



UNIVERSITY OF
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Heseltine Institute for Public
Policy, Practice and Place

The Hattersley and Mottram housing estate: *An evaluation of its regeneration*

Report summary

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REPORT HEADLINES

In October 2017, the Heseltine Institute was commissioned by Onward Homes to evaluate the impact of interventions made by Peak Valley Housing Association (PVHA) in the regeneration of Hattersley and Mottram, a large former council housing estate in Greater Manchester.

This evaluation is a snapshot of an ongoing process of regeneration, which has a further 10 years to run, that aims to provide lessons for Onward, the wider housing sector, policy makers in local and central government.

Our evaluation found that the regeneration interventions have been largely successful and significant progress has been made in meeting the original objectives of the 'Collaboration Agreement', the founding legal document for the regeneration partnership. The quality of housing stock has been considerably improved – both the upgrading of existing stock and the construction of new housing. There is now a greater mix of tenures with an unprecedented increase in new-build owner occupation, and all housing stock now meets the Decent Homes Standard. Tenants feel that it is 'a much nicer place to live' and they '...feel safer moving around the estate at all times'. They are also happy with improvements to the railway station and its use is up 30%. A new district centre has been developed with Tesco Extra which employs over 100 local people and has helped fund the development of the Hub, the new local community centre.

Given that there are a further 10 years to run on the regeneration programme, much has been achieved thus far. As Onward enters the next phase of regeneration, we have identified priority areas that require specific attention and on which action is already being taken. In particular, improvements to the public realm are lagging behind and common concerns among tenants have focused on the lack of usable green space, play facilities for younger people and the lack of enhancements to streets, parking and verges. There are plans in place to address these issues and Tameside MBC will launch a public consultation this year on options for public realm investment, including their long-term management and maintenance. Significant improvements are also needed in the design and use of the Hub which suffers from under-use by the community and local public service agencies. An architect has been commissioned to look at the design of the Hub, including its disabled access and the position of the library

There are many lessons for future regeneration projects such as this. Referred to frequently by interviewees as a singular 'act of genius', the Collaboration Agreement has been the cornerstone of the regeneration programme, leveraging in private sector investment to pay for transformations to the estate's housing, retail, community and transport infrastructures while retaining public control of the land and regeneration process. Much too can be learnt from the 'relational' as opposed to 'transactional' approach of PVHA which has been instrumental in cementing valued and trusted working relationships with all stakeholders. The over-arching approach to regeneration through tenure diversification coupled with school catchment area restructuring has been pivotal in encouraging social mixing between tenure groups, particularly for young people.

This evaluation, however, has also underlined how deep-rooted, intractable socio-economic problems cannot be tackled through the actions and regeneration programmes of housing associations and local authorities alone, but require concerted action by a range of actors led by national, targeted policy interventions.

The above lessons will help inform Onward's approach over the next ten years of regeneration. We have identified other considerations to help guide their future course, including ensuring there is sufficient community involvement in the design of public realm improvements, addressing the lack of social space on the estate for community association, and embedding a governance mechanism that addresses concerns that Onward will function more remotely.

REPORT SUMMARY

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Introduction

1. In October 2017, the Heseltine Institute was commissioned by Onward to evaluate the impact of the interventions made by Peak Valley Housing Association in the regeneration of Hattersley and Mottram, a large former council estate located in Tameside Metropolitan Borough in Greater Manchester. Our evaluation focuses on the period since 2006, the date when the Collaboration Agreement - the founding legal document for the regeneration partnership - was agreed and underpinned the stock transfer of Hattersley and Mottram from Manchester City Council to Peak Valley Housing Association. In 2017, Symphony Housing Group, of which Peak Valley was a part, was renamed as Onward.
2. Built in the early 1960s by Manchester City Council to rehouse tenants decanted from inner-city areas such as Gorton that were subject to 'slum clearance', Hattersley and Mottram was originally home to around 15,000 people – the second largest overspill estate in Greater Manchester. By 2006, its population had fallen to around 6,600.¹ Through this period of inexorable decline, the estate suffered the now all-too-familiar symptoms of 'residualised' council estates: socioeconomic isolation, unemployment, spatially-concentrated poverty, crime, housing vacancies, physical neglect and territorial stigma.
3. We have situated our evaluation within a narrative-driven methodology that deploys resident and stakeholder interviews as testimony to the ways in which various governments' urban regeneration policies, the local agency of residents, and that of Tameside MBC have interacted to shape the estate's social and physical infrastructure. In doing so, we have distinguished and assessed the key role played by Peak Valley in the regeneration of Hattersley and Mottram.
4. Our evaluation should be interpreted in light of the fact that the regeneration process in Hattersley and Mottram is ongoing. The Collaboration Agreement commits its signatories to a further ten years of regeneration activity. Onward commissioned this report to ensure that the lessons thus far are captured and shared. This report, then, is a snapshot of an ongoing process of transformation that aims to provide lessons not only for Onward but the wider housing sector and policymakers in local and central government.
5. For ease of reference, we use the term 'Hattersley estate' or 'Hattersley' in this summary.

