyclical process, tools can be used to support the processes of planning, recording action and observing results, and reflection. Common tools used to support action research include diaries and journals, profiles, documentary analysis, photographic evidence, tape and video recordings, observation, interviews, running commentary, shadow

study, checklists, questionnaires, inventories (Elliot, 1991). The purpose of these tools is to make explicit the process of reflection and how that informs planning, and also to enable the generation of knowledge about the process and practices. Multiple tools are used so that information can be triangulated and validated across several different ways of recording data.

Appreciative enquiry techniques (Elliott, 1999) enabled us to turn round the perception of 'problems' and 'waste' to articulate instead the unrealised potential of the area.

From the outset of the project, learning about the process through which information can be gathered, mapped and disseminated was as important as the data which relates specifically to the neighbourhood in Richmond Hill. This was seen as vital if the project was to develop as a model for supporting other neighbourhoods in this kind of research and development, and it is our ambition that the method may be taken on and tried out by other organisations and communities.

Finally, we established collective responsibility to each other and to those with whom we engaged during the research. This meant being clear that we were not service deliverers but researchers interested in highlighting opportunities and new policy directions. We also made a clear undertaking that we would continue our involvement, if it was thought useful, helping the residents and others concerned with improving the area to act on our findings and make connections into wider networks that might be able to influence policy, investment and well-being.

2.2 Field research: Social networks

The method for investigating social networks is based on the belief that networks are a vital part of any community, and the denser they are the more a community can understand itself and respond to a changing context around it. The aim of this part of the project is to research existing community networks and to draw out both visible (i.e. community centre) and less visible (street, house or special interest-based) networks.

2.2.1 Research questions

- The flexibility of action research means that research questions constantly evolve. Some are recurrent and become core. The following are indicative of these.
 - What are the advantages of networks?
 - What are people concerned about? What are the tensions, barriers and gaps that reduce effectiveness?
 - Types of households & individuals NOT well connected into networks?
 - What else is needed? What are the aspirations of the residents in terms of the kind of social networks and interactions they want? What is the future potential? How could existing networks be strengthened? How could weaker networks learn from stronger ones?
 - What could bring people together more frequently/effectively and deliver more advantages?
 - What kinds of spaces really help to develop deep and meaningful social networks and which don't do such a good job? And why?
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2.2.2 Approach

1. Contacting and talking to key contacts about the nature and extent of the main networks – purposes, number of people, geographical coverage, level of formality, frequency of contacts, types of activity, changes over time
 2. Through snowballing, talk to further rounds of people, moving further away from well known people in each round
 3. Looking for social networks 'under the radar' – those with weak/no formal structures – by looking at issues of trust, care networks, individual links
 4. Mapping out what kinds of links exist – this could be done through house by house social network analysis – ie who knows their neighbours or other people in the pilot area? What is the extent of non-local links and networks in communities of interest rather than just place-based community?
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2.2.3 Research tools

Interviews

Sixty-three Interviews were undertaken. They were face-to-face and in-depth, lasting around 60 minutes each, some much longer. Notes from the interviews were sent back to interviewees for further comment and clarification. A copy of the basic interview is included in the Chapter 3 and a list of all those interviewed is included in Appendix E. Participants were selected using a 'snowballing' technique, which was started with a list of potential participants provided by a local agency worker who is also a local resident. It was important that this initial

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list came from someone who had good local knowledge, from an agency with an overview of the area (rather than a particular interest such as health or education) and was the individual in the agency who was most connected 'on the ground' to local people.

Sociogram

At interview the participants were asked about who they know in and beyond the local area. These connections were visualised in a 'Sociogram' which shows the connections and disc connections between the interview participants.

Story of a Street

This experimental method was piloted as a means to investigate the micro-level networks within the neighbourhood. The street was selected in conversation between the researcher and a local resident included in the Interviews. Rather than start with a 'door-to-door' approach, interviews with residents were set up through an initial contact on the street, followed by residents who were met on the street itself, then finally filled in with a 'door-to-door' cold calling approach. Notes were taken, transferred to a matrix and coded. The coded information was transferred to a map to show where connections existed, the strength of connections (for example they merely greeted each other, helped with shopping or were close friends) and the incidence of broken or troubled connections.

Community Hubs review

Community hubs in the neighbourhood were visited, photographed and records were made of people who worked at and visited the hub.

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2.3 Field research: Under-utilised Space

On our initial visits to the area we could see that there were a number of boarded up buildings and areas of 'public' space that seemed to be under-utilised and within these spaces we could see potential for developing new projects and resources in the neighbourhood. We set out to record under-used or disused space including green spaces or other areas of the public realm and unoccupied buildings or buildings in a state of disrepair.

2.3.1 Research questions

- What under-utilised spaces exist in the neighbourhood?
- Where are these spaces?
- What is the impact of these spaces?
- How can they be categorised?
- Who owns and controls the spaces?
- What is the potential of these spaces?

2.3.2 Approach

The research team investigated the ownership of these under-used spaces/ buildings and the history behind their current state and consulted with local people on the nature of these spaces, local perceptions and local ideas for re-use.

We did this in teams of architects and architectural students walking through the research site over a number of weeks recording and categorising the under-

used assets from on-site observations. We researched standard conventions of recording land categories and agreed to adopt the convention set out in the Town and Country Planning Act 1947, chosen for its comprehensive nature and widespread adoption as an industry standard.

Each land category was mapped on a separate layer of digital OS map. The layers can be overlapped in different permutations to facilitate analysis of 'cause and effect' and nature of potential for improvements.

During the mapping phase of the research we developed new, unconventional themes for mapping to facilitate greater understanding of the physicality of the neighbourhood. These layers of mapping include gated communities, crime patterns and corresponding physical response (for example introduction of bars on windows, gates on back lanes, road chicanes and crash barriers to open spaces to prevent travellers settling down.)

2.3.3 Research tools

- Historic research through historic maps and records
- Visual Survey and mapping
- Mapping conventions review and the use of Planning Act 1949 land use categories
- Records (such as police crime records, planning application records)
- Photography
- Digital OS maps

2.4 Field research: Under-valued skills and enterprise

The aim of the under-valued enterprise research was to find, collate, represent and analyse capital of skills and abilities that exist in the community with special emphasis on those life skills and livelihood skills that are not currently considered as an element of economic capacity of a place.

2.4.1 Research questions

- What skills exist?
- What range of businesses exists in the neighbourhood?
- Are the business owners from the neighbourhood itself? If not, where from?
- Are the local businesses recruiting locally?
- Where do people in the research area work?
- How do people perceive their own skill?
- Does entrepreneurial activity exist?
- Why do local businesses fail?
- Is there a cash economy?
- What skills exist within the volunteering sector?
- What leadership skills exist within the community?
- What skills exist within the transient population of asylum seekers?

2.4.2 Research tools

Interviews

We interviewed, and whenever possible photographed, the majority of businesses within the area. The full record of people interviewed and photographed is in Appendix E. We carried out 30 in-depth interviews with local residents and service providers and asked the following questions about skills.

- What are the main sources of employment here?
- What are your perceptions of work opportunities within and outside the neighbourhood?
- Is there a cash economy - if so what kind? Has it changed?
- Are there entrepreneurs? What do you know about them?
- What skills do you think exist in this community?
- What ethnic minorities live here? How is it changing? What skills do they have?
- Do you think this community is resilient (has strengths that can be adapted to changing circumstances)? Why do you think that?
- What kind of opportunities would help to develop existing skills?
- Name anybody you know with special skills.

Stories and portraits

As a way of engaging people in informal interviews about their skills and experiences, a writer and photographer worked in the area developing stories and portraits that portrayed the lives of people living and working in the neighbourhood. These stories and images were then mapped to show the diversity and richness of skills in an area that is often portrayed as lacking in skills, particularly those relating to enterprise.

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Table 4: Summary of Research Methods

Theme	Research Method	Details in Depth
Social Networks	Interviews	56 interviews. Respondents selected through 'snowballing'.
	Sociogram	Diagram that details personal connections between interviewees.
	Story of a Street	Street selected through interviews. Mix of snowballing and cold-calling. Connections coded and mapped.
	Community Hubs Review	Social, faith, NGO etc. centres visited, photographed and records made of use.
Under-valued Enterprise	Initial Survey	Meetings with agencies, churches, schools and other organisations to map existing information.
	Survey	Walking site, engaging directly with business owners and compiling database of information.
	Interviews	Combined with social networks interviews.
	Stories and Portraits	Writer and photographer engaging with neighbourhood residents to reveal 'narratives' (eg. aspirations, perspectives etc.) relating to work.
Under-utilised Spaces	Historic and records	Use of historic maps to track change of use and statistics (eg. police stats on crime, planning applications).
	Visual survey	Detailed survey of urban fabric (eg. street layout, signage, connectivity, crime prevention measures), building usage and ownership
	Permaculture analysis	Detailed mapping of land-use and land cover. Survey of green space: soil, flora and fauna, aspect, topography, slope, microclimates.

2.5 Learning Days and Workshops

To support planning and reflection in the project, the Reflective Learning Framework was designed to provide opportunities and space for developing the project method.

The aims of the reflective learning and evaluation programme were to facilitate learning through workshops, evaluative tools, and interim reporting on progress of the project, and to observe the project and then generate information on the method in order that the Margins project can be used as a replicable model for research elsewhere in the city of Leeds and beyond.

Regular meetings were held to co-ordinate the research. However in order to facilitate a deeper consideration of methodological issues arising in the research, and to understand the complex information that was emerging, Learning Days were set up. These were opportunities for the whole project team to spend an extended period of time undertaking facilitated activities and discussions.

Activities included:

- Visualisations of timeline and project milestones
- Presentations on inspiring projects and supporting literature
- Brainstorming on research themes
- SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) analysis of project
- Risk assessment
- Mind-mapping of research findings

The outputs from the Learning Days were used to plan and troubleshoot subsequent stages of the project.

The Workshops were an opportunity to bring partners and advisors into the project. Speakers were invited to present related ideas and research to feed the thinking in the Margins project. These speakers came from regional and national organisations and universities, and from other community based projects. A list of expert participants and speakers is included in Appendix E.

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3 Findings and Recommendations

3.1 Social networks

This chapter presents the findings from the fieldwork in Richmond Hill. This is done according to each theme: social networks, under-utilised space and under-valued enterprise. By presenting the data collected, as reported by the research team on each theme (Lead researchers are acknowledged within each section), the complexity and depth of the research is illustrated. In turn, this depth reveals the many hidden potentials in the neighbourhood. The recommendations therefore draw on this research and are specific to Richmond Hill.

Each section first provides an overview of the information gathered through the Research Tools as described in Chapter 2. Key findings and recommendations for each theme follow on. At the end of this chapter, the summary of recommendations brings together the findings from all three themes.

3.1.1 Introduction

This part of the project set out to investigate the social networks and community venues within the area, looking at how venues are used and by whom, and suggesting ways to strengthen social networks and the types of social capital that can maintain them and the places that make them happen in Richmond Hill. This section, split into three parts, is based on information gained through one-to-one interviews, participant observation and mapping carried out between June and August 2009. First, we describe the different types of community venues in Richmond Hill. Second, we present the findings from the 'Story of the Street' method. Third, we pull out some key findings and recommendations.

3.1.2 Community Venues in Richmond Hill

Lead Researcher: Paul Chatterton, School of Geography, University of Leeds

The community venues research studied 51 venues within the area and conducted 59 interviews with venue employees, volunteers and other workers and residents within the area. A basic set of interview questions was prepared (see page 44).

The findings from the survey of community venues are organised around the types of venue.

Interview questions

Opening times:

1. When are you open?
2. For whom?
3. What services do you provide?

Use levels

1. How many individuals use the space?
2. How often and for what time period?
3. Who are they? (e.g. age, addresses or area, ethnic group, gender)

Other users

4. Do any other groups use your venue?
5. Who are they and what activities do they do?

Accessibility

1. Do you have a car park?
2. Do you have somewhere to lock bikes?
3. Do you advertise your services?
4. How do people find out about you?
5. Do you have any special provisions for disability access?
6. Do you provide a crèche?
7. What languages are spoken here?

Cost of room hire

1. How much does a room cost to hire?
2. Are there different rates for different groups?
3. Facilities and size of room?

Ownership

1. Who owns the building?
2. Who funds it/activities within it?

Worker origin

1. Where does the director/co-ordinator/ boss live?
2. How many employees work here?
3. How many volunteers work here?
4. Where do they live?

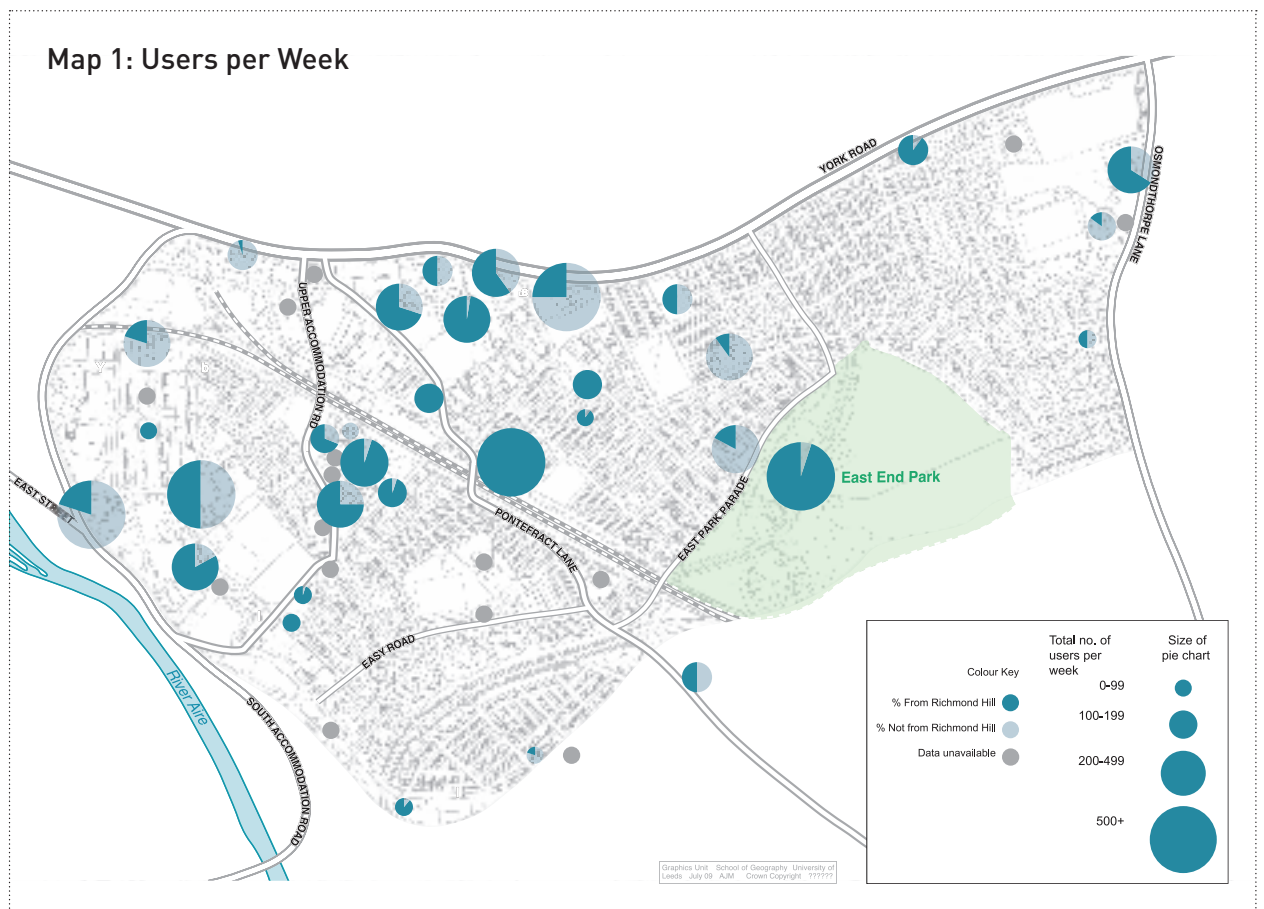
Community Links

1. Which other venues-organisations/ people do you work with?
2. Which other venues-organisations/ people do you know?

3.1.2.1 Usage and activities

We mapped 51 venues in Richmond Hill and grouped them into seven different types (see Table 5 on p.47). Actual usage across these 51 venues varied considerably. The highest, predictably enough, were the schools and health centres, followed by the park and the pubs/clubs. In the second highest category (200-499 users per week) there were two faith venues, three educational venues, four pubs and clubs and four support venues. The educational venues are predominantly used by people from within Richmond Hill apart from the Foundation Learning Leeds Centre and Leeds College of Technology which have more city-wide catchments. The Irish Centre, the Yorkshire Rider Club and the East End Park WMC are notable in this sense, having relatively high user numbers and attracting a large number of people from outside the area.

The support services tended to be used by people from within the area apart from the Osmondthorpe Resource Centre which works with people with physical and mental disabilities who come in from outside the area, the Richmond Court Hostel which was used by people entirely from outside the area for temporary accommodation, and the Hawthorn Centre which works with people with mental health problems almost entirely from outside the area. Local people attend slimming classes there. In general we found that a high level of local usage corresponds with high numbers of volunteer opportunities.



The most diverse range of activities was found in the faith venues which are used by a large number of groups diverse in age, race and activity type. This is particularly true of All Saint's Church, St Phillip's Church and Newbourne Methodist Church. The Irish Centre and the Yorkshire Rider Club also host a large number of activities which attract a large number of people from outside the area.

Map 2: Activities

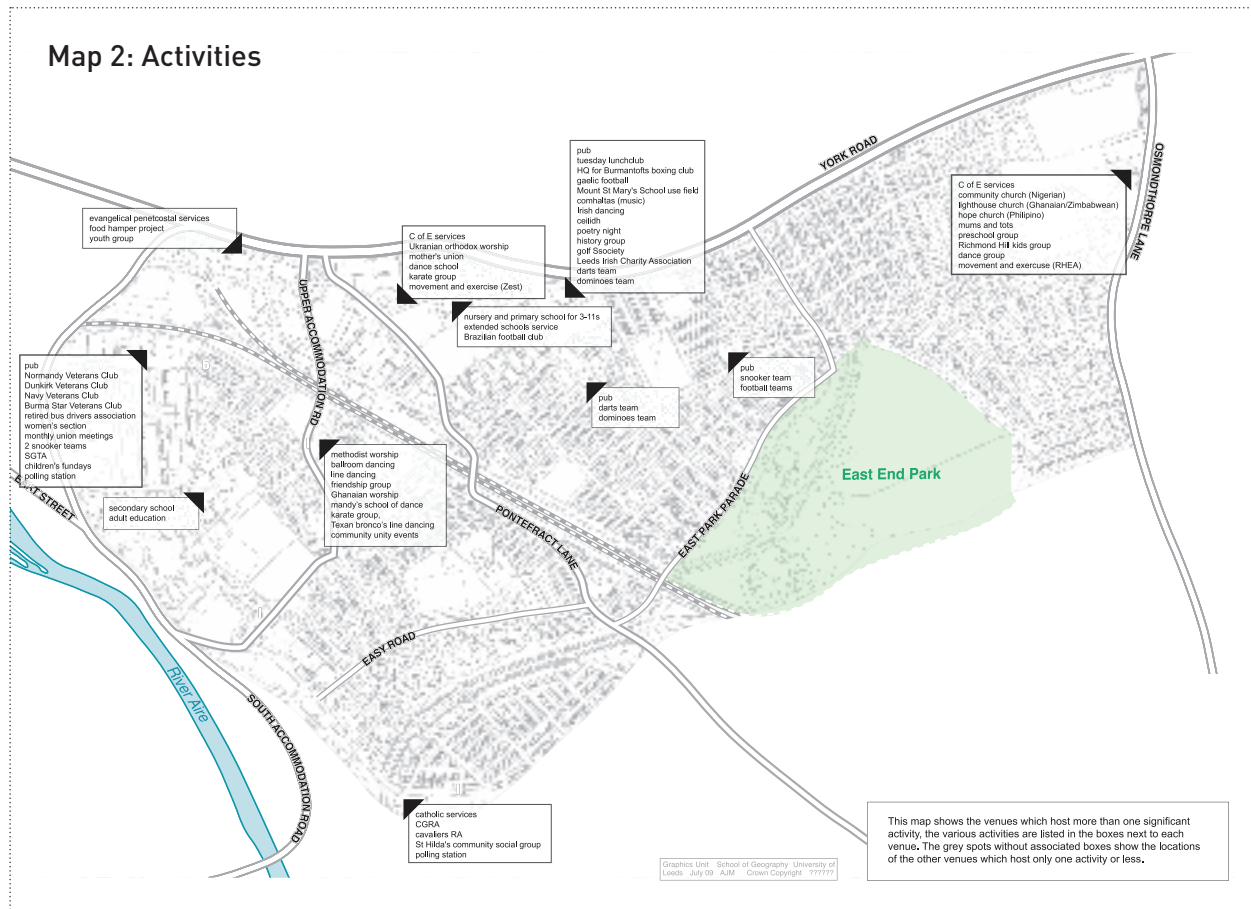


Table 5: List of venues in Richmond Hill

<p>Faith All Saint's Church (C of E) St Phillip's Church (C of E) Hope City Church Deeper Life Church St Saviour's Church (C of E) St Hilda's Church (C of E) Newbourne Methodist Church (Methodist) St Patrick's Church (Catholic, out of area) St Mary's Church (Catholic, closed)</p>	<p>Health Richmond Hill Medical Centre East Park Medical Centre East Leeds Medical Centre</p>
<p>Educational Victoria Primary School Richmond Hill Primary School Mount St Mary's Primary School All Saint's Primary School Mount St Mary's High School Leeds College of Technology Foundation Learning Leeds Copperfields College (Closed)</p>	<p>Generational Richmond Hill Early Years Centre Spring Close Gardens community room Glensdale Terrace Youth Centre Butterfield Manor (Closed) Richmond Hill Day Centre (Closed)</p>
<p>Pubs and clubs The Cavalier The Spring Close The Yew Tree The Cross Green The Hope Inn The White Horse The Shepherd The Slip (closed) The Irish Centre East End Park Working Men's Club Yorkshire Rider Club Edmund House Club East Leeds Club (Closed) The Hampton (Closed)</p>	<p>Support Services Richmond Court Hostel Richmond Hill Housing Office Richmond Hill Community Centre St Vincent's Support Centre Councillors' surgeries Saxton Gardens Housing Office Leeds Gate and Connexions Access Point Hawthorne Centre Osmondthorpe Resource Centre Richmond Hill Library</p>
	<p>Sport East End Park and associated infrastructures East Leeds Cricket Club Richmond Hill Recreation Centre</p>

3.1.2.2 Faith



Student Congregation, Hope City Church



Pastor Chris, Hope City Church

There are eight places of worship in Richmond Hill: Newbourne Methodist church, St Mary's church, St Saviour's church, St Hilda's church, All Saints church, St Philip's church, the Deeper Life Bible church and the Hope City church. Four of these are Church of England, one is Methodist, and two are Independent Evangelical Pentecostal. There has been a notable decline in Catholic churches in the area, reflecting the decline of the local Catholic population. St Mary's, the only remaining Catholic church, is now closed and as a result St Patrick's in Burmantofts is heavily used by residents of Richmond Hill. For this reason, we have included it in our maps.

