

Neighbourhood Management

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Editorial Note

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Abstract

The way we run urban neighbourhoods in Britain is a key to reversing social exclusion, crime and poor performance on almost every front in our cities. This study for the Social Exclusion Unit of seven models of neighbourhood management analyses the reason for its key position in the national strategy for neighbourhood renewal. We explore the need for it, its function and remit.

It hinges on three core ideas:

- someone in charge at neighbourhood level to ensure reasonable conditions and co-ordinate the many inputs already flowing into neighbourhoods;
- the practical relevance of the core idea across almost any area;
- the immediate and longer-term impacts on conditions of a clearly focussed, truly local neighbourhood management service.

To work well, there must be a dedicated budget, a senior manager in control locally, immediate security and environmental targets, resident involvement. The costs are relatively modest but must be properly funded; the benefits are indispensable as the experiments show and continental experience underlines.

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Summary

Purpose and method of study

The report sets out:

- what neighbourhood management is
- what available funds can cover

Our approach was to:

- explore existing models that:
 - ◆ fit with Social Exclusion Unit proposals
 - ◆ are viable and have core funding
 - ◆ are long-term
 - ◆ appear cost-effective
- identify seven different models/examples
- delineate legal, financial, staffing and decision making structures for neighbourhood management
- identify the limitations within existing frameworks
- outline costs and benefits
- examine local authority accounts to identify funding potential

Findings

- the study focuses on difficult urban areas in need of intensive management, but the idea could be applied anywhere if funds were available – it is relevant to rural and urban areas
- it is based on the core idea of “someone in charge” at neighbourhood level
- there are few long-term viable models, particularly with sufficient autonomy to “manage decisions”
- most viable experiments are housing-led because:
 - ◆ the size, number and difficulty of large estates push local authorities to act
 - ◆ the housing revenue account provides a management budget
 - ◆ there is recognition of a management deficit in large public structures
- neighbourhood issues – security, environmental care, community development, local employment, training, health – are important and need managing
- town centres also provide a useful model because of:
 - ◆ the urgency to protect them from crime and make them work
 - ◆ being negatively affected by surrounding problems

- ◆ local authorities' keen interest in making them viable and popular
- warden schemes are relevant because they offer the lowest effective level of input, linked to housing or police and they do help

Core ingredients of successful neighbourhood management

Success can be measured in improved conditions; reduced problems; less damage and crime; better community relations; some savings.

It needs:

- a clear staff structure with a manager in charge locally
- an identified budget and decision making powers locally
- the backing of higher authority – the local authority or company board
- community support
- a clearly defined local remit

Conditions of success

- neighbourhood management needs to be permanent and mainstream funded
- the basics are more important than complex agendas which are difficult to deliver
- a distinct local structure *and* wider links are important
- mainstream services are essential, particularly the police, schools, housing, health – all local services contribute and benefit
- it often requires special regeneration funding to launch neighbourhood management because it requires a break with traditional hierarchies

Costs – based on seven models

- It costs £4 per unit per week to provide core management services, including a base, a senior manager, a small team of wardens or super-caretakers and a small fund to support local initiatives.
- It costs £1 per unit per week for a neighbourhood warden service covering basic security, environmental conditions and community liaison.
- Both services can be funded from rent income for areas owned by councils or other social landlords.
- Providing neighbourhood management for local services is no more expensive than centrally run services due to efficiency gains

in direct delivery and reduction in costs due to more direct control over delivery and conditions.

- For mixed or privately owned areas, some funds can be identified from savings on insurance and repair but some additional funding is necessary.
- The central strategic framework provided by local authorities and links to it from the neighbourhood are essential for overall co-ordination, for resource allocation and for strategic support. This is already in place and funded.

Benefits – based on seven models

- Neighbourhood management has a rapid and visible impact on conditions.
- It becomes possible to co-ordinate inputs and maximise their impact by having an organisational focus on a manageable scale across many publicly funded activities.
- Police, health and schools need neighbourhood management in difficult areas and benefit directly from better conditions, more security and improved environmental maintenance. By operating with direct support in a properly run neighbourhood, their performance can rise.
- Resident engagement and initiative grow and it becomes easier to try new ideas and approaches.
- Local supervision reduces vandalism, crime, anti-social behaviour, disrepair.
- There are significant, direct savings in repairs, turnover costs, lost income and empty property. There are also potential savings in reduced insurance premiums and increased property values.