Regeneration Interventions

5. We have evaluated in detail the interventions made by Peak Valley since 2006. In order to assess the overall success of the regeneration process itself, and the contributions of specific interventions, we have evaluated Peak Valley's progress against the original regeneration objectives set out in the Collaboration Agreement. Our overall assessment of regeneration on this measure to date is positive (**see Appendix 1: regeneration objectives and their achievement**). Residents largely feel that it is a '...much nicer place to live' and they '...feel safer moving around the estate at all times'. Tenants are happy with the improvements made to their housing in particular – both the upgrading of existing stock and the construction of new housing' – as well as other physical infrastructures such as the railway station. This general success is reflected in the rising satisfaction rates recorded by Peak Valley's own tenant surveys.
6. The following summarises our overall assessment of the main interventions made by Peak Valley since 2006:
 - (i) **Housing upgrading:** The priority for Peak Valley was to demolish the stock that was unfit for purpose to make way for new-build housing, both social rented and private sale. Since 2006, over 500 housing units have been demolished. The housing built in its place – both the new-build Barratt homes for sale and the replacement social housing stock – is of far superior quality than comparable housing in other estates.
 - a. **Barratt Homes:** The homes that Barratt have built – and are continuing to build – have been a huge success. This totals 830 new homes across 24 sites on the estate. Due to the unique circumstances of the Hattersley regeneration process, Barratt were asked to build to a much higher design standard than they would do usually. This was partly due to the influence of English Partnerships which insisted on high design specifications on the projects it helped fund. Barratt's last completed site on Hattersley was one of their fastest selling developments in the country.

However, one potential problem is the growing incidence of private rented accommodation on the estate. This is the result of homeowners of earlier Right to Buy sales selling on their homes to private landlords, who are often absentee, speculative landlords with little interest or commitment in maintaining their houses to the standards expected of Peak Valley.

¹Tameside MBC, "Supplementary Planning Guidance: Hattersley and Mottram," 2004, <https://www.tameside.gov.uk/tmbc5/hattersleyspg.pdf>.

- b. **New social housing:** Just as diversifying tenures was a key priority of the regeneration partners so too was diversifying housing typologies for Peak Valley. This was done in order to meet demand for different housing types, such as bungalows and apartments, in ways which would ensure that all age groups and family situations could be accommodated in the estate and thereby help stem the flow of outward migration. The design process for the new social housing schemes was carried out in consultation with residents and there was a certain amount of flexibility in the approach as phases were completed so as to reflect changing local demand. The participatory approach by the architects has resulted in a very high standard and is almost universally appreciated by tenants.
- c. **Existing stock improvements:** All housing stock now meets the Decent Homes Standard. Residents are generally satisfied with improvements made. One problem is the relative lack of investment in privately-owned ex-council houses bought through the Right to Buy scheme, particularly in terms of roofing, but which now lie outside Peak Valley's remit.
- (ii) **Public realm:** Compared to the achievements made with new and existing housing stock, improvements to the public realm are lagging behind. Common concerns amongst tenants and other stakeholders coalesce around three principal issues: the density of the infill housing and consequent lack of usable green space; the lack of facilities for younger people, particularly for play and games; and the lack of improvements to the streets, parking and verges. The delay in addressing these issues was the result of financial difficulties following the 2008 crash, which has forced Barratt to concentrate efforts on delivering housing construction. However, there are now plans in place to address these issues. The strength of the partnership-working embodied in the Land Board is such that Tameside MBC are now in the process of developing an alternative plan to deliver all the public realm improvements via their own commissioned agency with Barratt contributions as per the Collaboration Agreement. Tameside MBC will launch a public consultation on options for public realm investment this year, including how it will be maintained and managed into the future.
- (iii) **Railway Station:** The interventions made by Peak Valley and the Land Board to Hattersley's railway station have been successful. The Land Board spent some of the regeneration funds procured through the Collaboration Agreement on redesigning Hattersley Road West in order to re-route the road closer to the station. A bus stop on the road now connects the train to the local bus network for quick, easy and safe access to the station. Consequently, station use has already risen by 30%. These initial improvements have opened up possibilities and interest in further improvements. The Land Board has secured £750,000 investment from the Greater Manchester Growth Fund to replace the existing booking