What is remarkable is that the Anglican churches are in relative decline in terms of numbers in attendance compared with the newer evangelical churches. These newer churches attract large congregations from outside the area, and cater in particular for multi-ethnic congregations.

Despite this, as community venues the All Saint's and St Philip's C of E churches have the largest number of venue users per week and are seen by people from within the area as both churches and community venues. This is largely due to the fact that they are both run by the same active vicar who opens up the attached church halls to a wide range of local community groups and congregations of other denominations. This vicar, Andy Gubbins (now moved to a different parish), was an important factor in these local church networks and was a well known member of the community. He participated in a large number of committees and groups and was perceived by many as a "key figure". The Methodist church, although not attracting quite as high a number of venue users, also hosts a wide variety of activities and is used as a venue by a number of local organisations who see it as an excellent space for community events.

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These three churches are considered to be valuable community spaces, and room hire for local groups, although not free, is relatively low cost with good opening hours. The value of local links noted in the usage of St Philip's and All Saint's was also mentioned by the vicar of the Methodist church who commented that the presence of one of the local Zest workers in the congregation has been key to promoting the use of the church for non church activities. Newbourne Methodist church has an area of green space around it which the vicar would be happy to see used for a community project and could be a valuable community resource.

St Hilda's church sees itself as very local to the Cross Green area and, as the only community venue within that area, as a vital and unique community resource. They are trying to raise money to build an extension onto the church replacing a relatively under-used and badly equipped community space with a brand new, well equipped church hall. This project, if completed, would add an important social element into the area which has no other facilities. It may also mean that

the activities around asylum seekers which previously took place in the church could be resumed. This is important given the presence of many asylum seekers in Cross Green in temporary accommodation run by Angel Housing, and the need to build links between these groups and more established local groups. The church hall also has significant potential to provide a good space for work with local young people who have no other local venues to access.

In general the churches in the area are key and longstanding features within the community, and are likely to be a constant presence no matter what changes occur within the community. They offer active spaces used by a large number of groups and are responsible for maintaining many networks. Active working relationships between the different churches could be improved and this would add strength to all the faith venues as community facilities. More co-ordinated links between the churches could help to cover the provision of space across the area more efficiently and provide a better service to the community.

Asylum seekers living in the Cross Green area



3.1.2.3 Education

Networks created through educational activities are vital to any community. Richmond Hill lacks a non-denominational secondary school since the closure of Copperfelds College, and secondary school age children who have not wanted to attend the Catholic high school in the area have had to leave the area. Eight different schools are attended by children of high school age in Richmond Hill. Many people we spoke to stated that the lack of a community secondary school is one of the prime reasons for the lack of strong community networks in the area.

Overall the schools report little engagement with the local community. Teaching staff are almost exclusively from outside the area and although some schools had been used as venues for Re’new and police meetings, only one school (Victoria Primary) hosted any permanent activities other than strictly educational ones (Brownies and a Summer Playscheme). In general we found that the educational sector had few links with other venues or groups within the community and more could be done to connect the schools to the needs of the community as a whole. Only two of the schools had volunteers from the local area and in general the schools had low volunteer numbers although they did bring people into the area through business volunteering schemes. It was also mentioned that Victoria

Primary has started using an allotment site on the Osmondthorpe Lane site. This will undoubtedly strengthen relations with the local community and help build trust and confidence in the area.

With the closure of Mount St Mary’s Primary and its amalgamation with Richmond Hill Primary, many primary school aged children will no longer be within walking distance of school. However, the planned new building for the combined primary school will offer improved facilities and a huge opportunity for strengthening local community networks and responding to community needs. The head of Richmond Hill Primary, for example, is extremely keen that the new building should act as a community hub and help to strengthen social networks. The potential for family learning projects within the area is enormous. The presence of Leeds College of Technology on the edge of the area and in a gateway position into the city centre could be exploited, so strengthening links between young people in the area and further education. LCT does in fact offer space to community groups free of charge.

Overall what was voiced was a desire for a community high school within the area. This would build confidence in the area, strengthen social networks and help to increase pride in local young people.

“There is an obvious lack of a community high school. This is the biggest single thing that could change the area.”

“Children from the area go to 8 different schools, some of which were not even on their list of preferences. The most vulnerable children have the least choice”

“Missing services which are very apparent include no adult education services”

3.1.2.4 Sport

The increased involvement of the educational sector in the wider community and increased volunteer opportunities would also help to strengthen community links, provide skills and inspiration for training and employment and link children to their community from an early age. Encouraging primary schools to offer their space and facilities to the local community would not only provide positive benefits for community groups but would also help to build bridges between the educational sector and the local community. Running family learning projects from local schools would increase employment prospects and skills within the area for both adults and children.

Increasing the number of projects like the Victoria Primary allotment project and the Friends of East End Park bulb planting activities would result in increased trust within the community and increased respect for community facilities. Strengthening links with the higher education provider (Leeds College of Technology) would open up access routes to the city centre both physically and psychologically. Provision of adult education within the area would increase employment opportunities, local pride and reduce the ghettoisation of the area.

Educational staff already have a heavy workload and many of these measures are over and above the challenging work they do as teachers and support staff. The creation and funding of an educational outreach worker (over and above the role of extended services which are schools-based) could facilitate many of the measures suggested here.

There is a need for wider policy change so dedicated community contact staff can be available within education and health venues. Ideally there should be more than a single person doing out-of-hours activities in school. There needs to be energy put into getting kids into projects in the community.

The area has a strong sporting tradition, especially in terms of rugby, and this involves not only players but many volunteers to coach and organise. Difficulties over the future of training facilities threaten to undermine this significant positive feature of the neighbourhood.

East End Park is the main recreational facility in the area and has high usage by local people, making it one of the most used venues in the area. The park offers football pitches, will have a rugby pitch and has a high quality bowling green. A considerable amount of work is done by the Friends of East End Park to strengthen ties with the local community and encourage its use of the park including events such as the annual gala, bulb planting with the local primary school and programmes like one with the youth clubs to encourage more young people to play bowls. There are plans to create a woodland walk in the overgrown area at the back of the park but at present there are insufficient funds. The park appears to be one of the few community venues actively used by the BME population in the area. It was also mentioned that improved and increased youth work and community policing in the area had greatly helped to change the park and the area in general for the better.

The cricket club has excellent facilities and much more use could be made of it by the community. This club is keen to create better links with the area and to work with the youth club to encourage more young people to try cricket. They have good but under-used facilities for training sessions.

3.1.2.5 Pubs/clubs

There are 14 pubs/clubs in the area, three of which are currently closed. The pubs and clubs in general have all experienced some decline from their heyday when they served a thriving local catchment of largely male industrial workers. The high density of pubs in Richmond Hill also formed a famous pub circuit, attracting people from all over the city. The notable exception today is the Irish Centre which has a solid membership, plenty of active volunteers and runs, amongst other things, a lunch club attracting over 250 people a week. Many who attend come from outside the area. Strengthened relations with the local community could increase the use of this facility. Additionally the Yorkshire Rider Club does some work with the Saxton Gardens Tenants' and Residents' Association.

The pubs today mostly appeal to a largely alcohol-drinking clientele. They sustain many social networks, principally amongst older men, but these networks are poorly integrated into the wider life of the community. Additionally, they are seen by many as relatively closed networks, especially to newcomers. The overall decline in use of the pubs reflects the decline in the communities around the pubs, and many local residents perceived that some of the pubs were not safe or welcoming, and that some of the drug problems in the area can be sourced to them. Those nearest to the new flats to the west of the area said that residents of these developments did not frequent local pubs.

Most of the pubs are owned by pub companies who rent or lease the pubs to tenant landlords. This has created an atmosphere of uncertainty given the high levels of pub closures in the recession. Work with pub employees and the local community could address the lack of use and increase their role as a valuable community asset. Together, they form valuable community space which can

support strong networks. With focused action they could return to their role as exceptional community venues providing service for all sectors of the community. Few landlords/ladies feel that this wider community role is part of their remit.

Further work on community relations could make these facilities a resource for everyone. In particular bringing together local people and landlords/ladies could reduce perceptions of pubs as places where drugs are rife and this would increase community trust. The existing infrastructure of pubs is a potentially valuable community resource. There are examples across the UK of pubs which have become community venues (see <http://www.pubisthehub.org.uk>), a model which could work extremely well in Richmond Hill but would need the co-operation and trust of landlords, their parent companies and the local population. New government legislation is now aimed at local communities taking over derelict or closed pubs for community use. Community buy-out of one or more of the local pubs could provide an innovative way to increase facilities and provide independent employment and enterprise opportunities.

3.1.2.6 Health

There are three well-established health centres. These, like most of the educational establishments, are largely staffed by professionals from outside the area who have little time or inclination to provide services other than healthcare or to become further involved in the local community. Despite this, one of the surgeries in the East End Medical Centre was keen to become involved in more community events, but lack of resources prevents this. Given the frequency of use, there

is much scope for the health centres to play a key role in deepening community networks. Additionally, there is huge untapped potential in terms of extending volunteering and health training opportunities for community members, and making health networks much more central to the life of the community.

3.1.2.7 Generational

Venues that serve the needs of different generations are crucial to any area. The generational services within the area are extremely strong and play an active role in community cohesion. Richmond Hill Elderly Action is based in the community centre but as a voluntary organisation in its own right, is notable for the work it does, and for the number of volunteers and number of people with whom it interacts. It plays an extremely active role and with just three staff has formed key networks in the local community. The recent loss of its contract in the area could be a significant blow to the quality and depth of networks it has built up over the years.

The youth service operated from an empty house in Glensdale Terrace for a while but there was a general feeling that there should be more services across the area at multiple sites including Cross Green and East End Park/Osmondthorpe Lane which have relatively poor provision. The children's centre

provides excellent facilities and is extremely heavily used but has little contact with other organisations in the area.

It is from those who work with the young and elderly that the most active community voices and potential networks have emerged. More effort should be placed on supporting them, through a team of community development workers who could facilitate the replication of their services for all sectors of the community.

There is an urgent need for more youth facilities to address the specific needs of different parts of the area and covering all age groups. The volunteers who have run the

Brownies for years regret that

there is no Guides group for the Brownies to progress to within the neighbourhood. There is also need for positive work on the image of young people who are perceived by many of those we interviewed as threatening and lazy.

Some acknowledge that it is a small minority of young people who are responsible for a disproportionate amount of the trouble.

There is also a huge opportunity for more sexual health outreach work to be done in the area, especially through the schools.

"The media frenzy over antisocial behaviour adds to the fragmentation and disintegration of the area. Young people are seen as outside society and in isolated areas like Richmond Hill it's worse."

3.1.2.8 Support Services

The support services were varied in their contact and involvement with the local community. Four of them: Leeds Gate, the Hawthorn Centre, Richmond Court Hostel and the Osmondthorpe Resource Centre work with very specific users who are almost all from outside the area. Despite this, all expressed an interest in working more closely with other organisations in the area and the Osmondthorpe Resource Centre is very keen to encourage local groups to make more use of their space. There is a distance between these organisations, especially in terms of their different objectives and user groups. Strengthened networks across these venues could improve this and allow for the development of partnership working.

The community centre is a key facility and is in the centre of the area, but it lacks direction from a qualified community development worker who could integrate and improve the services offered and strengthen relationships and partnership working with local groups. St Vincent's does some excellent work with many local community members and its move to better premises may allow this work to be increased. The library is perceived to be under threat since the recreation centre was shut and this is a gap that needs addressing.

3.1.2.9 Other local services

There are 18 corner shops in the area, two of which also provide post office facilities. The corner shops are concentrated in three main areas: around Pontefract Lane, the Osmondthorpe Lane area to the west and the run of shops to the north along York Road. The closure of a post office on Cross Green Lane was seen as a significant loss of facilities in that area. The existing corner chop in Cross

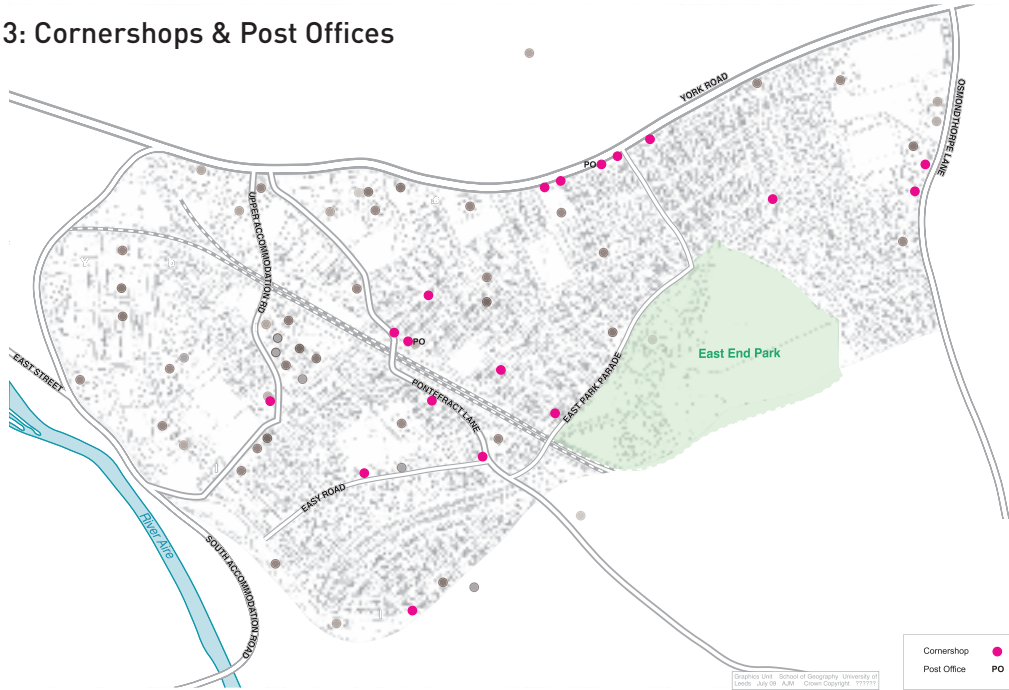
Green is seen as a blight, with an owner who is uninterested in community matters. His customers litter the immediate vicinity with scratch cards and he does nothing to discourage this nor cleans up the mess.

While the area is still relatively well provided for in terms of small shops, many have closed over the years, and the offer is very limited. In particular there is no supermarket within the area and this is seen as a significant problem. There is also a marked absence of fresh fruit and vegetables in these shops and the only place selling fresh produce was the Zest stall once a week at the Community Centre (now discontinued as costs could not be covered). This is an area where it is possible to buy cider but not apples.

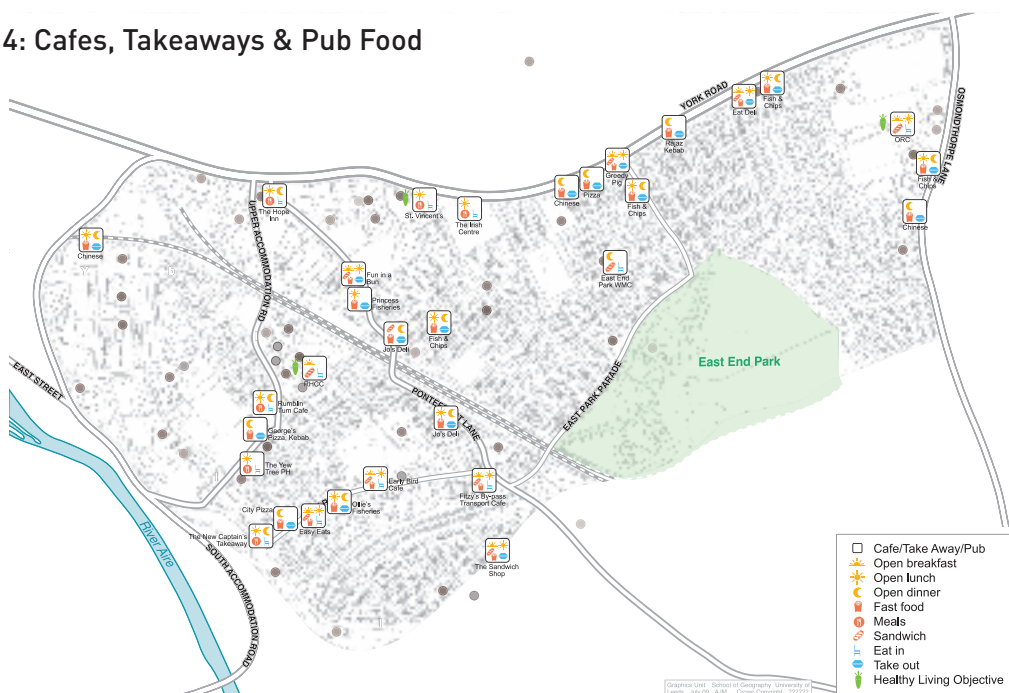
3.1.2.10 Cafés, Takeaways and pub food

There are 32 places that serve hot takeaway food. Map 4 shows the location, opening hours, type of food served and seating availability of these food outlets. More than half of these are only open in the mornings and at lunchtime and of those which are open in the evening only one is eat-in. Sandwiches and fried food form the main offer. Of the 32 outlets, 18 are solely takeaway and the majority of the others have only a small seating area. Only four of the 32 food outlets offer a full meal and three of these are located on York Road and only serve food in the evening. Only three of the 32 places mapped actively promote healthy eating.

Map 3: Cornershops & Post Offices



Map 4: Cafes, Takeaways & Pub Food



3.1.2.11 Local employment in community venues

We gathered information on the number of employees who work at each venue and whether they are from Richmond Hill. The figures do not differentiate between full-time and part-time employees. We identified 655 employees of which 173 (26%) were from the local area. The more highly qualified staff tended to come from outside the area. Health venues were the largest employers but had the lowest proportion of staff from within the area (5.5%), followed by generational venues (14%), support venues (22%) and educational venues (23%). Those most likely to employ people from the local area were faith venues (50%) and pubs and clubs (65%). The majority of local employment opportunities in the venues we looked at were cleaners and/or cooks. There is huge scope to localise employment opportunities across these venues.

3.1.2.12 Volunteering

Volunteering is a key way to build social networks. We found 267 volunteers of which 51% came from the area. The highest number of volunteers was found in support venues followed by faith and educational venues. Health venues had no volunteers, nor did the pubs. The largest proportion of local volunteers was found in the sports, faith and generational venues. RHEA and the Irish Centre, stand out for their high numbers of volunteers. This shows both the significant opportunities for increasing volunteer opportunities and also for making this more localised.

3.1.2.13 Local management

One of the key factors in determining how social networks and local venues function is the extent to which they are managed or directed by local people. This is also a way to build local capacity. It was the pubs and clubs that were managed by people from the local area (9 out of 10 venues from which we were able to get data). In contrast, none of the health, generational, or support venues was run by local people. Typically, the churches are headed by local people, reinforcing their role as key community hubs with strong links within their local area. Any development of venues and refocusing of service provision should also concentrate on capacity building to ensure that they are managed locally.