Conclusions

- neighbourhood management works in the areas where it has been tried.
- it is affordable within housing revenue accounts or registered social landlord rent accounts.
- it can be funded through arm's length company structures with local authority support.
- police, health and other services respond positively to neighbourhood management – so do residents.
- redeployment of staff and funds can support neighbourhood management, as warden services illustrate.

- there is no direct budget to fund it apart from housing – several services can contribute, e.g. environmental health, social services, health, education, police.
- residents may pay for extra security, cleanliness and a quick response to problems
- low income private areas need special funding. Registered Social Landlords may have a role.
- arm's length models can raise funds and generate new momentum.
- residents gain skills, access better conditions and some jobs. They have a big role in successful models.

Targets

- regeneration funds should be made conditional on long-term neighbourhood management.
- 200 neighbourhoods could be tackled within 2 years.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In this report we investigate and explain some of the forms of neighbourhood management that are being tried in England today. Lack of time precluded our examining Scottish experiments which could be highly relevant. We show:

- how much neighbourhood management is likely to cost;
- what benefits it can bring;
- what structures are needed to deliver it;
- how it can be funded.

We have selected seven different models of neighbourhood organisation, six of which are linked to local housing management. The seven examples have been chosen for their clear organisational characteristics and their defined approach to a specific neighbourhood and its management. All demonstrate some elements of good practice in area-based management of conditions and services. All have structures, which illustrate the potential for neighbourhood management and its complexity. All address services that extend beyond traditional housing management.

Chart A gives basic information about the seven areas, their organisation and remit. The information in the charts is derived from visits and documentation from 7 cases unless otherwise stated.

Note: In the charts acronyms are sometimes used. The following are the most frequent:

- HARCA is the acronym for the Tower Hamlets Housing and Regeneration Community Association;
- CBHA stands for community-based housing association;
- TMO stands for tenant management organisation;
- EMB means estate management board, a variant of a tenant management organisation; and
- HAT stands for Housing Action Trust.

Chart A: Information about the seven examples of neighbourhood management

ISSUE	Clapton Community Housing Trust, Hackney	Poplar HARCA, Tower Hamlets	CBHA, Waltham Forest	Bloomsbury TMO, Birmingham	Broadwater Farm, Haringey	Monsall Estate, Manchester	Town Centre Company, Coventry
Type of area	4 ex-council estates	7 ex-council estates	4 new build estates	council estate	council estate	multi-landlord estate	shopping centre
Size of area - no. of homes	1044	4539	862 (rising to 1500)	716	1063	648	city centre area
Location	inner city	inner city	outer city	inner city	outer city	inner city	core city
Property Type	balcony flats	mixed high density, mainly flats	new terraced houses (replacing high rise)	dense high & medium rise (some towers demolished)	dense high & medium rise	new houses, converted tower block	busy shopping area
Organisation	local housing company	local housing company	community based housing association	tenant management organisation	council initiative	council and RSL partnership	independent company
Lead body	Hackney Council and 3 housing associations	Tower Hamlets Council with RSL support	government, council, housing association, residents	council residents, PEP	council, residents	council & housing associations	council and private retail partners
Remit							
• housing	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-
• security	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
• environment	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
• resident involvement	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	user liaison owner involvement
• wider initiatives / special projects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
• other services		✓	✓	✓	✓		

Source: visits and documentation from 7 cases

Scope of Report

We have based our discussion of neighbourhood management on what is already happening rather than what is theoretically possible. By examining what is actually being delivered on the ground, we were forced to use working models, most of which are based within the framework of social housing. This document therefore does not cover all the ambitious new ideas for neighbourhood service provision which are being discussed.

We do not include any policing and crime prevention based models as they do not have neighbourhood management as their primary focus. However, security, crime prevention and local policing are central to neighbourhood management itself. We therefore discuss policing and security as part of the neighbourhood focus.

Nor does the report cover the warden-based service, though we do draw on that model as it has great relevance and in practice overlaps with neighbourhood management.

Our sources of information are mainly limited to those directly involved with delivering services in their areas. Our cost projections have been based upon the financial information of the relevant organisations. All figures have been reviewed by the relevant organisations.

The study of live models provides an “implementation focused” insight into what is going on at the neighbourhood level. Thus we believe that the report offers some insight into the organisational and financial prerequisites for neighbourhood management. Our findings apply much more generally to the delivery of all neighbourhood services, and not just housing. In practise all the experiments we studied are addressing local problems on a much broader front.