- office, and there are plans to replace the covered walkway to the station. The open land surrounding each side of the station is now being redeveloped by Barratt as homes for sale which will contribute further to place-making efforts in creating a safe, well-used, connected and distinctive urban realm. A local community group, Friends of Hattersley Railway station, continue to play a significant part in driving this improvement forward.
- (iv) **New District Centre:** One of the highest priorities in regenerating Hattersley was redeveloping the District Centre. Whilst incomplete, it has to-date delivered a new Tesco Extra and a multi-purpose community facility, The Hub. Bringing Tesco on board has been a success in terms of local employment where approximately 90% of its workforce live locally and either walk or cycle to work. However, Tesco drove a hard bargain for retail space that adversely affected the Hub's design and created problems with how it is used by the local community. Apart from the Library, the building suffers from chronic under-use and, we would argue, local public service agencies. It is in danger of becoming a 'white elephant'. Reasons for this include: the multi-level design of the building, the co-location of public agencies with community facilities, management issues both in the Council's contractor and voluntary groups (which are being addressed) and insufficient branding as a community space. Tameside MBC has also commissioned an architect to look at how the use and design of the Hub could be improved, including its disabled access and position of the library.
- (v) **Community investment Strategy:** Since 2013 Peak Valley has committed to delivering a Community Investment Strategy with the aim of developing sustainable communities through a process '...that recognises that successful neighbourhoods, and therefore successful tenancies, depend on a complex balance of social, economic and environmental conditions.'² By Peak Valley's own measure of social return on investment, this strategy has been successful in delivering social impact for local residents. However, there is also a wider sense in which Peak Valley and its highly-regarded staff have gone the extra mile in community investment. This is evident in how they have fostered a close working relationship with local schools, with staff now sitting as governors in the two local primary schools.
- (vi) **Skills development:** The success of skills development has been more uneven with the Tesco initiative representing a high point in offering much needed local employment. Other initiatives, such as jobs fairs, apprenticeship schemes, BASE courses and Talent Match have achieved small successes but not enough to offset the high levels of deprivation on the estate. Reasons for this lack of success are varied but focus on an abiding sense of social insularity. Related to this are the inherent difficulties in constructively engaging with a tightly bound community. These are issues which the tenure diversification approach may have begun to address, such that future attempts at skills development may prove more fruitful.

The lessons of regeneration

7. The Hattersley case establishes a set of principles that can help guide the successful regeneration of any area suffering from multiple deprivation and historical neglect. Our assessment highlights five fundamentally important factors which have implications for estate regeneration policy and practice:
1. The Collaboration Agreement underpinning the stock transfer process and the regeneration masterplan, which enabled private sector investment whilst ensuring public sector control, high design standards and punctual delivery, and prevented speculative 'land banking';
 2. The overarching approach to regeneration through tenure diversification coupled with school catchment area restructuring;
 3. Peak Valley's 'relational' – as opposed to 'transactional' – approach to the management of the estate and its relationships with residents and key regeneration partners, notably Tameside MBC;
 4. The robust governance structure - the Hattersley Land Board - constituted by the Collaboration Agreement; and
 5. Tackling the deep-rooted, structural socio-economic problems often evident in regeneration estates like Hattersley is inherently complex and multi-faceted and cannot be achieved through the actions and programmes of housing associations and local authorities alone. The regeneration of Hattersley has, by necessity, focused on physical improvements to housing, amenities, safety and security and infrastructure over more social and economic programmes. This is borne out in the Government's most recent Indices of Multiple Deprivation (2015) which show that Hattersley remains in the top 5% of most deprived areas in the country. This may point to a wider national failure, despite government policy, to develop sustainable local policy solutions that work with and for local communities.
 8. We address each of these in turn, before concluding with recommendations for moving Onward.
9. The successful physical transformation of the Hattersley estate can be traced back to – and is founded upon – the unusual, if not unique, way in which the stock transfer process to Peak Valley in 2006 was funded and the original masterplan created through the seminal Collaboration Agreement between central and local government, the private and third sectors, and the local community. This initiated a highly innovative mechanism

of land value capture that levered in private sector investment to pay for substantial transformations to the estate's housing, retail, community and transport infrastructures whilst precluding speculative land banking and maintaining overall public control of the land and of the regeneration process itself. Moreover, it instilled an institutional culture of close partnership working that has ensured a high level of commitment by all public and private partners to complete the regeneration process.

10. The Collaboration Agreement was a singular '*act of genius*'³ without which the regeneration of the estate could have taken a very different turn. The demolition of some of the worst social housing and redevelopment as new homes for sale was the key strategic move – codified in the Collaboration Agreement – that paid for all other improvements, including to the existing stock and to the public realm, as well as for new retail, transport and community facilities. Moreover, the decision not to sell the land but only a licence to build and sell new homes was key to keeping the private sector developer on, albeit a slightly delayed, schedule particularly given the financial crash of 2008. This was supported by English Partnerships (now Homes England) – the government agency which provided the crucial financial guarantee in the Collaboration Agreement to underwrite the investments – who were at the time influenced by the Mixed Communities policy agenda.