3.1.2.14 Appreciating and nurturing existing networks

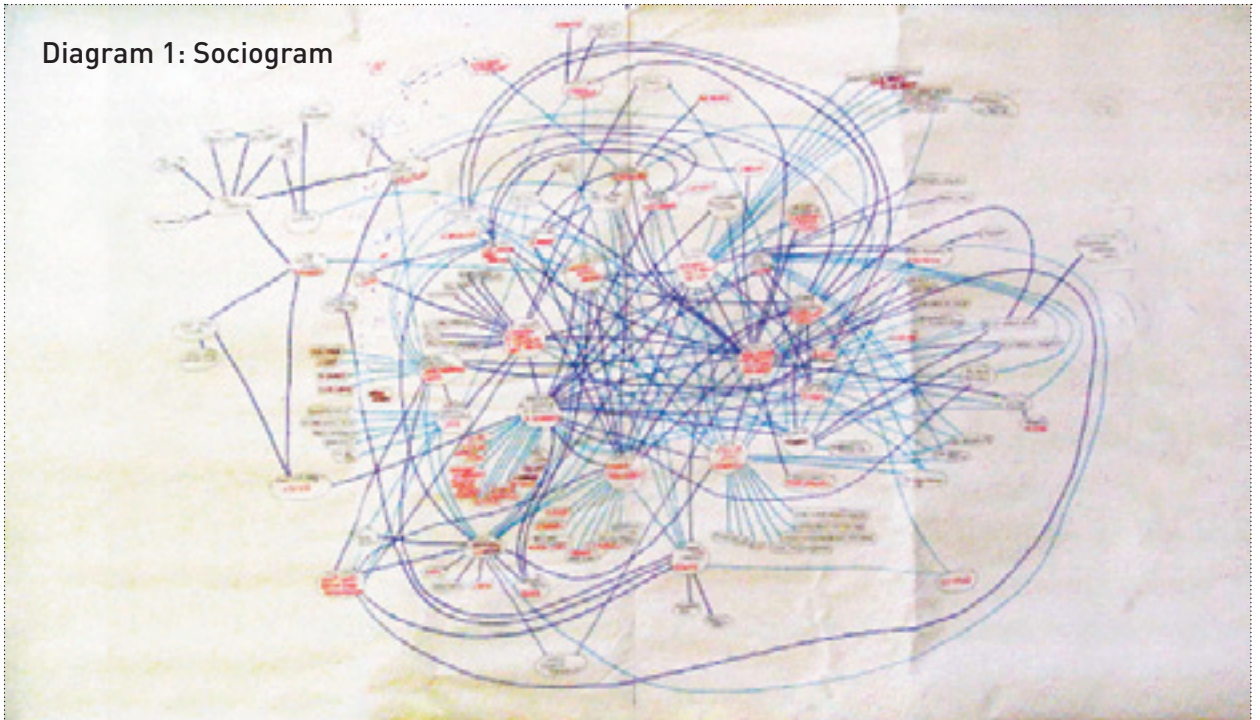
Any exploration of social networks needs to start with appreciating what already exists. We have found a huge stock of venues and networks, though there are many gaps and inadequacies. The sociogram highlights some dense links between key organisations and people.

These organisations and individuals represent the visible networks that constitute the public life of the community. However, it is important to note that there are many marginalised and largely invisible networks that help form the life of the community. We only began to scratch the surface of such networks in this study, but the main point is that they represent untapped potential in terms of skills and activities which remain the lifeblood of the community. They represent untold capacities for caring, coping, cooking, maintenance, sharing and sustaining relationships.

Map 5: Volunteers



Diagram 1: Sociogram



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Networks also face challenges: several groups have been beset by problems of low level of involvement or conflicts between members. The former East End Park Community Association achieved some useful changes between 2000 and 2006 (including bringing agencies together, putting pressure on landlords, running courses) but was wound up because of internal conflict.

In terms of venues, Richmond Hill has some wonderful buildings, such as the old library on York Road, which is an architectural marvel and could be a gateway community facility. At the heart of what works are a few main organisations: RHEA and Zest (active since 2002 – see end of Appendix E) are the most remarkable here and they provide excellent models. However, the future of both is uncertain and they have not been recognised or supported well by statutory agencies. For networks such as these to realise their potential they need the support of a team of community development workers who could

facilitate the replication of their services for the whole community and could extend networking beyond that which is possible by already overworked staff at RHEA and Zest.

The community warden was also an important local resource, helping to ensure that problems were nipped in the bud and residents were put in touch with appropriate services. He formed a link to the enforcement officers in Environmental Health but was not himself the enforcer. With the end of Neighbourhood Renewal funding, the retiring warden was not replaced.

The important roles that all the churches play need to be recognised and supported, especially in terms of providing more access to non-religious uses and users. The extensive networks around these churches offer huge potential, especially for multi-ethnic work and leadership work in the community.

“The area needs massive regeneration (all the houses in the Hilda’s standing empty) and an injection of money but it’s no good just building or doing up houses. There needs to be money spent on community things too.”

“Whilst RHEA has created a strong network for older people there is a lack of this kind of network for young people and families”

“Community facilities seem to be getting weaker and weaker”

“There is nothing for younger mums and a desperate need for upskilling”

“There is nowhere to buy fresh food in the area”

3.1.2.15 **Women: Community Leaders and Lynchpins**

We found time and again that women play active key roles in the community and head up almost all the visible community venues and networks. A small number of women take it upon themselves to tackle the problems (either directly or via the police, City Council and other agencies) caused by the disruptive minority.

Community Unity, a 10-strong group,

“Richmond Hill is becoming a dumping ground for single mums, former homeless and asylum seekers”

“No one from the new flats ever comes to Richmond Hill. The new flats have had a negative effect”

“The creation of transient communities destabilises and destroys established links and networks”

was started in the late 1990s when a few women attended a homeopathy course at the Community Centre. They wanted to build on the rapport that had started to develop over the six weeks of the course and do something as a group. A two-day residential course at Northern College near Barnsley gave them some understanding about how to build community groups.

There is huge potential for further peer-to-peer women’s training and empowerment work – especially addressing teenage pregnancy. However, the vulnerability of Zest and RHEA could seriously undermine this potential.

3.1.2.16 **Valuing and recognising multi-ethnic networks**

We found no agencies focusing specifically on race issues in Richmond Hill even though there is a large BME community. This is a key issue as vulnerable people such as asylum seekers are entering Richmond Hill in significant numbers. Fifty per cent of patients at East End Health centre, for example, are from BME communities. Support work in the area could highlight skills and help people to integrate more thoroughly and fruitfully.

Adding further vulnerable newcomers to an already struggling community, particularly when there are insufficient resources and no dedicated services, will only result in increased community tensions and misunderstandings. There needs to be funding and specialised support to integrate new community members and undertake vital multi-ethnic work.

3.1.2.17 Vulnerability and instability of social networks

While this brief look at the social networks and venues in Richmond Hill found plenty of activity, there is still considerable instability and vulnerability. Six of the 51 venues are closed while five more seem to be at risk of closure or decline. Three had the potential to grow, including the community centre, which was allocated a grant for refurbishment, though this was put on hold in 2010. There was no evidence of new initiatives beginning to develop or of the consolidation of social networks. The loss of community facilities has an important impact on the local community. Apart from the many pubs which have closed or are closing the loss of facilities like the day centre and the perceived threat to the library will only increase a sense of a community in decline.

Many different social networks were revealed by this research, but they were found to be very fragmented, largely isolated and limited to small sub areas, often at street level or within extended family groups or amongst particular interest or ethnic groups. Thus there is strong intra-area bonding and less evidence of inter-area bridging capital connecting the area out to other parts of the city. There was very little interaction between established networks of local people and more recent new arrivals, including those living in the new apartments as well as asylum seekers, refugees and travellers. As the area goes through rapid further change, it is likely that there will be a continued growth of mini networks with little interaction between them, unless purposeful action is taken to bring them together. We found that networking relied on a few individuals and organisations, particularly women who have been active in the community, often for many years.

One of the top concerns in this respect is the lack of free community meeting space.

Of the 50 venues within the area, 24 (many of which are pubs) do have rooms for hire. But only four venues had free meeting space (two pubs, the community centre and Leeds College of Technology). However all these are on the western edge of Richmond Hill and the extent of free access was unclear. Free spaces for groups to meet are crucial to the development of social networks. Domestic spaces tend not to be big enough for more than a small group meeting.

Education and health venues are currently not often used beyond their statutory purposes but they are strategic venues that can help to provide for wider community needs. Certainly there would be benefits from more planned interaction between schools and the community.

Instability in the housing market has also broken down many of the previously strong social networks. The area needs greater regulation of private landlords who leave properties in disrepair and contribute to the degradation of the area. There also needs to be further dialogue with Angel Housing and their role in creating a high turnover of vulnerable new in-migrants and asylum seekers. Further tensions have been created owing to a lack of constructive engagement between local residents and the gypsy/traveller community. This is not just a problem limited to Richmond Hill, but is a city-wide problem about lack of provision of sites for travellers.

3.1.2.18 Physical barriers to social networks

The ways in which the social networks grow and develop in any community reflect in part the physical layout of the community. Put simply, good design can facilitate social interaction within and between neighbourhoods. Richmond Hill is a case where poor design hampers both. The edges are not permeable but instead the area is tightly bounded or hemmed in on three sides by major road corridors. Some local people use the phrase 'Berlin wall' to describe the A64 and to highlight how cut off they really feel. This perception of being cut off creates a sense of being insular, forgotten and not part of the wider city. Because it is not permeable on the edges, it inhibits the easy flow of people into and out of the area. For an area so close to the city centre, this lack of permeability is a real barrier, especially in terms of the perception of families who might otherwise consider moving to the area. The new developments around the edge contribute further to a sense of being hemmed in and to creating tighter

inward-looking social networks and venues, inhibiting the creation of inter-neighbourhood bridging social capital and networks.

There are simple ways to respond to these challenges. New signage from Richmond Hill to the city centre could

make the area seem more permeable and address the negative image of the area as a world apart. The creation of an "avenue" into the city centre providing a pleasant way to move between the city centre and Richmond Hill would greatly contribute to the feeling of belonging to the wider city.

Transport links also need improving. Bus routes run on an East-West trajectory through the area meaning that to travel from York Road to the south of the area on public transport is very difficult. Travel is concentrated to and from the city centre and

through one point of entry on Marsh Lane. This means it is very difficult to travel within the area on public transport. A small regular bus service within the community would greatly increase local movement, connections and networking.

"There is a lack of bus links within the area and no community transport."

"The bus system is abysmal. We need accessible buses."

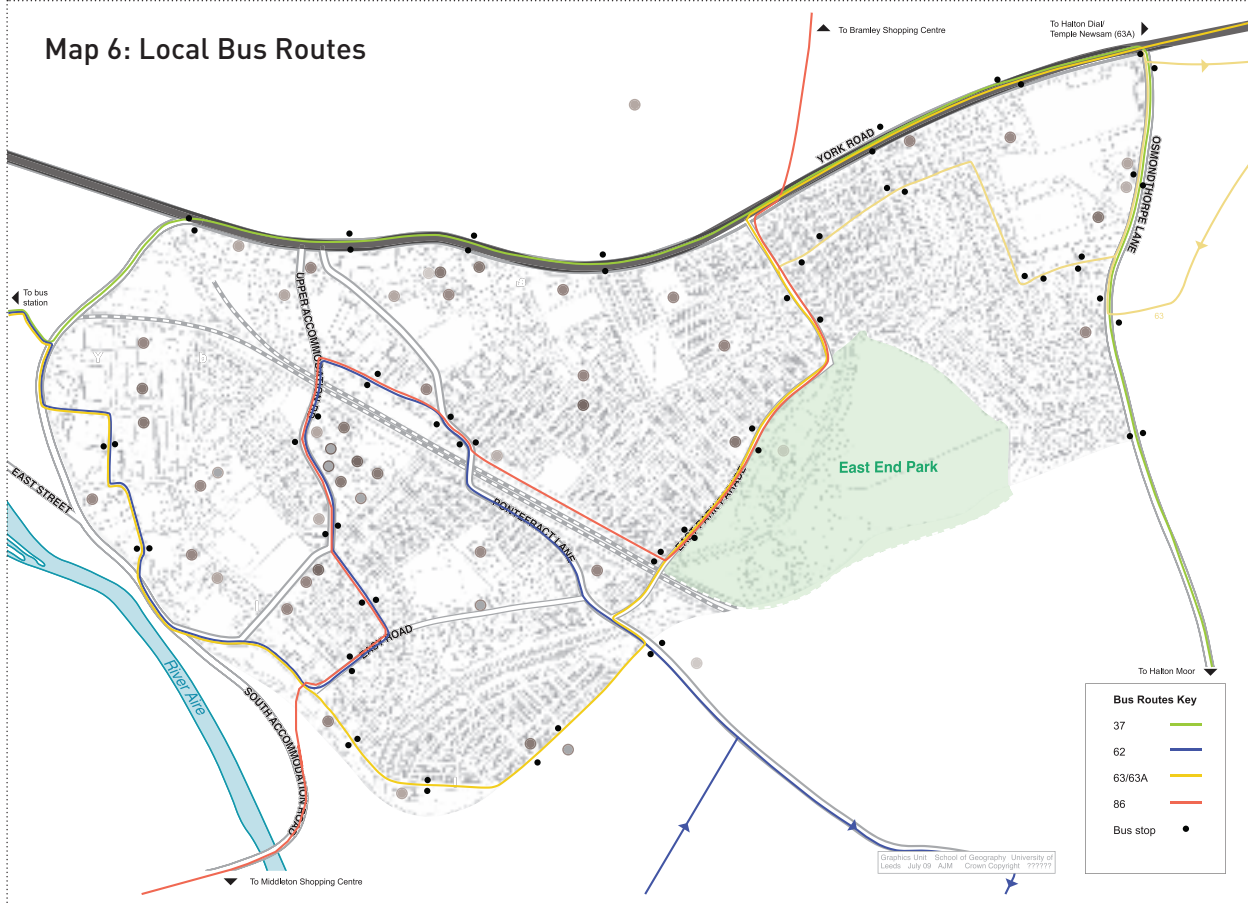
"The new build has further isolated the area by closing it off from the city centre."

"Richmond Hill is like a roundabout island stuck between the A64 and the new A1 link road."

"Vicar Lane used to be the dividing line. Now it has come closer"

"It's on the doorstep of Leeds city centre but seems another world."

Map 6: Local Bus Routes



3.1.2.19 **Overcoming negative perceptions**

When speaking to people in Richmond Hill, the conversation quickly turns to negative aspects of the area. Almost all conversations are about decline, neglect and conflict. While the sources of these important issues need addressing, there is a huge need for positive examples of people and projects. Dereliction and closed venues only contribute to the perception that the community is on its way out and is in a spiral of decline. They feed the bad news stories about the area. Living around dereliction is counter-productive and needs to be addressed immediately. Running down key services such as the library is extremely detrimental for the area. Closed venues need urgent action and community planning so that decline can be turned into hope and possibility.

3.1.3 **Story of a street: Copperfields Grove**

Lead researcher: Rachael Unsworth, School of Geography, University of Leeds

During August and September 2009, Rachael Unsworth carried out a series of interviews to compile information about social networks in one street in Cross Green, a relatively self-contained residential area of around 400 people on the south-east side of Richmond Hill ward.

The rationale for this element of research was to find out about social networks at the most local level, using one street as a pilot. The plan was to map the linkages within the street, record other characteristics of networks and try to draw out some points about the kinds of households and circumstances that result in different types and levels of social networking.

Copperfields Grove was chosen because an early Richmond Hill contact suggested that it was a relatively stable street and that one resident would give us a 'way in' as she knows quite a few people in the street. There are 60 houses, all but two of which are back-to-backs. Only three or four were vacant.

3.1.3.1 **Method**

The process started with an interview with Rita, asking:

- How long have you lived in the street?
- Where did you live before this?
- Who do you know? On what level?
- Where do friends and family live?
- Tenure of your house?
- Current/past employment?
- Who do you know in the street and how well?

Once she had given her list of best known neighbours, these people were contacted to ask for an interview. Additional interviewees were approached whilst the researcher was going up and down the street making notes on a copy of the Google image of the street. Eighteen interviews were undertaken. Five households refused to be interviewed and the researcher was warned away from a small number of households by other residents: cases of drug/alcohol dependency. Some other households were repeatedly not at home/did not answer the door.

From the 18 interviewees information about the composition of their own households and of 29 other households was gathered, giving 47 in total.

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3.1.3.2 Findings: Demography, employment and housing

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This is a very mixed street in terms of tenure (private rented, ALMO, owner occupied), stage of life cycle, length of residence, household composition, in/out of work/retired, likelihood of remaining in the street/moving.

Household size

Most households are small. The average for the addresses where interviews were carried out was 2.6 people per household. No family had more than three resident children and there were very few teenagers in the street as a whole.

Origins

Of the 18 households interviewed, 10 included adults who were Leeds born and bred, though nobody had lived in the street all their life. The longest residence period was 53 years. At the other extreme, one resident had only just got her keys.

Altogether there were at least nine households who originated outside the UK, of which four were Polish and the rest were from beyond Europe. All these households were fairly or very recent arrivals in the street. A Polish housewife and an employed man from Laos were amongst the interviewees.

Housing

The phenomenon of house sales to private landlords had enabled people from a variety of backgrounds and origins to access affordable housing (either paying their rent themselves or via Housing Benefit). Those in East North East Homes accommodation had some dissatisfaction with levels of maintenance and upgrading. A few owner occupiers had bought their house from the local authority.

Work

This is not a street of benefits dependency as the norm. The majority of adults of working age were in work/usually in work. Of the 26 adults of working age in the sample, 17 were in work and two more were on courses. Four interviewees had recently lost their job in the recession. One interviewee was recently out of prison and although he had had work in the past, was finding it difficult to get employment this time. Several retired people and several current employees were cleaners or had been cleaners in the past. There were people in construction/decorating, care homes, driving, warehouses.

There are several households whose characteristics are not in line with the image of the area as part of one of the poorest wards in the city. They are households who find it an affordable place to live and for whom advantages generally outweigh any disadvantages. Although three households have aspirations to move from the street, most are settled and consider it a reasonably good place to live.

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3.1.3.3 Networks: neighbours, friends and family

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There are vestiges of a long term community: a few households of very elderly people who had been resident for many decades. They reported that they used to know everyone, but friends had moved away/died and had been replaced with households with whom they had less in common. The older households still keep in touch with each other and two retired men regularly get shopping for other elderly neighbours. Younger neighbours ask older people if they can bring anything

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back when they are on a trip to the shops. One younger resident commented that ‘everyone looks after each other’. One retired widower holds a neighbour’s key and lets workmen in if need be. Neighbours look after houses during holidays. The next door neighbours of one of the Polish families handed on an item of baby equipment and this seemed to create a bond.

For the most part, people tend to know a few neighbours living in their own section of the street, but not those further up and down the street. Neighbours do not necessarily know names, even though they greet each other regularly. Those with children tend to know each other.

The closure of pubs, especially the Bridgefield (on the corner of Cross Green Lane and Pontefract Lane) has reduced the opportunities for local socialising.

Nobody reported attending church services or other religious gatherings.

A few older people go to bingo at Edmund House and younger families with children visit East End Park. But there is generally considered to be too little for people to do in the area. A few older people take advantage of the activities on offer from RHEA, but some are not interested.

Five households spontaneously used the term ‘we keep ourselves to ourselves’. They know the names of a few neighbours and will help if help is needed, but they don’t go in and out of neighbours’ houses or spend time socialising. Some people are too busy with family and work to involve themselves with neighbours or community activities.

Some residents say that they go out with work colleagues from time to time, and some friends have been made through work. Several people reported keeping in touch with former colleagues even when they are no longer working together.

A few households have relatives nearby and many have relatives elsewhere in inner city Leeds. Nearly all friends who live within Leeds beyond Cross Green/Richmond Hill are in other inner city areas/East Leeds and not in wealthier suburbs or the city centre.

One older resident insists that ‘you have to communicate’. She greets everyone as they pass along the street and several neighbours speak warmly of her. With a few neighbours, she has long chats in her house over a cup of tea. She misses former neighbours who have moved or who have died. Some people return to visit her. As well as this bonding on several levels, she carries out informal surveillance: she sits on her doorstep when the weather is fine, and usually has her door ajar even when she’s inside so she knows who’s going up and down the street. The local PCSOs call in for tea and she passes on any relevant information re anti-social or suspicious behaviour. This sometimes attracts critical attention (name calling as people go past the door) but she is unintimidated.

Few people are involved actively in ‘community-building’ activities and few have heard of local activists by name, or of Cross Green Village Residents’ Association. This group, started in early 2009, is co-ordinated by Lizz Johnson and Andy Carver and enables more effective campaigning and partnership working to improve the environment for all residents. A Facebook page is used to link residents and make announcements about meetings and events. A maximum of about 10 per cent of residents attend regular meetings.