Tenure diversification programme

11. Tenure diversification had two functions in Hattersley: first, to offer a source of private sector funding otherwise unobtainable to pay for all other improvements, including upgrading the existing housing stock; and, second, to inject a new, more diverse mix of tenures into what was a socio-economically isolated mono-tenure social housing estate in the hope of bringing new investment and residents with higher spending power for local goods and services, providing new opportunities for social mixing for existing residents, and raising aspirations particularly among young people. The latter aligned with the Mixed Communities agenda. This held that tenure diversification was itself a direct mechanism for regeneration, acting to counteract the additional disadvantages accruing through the spatial concentration of poverty – 'neighbourhood effects' – over and above deprivation per se, such as that deriving from an unfavourable labour market position.
12. The Mixed Communities agenda sought to tackle spatially-concentrated poverty through a "more sustainable mix of housing types and tenures"⁴ – where housing tenures were seen as a rough proxy for socioeconomic class.⁵ At the heart of the mixed communities rationale is the 'neighbourhood effect' hypothesis which focuses on the *spatial* effects of poverty: defined by UK policy-makers as the "additional disadvantages that affect poorer

²Sam Cooper, "PVHA Community Investment Strategy: June 2014" (Peak Valley Housing Association, 2014).

³This and similar remarks can be attributed to various participants and stakeholders interviewed as part of this project.

⁴ODPM, *Sustainable Communities: Homes for all: A Five Year Plan from the office of the Deputy Prime Minister* (ODPM, 2005); p.53

⁵Rebecca Tunstall and Alex Fenton, "In the Mix: A Review of Mixed Income, Mixed Tenure and Mixed Communities," 2006.

people when they are concentrated in poor neighbourhoods.”⁶ Despite ambiguous evidence for their existence, neighbourhood effects are seen to reinforce poverty through poor access to public services, social networks, role models, and employment opportunities.⁷

13. It is extremely difficult to measure how the introduction, for the first time on the estate, of new-build private homes for sale has affected the life chances of existing residents. This is a notoriously tricky question in the social sciences which hinges around the methodological controversy over whether ‘neighbourhood effects’ exist in any real or observable way, and rests on the cumulative assumption that spatial proximity leads to social mixing between tenure groups which in turn creates new opportunities for the most disadvantaged. Broadly consistent with the academic literature, we found little evidence of any significant social mixing between residents of the new build private houses and the longer-standing tenants of Peak Valley, but equally little evidence of any significant tensions or conflict developing between the latter and the new tenure group of owner-occupiers.
14. Hattersley’s tenure diversification strategy avoided the hostility that is usually associated with mixed communities. Perhaps the most damning critique of the Mixed Communities agenda is its tendency to displace existing residents in favour of more upwardly-mobile incomers – that it is ‘gentrification by stealth’; a form of ‘state-led gentrification’⁸. Such a charge cannot be levelled at the Hattersley regeneration programme, for all tenants of the old housing demolished to make way for the new have been rehoused by Peak Valley in better new-build housing. In many respects, this is one of its greatest achievements – to be able to fund improvements and replacement of existing stock, as well as new infrastructure and facilities, through the introduction of homes for sale, without displacing any existing residents.
15. Resonating with the academic critique of the Mixed Communities agenda, the regeneration process in Hattersley appears to have done more to improve the material environment and cosmetic image of the area – thereby attracting newcomers and ‘diluting’ the deprivation – than to directly improve the life chances of existing residents themselves. The lack of any significant change in deprivation scores in Hattersley over the past decade, despite visible improvements to the estate and to facilities, supports this assessment. Nonetheless, this has done much to abate the persistent ‘territorial stigma’⁹ that has come to mark the estate, which may lower some of the barriers that many residents face in finding opportunities.
16. Despite the lack of evidence to support the purported causal mechanisms of mixed communities, the tenure diversification project in Hattersley has had some positive – and some negative –

impacts on the estate:

- (i) Breaking up specific mono-tenure concentrations of social housing and moving families to new homes spread out across the estate has helped break down what many see as highly inward-looking, isolationist micro-communities on the estate; helping overcome through higher spatial mobility some of the more negative aspects of close-knit communities, such as gang culture, that were hindering upward mobility. Residents’ perceptions of crime and safety have improved as a result.
 - (ii) Imagined territorial barriers, such as that between the ‘Hattersley’ and ‘Mottram’ sides of the estate, have become more permeable. This process was strengthened by rebuilding and relocating the district centre with community facilities, public services and Peak Valley’s offices at the centre of the divide, on Stockport Road, renamed The Hub, thereby creating a symbolic bridge between the two sides.
 - (iii) A problematic adverse effect of breaking down boundaries and increasing spatial mobility has been the displacement of anti-social behaviour and minor criminality from Hattersley to neighbouring town centres, such as Hyde. This reflects a common concern with the Mixed Communities agenda – that by moving people around and encouraging spatial mobility it tends to displace issues rather than resolve them directly¹⁰
17. Tenure diversification can be seen to have had most impact in combination with Tameside MBC’s earlier interventions in restructuring school catchment areas, thereby encouraging social mixing between tenure groups but in particular for young people. The process of territorial stigmatization of Hattersley also extended to school students on the estate, whose employment prospects were often hampered the moment they left school by unfavourable associations in the minds of local and perhaps even national employers. Part of the problem with one large feeder school serving a mono-tenure ex-council estate – besides from stigma – is that it concentrates children from disadvantaged families in one learning space which may therefore mean lower standards are achieved due to the compound effects of fewer resources to address greater learning needs. Moreover, as a microcosm of the estate itself, this situation intensified over time as social housing was ‘residualised’ – increasingly an option of last resort, rather than a mainstream tenure of choice.¹¹ By demolishing Hattersley Comprehensive – located at the centre of the estate, now being developed as new homes for sale – and building new schools in neighbouring areas through a council-led Private Finance Initiative (PFI) programme, this self-reinforcing cycle of decline may have been broken.

Peak Valley’s relational governance approach

18. In examining Peak Valley’s role in the regeneration of Hattersley and its interaction with its community there has been no criticism of their approach. This we attribute to their ‘relational’ – as opposed to ‘transactional’ – approach to the delivery of their housing service. Such an approach potentially embodies and harnesses the concept of ‘social capital’ – high levels of which have been associated with socially and economically prosperous communities¹². It has also been instrumental in cementing valued and trusted working relationships with all stakeholders and embedding successful governance of the estate with key partners: the local community; Tameside MBC; and, Barratt Homes, the developer of the new-build homes.
19. Faced with an existing local community infrastructure, Peak Valley’s challenge was to develop and manage the inter-related component parts of social capital, namely trust and the networking features of bonding and bridging capital. It is evident that Peak Valley has developed trusted relationships. However, given the prevailing high level of deprivation on the estate, it is not yet clear if it managed the nurturing of bridging capital – important for developing inclusive and prosperous communities – whilst maintaining healthy levels of bonding capital, a feature of strong, robust communities. As mentioned above, tenure diversification and school rationalisation may deliver the required levels of bridging capital, but it is apparent that some residents are mourning the loss of associational activity and community spirit. We argue that while this may be a function of the lack of appropriate social space to congregate (see below) it is also likely to be a function of age. Existing community activists, particularly those associated with the still influential Hattersley Community Forum, are elderly and nostalgic for their past successes. Interestingly, the new build homes may serve to supply this missing generation of community activists as it appears that it is largely the 24-44 age group that are moving into these properties.
20. Peak Valley’s relational approach has important implications for a current debate amongst practitioners and public administration academics about how public services can better address the increasingly complex needs of residents. The New Public Management paradigm – a bureaucratic, market-led means of service delivery – rested upon assumptions that public services were products that were delivered to people. Some commentators¹³ argue that this has proven to be an inefficient, often unjust and costly way of meeting contemporary requirements of individuals and communities. Rather, what is required now is a new model¹⁴ of governance that emphasises a holistic, inter-agency and relational approach to service delivery;

and, moreover, one that is predicated upon a notion of public service delivery as a process, the end outcome of which is likely to be more effective the more involved the service user is in the design and delivery of that process, towards a process of co-production.

21. In the absence of a more detailed comparative study it is also hard to assess the extent to which Peak Valley embodies the more relational principles promoted by the protagonists of ‘New Public Governance’¹⁵ – as opposed to New Public *Management* – models of service delivery. It is arguable¹⁶ that small housing associations, such as Peak Valley, are particularly well-suited to delivering these kinds of relational services: they generally deliver a local housing management service; they have knowledge and understanding of the area; and, they tend to have strong relationships with local networks that can help make things happen.
22. Peak Valley’s approach has been enhanced by their physical presence on the estate. This is not solely about the on-site location of a local housing office, though the accessibility of this is an important factor – it is also about how Peak Valley have embedded themselves into the living fabric of the community, through for example: hiring local residents to staff the office; enabling staff to become governors of the local primary schools; their involvement in the local football club; and, sponsoring community garden projects. It is this depth of immersion in the everyday, quotidian life of the estate that explains how the organisation has become, certainly in one resident’s eyes, ‘...like family’.