There are a few cases of households causing trouble for neighbours – noise at unsocial hours, mismanagement of bins, ball games in the street (though those with children defend this relatively harmless activity and ask where the children are supposed to play). There was one case of a neighbour

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being intimidated into moving away. But in general the street is considered to be at least as good a place to live as when the household moved in and several people consider that the bollards, CCTV and other actions taken re anti-social behaviour have made it a safer and better place to live. There is an awareness that compared with some other parts of the ward, this is not a bad place to live. At the turn of the millennium, when anti-social behaviour seems to have been at a higher level, the demand for local authority housing in this area was so low that a professional, single male was allocated a house (which he subsequently bought).

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3.1.3.4 **Potential: networks, skills and growing**

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Although there are plenty of weak bonds within sections of the street, and some stronger ones between people who live close by, who have known each other for many years and/or happen to have taken to each other on a deeper level, the street-level networks are generally small scale and not well developed. There is potential for further network development to strengthen community resilience and well-being by increasing the pool of reciprocation activities. This is where the networks and skills topics overlap: current skills could be made more use of within the street – either voluntary effort or selling services (eg. gardening, maintenance, building and decorating).² Some skills could be used more widely in the community: older people

² Social enterprise The Garden Gang started in 2010 to tidy and maintain gardens for people living in the East North East area of Leeds, including Richmond Hill <http://www.socialenterpriselive.com/your-news/the-garden-gang-sets-out-spruce-leeds-and-provide-employment-opportunities>

with making and repairing skills could pass these on as part of youth activity sessions. A young man who did a drama course could be involved in youth drama activities.

There is much potential for skills to be upgraded, for building confidence to apply for further training/education and for guidance with job search, applications, interviews. Courses need to be at times to suit parents and travel to college sites should ideally be free for those attending courses.

There is scope for more growing in the gardens on the south-east side of the street and even for more growing in containers on the other (sunnier) side where front gardens are no more than small yards. There are a few keen gardeners in Cross Green and the Zest food group has encouraged more activity.

Beyond the street itself, a few people take part in activities at Edmund House and those organised by RHEA, but the research only found a couple of people in this street who are actively engaged in the local community organisation. More involvement would no doubt help to build a stronger case for action by agencies eg. group repair of housing; keeping open triangle of ground as playground.

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3.1.3.5 **Comments on the methodology**

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The 'snowballing' technique grounded in getting to know one resident initially seemed to work quite well. Once a few interviews had been carried out, the very fact that it was possible to demonstrate that there had been co-operation from a number of households was possibly a factor in others granting an interview.

Asking everyone for their network information threw up interesting points about 'linchpin' people. One elderly man had not given much information about his networks

and the active help he gives to neighbours, but others mentioned him and said what a good neighbour he is. This is a sort of 'triangulation'. Another person mentioned by several neighbours as a good neighbour is also involved in the community network group.

This kind of technique could be used by people within the neighbourhood to help to stimulate networking. The RSA 'Connected communities' researchers suggest that 'creating and visualising social networks increases social reflexivity, which may help to foster pro-social behaviour' (Rowson *et al*, 2010, p.iii).

3.1.4 Key findings and recommendations for social networks and venues

The suggestions in this section focus on opportunities for building on strengths, filling gaps, rationalising social and physical assets and being more strategic. Success will depend on dedicated community development work alongside local residents and their organisations.

3.1.4.1 Community development as a priority

Improving physical assets, as in property-led regeneration, does not generate a full set of benefits, and some of the returns flow out of the areas where investment is made. If the focus is instead on making better use of human capital and generating more social capital, the application and circulation of this capital in the form of greater interactions and mutual support will generate greater

'interest' to communities in the form of enhanced well-being, if not so much in greater material comfort. It is a matter of leveraging existing capital and making it work harder, rather than continuing to allocate dwindling resources to picking up the pieces of failures – depression and other health problems, unplanned pregnancy, substance abuse, anti-social behaviour, vandalism and crime, unemployment. Rowson *et al* (2010) suggest connecting pensioners to more supportive networks in order to reduce isolation and disempowerment, with knock-on effects for reducing social care costs. Scaling up of neighbourliness and local community organisations can give direct benefits in the form of meeting the needs of individuals and households at little or no extra cost to those supplying additional inputs, and the practical, environmental, psychological and more intangible benefits may far outweigh any outlay in time and effort. The 'social return' on investment of time and effort may improve health and well-being, stability, community safety and perceptions of safety, access to care, support and employment through the spreading of knowledge and connections and the better matching of social supply and demand. An extension of these ideas is explored in the concept of 'social impact bonds': identify savings that Government can make from tackling social problems, such as crime, at their roots. After identifying the potential savings, capital is raised from private investors to pay for action that will prevent social problems before they arise. Investors receive a portion of the savings in government spending that result, while the government keeps the rest (Moynagh, 2010).

It may sound idealistic to promote something as intangible as social capital and enhanced networks, but our research has shown that there are many people with high levels of

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human capital, some hopeful signs of the development of social capital and many people whose human and social capital potential is not fully realised. Places with higher levels of social capital enjoy greater prosperity (Porritt, 2005).

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3.1.4.2 **From Instrumental to transformative / strategic networks**

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We found a dense set of personal and professional links between community leaders. The sociogram we drew shows this. However, in spite of these dense links, work is unevenly shared and there is a lack of overall strategic connections and co-ordination. There is a strong desire for more joint activities and provision. But despite local authority area management, no single group or organisation currently has the capacity or legitimacy in the community to co-ordinate or organise area-based activities. Re ´new did some community development work but does not represent a home-grown independent voice for the area and has been criticised by many residents. While organisations like Rhea and Zest play a key role and hold the community together to a great extent, they are asked to do a lot outside their remit. When organisations with specific remits (health, elderly people, etc) take on wider strategic functions, this can deter the formation of a wider and more inclusive strategic organisation.

It is at the level above task-orientated networks that the really significant gap exists: there is no strategic independent body which is not statutory-led and could develop an independent strategic vision for the area, considering the wider potential for transformation. The most effective way forward would probably be to create a

strategic community organisation, constituted independently of all the current groups and with an independent chair. A locally-produced strategic vision, acceptable to many organisations, would take time to develop but would represent a new stage of empowerment and would also directly address negative images of the area.

Suitable models for bringing people together to create a strategic vision include neighbourhood teams, development trusts, community investment societies and community interest companies.

A dedicated team of community development workers operating outside the remit of any one organisation, engaged in capacity building and pulling local organisations together to plan strategically, would be a useful first step for enacting the ideas set out in the previous section.³ Early work would include deploying mediation skills to help strengthen and repair local networks and relations where there has been break down through personality clashes and disagreements about priorities and ways of working.

³See initiative by Community Development Foundation <http://www.cdf.org.uk/web/guest/take-part>

3.1.4.3 A network of community venues

There are many venues in Richmond Hill, and huge potential exists to make them work for the needs of the community. It would be useful to carry out a venue audit (building on the survey work carried out for this study) to ascertain which places are physically and organisationally capable of longer term viability. This would no doubt reveal potential for some rationalisation, consolidation, re-allocation of functions and imaginative re-use and more intensive use of some spaces.

We have highlighted the large number of corner shops and cafés but this large number also points to the duplication of services. Most shops just sell basic products and most cafés focus on take-away daytime food for a transient working population. Conversations could begin about how these shops and cafés could work together to fill gaps in provision rather than duplicating provision.

A plan for a whole network of community shops could allow them to identify opportunities for different types of local goods.⁴ This could increase sales and capture local spending – also a useful way of rebuilding and educating communities, addressing issues of healthy eating, sustainable consumption and local spending. An empty shops network could also be formed with empty shops being used temporarily to overcome negative perceptions. This could be backed up through the use of micro-finance, time banks, local currency that further


localises the cash economy (North, 2006).

The pubs also represent real potential to

⁴ However, it must be noted that social enterprise Holbeck Foods launched its first shop in 2009 after winning the prestigious city-wide Strictly Come Business contest, which aimed to stimulate entrepreneurship across the city. But a lack of support from the community and a lack of volunteers led to closure after less than a year. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/leeds/2010/aug/31/trailblazing-leeds-social-enterprise-holbeck-foods-closes>

consolidate a network of community venues. There needs to be engagement with the breweries, managers and owners about how pubs reinvent themselves beyond just being drinking spaces. The wider question is whether landlords currently see their venues as community venues rather than just pubs? This diversification is an important agenda given the huge problems with alcoholism.

Work could be done with landlords and brewers about how these venues can be transformed. Most are beautiful big venues,



"I'm not aware of a central point to find out things going on in the local community. There is no email list for activities in Richmond Hill and a lack of advertising of local services. There's not even a community newsletter."

distributed the whole and are easy employment Landlords'

across community, pathways into for many people. A Forum could be created to talk about the potential and how to get funding to take this forward. Restarting an ale trail alongside non-alcohol-based activities could also widen the appeal of the pubs. There could also be tie-ins between the community pub and community shop concepts.

3.1.4.4 A hub: creating a home for everyone

One of the most prominent findings, and probably the one which has most bearing on the level of success of local social networks and the building of social capital that can transform the area, is the lack of a centre to the community. There is no physical hub and no functioning high street to mark the geographic centre of the community.

Almost everyone we spoke to expressed a feeling that there is no single venue where everyone feels at home, no place that has a sense of 'being for everyone'. The Community Centre is the nearest venue in this respect, but it is unattractive, neglected and largely seen as the home of RHEA and statutory agencies. Many local authority-run community centres suffer from this problem of being 'in' the community rather than being 'of' the community. Some of the churches could also potentially play a hub role, but are limited by their religious roles. The main point is that there is no central meeting space in the area, nor is there a strategic vision of the importance of this kind of space and the need for it to be community-owned.

Rowson *et al* (2010) argue that community hubs, including pubs and sports clubs, are an important aspect of community resilience and empowerment. We consider that our findings point towards an urgent need for a hub to facilitate networks, build capacity and community identity and to cohere the many existing strong sub-networks. Associated activities such as newsletter and email would further help this. A hub also needs to be a place to allow drop-ins rather than simply operating on fixed opening hours, so chance encounters can be facilitated. The most vibrant venues are those with active people who make connections between groups. Open spaces where people can organise activities and meet, without feeling they have to be part of a

group or part of an already committed group of community leaders, are vital to building a broad ownership for such a hub. Such a hub could be the focus for an independent community worker who can help lead a strategic vision and is committed to responding to needs or activities of different groups.

3.2 Under-utilised space: land and property

*Lead researchers: Irena Bauman, Bauman
Lyons Architects Leeds and Andy Goldring, UK
Permaculture Association*

This section shows the findings for the 'under-utilised space' research which used site observations to categorise and document empty buildings, empty sites and the public realm in Richmond Hill. Understanding the current and possible future uses, ownerships and planning status and proposals are essential tasks (CABE, 2008; 2009). Digital maps were generated to categorise all land by usage and to pick out potential for more productive usage, either as better quality open space, as growing space or for development. Our findings show the enormous scope for regeneration presented by under-used or empty buildings and sites and an under-utilised public realm, especially given the extensiveness of local authority ownership.

Each land category was mapped on a separate layer of digital OS map. The layers were then overlapped in different permutations to facilitate analysis of 'cause and effect' and of nature of potential for improvements.

The findings are organised in three sections. The first shows key maps of the area. The second gives a Permaculture analysis of the area. The third gives key findings and recommendations.

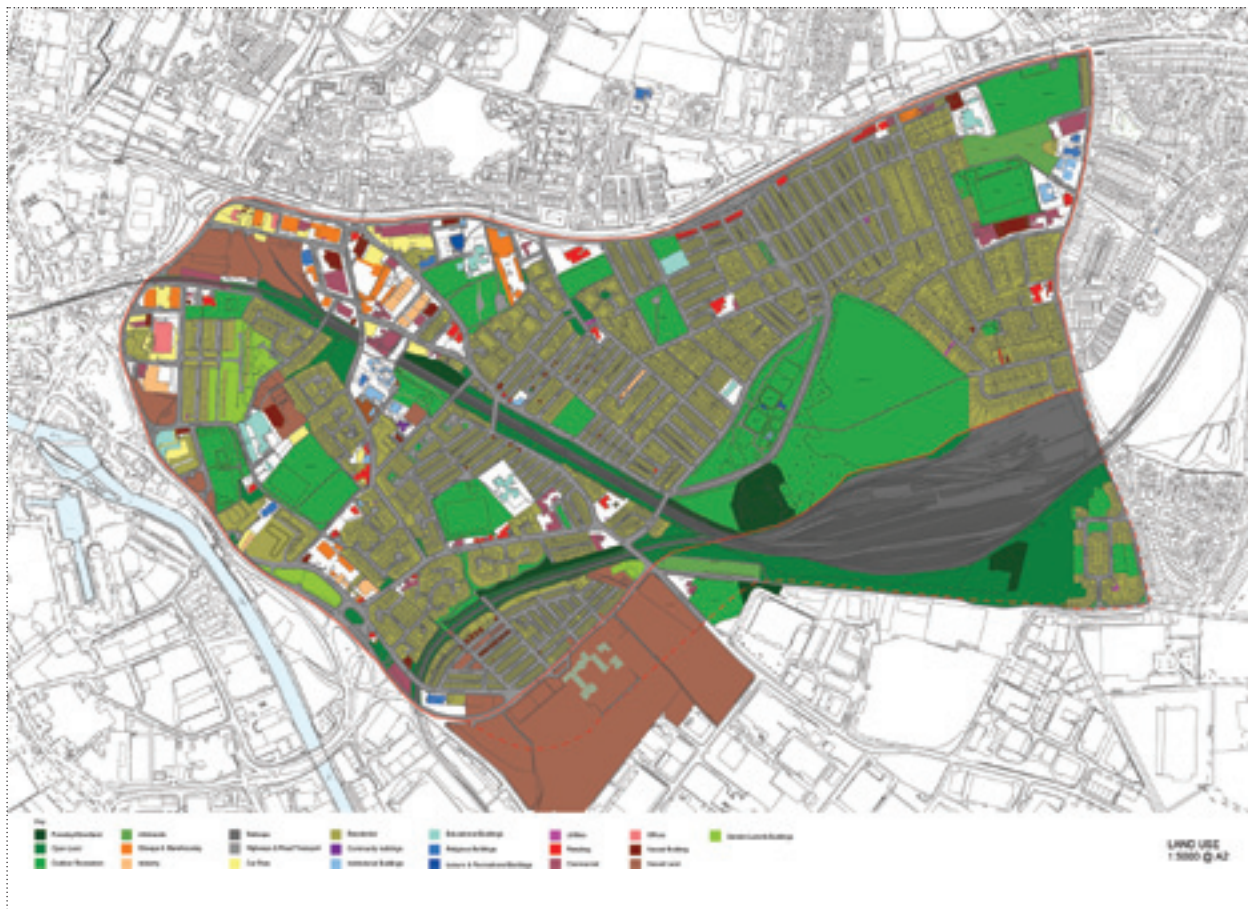
3.2.1 Findings: Maps of Richmond Hill

Lead researcher: Irena Bauman, Bauman Lyons Architects, Leeds

Land use

The mapping of land use clearly indicates a good mix of employment, residential and community uses. However the mapped information also highlights a) the dispersed and inadequate number of retail outlets and b) the high level of derelict or vacant buildings and land.

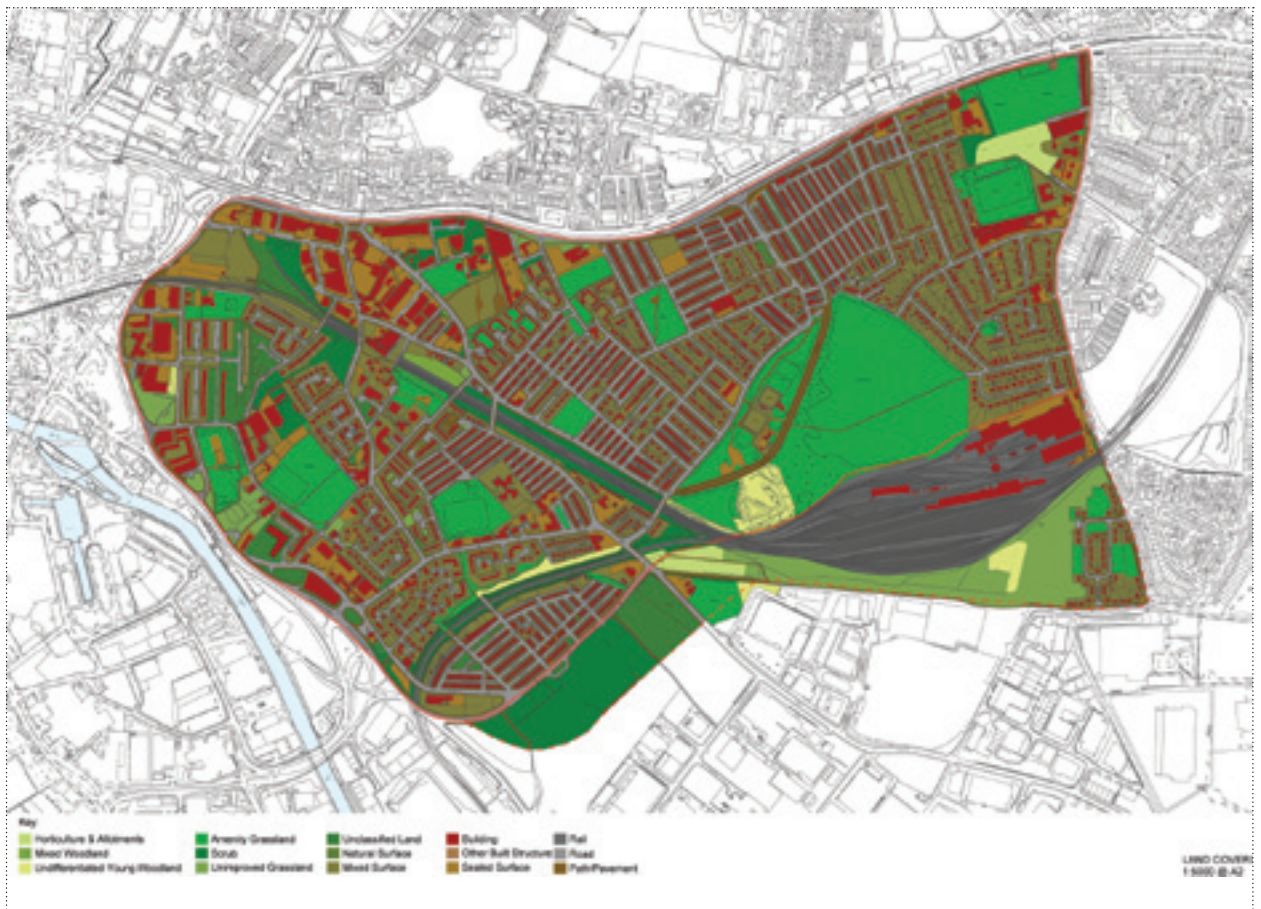
Map 7: Land use



Land cover

Land cover mapping reveals the relatively low density of the built up area and low plot ratios within internal road network and good links to major trunk roads and motorways indicating capacity for densification.

Map 8: Land cover



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Potential development land

This map clearly indicates the availability of brownfield land for development. Such development could be for residential accommodation but there is also space available for implementation of energy, waste and water retention infrastructure. Richmond Hill has the location and the capacity to become a low carbon neighbourhood.

Map 9: Potential development land



Disconnections of pedestrian and vehicular road blockages

The map show how the attempts at crime reduction created the negative effect of disconnecting otherwise permeable and legible network of streets and footpaths. The result is loss of legibility and visual eyesores that could easily be modified with small investment to replace concrete chicanes with planters and trees and reopen closed off streets.