Partnership-based governance

23. The governance of the estate has been largely successful, principally due to the close partnership working between key public partners, which was written into the Collaboration Agreement from the outset. The following summarises our assessment of the governance of Hattersley since 2006:
 - (i) **Community:** Peak Valley did not step into an empty cultural or political space when assuming housing management responsibility for the estate. A cadre of community activists had been developed in the years up to 2006, largely through adversity, when they ‘...were the only ones running the estate’. Regeneration interventions by Tameside MBC – most notably the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) and Neighbourhood Partnership Pathfinder initiative – had further developed this layer of community activism. They were a key component part of the governance platform, the Hattersley Land Board, which facilitated Peak Valley’s role in the regeneration process.

⁶ ODPM, *Sustainable Communities: People, Places and Prosperity: a five year plan from the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister*. (2005): p.52

⁷ Alan Berube, “Mixed Communities in England: A US Perspective on Evidence and Policy Prospects,” *Water*, 2005.

⁸ Gary Bridge, Tim Butler, and Loretta Lees, eds., *Mixed Communities: Gentrification by Stealth?* (Policy Press, 2012).

⁹ Loic Wacquant, “Territorial Stigmatization in the Age of Advanced Marginality,” *Thesis Eleven* 91, no. 1 (November 1, 2007): 66–77

¹⁰ David Imbroscio, “Beyond Mobility: The Limits of Liberal Urban Policy,” *Journal of Urban Affairs* 34, no. 1 (February 26, 2012): 1–20.

¹¹ Michael Harloe, *The People’s Home?: Social Rented Housing in Europe and America* (Wiley-Blackwell, 1995).

¹² Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (Simon & Schuster, 2000).

¹³ Osborne, S (2013) A New Theory for Public Service Management: Toward a (Public) Service-Dominant Approach. *American Review of Public Administration* 43 (2) p135-158

¹⁴ Muir, R., Parker I (2014) Many to Many: how the relational state will transform Public Services. IPPR

¹⁵ Osborne, S. (2006). The New Public Governance? *Public Management Review*, 8(3) 377-387

¹⁶ Muir, R., Parker I (2014) Many to Many: how the relational state will transform Public Services. IPPR

- (ii) **The Hattersley Neighbourhood Partnership** no longer exists but it was an influence on the estate for almost ten years, four of those coinciding with Peak Valley's tenure. Its legacy is contested. For some it delivered little impact relative to its resources; for others it was an important arena for connecting those participating residents – and by extension their networks – with governance issues, a way of developing bridging social capital. For the local ward councillors, the Neighbourhood Partnership was an important initiative as it co-ordinated different agencies' activity on the estate. This, they feel, is a current gap in public service delivery on the estate.
- (iii) **Tameside MBC** has been highly invested in the Hattersley estate for several decades, which has helped drive forward the regeneration process beyond the capabilities of Peak Valley alone. Part of this derives from the loyalty and political commitments to Hattersley shown by a number of powerful local politicians, many of whose constituents live on the estate. Some of these councillors have taken on key functions of the Land Board and helped direct council funds towards the regeneration of Hattersley. Council officers too have played an important part. The move to develop more bridging capital on the estate had already begun with Tameside MBC rationalising and relocating Hattersley's schools. This is arguably one of the most decisive factors in the regeneration process.
- (iv) **Land Board:** The primary mechanism for the governance of the regeneration of the estate is the Hattersley Land Board. This was established to deliver the Collaboration Agreement, and currently functions as an effective working partnership that facilitates '*robust discussion*' between the key agencies of Tameside MBC and Peak Valley. Also represented are the Homes and Communities Agency (HCA) – incorporating English Partnerships and now Homes England – alongside four residents from the estate. There was some legitimate concern about the representativeness of residents attending the Board; in other words, it is not clear that any of the residents are representing any other views other than their own. However, the meetings are also attended by Hattersley's ward councillors who provide an alternative route for local democratic representation.