Map 10: Disconnections of pedestrian and vehicular road blockages



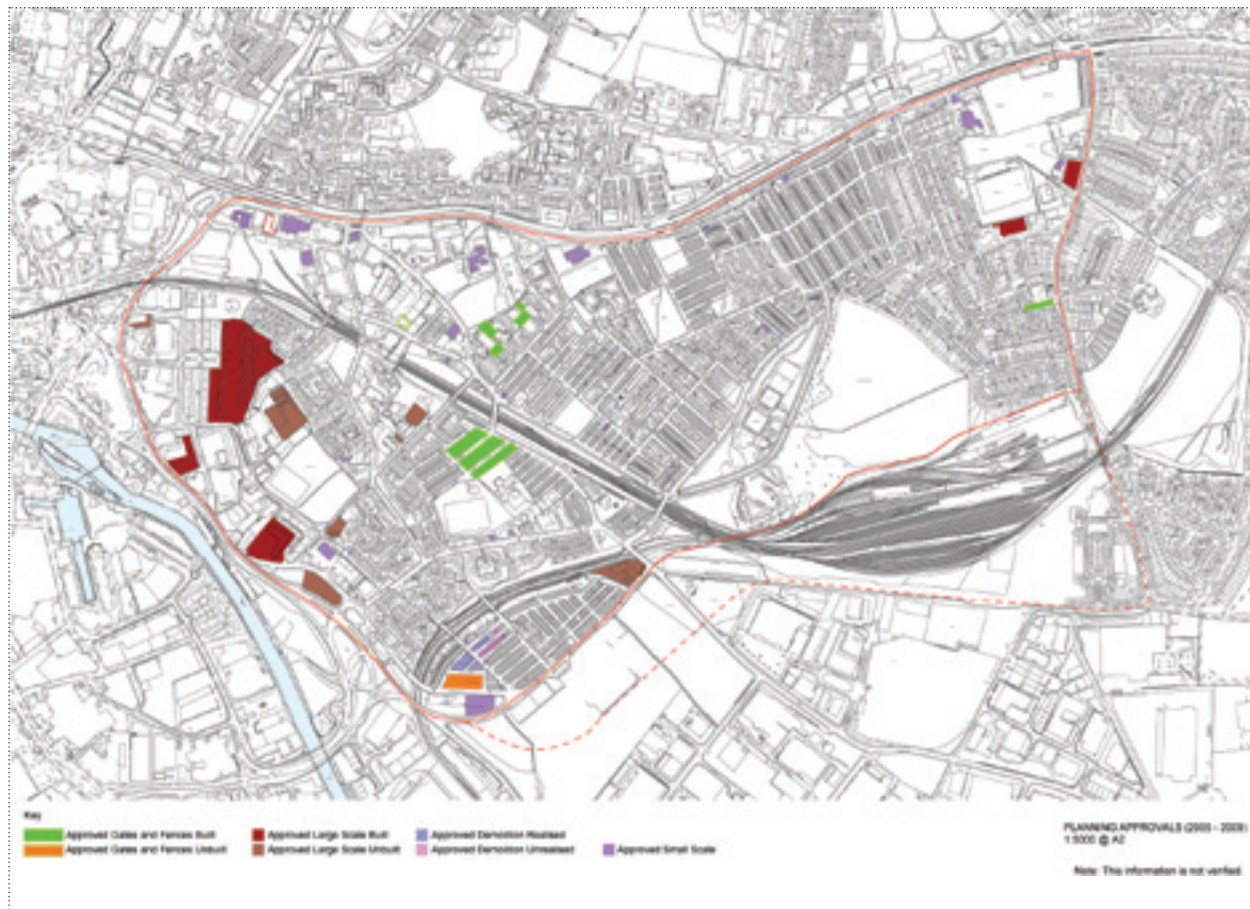
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Planning approvals 2009

This map indicates the level and the type of development activity. It clearly reveals the attractiveness to developers of the peripheral sites for city centre-style, high density apartment developments. Other developments within the neighbourhood are almost entirely restricted to demolition and gating of the back alleys.

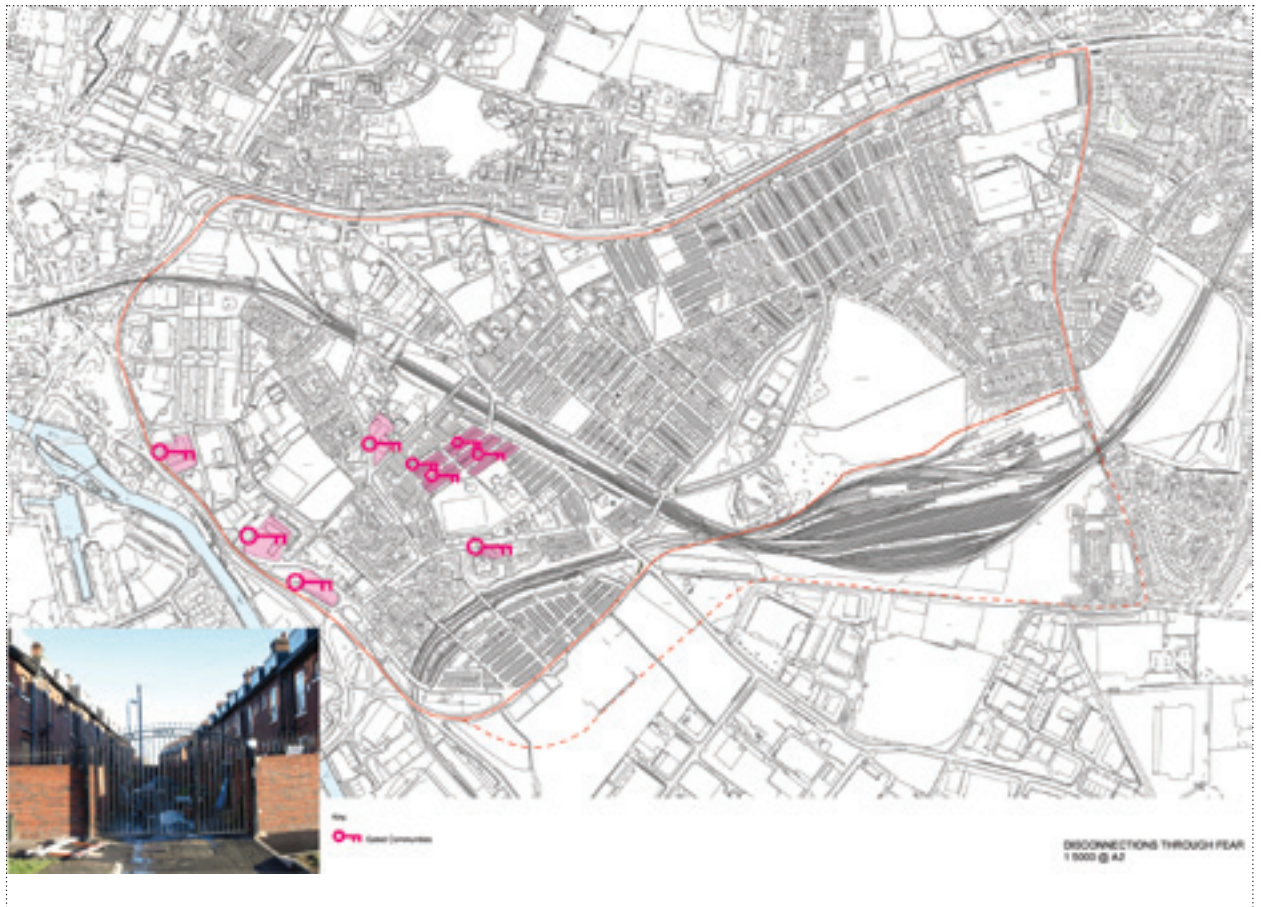
Map 11: Planning approvals 2009



Gated communities

This map indicates the rising trend for the peripheral, city centre-style, high density residential developments to be gated. This trend is also true of the recent RSL developments within the neighbourhood. Although not strictly speaking 'gated communities', there is ongoing gating of back alleys to the terraced housing which further erodes permeability and integration of the area.

Map 12: Gated communities



Land use

Inability to attract new ownership leaves many redundant buildings to deteriorate. The Council still owns many properties and sites in the area, some of which could become either community facilities or the basis for businesses – or a combination.⁵

Where housing is deemed to be in very poor condition, such as in parts of Cross Green, the Council has pressed for demolition and replacement, but the process creates tension with those owners wishing to stay or not able to move.

⁵ HCA has published information on 'Surplus public sector land' http://www.homesandcommunities.co.uk/surplus_public_sector_land.htm and 'Local Brownfield Strategies' at http://www.homesandcommunities.co.uk/brownfield_land.htm. Details on the Land Trust, which provides a cost effective management solution for all open spaces, is at http://www.homesandcommunities.co.uk/land_trust.htm

Photos: Land use



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The tensions within the community are further exacerbated by sequential closure of local authority services such as sports hall, schools, boxing club, community hubs and local libraries. The perceptions of the area and the feeling of deprivation were deterrents to the private sector even at the height of the economic boom, despite the availability of a considerable stock of non-domestic buildings, availability of potential housing sites, and proximity to the city centre.



Gated communities

Government policies encouraging higher densities and the development of brownfield sites have led to high density developments on the edge between the city centre and Richmond Hill – developments such as Echo and Saxton.

Photos: Gated communities



3.2.2 A permaculture perspective on the site

*Lead researcher: Andy Goldring, UK
Permaculture Association*

Drawing on a permaculture approach allows us to see the physical land and building assets in a new light (Holmgren, 2002; Whitefield, 2004). This preliminary analysis is based on direct observations of the area made on three occasions (April, May and September 2009), and the systematic mapping of the area undertaken, using the National Land Use Database (NLUD) categories for Land Cover and Land Use.

3.2.2.1 About permaculture

Permaculture is a design approach to creating sustainable settlements. With its origins in 1970s Australia, permaculture is now a worldwide movement with practitioners in over 120 countries. Permaculture stresses learning from nature and seeks to develop settlements that are intensively managed to support optimum local self-reliance. A set of principles inform a design process that is often highly participatory. The usual approach to developing and implementing a design is to train local people in permaculture skills and then support them to become local champions, with support from a wider network of more experienced designers, practical projects with plan materials and technical expertise, and so on.

Permaculture has a strong track record of working in challenging environments – climatically, physically, socially, economically. There are many examples of permaculture being used in economically deprived UK inner cities (e.g. Glasgow, Burnley, Manchester, Leeds, Plymouth, Bristol, Newcastle, Cardiff), so there is every prospect that it can be used to good effect in Richmond Hill.

3.2.2.2 Limitations of the analysis

This analysis is necessarily tentative, for three good reasons:

The site is large and it is not possible with the time and resources available to look at all the detail. However, many of the opportunities to create improvements lie at least in part in the detail itself. A thorough permaculture analysis would usually aim to observe a large site over a 12 month period, in order to learn more about how it works across the seasons.

A bird's eye view of potential as seen by an outsider is not necessarily what makes sense to people living in the area. For a permaculture design to be successful in the study area, a programme of engagement and support would be needed. Such intensive work was outside the scope of this project.

Table 6: Analysis of the data

How does Richmond Hill look in terms of permaculture zones?

Zone	In permaculture	Richmond Hill
0	Centre of activities – home, farm buildings etc	Dense area of homes, shops and business premises cover the majority of the area.
1	Intensively managed space around Zone 0 – salad and herb gardens, compost, rainwater harvesting, bike storage, etc.	The vast majority of houses have access to a garden. Some gardens such as those between Skelton Avenue, Skelton Terrace and Skelton Road are large with considerable scope for food production, leisure and relaxation. Others such as those on Dawlish Road and Ecclesburn Road are really nothing more than yards, with space for a few pots.
2	Orchards and small livestock	None. No small livestock were observed to be kept in Richmond Hill. A small number of fruit trees were observed, but on the scale of Richmond Hill they are negligible.
3	Field scale vegetables, large livestock, cereals	None. Allotments could arguably fit into this category and there are two sites, with approximately 50 full plots available. No livestock (cows, pigs, sheep, horses) were observed to be kept in Richmond Hill.
4	Managed woodland (animal and human forage)	One area classified as 'mixed woodland' between Butterfield Street, Lavender Walk and Pontefract Street. Five areas of young woodland are also marked. East End Park also has a good number of trees with more being planted by local children.
5	Wild area left untouched, rarely visited.	None (Very little in UK, so not surprising) The rail embankments and former sidings area between Shannon Street and Shannon Road offer reasonable opportunities for wild spaces, as do areas of parkland and the scrub /young woodland to the south side of the rail tracks.

3.2.2.3 Sector Analysis

Topography, slope and aspect

Richmond Hill is elevated above the floodplain of the River Aire and has a steep slope on the west side overlooking the city centre. The railway cuttings also form steep slopes. There are many buildings with favourable aspects for solar energy.

Soil

No soil surveys were carried out, but would be required if more detailed design work were to be undertaken.

Nothing was observed to suggest that major soil building would not be necessary – i.e. the land is typical of UK urban spaces and would need considerable work in order to reduce compaction, increase soil health, quality and quantity.

Due to the intense previous use of the area, contamination surveys would be required before any decisions were taken about suitable new growing areas.

Flora and Fauna

No detailed plant or animal surveys were carried out, but would be required if more detailed design work were to be undertaken.

Although very urban in feel, the study area is tantalisingly close to significant large areas of municipally managed amenity greenspace (Temple Newsam Park) and farmland. This is then cut-off from predominantly rural space outside the M1.

With strategically placed wildlife corridors and safe passage, areas of Richmond Hill could become easily accessible by a wide range of wild animals.

Microclimate

No detailed analysis of local microclimates were carried out, but would be required if more detailed design work were to be undertaken.

Conclusions

From a land use and land cover point of view, Richmond Hill is completely unremarkable. For an inner city area, it has generous amounts of amenity space, much of which has huge potential to be transformed and improved. It has a significant number of undeveloped and virtually unused spaces that with some imaginative design could again be transformed to offer improved leisure, food production and energy generation opportunities.

Greenspace is a significant and under-utilised asset in Richmond Hill. A well conceived greenspace strategy could improve the area:

- Change local people's perceptions of Richmond Hill, increasing pride in the area.
- Provide employment opportunities and increase local production of food.
- Be used to improve local well-being – the use of outdoor space and food-related activities have been shown to increase mental, emotional and physical health.
- Increase biodiversity in the area through improved habitats and corridors.
- Improve carbon absorption; reduce run-off during times of intense rainfall.

3.2.2.4 Preliminary recommendations from permaculture analysis

Gardens and greenspace

Although very little agricultural activity is currently present, there are at least five areas of land that could be redeveloped to add a worthwhile amount of new growing space to Richmond Hill. The housing is fairly uniform, offering an ideal opportunity to create a small number of demonstration gardens that could be used to connect and inspire a large percentage of the local population. Knowing that the physical space where food can be grown is available, this raises the question of how to motivate people within the neighbourhood to grow at least some of their own food.

One way that this could be achieved would be to identify green space champions and growers. Champions would need to be supported with a range of options at a range of scales (household → street → neighbourhood → community/whole area).

Activities that would help to mobilise a community of growers in the area include the following.

- Film showings that could inspire and educate residents.
- An options catalogue could give practical examples and ideas for people to implement in their own gardens and green spaces.
- Visits to other projects in similar areas (e.g. Offshoots permaculture project in Burnley).
- Introduction to permaculture sessions / green city presentation.
- Horizontal exchange with similar groups already moving towards a 'green neighbourhood'.

Some of the larger public sites in the area require a more strategic approach, but could be tackled by first identifying stakeholders and interest for major rethink / redesign. One such space would be the rough grassland south of the rail tracks.

Energy

A rethink of the relationship with energy in the area includes identifying ways to generate energy in the area, as well as ways to reduce energy consumption and increase efficiency.

Grants may be available for home energy efficiency, and these should be regularly investigated and mechanisms put in place for roll out across the area.

There may be potential within the site for generation of energy through wind turbines. The wind map of the south side of the railway track should be investigated – from site observations it looks like a good location for large wind-turbines which could be both a long-term financial benefit to the area (if a suitable proposal can be made), and could also put it on the map – every rail passenger from York side would see it every time they entered the city – and give the area a completely new feel.

The area also has potential for generation of energy through solar power. A map of south facing and near south facing roof space can be used to initiate discussions regarding solar water heat energy production. A key first step for this would be to identify suitable champion and investors.

Water

The two main recommendations for water in the area are to make the most of local rainwater harvesting to reduce the dependency on mains water supply and to protect the area and neighbouring areas from the risks of flooding.

Passive rainwater harvesting techniques at the household level could be introduced into the area. All public sector buildings should be retrofitted to include water harvesting (at least in secure areas initially to allay fears of vandalism).

For all new developments permeable surfaces should be standard wherever possible in order to reduce run-off during heavy rainfall.

Soil

Composting is possible in many gardens. A survey would be required to see how widespread composting is at present. Community composting schemes could be initiated and supported by green space and grower champions, or at the allotments in the area.

3.2.3 Key findings and recommendations for under-utilised space

‘Richmond Hill lacks many things – we are losing everything’.
Member of CDOK Tenants’ and Residents’ Group

‘Youth Club would like a proper youth centre and sports facilities, for example on the cleared land between Glensdales and East Park Road’. *Youth worker*

‘But 15-20% of houses are now owned by private landlords as people have moved in order to get out of the area’. *Resident, grew up in Richmond Hill*

‘Residents’ group are backing the building of flats on the land next to St Hilda’s because it will be better than having a derelict site and will bring more life. But campaigned to get number down from 170 to 80’. *Member of Cross Green Village Residents’ Association*

In summary our findings show the scope for regeneration that is on offer from the empty buildings, empty sites and from the under-utilised public realm in the neighbourhood. We have mapped decline through closures of community facilities and services, demise of the high street and the impact of housing policies and physical interventions to reduce crime. We have also noted the encroachment of city centre apartments on the neighbourhood which are frequently gated to avoid interaction with the existing community.

Richmond Hill is of great value to the city in terms of its location close to the core of the city and in the middle of a strategic corridor between the expanding city centre and the proposed new eco settlement in the Aire Valley. This value will continue to grow as climate change adaptation tightens and makes a denser city core desirable.

If left to market forces alone, our fear is that the area will either continue to be isolated as a deprived area in further decline, thus suppressing economic value of adjacent neighbourhoods, or it could be gentrified and the existing population displaced by wealthier

sectors of the society, thus continuing to widen the poverty gap in the city.

A regeneration strategy that allows the community to benefit from the strategic value of its location and to contribute to developing strategies for the physical assets and the densification strategies could avoid those two undesirable alternatives. Some level of community land ownership could form an element of grass roots regeneration that would also empowerment the community and offer security.

3.2.3.1 Potential for densification

Our research identifies the potential for densification of Richmond Hill as a possible strategy for regenerating the neighbourhood and contributing to a denser and more sustainable city centre core. The neighbourhood is mixed use already, has under-utilised high street capacity, school capacity, many derelict civic and leisure buildings, a distinctive range of employment uses, good transport connections, and even the possibility in the future of a new rail station.

The mapping revealed that the city centre, under pressure from the economic growth and the new trends in city centre living that emerged since the 1990s, was beginning to expand beyond its designated planning boundaries, and that Richmond Hill is one of the inner city neighbourhoods attractive to the developers due to its proximity to city centre amenities and availability of non-flood-prone cheap land. It is now also recognised as an area connecting the city centre to the Aire Valley, which is a priority for development as the Aire Valley eco-settlement and Cross Green has been included in the eco-settlement planning area (LCC, 2010).

The new developments are built to much higher densities of 8- 12 storeys than the existing neighbourhoods which are typically 2-3 storey traditional terraced and semi-detached houses. This higher density is appropriate in the context of the growing consensus that for cities to become sustainable they also need to be at least moderately high density and compact (Urban Task Force, 1999).

The city of Leeds is projected to grow and although the high target for new house building has been withdrawn by the coalition government elected in 2010, this does not alter the basic fact of the massive excess of demand over supply and thus the pressure for development.

In the last five years a major highways improvement scheme (East Leeds link road) has been developed to enable access to key economic development sites within the Aire Valley Leeds regeneration area, south of Richmond Hill, as well as providing some traffic relief to large densely populated areas of east Leeds. The scheme connects the inner ring road, at South Accommodation Road, with the M1 at junction 45 and includes a direct link onto the southbound M621. This has created a strategic opportunity for the city to take advantage of the new connectivity and proximity to the city centre and build some of the much needed new homes in Richmond Hill to densities appropriate for city centre location.

We have also identified considerable brown field site opportunities for development (see Map 9) as well as large areas of neglected open land. Some of the recent developments such as the sheltered homes on East Accommodation Road are already pushing the heights to 3-4 storey accommodation.

What under-utilised potential does this represent? The area, if left alone, will regenerate according to market forces. Currently there is an opportunity to protect it as a neighbourhood and use future increase in value as an asset that, if owned by the community, could be a source of security and investment in future projects.

3.2.3.2 Potential for reconnecting

‘There is no focal point for people to meet. Richmond Hill is a roundabout island stuck between A64 and the new A1 link road. The community has been surrounded by motorways, and business parks and flats dumped on it. The buses are circular and don’t cross the neighbourhood’. *RHEA project manager*

Richmond Hill is physically disconnected from other areas by a network of trunk roads, gated buildings, railway, derelict sites but also unmaintained footpaths, and traffic calming schemes. It has poor public transport and no infrastructure of cycling or pedestrian routes into the city centre.

But the neighbourhood is within walking distance to the Leeds Market and Bus Station and the entire city centre, jobs and other city-wide facilities

The trend towards gated communities has also brought newcomers into the area who could offer first steps towards sustainability. Apparent barriers could become bridges.

The site of the demolished Copperfield School offers a new opportunity for connection to the proposed area of city expansion into the Aire Valley.

The good grid of streets and generous width of roads could facilitate greening of the infrastructure.

Replacing solid sides to all bridges across railway tracks with open railings could reveal the powerful distinctive features of the neighbourhood and offer new exciting views.

All of these indicate potential for introducing a better environment, for exposing major assets such as views and unique features, for economic viability in the future when energy becomes more expensive, for a strong brand, for Richmond Hill acting as the connector to the new quarter of Leeds, for repositioning of perceptions.



3.2.3.3 Potential for fine grain of improvements

‘The beautiful old street signs were in bad state of repair and LCC said that there was only money to replace not repair them. CDOK Tenants’ and Residents’ Group talked to the local councillors and found the money and got them repaired. The signs were part of the history of the area and this was a great move’.
Chair of CDOK Tenants’ and Residents’ Group

‘We need to sort out how to make a village green triangle land (left by demolition) more suitable for children to play on’. *Resident of Cross Green*

The physical environment of the neighbourhood has been shaped by a diversity of housing policies, crime prevention interventions, lack of maintenance, closures and demolition. The only current planning applications in the area are for gating of the back alleys and for demolition of housing in Cross Green area.

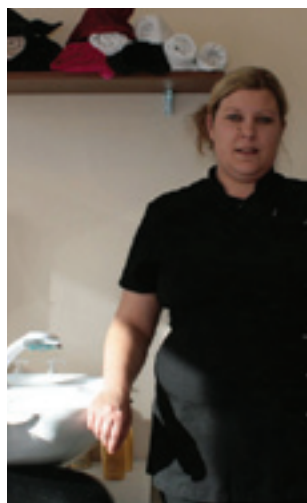
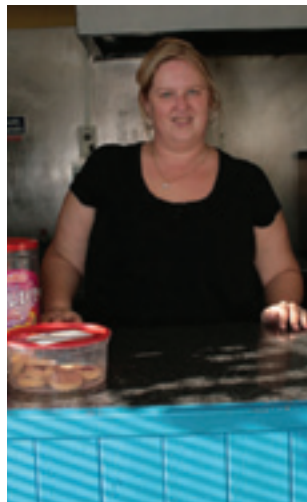
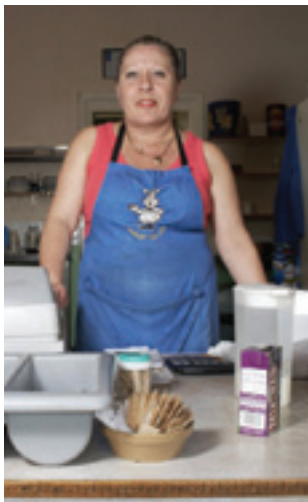
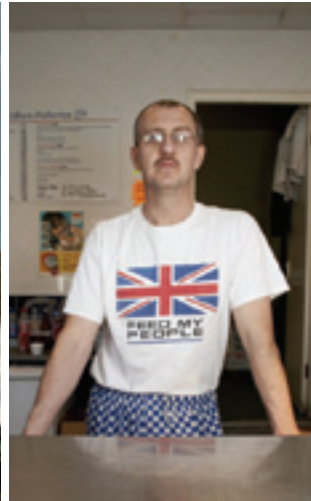
The crime prevention measures include concrete bollards preventing joy riding, crash barriers protecting all green areas from travellers, bars on windows and shutters on shops. These features have been introduced over the years and whilst not necessarily required any more, they tend to be left in place once erected.

There is also a proliferation of prohibitive signs, of empty properties boarded up and left to deteriorate, and the green spaces are poorly maintained. The topography of the neighbourhood offers spectacular views over the city but these are not explored or celebrated.

There are no clear gateways and there is very little way-finding signage (referred to in section 3.1.2.18) and no neighbourhood map or directory of businesses. It is difficult to understand the place.

The availability of parks and green spaces, alongside neighbourhood appearance and feeling safe were found by Campbell *et al* (2007) to be crucial factors that contribute to an individual’s quality of life. The study does not report any differences by socio-

economic status. A large-scale study in the USA (Knight Foundation, 2010) found that three main qualities attach people to place: social offerings, such as entertainment venues and places to meet (as covered in section 3.1.4.3-4), openness (how welcoming a place is) and the area’s aesthetics (its physical beauty and green spaces). Conversely, it can be supposed that poor environments do not foster a sense of belonging and tend to reinforce desperation and low self-esteem. Often nothing is done because the size of the problems appears overwhelming. But in fact, a series of low intervention projects of removing and revealing could significantly improve the experience of the neighbourhood, deliver multiple benefits and could be carried out and maintained by the community themselves, as CABI (2010) and the Sustainable Development Commission (2010) also assert. Such projects could include removal of solid balustrades on the bridges to reveal the spectacular railway cut which is integral to the identity and history of the area, the replacement of the concrete road blocks with trees, the removal of the motorway-standard crash barriers that form the perimeter of all green spaces in Richmond Hill (originally installed to prevent travellers camping). These are all examples of low cost, low skill but potentially high impact projects that could be delivered for the community by the community and only require light touch facilitation from the council.



3.3 Under-valued Skills

Lead researcher: Irena Bauman, Bauman Lyons Architects, Leeds

The aim of the under-valued skills research was to find, collate, represent and analyse the human capital of skills and abilities that exist in the community with special emphasis on those life and livelihood skills that are not currently considered as an element of economic capacity of a place.

The fieldwork for this part of the research included 30 in depth interviews with local residents and service providers, and a further 23 interviews with local businesses. Alongside the interviews, a storyteller and photographer were commissioned to create a series of portraits and stories that provided anecdotes to ground the research in the lived experiences of the people of Richmond Hill.

recognizes in passing the importance of developing skills within the community itself. However, most of the report is dedicated to examining up-skilling that is needed by professionals and those in a position of power.

3.3.1 Policy context

Skills are at the top of the political agenda. There has been a vast array of skills studies and strategies produced at the national and sub-regional level.

These include the *Egan Review: Skills for Sustainable Communities* (ODPM, 2004), Leitch's *Prosperity for all in the global economy – world class skills* (2006), the FE White Paper (Secretary of State for Education and Skills 2006), the *Sub-National Economic Development and Regeneration Review* (HM Treasury *et al*, 2007) and *Opportunity, Employment and Progression: making skills work*, (DWP 2007), *Skills for Growth: The National Skills Strategy* (DBIS, 2009).

However all these audits, reports, policies and strategies emphasize the educational attainment and increased employment for boosting economic growth. The Egan Review (ODPM, 2004), most relevant to our research,

The initial focus of the Review was very firmly on professional built environment skills. But our work to define and operationalise the common goal, clarify responsibilities, and outline process improvements, made clear to us that there is a much greater range of skills needed to deliver sustainable communities.

We believe that it is the generic skills, behaviour and knowledge that will make the difference between successful delivery and failure. Skills such as the ability to create a vision, leadership to achieve buy-in to the vision, communication, team working, project management, process re-engineering, understanding sustainable development, effective financial management, understanding the economics of development and the processes of local democracy. Alongside these we need an understanding of delegated responsibilities and greater delegation of skills, particularly from national to local government level. We also need high quality brokering skills in government regional offices and agencies.

These skills are needed, to different degrees and varying levels, by all those with a role to play in delivering sustainable communities. This includes local authority staff, staff from regional and central government, developers, and built environment professionals, as well as schoolteachers, police, retailers and health service professionals. Using the seven sustainable community components as a basis, we identified around one hundred different occupations engaged in this agenda. All of these need their individual professional/specialist skills, but they also need the generic skills outlined above, so that they can work together to deliver the vision for their areas. Of the one hundred or so occupations, we identified a significant number as 'core' occupations – people who spend almost all of their professional time in activities to do with planning, delivering and maintaining sustainable communities. These are the built environment professionals – planners, architects, urban designers, etc – and decision makers and influencers – staff from local, regional and central government, developers and investors, staff from voluntary and community associations. A second group comprised 'associated occupations' – those whose contribution is extremely important to creating sustainable communities but who are not involved full time in the development process – examples are police officers, educators, health service managers, and staff in local businesses. A third group comprised those who have a legitimate interest in sustainable communities but who are not necessarily employed in the sector; this includes the wider public, media, members of residents' and neighbourhood groups, students and school children. We considered the evidence for generic skills and people shortages in the core group. A number of studies point to shortages of generic skills amongst built environment professionals, and there is evidence of people shortages in some core occupations (eg civil and structural engineers, town planners, transport planners). Both could hamper our ability to deliver the Sustainable Communities Plan (ODPM, Egan Review, 2004, 9-10).

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The need to release the productivity and economic potential of the most deprived local areas and their inhabitants was partially recognized by the Government in 2005 with the launch of The Local Enterprise Growth Initiative (LEGI) programme aiming to boost local incomes and employment opportunities using a variety of methods to increase local entrepreneurial activity, support the growth and reduce the failure rate of locally-owned businesses. Although our own research was supported by LEGI, we did not find any other evidence of this investment in the community itself.

Leeds City Council Strategic Plan 2008 to 2011, launched in July 2008, features priorities for learning and skills, raising the level of participation among children and young people in education and training, and improving the results achieved. The Strategy does not appear to incorporate any traces of the community empowerment and enterprise hinted at in the national policies. In essence Leeds City Council focuses its strategy on the conventional, measurable outputs of:

- Enhance the skill level of the workforce to fulfil individual and economic potential.
- Improve learning outcomes for all 16 year olds, with a focus on narrowing the achievement gap.
- Improve learning outcomes and skill levels for 19 year olds.
- Increase the proportion of vulnerable groups engaged in education, training or employment.
- Improve participation and early learning outcomes for all children, with a focus on families in deprived areas.

Our research aimed to identify the existing skills within the community that were unclassified, unmeasured, under-utilised and unrecognised that could be a potential starting point for sustainable regeneration.

3.3.2 Examples of portraits and stories

"I started off down the pit. I was always thinking: I'm not gonna do this forever. I started working on roads and then I met a chap in the pub over the road – one thing led to another and I became an engineer's mate. After doing some training I started on my own, in the meantime I was always interested in photography, the first time I saw a negative I was hooked really. So I started taking photographs: weddings, christenings, sports. I did action photos for the newspaper. I couldn't keep everything going so I went back to the heating. It's more difficult for young people starting out today, you need so many qualifications. There were opportunities if you were quick at picking things up back then. First thing I did when I retired was to tidy up my own garden. It was like a builder's yard! And now I'm here, about 3 times a week. We learn from each other but every year it turns out different. You need perseverance."

Mike Spence, Allotment Gardener



"Apart from being able to cook you need good people skills. My philosophy is 'If I can make you smile...' I always say 'Good Morning', and mean it... people like it when you remember what they've eaten. I learnt to cook by observation, watching others while I was working for them.

You've got to be organised, know what you're doing when it comes to ordering and understand finance. I took a six months business course. You need good cleaning skills, stamina and dedication. I'm open every day except Sunday. I need to rest then. And we provide a sort of home care service. Regulars call us if they need something from the shops or to pick up their medication... it's only a few minutes out of my day. There's an elderly man I know who loves clean sheets on his bed, so I go and make his bed for him the way he likes it."

Caroline, Owner of The Rumblin' Tum



"I work as a volunteer at ZEST, the community cafe. My passion is to see the community take care of itself.

As a volunteer I need good communication skills, know how to talk to people and to listen. Be able to make tea, basic finance skills. I learnt what I know from my parents. They brought me up to care and I have commitment, to keep things going."

**Mags Grinnel,
Local Resident and mother of three**



"I was born in these parts 77 years ago. I grow potatoes, onions, shallots, spring cabbages and cauliflowers. Once a week I go into Leeds for the rest of my shopping.

I started out as a slater and tiler. My father taught me and I taught my nephews and grandson. I did a proper apprenticeship. Finally I became a tutor at Leeds College of Building. Before my father got called up he taught us everything before he went so would know how to look after ourselves in war time. We kept rabbits and learnt how to skin's and cook'em. He taught me how to grow things, to look after the garden. We learnt about farming cos after school we went to help people on their farms nearby."

Colin, Allotment Gardener



3.3.3 Key findings and recommendations

Desk top research proved difficult since some of the enterprise skills that exist in any community fall 'below the radar' in terms of conventional records such as VAT registration rates, business rates records, and employment levels. National Indicators further discourage the investigation of the finer grain of the enterprise landscape by limiting coverage to the most easily measurable information such as employment rates (NI 151); working age people on out-of-work benefits (NI 152); number of level 1 qualifications in literacy (NI 161); proportion of population qualified to levels 1, 2 and 3 of education (NIs 63, 164, 165); percentage of small businesses in an area showing employment growth (NI 172).

Enterprise audits of the neighbourhood did not exist and also some of the skills we were looking for are marginalised and not regarded as skills. Skills of criminal elements within the community and of Travellers fall into this category.

We have, therefore, accepted an anecdotal method of collecting stories about the skills in the area from the businesses and residents.

We found many and diverse businesses but the majority of these are either very small and/or family-run businesses. These include a considerable number of fast food outlets (see Map 4 on p.55). A handful of successful region-wide businesses are located in Richmond Hill, attracted to the relatively low cost of industrial premises: a bakery employing 400 people; an innovative plastics company that employs 25 people; and stationery wholesaler with 10 employees. In addition, a security firm recruits and trains local people.

There is a significant presence of construction-related businesses (roofing, scaffolding, timber yards, builders' yards) and of car repair workshops that maintain vehicles such as cabs and ambulances.

Mencap happens to be based in Richmond Hill (in a former school) and provides services for the city as a whole. Around half the 29 employees live locally.

Some businesses are run by local people. Some are successful and work city-wide (catering) but many others are fragile and sometimes undermined by unprofessional business practice such as irregular opening hours.

We also found considerable life skills within the community leadership of organisations, a range of manual skills amongst young men, and domestic skills such as childcare, home management and conflict resolution. There is lack of sufficient effective support for nurturing and recognising these, however. We found that local community empowerment initiatives are constantly undermined by closures and cuts of services, short term initiatives and an overwhelming feeling that the community is powerless to change anything. The lack of recognition of potential amongst many people in the community as well as lack of nurturing of this potential is summed up by the following statements:

'I would like to run joinery class but where would the money come from for both equipment and the tutor?'

Youth worker, Richmond Hill Youth Centre

'RHEA largely stop activities over summer holidays as many volunteers are grandparents and they look after the kids'.

RHEA project manager

'There is nothing for young mums. There is desperate need for upskilling with younger mums in areas like cooking & childcare'.

Member of Saxton Gardens

Residents' Association.

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'But it is difficult to recruit people to Steps to Excellence for Personal Success'. People who don't want to work are in a habit and they mix with other workless people. I can see more potential in those people than they can see in themselves'.

Mum of 3, born in Richmond Hill and returned after 6 years' absence

'Refugees and Asylum seekers can be better role models: they are polite, care for their children and they communicate. They have ambition'.

Resident from Cross Green Village Residents' Association

'Young lads do want trades and many can do building works. They don't want office jobs'.

Worker at RHEA

'People have plenty of soft skills. Many volunteers gain a better skill of understanding of funding options than they realise'.

Resident at Milner Gardens, Richmond Hill

'Many older people have gardening skills and they would like to impart their knowledge'.

Resident

'People are unaware of the skills they have. One key skill is coping, managing on very little. You have to spend weeks with people before they reveal the skills they have. I want to encourage people to see the lifeskills they have – such as cooking, working, caring. Zest runs Confident Women's courses three times a year which have been really great for increasing the confidence amongst participants'.

Community Health Development Worker

3.3.3.1 Potential of marginal and marginalised skills

There are no records kept of skills unless they can be translated into school attainment, higher education attainment or jobs. So there is a whole range of skills that are not recognized and not counted and therefore disengaged and under-valued. But practical skills such as manual skills, survival skills, repairing, mending, making, cooking, growing skills, leadership, governance, self-reliance are the ones we need to re-establish and spread in a low carbon economy. Many valuable skills are not recognized as contributing to the economy of the city and accordingly are often not recognized as skills even by people themselves.

- There are many of the skills associated with marginality: there is a cash economy and skills relating to criminal activities such as distribution networks, surveillance, accounting. Although the area is not dominated by a benefits-dependency culture, it is clear that some people perceive the neighbourhood as the limit of their opportunities. Yet many do have latent skills that could be used to better effect and be built upon.
- Some people have skills acquired in prison such as forklift truck driving and scaffolding.
- Traveller men are likely to be self-employed and may have traditional skills such as tree surgery, gardening, paving, building, tarmac, manual work, labouring, scrap metal.
- There are vital unpaid skills that hold the community together through volunteering, including running networks and events, pastoral care, coaching, childminding and

caring. There are a number of people with leadership skills.

- Domestic skills are often semi-invisible, especially amongst the asylum seekers: cooking and dressmaking are needed at home but could also be the basis of employment. These skills plus languages and professional skills such as teaching and medicine may not be utilised since the asylum seekers are not allowed to work. (Some asylum seekers identified lack of English as the most significant barrier to the job market).

The current orthodoxies suggest that formal education is an essential prerequisite of a growing economy. This orthodoxy has been part of the creation of marginalised communities, defined in part by lack of skills and qualifications. But the global conditions are rapidly changing and there is an emerging recognition both that fixing the emerging problems will require local actions and that the transition to a low carbon economy may well cause a re-valuing of practical, manual and traditional skills.

Richmond Hill has the skills to organize and create a stronger local economy but it does require help in the form of enabling and capacity building. This could be provided by the local authority at a much lower cost and generate much greater long term benefits than have been achieved by the regeneration strategies of the last 15 years.⁶

⁶ DCLG (2010) 'Valuing the Benefits of Regeneration' provides an analytical framework to underpin a programme of research on the value of the benefits from regeneration and how they compare with the relevant costs. <http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/regeneration/valuingbenefitsregen>

3.3.3.2 Potential for employment outside the area

Current and recent forms of employment indicate where further opportunities may lie:

- Many people, especially women, have clerical, sales or cleaning jobs in the city centre or at St James's Hospital. Care homes also provide a source of employment.
- Many older white men were in the construction industry before retirement. Though this sector has suffered contraction during the recession, an upturn in the economy will generate construction jobs again: housing, commercial developments and infrastructure.
- There are professional people with university, NHS or council jobs.

The exceptional employment opportunities available in the city centre are under-utilised. Many future jobs will be in the knowledge economy and require high skill levels, and some people from the inner city will undoubtedly be part of this workforce. However, there will also continue to be a demand for relatively low skilled employees such as cleaners, sales and care assistants, catering and hotel industry employees, repairers and security guards (Athey *et al.*, 2007). Richmond Hill is ideally placed to continue to provide employment in such work as well as to extend its role in housing more skilled people who want to be within walking distance of a city centre job.

There do not appear to be many initiatives in the area to get people into work. It is possible that the conventional routes into jobs through education are not appropriate here and that apprenticeships, projects utilising

physical skills, and work that does not rely on language skills could form stepping stones into employment for those currently excluded.

3.3.3.3 Potential for employment within the area

- The many and diverse businesses within the area offer limited opportunities as they are mostly very small. Some larger businesses seemed not to be interested in discussing their connections to Richmond Hill, which is just the area where the business happens to be located. It might be assumed that there is no special commitment to providing jobs for local residents.
- There are opportunities for small businesses to originate/locate in Richmond Hill and serve both the local catchment and/or a wider area. This includes opportunities for social enterprises, though there are warnings from various commentators (eg. Cox and Schmuecker, 2010) about not expecting too much from social enterprises.

What under-utilised potential does this represent? There are employment opportunities in the neighbourhood and there are businesses that could support local enterprise or apprenticeships. Currently the businesses do not seem to be embedded in the community. There is potential to strengthen the connections between the community and the employment opportunities and for more businesses to be attracted into the area, especially since independent builders' yards and garages have been squeezed out of the city centre. There is a potential to develop a cluster of services – a distinctive provision of Richmond Hill.

4 Bringing together the findings

In summary, we have attempted to point to new directions for urban regeneration policy by investigating the underdeveloped social networks, skills and physical assets of an inner city neighbourhood. Our suggestions focus on four themes: changing perceptions; making connections; realising potential and plugging resource leaks.

So where does this lead us to in terms of future regeneration policy both specifically in Richmond Hill and more generally in the inner city 'rim'? On one level it takes us into uncharted territory in challenging times. This is both an invigorating and worrying prospect. We want to stress a number of ways to embed new, and not-so-new, directions for urban regeneration. We have pointed out that communities in the rim adjacent to a relatively prosperous city centre contain under-utilised assets that represent huge potential for recasting regeneration policy in new directions. Our work has been partly a plea to recognise this, to help preserve and protect these features and to help the local communities realise their potential before, to put it bluntly, someone else does (Porter and Shaw, 2009; Wong and Schultz, 2010). The range of localised skills and networks and large tracts of publicly-owned land in these areas are significant resources for dealing with the challenges of financial austerity, climate change and energy scarcity. Margins within the City shows that, given more scope to determine their own futures and realise and manage these assets, communities in the rim have real potential to create their own resilience strategies. Existing social networks, skills and physical assets can be consolidated and developed in order that neighbourhoods can adapt to the pressing environmental and economic changes that lie ahead. This is an uncomfortable finding for statutory authorities who are used to command-and-control management structures. But overall control needs to be relinquished in light of the serious shortcomings of regeneration practice and policy over the last twenty years. It means a move towards 'the equal partnership between professionals and clients – not to consult them or get them on board – but to use their skills to actually deliver services' (Boyle, 2009, p. 10).

So what steps can be taken to develop more effective policy for deprived neighbourhoods? First, policy needs to be genuinely fine-grained and work with what's already there. We have stressed the over-riding need to start from current reality of a community, derived from detailed observation. One project flowing from the initial work is a piece of research being devised

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Margins report – March 2011
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with community leaders in Cross Green to help draw out residents' ideas on potential environmental improvements and their willingness to get involved in action to bring about change and maintain improvements.