Tackling socio-economic problems

24. Urban regeneration policy at the time of the stock transfer, driven as it was by recommendations of the Urban Task Force¹⁷ and concerns of the New Labour Government's Social Exclusion Unit¹⁸ was based upon narrowing the gap between the poorest neighbourhoods and the rest of the country to achieve the vision that '*... in ten to twenty years' time nobody should be seriously disadvantaged by where they live.*'¹⁹
25. Our evaluation attempts to explain a singular paradox: Peak Valley's tenant surveys²⁰, and indeed its own legacy review²¹, reveal high, widespread and rising levels of satisfaction with all aspects of the organisation's activities; and yet Hattersley remains in the top 5% of the most deprived areas in the country, a position it has maintained since Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) were first collected in the 1990s. It is now estimated that around 95% of Hattersley residents live in the top 20% of the most deprived areas in England as captured by income, employment, education and health domains²². Almost half of the children (47%) on the estate live in poverty²³. The causes of such persistent spatially-concentrated deprivation are complex and not the purview of this report. The fact that tenant satisfaction and service performance have continued to rise in Hattersley since 2006 despite no improvements in life chances, is instructive of the positive impact of the interventions made by Peak Valley and its regeneration partners.
26. Our findings point to a number of explanations:
- (i) The Hattersley estate regeneration has focused primarily on physical improvements to housing, amenities, safety and security, and infrastructure over and above more social and economic interventions. Indeed, the IMD score that relates to barriers to housing and services shows an improvement for Hattersley, in stark contrast to consistently high deprivation on other domains. For the physical and financial accessibility of housing and local services, the area is only in the bottom half of most deprived areas in England²⁴ – suggesting a very high performance in this area relative to other domains. Consistent with this picture, we found that residents largely feel that it is a '*...much nicer place to live*' and they '*...feel safer moving around the estate at all times.*' Tenants are happy with the improvements made to their housing in particular – both the upgrading of existing stock and the construction of new housing – as well as in other physical infrastructures, such as the railway station, whose redesign has proven a significant success in making it safe and attracting greater use.

- (ii) The statistical paradox suggests that regeneration efforts undertaken by housing associations and local authorities are not enough alone to address fundamental structural inadequacies in the local economy, largely created by the economic restructuring of the 1980s, with which successive governments' urban regeneration policies and area based initiatives have struggled to contend. This has left local governance organisations such as Peak Valley with limited agency to effect and offset these deep and complex socio-economic problems. This may point to a wider national failure, despite government policy, to develop sustainable local policy solutions that work with and for local communities.
- (iii) Within this constrained context, the post-2006 regeneration process may nonetheless have made significant impacts on life chances, but which have yet to materialise. Whilst relatively cosmetic improvements and consequent changes in satisfaction levels have been quick to emerge, the socioeconomic impacts of the regeneration of the Hattersley estate have been slower to take effect. There is a time lag between the interventions made and their translation into socioeconomic benefits; whilst satisfaction levels are more immediately discernible from general service and environmental improvements. We believe this is due to the generational nature of the specific regeneration process in Hattersley: young people have most to gain and are only beginning to enter the labour market. The fundamental intervention that will affect the life chances of younger generations is the innovative dual strategy of school catchment area restructuring and housing tenure diversification.

Moving Onward

27. As noted above, this evaluation of the impact of the interventions by Peak Valley on the regeneration of Hattersley is premature. The Collaboration Agreement commits its signatories to a further ten years of regeneration activity. Moreover, as we have emphasised, the ongoing generational impact of tenure diversification and school rationalisation may yet affect the social and economic prosperity of the estate. It is arguable that it is only at this future point that the impact of Peak Valley can be fully appraised. Nonetheless, it is evident that Peak Valley have made a remarkable contribution to Hattersley's regeneration, one that has left a largely positive legacy for Onward to contemplate. In summary, Peak Valley have:
- made a significant contribution to the regeneration of the estate by developing innovative approaches to funding, designing and delivering largely successful interventions;
 - garnered an enviable institutional reputation for integrity – we found this to hold true for all stakeholders involved in the regeneration process;

- provided a local, accessible housing management service;
 - afforded sufficient weight to their social responsibilities to make a positive difference to how they are perceived upon the estate.
28. Almost all participants in this research, however, were concerned about the future of Hattersley once Peak Valley's governance structure was fully incorporated into Onward's. They fear the return of a more remote landlord. One resident in pointing to the end of their involvement on the Board of Management asked '*... how will they know us?*'
29. In light of these concerns – and the themes raised in the report – the main issues for Onward to address are the following:
- Ensuring that there is sufficient community involvement in the design of public realm improvements being developed by Tameside MBC/Land Board, as well as in any future redevelopment plans for the estate.
 - Rethinking and addressing the chronic under-use of The Hub without unsettling community relations and in ways which promote co-located multi-agency working.
 - Related to (ii) is the need to address the lack of social space on the estate for community association. There is a resident perception that The Hub has too much institutional oversight to work as an attractive community centre. The loss of pubs – from 11 to 1 – over the years has also served to diminish the facilities for social activity.
 - Embedding a governance mechanism to address the '*how will they know us?*' question. New resident/tenant recruits to the Land Board is a start but needs more collective community involvement beyond the Land Board, in ways which replace the role of the Hattersley Neighbourhood Partnership.
 - Developing new governance approaches for managing all housing, increasingly split between owner-occupiers, buy-to-let landlords, Right to Buy owners and Peak Valley, which threatens the integrity of estate management.
 - Tackling the persistent levels of socioeconomic deprivation through policy innovation. Jobs fairs and skills training initiatives have had limited success and other solutions are needed. These should look to develop the endogenous capacities of Hattersley and its residents rather than rely on spatial mobility to connect residents with exogenous economic opportunities.