Second, a greater sense of empowerment is needed so that local people can lead the regeneration process. Margins within the City recognises the strength in the intrinsic creativity of citizens and in the strength of citizen-driven responses to climate change. The subjective aspect of empowerment relates to a sense of efficacy and is measured by the extent to which people feel that they can influence local or national conditions and decisions. The objective aspect relates to whether people *truly have and use power* and is measured by the extent to which people *actually participate in and influence* their local or national conditions and decisions (Communities and Local Government, 2009, p. 4). In Richmond Hill and other places like it, there is a low level of both senses of empowerment. Community development work is needed to enable networks to strengthen, to give more understanding of the potential for making change happen, and to mobilise potential. This all takes time. The Margins team is working on attempting to help access funding to move along elements of this agenda.

There are many ways to do this but the most effective way forward would probably be to create a strategic community organisation, constituted independently of all the current groups and with an independent chair. A locally-produced strategic vision, acceptable to many organisations, would take time to develop but from it could emerge a strong voice and a plan, which would also directly address negative images of the area. Other outputs include community-led advisory panels across rim communities, peer-to-peer learning, creating options catalogues

for low carbon urban futures, and support for community mapping. The latter can be used to locate and demonstrate the potential of knowledge, skills and their networks, as understood by local residents. It can act as showcasing of creative, problem-solving activities that already exist. Getting residents involved in steering regeneration will embed fine grain improvements and enable co-design of their future (Julier, 2009). Of particular importance here is the removal of barriers that disconnect the neighbourhood from other parts of the city and itself.

Given its role in capturing spending and galvanising networks, planning should encourage the redevelopment and reinstatement of a high street as a community hub. It should also encourage the development of the considerable stock of derelict or under-utilised property of low value for social enterprise or forms of collective ownership. This could be backed up through the use of micro-finance, time banks, local currency that further localises the cash economy (North, 2006). The institutional framework to make these elements happen is crucial and models exist such as business and faith forums, town teams and development trusts. The important point is for activities to be supported by the state/local state but led by locals.

Third, spending needs to move upstream (e.g. enhanced empowerment and skills development) to have downstream impacts (e.g. reduced crime and unemployment), and budget areas need joining up, for example, spending on skills, land, building and social institutions. These have broadly figured amongst UK government aspirations in the past ten years but are rarely, if ever, achieved.

5 Margins Toolkit

The Margins team is engaging with the City Council – both senior officers and the locality team – on this and other aspects of the agenda.

Fourth, measures of success need redefining to include much more than standard qualifications, entry into formal employment, level of earnings and formally recognised volunteering. Further action research, which in itself can stimulate enhanced networking, should include monitoring any improvements in social capital and cohesion.

All this points to a need for a broader debate about the next phase of regeneration. Some core attitudinal approaches need to be included here. The first is that policy needs to shift from wastage to a notion of under-utilised resources to facilitate forms of re-imagining potential in a locality. This leads to the second, which involves re-framing a locality as a producer rather than consumer of resources and services. The third involves a process of letting go by statutory authorities. This would mean a commitment to co-creation with local people that truly enacted the aforementioned networked governance and a belief that the present daily reality of any community is the right place to start urban regeneration.

The Toolkit consolidates the learning in the project in relation to the process that we have developed, and provides a framework for applying the Margins approach to other sites. It begins with the fundamental principles of the approach which were developed through discussion at our learning days and set out the values that have guided decision making within the project. The 'Stages of delivery' outline the key moments in developing and delivering the project alongside our recommendations for action at each stage.

It is not intended that this becomes an instruction for a sequence of processes, but that it can be used as a set of tools that can be drawn upon as appropriate to the context in which they are being applied.

5.1 Principles of the Margins approach

5.1.1 Origins

This project was self-initiated and self-directed. We did not have a client, but we did work in partnership with several organisations and individuals at different stages of the process. Considering the origin of the project and who is driving it forwards has been important in enabling us to define ways of working, who the work is for, our responsibility and accountability.

5.1.2 Reflexive not collaborative

We had extensive discussions about the role of participation and collaboration in the project, and the relationship between the team and the neighbourhood that we were working in. Whilst we value the principles of participation, we recognised that we were working as an independent professional group and that it was important to acknowledge that we were not doing participatory research, but that we were committed to working reflexively.

5.1.3 Openness of process and communication

The principle of openness has guided the way that we have handled communication in the project in terms of enabling interested parties to see how we are working. Openness of process has meant working flexibly and allowing the development of process throughout the project.

5.1.4 Learning

Learning has been a central aim of the project and participation in the project has been a learning process for the delivery team as well as for the partners that have engaged with our work. It has been important to recognise that the process was experimental, that we did not know the answers when we started the project, and that learning is a valuable outcome of the project.

5.1.5 Collective responsibility and decision making

Defining how we were to operate as a group enabled us to be clear about accountability and responsibility within the team, as well as how we could engage with other organisations.

5.1.6 We do not deliver services

This process is not about delivering services or producing practical projects, however we recognised that there may be expectations that the information gathered would lead to service development, and more importantly that we may find opportunities for creating new services. We made it clear from the beginning that we (as an organisation) do not deliver services, but that we would work with service delivery agencies and provide a link between the neighbourhood where we were working and organisations that could offer practical help and support.

5.2 Six stages of delivery 'margins' method

5.2.1 Mandate

Generating authority and a mandate for doing this work is crucial in terms of gaining trust and access to local networks as well as having a long term impact on decision makers.

Actions:

- Create a dynamic team: from different disciplines bringing multiple perspectives and experiences to the table.
- Maintain independence and neutrality: one could argue that neutrality is impossible, but being independent can enable important conversations to take place that are normally prevented by political barriers.
- Experience: bring together diversity of experience in both the subject/content of the research, and the approach/method.
- Principles: agree a shared understanding of working principles so that solid relationships can be built within the team and with partners.
- Starting point: be clear about where the momentum for the project to begin is coming from and how this shapes the development of the project aims and scope.

5.2.2 Infrastructure and management

Having solid infrastructure and management of the project and the team can hold together a dynamic and complex piece of work. Meeting regularly and frankly sharing ideas helps to create a critical community within which reflexivity can thrive.

Actions:

- The Reflective Learning framework: having team members with dedicated responsibility for supporting reflective learning and facilitating events and activities helps the development of the process.
- Support: as well as resources within the team, this method has drawn upon a wide network of support in the form of advice and practical support from partner organisations and individuals who share the commitment to the principles of the project.
- Information sharing: the data and communications generated through this method are complex and can be enormous in quantity. Clear protocols for sharing information are needed along with capacity to store, manipulate and retrieve information appropriately.
- Consolidation: the beauty of the method is bringing together multiple approaches to research and consolidating the results in a sophisticated understanding of the neighbourhood. Infrastructure that supports the links between the different parts of the research is needed.

5.2.3 Politics

Recognising and managing the micro-politics of local groups/ organisations/ stakeholders within a neighbourhood, as well as the wider politics that affect the subsequent take up of information into policy development, has been a real challenge in this project.

Actions

- Acknowledgement: openness is needed to identify where politics might cause problems or impact on effectiveness.
- Get to know people: work 'bottom up', start with interviews and getting to know individuals.
- Dialogue: work 'in conversation' with stakeholders to collaboratively develop ways of working.
- Iteration and flexibility: ways of engaging with agencies.
- Participation: in other events and activities in the area. Be present in the events of the neighbourhood.
- Affiliation: be aware of who you are working with, and careful in not automatically aligning with the obvious/ most dominant/most powerful agency.

5.2.4 Engagement

This method may challenge common understandings of 'consultation' and therefore the mechanisms of community engagement need to be re-thought as appropriate to the context.

Actions

- Definition: it needs to be clear when working with local communities what the scope and impact of activities are.
- Tailoring: approaches to different stakeholders (for example different agencies or local residents) need to be tailored. We tried a 'one size fits all' approach by bringing everyone together at once which proved difficult and unproductive.

5.2.5 Creativity

In method, visual and experimental ways of working have been central to the development of this process. Using visual and creative methods have enabled us to articulate and view information in different ways, and to engage people in our work.

Actions

- Mapping: working in visual formats creates agency
- Sharing: ability to share work in progress more easily
- Accessibility: visual methods such as the sociogram and 'story of a street' are about collecting data but also about demonstrating potential and engaging people in research.

5.2.6 Moving Forward

Whilst doing the research itself has had an effect within the neighbourhood (because the research process has inevitably created an intervention within the place), the impact of the work comes from the consolidation and synthesis within the final phase of the project.

Actions

- Conversation: between the team and partners to develop and refine the understandings and ideas emerging from the research.
- Iteration: approaching the data in multiple ways, over time, to find multiple meanings.
- Partnership: engaging partners in defining their understanding of the data and how they might use it and take it forwards.

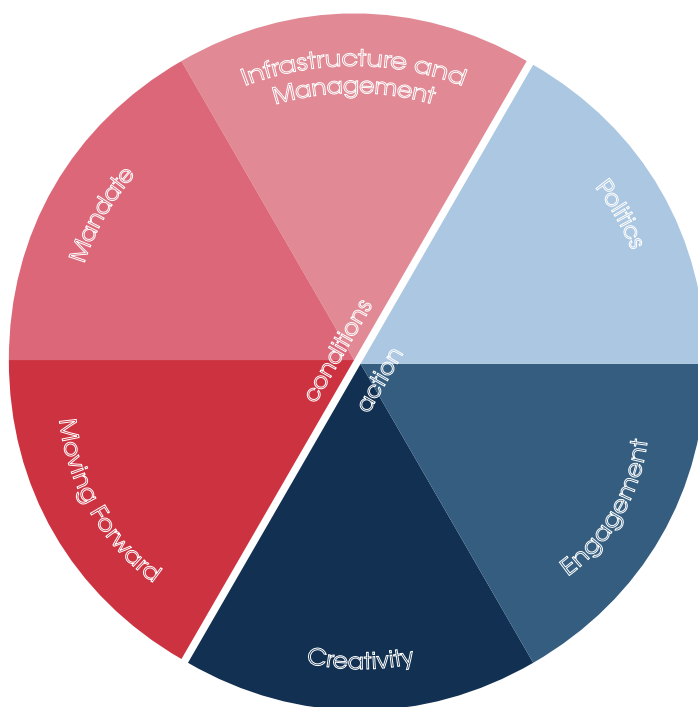


Diagram 2: Six stages of delivery 'margins' method as an Action Research cycle

6 Evaluation

The Margins within the City project has been carried out within an Action Research framework, which has meant that the researchers undertook a continuous cycle of planning, acting, reflecting and evaluation.

To support planning and reflection in the project, the Reflective Learning Framework was designed to provide opportunities and space for developing the project method by inviting project partners, community participants, local service providers, and regional and national experts to work with the project team.

This chapter draws together those reflections and comments to provide perspectives on how the project has met its objectives, and what we can learn from this process.

6.1 Project Aim and Objectives

The **aim** of the project was to examine a new approach to the regeneration of inner city neighbourhoods. The context was the growing poverty gap between the City Centre and the neighbourhoods closest to it. The broader context is of new social values arising from the need to mitigate climate change and adapt to its effects.

The research method was designed to uncover and make visible the under-utilised assets within the neighbourhood (categorised into social networks, enterprise and space) that can be mobilised for self regeneration by the community itself. This challenges the mainstream value system to redefine the characteristics by which communities are evaluated economically and socially (for example in measures such as the Indices of Multiple Deprivation).

The intention was to identify how regeneration strategies can be built on resources that are already available rather than an approach that necessitates an input of resources into a neighbourhood in order for it to regenerate.

The **objectives** of the project were to:

1. Test a new methodology in a single community area in order that the study could be replicated in other inner city areas of Leeds.
 2. Find and record the under-utilised or under-valued social networks, enterprise and spaces in an inner city neighbourhood.
 3. Investigate attributes of social networks, enterprise and spaces with a view to understanding the capacity and potential for these attributes to contribute to the regeneration of the neighbourhood and progress towards a sustainable city.
 4. Investigate potential for strengthening social networks, developing community enterprise and greening the neighbourhood.
 5. Investigate mapping techniques and information graphics to communicate the findings in an accessible way.
 6. Deliver the project within an Action Research framework to facilitate skill development and learning within the project team, project partners, and city and regional agencies.
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6.2 Evaluation against project objectives

This section reflects on the successes and challenges of working towards the project objectives.

Objective 1: Test a new methodology in a single community area in order that the study could be replicated in other inner city areas of Leeds.

This methodology has highlighted the importance of fine grain understanding of the local community in developing sustainable regeneration strategy, but also the challenges of generating that understanding.

One of the first challenges was in defining a 'single community area'. Within the case study area the communities were multiple and complex, and subject to change over time. Different definitions and boundaries exist amongst the formal and informal understandings of the place – formal boundaries such as wards, super output areas, police boundaries and informal boundaries of neighbourhoods and sub-neighbourhoods as defined by the people that live there. This was tackled by taking a map to a meeting with local agency workers and people who knew the area really well and by drawing boundaries for the study based on their advice.

In testing the methodology a broad range of methods and tools for gathering information were tried. Some of these were established research methods, such as interviewing and land surveys, and others were more experimental, such as the 'story of a street' method. One question that this raises is whether the skills required for such an approach are currently available within the regeneration sector. We would suggest that they are in low supply and that some development of the various relevant professions is required.

In planning the project it was anticipated that a neat and replicable process for undertaking this type of research would develop. However, on reflection what has emerged is a complex and messy set of techniques and tools for understanding what is in reality a complex and messy set of issues. The result is a set of principles and techniques (the Toolkit and methods) that can inform the set up of similar projects without providing a prescriptive 'methodology' to be replicated.

A cost-benefit analysis of the techniques used has not been undertaken, and this project has been supported by a lot of 'in kind' investment of time and expertise so resourcing work of this kind in a commercial setting may be difficult. Further testing of techniques could be carried out in different settings to test the viability of using them in different areas, and for different people applying them.

The way that the methodology was carried out was responsive: as opportunities arose the methodology was adapted to incorporate new possibilities, which is perhaps typical of field research. However, the research team identified that a more conscious reflection to agree changes was needed. Because of the fast pace of the project, and limited time to work as a project team, many decisions were taken under pressure and this led to some areas of the work feeling incomplete or lacking in rigour. It should be understood, though, that the nature of the research involves the need for flexibility and adaptation. The potential partiality of this approach must be weighed against the scoping of the research. The area and population might be adjusted so as to ensure representative samples.

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Objective 2: Find and record the under-utilised or under-valued social networks, enterprise and spaces in an inner city neighbourhood.

Using a combination of different techniques the project did manage to find and record these under-utilised and under-valued assets. Much of the evidence is quite anecdotal and it is difficult to derive generalisations, however this does not detract from the clear findings that under-utilised potential does exist in this neighbourhood.

Making these assets visible has not only been powerful in building the confidence of people working within the community, but also in changing the perceptions of policy makers and officials. Only with long-term reflection and monitoring will we be able to see the impact of this project.

The separation of data collection into the three themes was a pragmatic choice and one reflection from the research team is that the social networks and skills research could have been more closely integrated as they both come from detailed conversations with people living in the area. Skills data of the kind sought in this study (life skills, caring and making skills, entrepreneurial skills) is not normally collected as it requires a fine grain qualitative approach to the research, which is costly and time-consuming.

More time could have been used to map some of the more interesting green spaces, and for more detailed survey work on areas that were typical of wider issues. However, the permaculture analysis indicates a level of understanding of land use that cannot be ascertained through two-dimensional mapping.

Objective 3: Investigate attributes of social networks, enterprise and spaces with a view to understanding the capacity and potential for these attributes to contribute to the regeneration of the neighbourhood and progress towards a sustainable city.

The project has started to discuss the potential of these attributes in terms of regeneration, but really in terms of this objective the project has only just begun to develop ideas about capacity and potential, and this may be developed further in future activities, such as a DIY handbook.

One of the main messages from this work is that a cultural shift is needed in thinking about regeneration in order to move from a culture of controlling and imposing regeneration solutions on communities to facilitation and capacity building. The difficulty with this in the current climate of auditing and measuring impact is that the 'data' is too complex and difficult to measure. This project has attempted to tackle such complexity, and has had some success in producing convincing evidence showing at least anecdotally that potential exists within this neighbourhood. The current culture of policy making may not, though, be able to deal with this complexity.

Andy Goldring, CEO of the Permaculture Association and LLISI researcher, reflects on this:

'The project gave an evidence base for what I have known for years - our cities are hardly utilised at all. A hundred and fifty years of fossil fuels has given us a very lazy and wasteful approach to land use and optimisation and we hardly support people to develop their skills and talents - because robots or overseas workers are cheaper - at the moment! We need to use the evidence to show potential, but most importantly we now need to see how we can unlock the potential.'

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Objective 4: Investigate potential for strengthening social networks, developing community enterprise and greening the neighbourhood.

As with Objective 3 there is a sense in the feedback on the project that some potential has been identified, and that certainly the findings from the project have generated confidence in the potential of the neighbourhood, and particularly in the potential of shifting perceptions to a more positive viewpoint. However, it is very difficult to quantify the potential as it is dependent on people within the neighbourhood (and the agencies that support those people) being inspired to take action towards these objectives.

Some work is required to enable community leadership, but it is not clear who would or should resource this. To a large extent, and typical within an Action Research model, the actual process of undertaking the surveying, interviews, workshops and so on, has led to strengthening of neighbourhood bonds. Researchers are not neutral, detached actors in these situations. Instead, they have agency: their presence and interest in a context has an impact on the context itself.

Objective 5: Investigate mapping techniques and information graphics to communicate the findings in an accessible way.

A range of visual techniques was used within the project, both as part of the process of recording and developing ideas and information, and as illustrations of the findings. More could have been done with the use of technology, and in the end the techniques used were quite basic compared with some of the more experimental and interactive mapping explored in the initial workshop (Urban Mapping: design

tools, representation and usability, Leeds Metropolitan University, Wednesday 9 April, 2008). It is important, nevertheless, that mapping technologies do not steer the research from its participative qualities. The researcher has to weigh up the effectiveness of certain digital mapping techniques – in terms of their ability to deliver nuanced, complex information – against their usability and comprehensibility by the project’s various stakeholders.

It should also be remembered that some mapping techniques were very low-tech. The sociogram and the ‘story of a street’ visualisations are examples of these. They were of particular interest to stakeholders when presented at workshops. Their simplicity meant that they were easy to grasp and quickly usable while communicating useful information. Such techniques could be used by people within the neighbourhood.

A proposed animation of the neighbourhood was not commissioned, though it remains an option for future community engagement.

Objective 6: Deliver the project within an Action Research framework to facilitate skill development and learning within the project team, project partners, and city and regional agencies.

The commitment to working within an Action Research framework, and the allocation of time and resources to learning and reflection was valuable in helping to make the project more coherent. ‘Learning days’, used by members of the team in other projects, proved worthwhile in this one. Having external people to give new views and bring in new theory was useful.

The collaborative and multi-disciplinary nature of the team enabled people to learn new skills, however there was a steep learning curve to navigate different institutional

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cultures and to build up trust. This should be costed into the planning of any similar project.

One reflection on the process was that the team needed more learning days. Each stage of the action learning cycle should ideally have been more precisely conceived, should have been allocated more time and should have kept more closely to the agreed plan. A graphical image showing development might have been useful, with dates and key results and actions at each stage, so we could be really conscious about where we were in our action research process.

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6.3 What stakeholders and participants said about the project

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As the project came to a conclusion we invited comment from people involved in the project. Below is a perspective on the project that we think is worth sharing and may be useful for people considering using a similar approach in other places.

The workshops that we held within the neighbourhood were effective in garnering interest and feedback on the project. At the first workshop in the neighbourhood there were several comments that there had already been many 'consultations' and that this had never led to any substantive changes. In the final two workshops where we presented our findings back to neighbourhood stakeholders, attendees could see the qualities of our findings. The connections between various 'struggles' in the community (eg. relating to the role of the new primary school or the impact of the Urban Splash project) were made more obvious. The project has encouraged neighbourhood members to see themselves as part of Richmond Hill with a strong identity rather than as fragmented and isolated

individuals or groupings. It has revealed and explicated many of the known and less-known problems extant there.

It has helped a neighbourhood understand how new connections and approaches to problems might grow. Finally, it has helped in brokering relationships between community stakeholders and wider power interests in the city.

Finally, a word from Andrew Grinnell, local activist perceived by most who know him to be an asset to the area:

'The Margins in the City project has helped to articulate some of the challenges that are faced within our local communities. Rather than relying on quantitative research alone, LLISI has sought to dig deeper into the reality of people's lives and relationships with one another. We are hoping that the reports, in providing sound research, will help us to understand ourselves and communicate the challenges of our neighbourhood to others. We have appreciated the way that rather than delivering a fait accompli, LLISI has asked our opinion on what a successful outcome would look like to us. This will hopefully have redeemed the research from being just another consultation to being something of worth to local residents. The recent meetings where a group of us have considered how we develop leadership together will hopefully be significant steps forward for the community. I would suggest that if this project were to be repeated, a regular communication process should be developed in order to keep local people informed of where the project is up to. This would help to minimise any suspicion that may develop as to what the research is for, and ensure that throughout the process, local people feel very much involved. Thanks for your work and support of our neighbourhood.'

Appendix A

Margins within the City unpacked: SWOT analysis

Strengths		Weaknesses	
<p>Wide range of knowledge and skills within the research team</p> <p>Interest of stakeholders and neighbourhood</p> <p>Common core values of research team</p> <p>Wider infrastructure of resources available to research team (eg. Universities)</p> <p>High commitment levels of research team and stakeholders</p>	<p>Project is 'officially connected' through funders and endorsed</p> <p>Large number of projects that carry similar thinking (eg. Rotterdam skill city)</p> <p>Cooperative nature of IISI allows for considered decision making</p> <p>Extended research period (1 year) allows for deep connections to be developed</p>	<p>Projects like these are inevitably slow moving, contrasting with different speeds of funders and policy change</p> <p>Division of research work into themes can cause their dislocation from one another</p> <p>Diversity of team and different research methods create differences in reporting protocols</p> <p>Density of research data makes it difficult to synthesise</p> <p>Extended period of research means feedback loop to neighbourhood and stakeholders is slow</p>	
Opportunities		Threats	
<p>Develop new forms of neighbourhood evaluation and knowledge</p> <p>Opportunity to influence policy at different spatial scales</p> <p>To be consistently experimental and reflexive</p> <p>Engage neighbourhood and stakeholders so that the research creates new networks and ideas</p>	<p>Transferability of research to other neighbourhoods and scales</p> <p>Provide new thinking that breaks current policy impasse on urban development</p>	<p>Misunderstanding of project by stakeholders (eg. That it is to devise strategies)</p> <p>Rapid and radical shift in policy context makes research unusable</p> <p>Mission creep (eg. That the research gets entangled in specific neighbourhood problems at expense of overview)</p>	<p>Loss of stakeholder support (eg. Project seen as 'yet another consultation')</p> <p>Public spending cuts challenge ability to upscale or transfer the methods</p>

Appendix B

Other models of mapping

This appendix shows some diverse ways by which communities of varying scales have been engaged in mapping. It demonstrates variety of techniques and motivations. All of these shown have taken place since 2000.

Project: Local Code

Place: San Francisco, USA

Team: Nicholas de Monchaux, Assistant Professor of Architecture and Urban Design at the University of California, Berkeley.

Weblink: <http://sf.streetsblog.org/2009/09/24/a-vision-for-transforming-san-franciscos-unaccepted-streets/>

Summary: This mapping project focuses on the 529 acres of 'unaccepted streets'. These are streets that are not maintained by any agency, typically alleys and street stubs that are cared for by neighbours and transformed into small gardens and pocket parks. Their mapping allows the linking of an overall planning view with public processes through the Department of Public Works.

Project: Architecture and Justice

Place: New York, USA

Team: Spatial Information Design Lab, Columbia University

Weblink: <http://www.spatialinformationdesignlab.org/projects.php?id=16>

Summary: By drawing attention to the cost of imprisonments in Brownsville, Brooklyn NY, this project mapped the 'million dollar block'. In this way, spending and policy processes could be influenced and reprioritised. The project, supported by the JEHT Foundation and by the Open Society Institute activated a partnership between the Justice Mapping Center (JMC), the JFA Institute (JFA), and the Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Planning & Preservation (GSAPP). The Justice Mapping Center was able to refine analytical and graphical techniques which could then be applied to real life policy initiatives through work with the JFA Institute.

Project: I've Lived: Post-It Notes for Neighbours

Place: New York, USA

Team: Candy Chan

Weblink: <http://urbanomnibus.net/2009/02/post-it-notes-for-neighbors>

Summary: Inspired by Illegal Art's 'To Do' project, this action drew on local knowledge of real estate in the Cobble

Hill and Carroll Gardens areas of Brooklyn NY. It was a low budget start for sharing local knowledge. A woman named Deborah bought three homes in Bed Stuy from 1988-2003 and never paid more than \$250,000. They put her two sons through college and will allow her to retire early. "Like they say," she said, "they're not making any more of it. Get yourself some real estate!"

Project: STEW-MAP: The Stewardship Mapping and Assessment Project

Place: New York, USA

Team: US Department of Agriculture Forestry Department Northern Research Station; Columbia University Dept. of Sociology; University of Vermont Spatial Analysis Lab

Weblink: http://www.nrs.fs.fed.us/nyc/focus/stewardship_mapping/

Summary: This project analysed the social and spatial interactions among social actors who work on urban stewardship by conserving, managing, monitoring, advocating for, and educating the public about their local environments (including water, land, air, waste, toxics, and energy issues). By mapping existing stewardship gaps and overlaps it aimed to 'strengthen organisational capacities, enhance citizen monitoring, and build effective partnerships between stakeholders involved in urban stewardship in New York'.

Project: Secret Gardens

Place: Berlin

Team: Platoon

Weblink: <http://blog.platoon.org/home/0/viewentry/427/PLATOON.BERLIN.html>

Summary: Platoon is a transglobal activist art group. In Berlin much of their work has focused on extending the boundaries of their profession into unused and intermediate spaces in the city. They take on board the notion that Berlin has been in economic recession for well over 20 years. This leaves the potential for short-term interventions such as the creation of temporary pocket parks and low budget architectural installations (for example, using containers). On the face of it, this project does not appear to involve mapping in a traditional sense. However, by intervening on spaces, Platoon is also commenting on them. A number of small, linked interventions overlay a 'reading' of place. In this way, it provides a map – at full scale – of how spaces have evolved and what their potential might be.

Project: Urban Mediator

Place: Helsinki, Finland

Team: Helsinki Living Lab and MediaLab, University of Art and Design Helsinki

Weblink: <http://www.helsinki-livinglab.fi/node/152>

Summary: Produced as part of the EU-funded project ICING (Innovative Cities for the Next Generation), this project researched the everyday lives of people in the Arabianranta district of Helsinki. This was done through co-designing with the residents' association, parents' associations and local schools. Through this, systems were designed so that citizens can create, obtain, and share location-based information that is organised according to topics of interests set up and maintained by the users themselves. In particular this investigated the potential of using mobile and web-based technologies.

Project: Urban Agriculture

Place: Middlesbrough, UK

Team: David Barrie, Dott07; Nina Belk, Zest Innovation; Mace

Weblink: <http://www.dott07.com/go/urbanfarming>

Summary: As part of the Designs of the Time 07, David Barrie led a project that aimed to provide a public lunch party for the town of Middlesbrough. The majority of food for it had to be grown within the town boundaries. It was attended by 1500 townspeople. Barrie began the year-long project by informally mapping where food was grown already, sites where food could be grown but also, the groups and individuals who were or could become involved in food growing. The project was developed in consultation with regional representatives of the Soil Association, the National Farmers Union, the Federation of City Farms, the (North East) Regional Food Group, North East Organic Growers and Natural England. It has been informed by the work of the Sustainable Food Commission, SDC and Bioregional Quintain Ltd. who is leading a large-scale development in North Middlesbrough. Middlesbrough Council commissioned a map from designers Andre Viljoen and Katrina Bohn – authors of Continuous Productive Urban Landscapes – which identifies existing and prospective food growing sites in Middlesbrough.

Appendix C

Other approaches to building neighbourhood resilience

Project: Goodwin Development Trust
Place: Thornton Estate Hull
Weblink: <http://www.goodwintrust.org>
Summary: The Goodwin Development Trust was set up as a charitable organisation in 1994 by residents of the Thornton Estate in Hull to improve their quality of life and the services available on their estate. Goodwin Development Trust now employs over 300 staff with a turnover of £9.2 million working across 38 sites aiming to deliver services that improve the quality of life for residents. The original Goodwin Resource Centre opened in a shop in Goodwin Parade in June 1994. Trustees of the Goodwin Resource Centre manned the shop from Monday to Friday each week. The original core still make up the board of trustees who are local residents. The Centre offered services including disability Rights, Age Concern and IT training. Within the first year over 8000 people had accessed services at the shop. Among its services are the Octagon, a conference centre whose profits go back into the Trust, and Guide Neighbourhoods, a network of 15 successful community organisations to provide a voice for resident-led regeneration.

Project: Glasgow 2020 Vision
Team: Demos with 101 Dimensions, Oyster Arts and Infinite Eye
Place: Glasgow, Scotland
Weblink: <http://www.glasgow2020.org.uk>
Summary: This project was concerned with developing a future vision for Glasgow that was not constrained by institutional interests. It involved 42 envisioning events, that asked the question 'what kind of city do you want to live in?' Many of these involved participants telling new stories for the city. The project culminated in a book and exhibition.

Project: Imagine Chicago
Place: Chicago, USA
Weblink: <http://imaginechicago.org>
Summary: Imagine Chicago is a non-profit organisation in existence since 1992 and founded by Bliss Browne. It aims to cultivate 'hope and civic engagement in a variety of cross cultural and intergenerational initiatives, projects and programs'. It began by a city-wide Appreciative Enquiry process. This focused on positive stories to construct a desired future. Development questions focused on 'What is? What could be? What will be?' and sought connections across institutions, neighbourhoods and communities to enact the responses to these questions. Imagine Chicago facilitates Imagine projects by providing mentoring and training.

Project: Transition Towns
Place: Global
Weblink: <http://www.transitiontowns.org>
Summary: Originating in Totnes, UK, the Transition Town initiative provides methods for building community resilience for a post-carbon future. Key to these is designs are appropriate to specific neighbourhoods. Much of its thinking focuses on the 'relocalisation' of resource production and use. Hence local food networks or trades services are encouraged. Another important feature is that transition groups seek close connections with local councils so as to engage policy within the evolution of the project. By May 2009 there were 148 transition towns globally.

Project: Coin Street Community Builders
Place: South Bank, London
Weblink: <http://www.coinstreet.org>
Summary: The Coin Street Action Group was founded in 1977 to resist a large-scale hotel and office development that would have had a major negative impact on this small London community. The Action Group drew up alternative plans for housing, a new riverside park and walkway, managed workshops, shops and leisure facilities. In 1981 the site was bought by the Greater London Council and sold on to the Coin Street Community Builders, as it had become. This is a company limited by public guarantee so that profits from developments go back into its public service objectives. Other than shops, galleries and restaurants it has developed and manages nurseries, social housing, public realm, leisure and community facilities and events.

Project: The BalanCity Project
Place: Noerremarken, Denmark
Summary: The BalanCity Project is an urban renewal project that works with Asset Based Community Development (ABCD). Through the project the council of Vejle implemented the Culture Carriers Course which influenced the traditional approach to a renewal of a neighbourhood. The project has resulted in many positive experiences, development initiatives and Culture carriers. The starting point has been a cross-organizational effort aimed at an overall solution, where all Cultural Carriers have focused on 'glass half full'. Many of the centrally-based stakeholder agencies have succeeded in creating activities and projects based on an area's strengths and resources, rather than its needs, weaknesses and problems.

Project: Biz-Fizz, nef
Place: Pilots in Yorkshire: Bradford-Horton Grange, Shipley, Keithley, Holmewood and Quadrant.
Summary: The BizFizz approach was developed jointly by nef and the Civic Trust in 2001 to provide business support to people in communities experiencing economic disadvantage, and challenge the misconception that there is a dearth of entrepreneurs and enterprising ideas in these communities. During the period of 2002-2006, 13 projects were piloted across England and supported 1000 clients. The diversity of projects was chosen to test the robustness of the approach. It was found that in every community, whatever the level of economic disadvantage, there are people who have ideas and passions that they could turn into viable businesses and there are existing businesses which could achieve greater potential if given appropriate support.

Appendix D

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Appendix E

Project participants, partners, workshops and research team Individuals and organisations interviewed

Name	Organisation
Dawn Oliver	All Saint's Primary School
John Pattison	CDOK Tenants' and Residents' Group
JJ Kader	CDOK Tenants' and Residents' Group
Mary Brennan	Cross Green Village Residents' group
Lizz Johnson	Cross Green Village Residents' group
Paul Dunne	East End Park WMC
Dennis Nicholson	East Leeds Cricket Club
Sarah Quayle	East Leeds Medical Centre
Sharron Moriarty	East Park Medical Centre
Diane Walker	Extended Services Manager Re'new
Peter Beck	Foundation Learning Leeds
Terry Nunn	Friends of East End Park
Richard Corry	Glensdale Terrace Youth Centre
Janet Ramsbottom	Hampton Crescent Sheltered Housing
Chris Denham	Hope City Church
Dave Kerfoot	LCC area warden
Liz McKenna	Leeds College of Technology
Helen Jones	Leeds Gate
Tom McLoughlin	Leeds Irish Centre
Frank Plumbridge	Mencap, Hawthorn Centre
Linda Barker	Mount St Mary's High School
Pauline Farrar	Mount St Mary's Primary School
Barry Smith	Neighbourhood Warden
Robert Creamer	Newbourne Methodist Church
Ian Wallace	Osmondthorpe Resource Centre
Julie Jones	Re'new
Ann Sheriff	Re'new
Maria Herlingshaw	Resident
Andy Patchett	Resident and volunteer
Brenda Sparks	Richmond Court Hostel
Jo Twitchett	Richmond Hill Children's Centre

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Denise Holmes	Richmond Hill Community Centre
Darrell Xavier	Richmond Hill Elderly Action
Joan Swaby	Richmond Hill Elderly Action
Tricia Gradys	Richmond Hill Elderly Action
Margaret Carroll	Richmond Hill Elderly Action
Tracey Kerr	Richmond Hill Housing Office
Bev Rice	Richmond Hill Library
Margaret Cross	Richmond Hill Medical Centre
Lorraine Nurse	Richmond Hill Primary School
Sue Mudie	Richmond Hill Primary School
Andrew Grinnell	Salvation Army
Jude Thompson	Saxton Gardens Housing Office
John Boyd and Pearl McCardle	Saxton Gardens Tenants' and Residents' Association
Emma Tregidden	Space 2
Stephen Savage	St Hilda's Church
Andrew Gubbins	St Philip's and All Saint's C of E churches
Anne Slater	St Philip's Church Warden + RH Brownies
Susan Docherty	St Vincent's
Pauline Lomas	St Vincent's
Dexter	The Cavalier PH
Sarah Cave	The Garden Surgery
Mary Cotton	The Hawthorn Centre
Ginny	The Hope Inn PH
Linda Nowland	The Shepherd PH
Glenn	The Slip Inn PH
Chris Carter	The Spring Close PH
David Walton	The White Horse PH
Richard	The Yew Tree PH
Steven Wood	The Yorkshire Rider Club
The secretary	Victoria Primary School
Maureen Lilywhite	Zest
Denise Cariss	Zest

Partners

Yorkshire Forward, the Regional Development Agency, has one core objective: to grow the economy of Yorkshire & Humber. Policy areas:

- Helping businesses to become more competitive
- Economic Inclusion: try to boost the region's economy by helping everyone to realise their potential
- Enterprise & Access to Finance aims to boost our regional economy by helping more new businesses to get started and providing access to finance which will help them grow
- Developing international competitiveness
- Lower Carbon Economy: help to reduce & manage greenhouse-gas emissions, conserve finite resources, and increase activity in environmental technologies
- Property renaissance: interventions in order to provide new economic regeneration opportunities when the private sector is unable to
- Developing the rural economy
- Skills development
- Influence private- and public-sector policy on transport, and support the region in instances of market failure
- Urban Renaissance: to help meet the challenges and opportunities of living, working and investing in our towns and cities
- Visitor economy and major events

<http://yorkshireforward.net/about/our-policies>

Re'new

A regeneration charity based in Leeds, with connections across Yorkshire. Work focuses on four main areas:

- **Young people:**
Giving young people the opportunities they deserve
- **Neighbourhoods:**
Helping to breathe new life into communities
- **Employment:**
Giving people the skills, confidence and support to get into work ... and stay there
- **Partnerships:**
Working together to meet people's needs

<http://www.renewleeds.co.uk/>

Zest-Health for Life

Zest-Health for Life is an independent Company Limited by Guarantee and a Registered Charity. Its aims are to strengthen disadvantaged communities in Leeds and reduce health and social inequalities. Zest-Health for Life started in September 2002 and was funded through the New Opportunities Fund Healthy Living Centre (HLC) Programme for five years until September 2007. The HLC Programme was a Government initiative to address health inequalities and target resources at some of the most disadvantaged communities in England, by identifying local solutions to local needs. The organisation initially worked in the Burmantofts and Richmond Hill areas of Leeds. Now, commissioned by NHS Leeds and funded by a wide range of Leeds-based funders and UK-wide charitable trusts,

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Zest works across Leeds. Good working relationships have been established with many organisations working citywide, and Zest is represented on a number of strategic forums and groups.

Zest-Health for Life has four key areas of work (2010):

- **Physical Activity:**
A programme of affordable regular weekly activities in East Leeds such as line dancing, bowling, keep fit, walking group, dancercise and salsacise. Co-ordination of the Active Leeds city-wide walking project.
- **Healthy and Affordable Food:**
Cook 4 Life courses, healthy eating sessions, Yr 11 food and mood sessions, Yr 5 family cooking, healthy lunchbox sessions, Food & Mental Health Project, Growing Together Allotment project, Food Access project, Family Tea Time Club, management of the Ministry of Food Leeds in Kirkgate Market.
- **Health Information:**
Change 4 Life roadshows and health and wellbeing events at venues across East Leeds, coordination of All Being Well Health Point in Leeds Kirkgate market.
- **Happy & Healthy Communities:**
Supporting the development and sustainability of community groups, organising parents' support groups, family Day Rover days, community trips, social events and action groups, emotional wellbeing groups, confident women courses, family fun days, parenting courses and friendship groups.

<http://www.zesthealthforlife.org/>

Sharing the Success, the Leeds LEGI Programme

In 2007, and against stiff national opposition, Leeds was successful in bidding for LEGI (Local Enterprise Growth Initiative) funding to further the economic development of the city's most deprived areas. A commitment of £20.6m over 4 years (2007-2011) was made by government.

Overall objectives of the LEGI funding:

- increase total entrepreneurial activity among the population in deprived local areas;
- support the sustainable growth and reduce the failure rate of locally owned businesses in deprived areas; and
- attract appropriate investment and franchising into deprived areas, making use of local labour resources.

The key component of the Sharing the Success Programme is the creation of three self-sustaining enterprise Catalyst Centres in the most deprived areas of Leeds.

<http://www.sharingthesuccess.co.uk/>

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Learning Day and Workshop Expert Speakers and Participants

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Event	Expert Speaker/Participant	Organisation
Urban Mapping: design tools, representation and usability Leeds Metropolitan University Wed 9 April, 2008	Stephen Wikeley	Bauman Lyons Architects
	Joost Beunderman	Demos
	Alistair Turnham	Make Associates
	David Barrie	Independent event and TV producer
Margins within the City Workshop 1 Edmund House Club, Leeds Friday 26 June, 2009	Professor Danny Dorling	University of Sheffield
	Peter McGurn	Goodwin Trust, Hull
	Professor Jonathan Long	Leeds Metropolitan University
Margins within the City Workshop 2 Leeds Metropolitan University Friday 2 October, 2009	Ben Singleton	Service designer
Margins within the City Workshop 3 Shine, Harehills, Leeds Wed 25 November, 2009	Linda Joy Mitchell Mike Love	Together for Peace

Leeds Love It Share It team

Sue Ball is Director of Media & Arts Partnership (MAAP) a leading public art consultancy. Clients include Arts Council Wales, ISIS Waterside Regeneration, Leeds City Council and Oldham and Rochdale HMR Pathfinder and currently with Arts Council England where Sue is leading an Action Research programme on Placemaking that explores the potential of culture as a context and instrument for physical and social regeneration.



Irena Bauman is Director of Bauman Lyons Associates, based in Chapeltown, Leeds. She is also a CABE commissioner, CABE Champion for Yorkshire and Humber, past chair of CABE Regions Committee, current chair of Research Group, Chair of Regional Design Review Services for Yorkshire and Humber, design review panel member in Hull and in Sheffield.



Paul Chatterton is currently a Reader in Cities and Social Change in Geography at the University of Leeds where he heads up the 'Cities and Social Justice' Research Cluster and is director of the MA in 'Activism and Social Change'. He has written extensively on urban regeneration, youth cultures, self managed politics and movements for social and ecological justice.



Andy Goldring is Chief Executive of the Permaculture Association, the national charity supporting people to develop practical sustainability skills. Andy is an active teacher and edited the successful Permaculture Teachers Guide. He advises both urban and rural projects and is currently working with farmers and organisations on the development of a low carbon farming network.



Katie Hill is a freelance researcher who specialises in creative community engagement for design and public policy, and organisational development and networking for social enterprises. She is a lecturer at The Leeds School of Art, Architecture and Design, Leeds Metropolitan University, and is completing her PhD on socially and environmentally engaged design practices for communities at The University of Brighton.



Guy Julier is the University of Brighton Principal Research Fellow in Contemporary Design at the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. He was formerly Professor of Design at Leeds Metropolitan University and has written several publications on design and urban regeneration. He was director of the 2009 Leeds Festival of Design Activism and convenor of the 'Design Activism and Social Change' Barcelona conference in 2011.



Rachael Unsworth is a lecturer in the School of Geography, University of Leeds, specialising in urban geography with a particular interest in the future of cities. She spends much of her time trying to inject sustainability thinking into policy and practice in Leeds. She was co-editor of *'21st century Leeds: geographies of a regional city'*, a sixteen-chapter book about the contemporary city.



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