¹⁷ Department for Environment Transport and the Regions, 1999 'Towards an Urban Renaissance'

¹⁸ Social Exclusion Unit (2001) A New Commitment to Neighbourhood Renewal: national Strategy Action Plan, London SEU.

¹⁹ Ibid page 8

²⁰ See Peak Valley STAR surveys

²¹ See Peak Valley Performance Legacy Review 2017

²² Community Insight Profile for Hattersley, 2017. Symphony Housing Group.

²³ Ibid. Poverty here is defined as living in in families in receipt of out of work benefits, or in receipt of tax credits where their reported income is less than 60% median income.

²⁴ English Indices of Deprivation 2015 available online <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/english-indices-of-deprivation-2015>

APPENDIX 1 – REGENERATION OBJECTIVES AND THEIR ACHIEVEMENT

APPENDICES

Regeneration Objective	Progress made
Deliver a more sustainable mix of residential accommodation across the Project Areas in favour of owner occupation;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Achieved - from around 70:30 social/private to 60:40 - The private element has been diversified from 100% ex-council Right to Buy to include mostly new-build owner-occupied - Although some problems with buy-to-let landlords are emerging
Secure an increase in the resident population in the project Area;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Achieved - Population decline has been arrested and reversed - New residents are moving to Hattersley for the first time in decades
Secure the development of the District Centre;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partly-achieved - Tesco Extra and The Hub are complete - New precinct shops on Honiton Avenue are complete - But second site south of Ashworth Lane (for Lidl and Costa Coffee) yet to be secured
Secure the delivery of sustainable facilities for the community;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partly-achieved - The Hub's community facilities are much improved on the old community centre, but remain under-used and poorly-managed - Recreational space, particularly for young people, has been reduced through housing redevelopment, and yet to be reconstructed through the delayed public realm improvements
Construct the Principal Infrastructure;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Largely achieved - New housing and retail completed - Railway station improved - But public realm yet to be improved
Assist the parties in achieving their commitment to improve Hattersley;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Highly successful - The Land Board has been very effective governance model - Partnership approach underwritten by Collaboration Agreement very successful in maintaining commitment from all partners
Deliver a landmark project in partnership with the private sector;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Largely successful - Partnership with Tesco has been very beneficial to the estate, through the £4 million planning gains secured for the development of The Hub - Partnership with Barratt Homes has produced amongst their fastest selling and most popular new housing developments in the UK
Facilitate the development of a series of high quality character areas;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Largely achieved - excellent architectural design quality in comparison with peers, in both social and private new-build housing - some concerns over secured-by-design character of earlier phases of Barratt developments creating defensive urbanism

Engage the community in the development and regeneration of the Project Area;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partly successful - Consultation exercises have been carried out periodically throughout the regeneration, particularly for the masterplan, but the process was driven by public partners - Hattersley Neighbourhood Partnership provided a useful bridge between regeneration partners and residents, until it was disbanded in 2010 - The Land Board has two positions for resident representatives - Peak Valley's Board also had resident representation until it was incorporated into Onward Homes in 2018
Maximise the regeneration benefits of the parties' activities;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Successful - the partnership approach embedded by the Collaboration Agreement has led to parties working together for mutually-beneficial outcomes - synergies created for Tameside MBC and Peak Valley (e.g. school restructuring and tenure diversification)
Encourage environmental sustainability and high quality design in the built environment throughout the Project Area;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partly achieved - excellent architectural design quality in comparison with peers, in both social and private new-build housing - some concerns over drop in Building for Life standards and lower environmental sustainability than originally envisaged due to Barratt's financial difficulties post-2008 crisis. - More work could be done to retrofit housing stock to higher environmental standards
Deliver the Development and Delivery Strategy;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Achieved
Secure planning permissions and obtain all necessary consents and approvals required to enable all housing, infrastructure and other required works to be constructed on the Project Area to deliver the Development Milestones;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Achieved
Service and maintain the existing Management Team and Collaboration Board;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Achieved. - The Land Board has had a positive and sustained presence on the regeneration process
Deliver the Development to an agreed design and within an agreed timescale.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partly-achieved - The global financial crisis has delayed the Barratt housing developments and its contributions to public realm improvements, which remain undelivered





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