Method of Investigation

We collected detailed information through visits to the areas, meetings with the most senior person at neighbourhood level (chief executive/neighbourhood manager/project leader/board chairman/area manager) of the case study organisations; meetings with housing officers, caretakers, repairs personnel, wardens, police officers, health officials, community workers and community representatives. In addition, follow up contact has been made with the lead officer in each of the areas to check facts and add extra information. We have also conducted some secondary research, through our review of all relevant

documentation published by the case study organisations and our examination of the local authorities' Annual Statements of Accounts. All our findings and costings have been checked with the organisations.

Outline of the report

The first part of the report shows how neighbourhood management is organised and funded based on current experience.

Chapter 2 outlines the basic idea of neighbourhood management drawing on experience to date. We attempt to match the task set out by the Social Exclusion Unit with practical conditions on the ground.

In Chapter 3, we investigate in greater depth the pattern of services provided by the examples. We trace the common patterns of direct provision outlining the elements of good practice in neighbourhood management. Next we explore the services provided by other agencies, for example the police and the health authority and the extent of co-ordination by the neighbourhood organisation, usually housing-led. We detail the role of residents in the different models. We illustrate each element with innovative ideas we have come across in the neighbourhoods visited.

In Chapter 4 we examine the costs and benefits of neighbourhood management. We estimate the core costs of neighbourhood management more generally, including warden services..

In Chapter 5 we set out total council spending excluding housing in four sample boroughs. From this we derive an estimate of the total amount of money presently spent on typical public services. We also examine spending on police operations. We then explore possible future funding for neighbourhood management.

In Chapter 6 we draw out the key lessons for the future development of neighbourhood management.

A second report by the authors presents the seven neighbourhood management case studies. It outlines their history and the circumstances around their development, explains how they are structured and from what sources they have received funding. It gives a short outline of the basic services they provide and then presents the costs of each case and compares these with the centrally based costs of each local authority. This (supplementary) report is also available from CASE.

Chapter 2: What is Neighbourhood Management?

In this chapter we discuss the ideas behind neighbourhood management, why it is necessary and how it is organised.

Management involves the organisation, supervision and delivery of services, the maintenance and enforcement of reasonable standards and conditions within clear agreed lines of control and accountability. Implicit within management responsibility lie the ability to make decisions and authority over identified and dedicated budgets to match the tasks.

A manager is the person where “the buck stops”. There is no one else to blame for failure within the management remit. The performance of independent elements outside the manager’s direct control is one of the most problematic aspects of successful management. The art of management is delivering all elements *within* the manager’s control as well as negotiating and ensuring the successful delivery of elements outside the manager’s direct control. A manager makes things happen *and* keeps things working. Lack of management causes a breakdown in control, delivery and enforcement of acceptable standards.

The management of neighbourhoods shows these core management characteristics. But neighbourhoods are complex, ill-defined areas that require clear definition and boundaries if neighbourhood management is to be effective.

A *neighbourhood* is a delineated area within physical boundaries where people identify their home and where they live out and organise their private lives. There is a strong social component to neighbourhoods. People connect with their neighbours in many, often unspoken ways – security, cleanliness, the environment, social behaviour, networks and conditions, nuisance, access to basic services such as schools, doctors, transport and shops.

The quality of a neighbourhood determines its value and status, the competition to access homes within it, the quality of services provided and how much people are willing and able to pay to live within it. Who lives in any area is a powerful determinant of both neighbourhood quality and property values. Poorer neighbourhoods invariably

experience poorer conditions and lower property values. The quality of services tends to reflect this, but also helps determine it.

The boundaries of urban neighbourhoods are often clear, if unwritten. There are both physical and psychological barriers between neighbourhoods such as a road or the tenure of the housing, or the social composition of residents. Some neighbourhoods, particularly near urban cores, with good transport links, are *mixed* socially and in property values. But most neighbourhoods are recognised either as “better off” or “poorer”. More mixed neighbourhoods are often “going up” or “down”, rarely static.

Neighbourhoods share many characteristics with an onion. The inner core is tightly drawn. In this core the home, immediate neighbours and security are paramount. Around this core, is the neighbourhood environment, shops and schools. The outermost layers can reach into adjacent neighbourhoods, the city centre or city rim for jobs, friends, relatives and wider services such as leisure.

A recognisable urban neighbourhood for social and management purposes is rarely more than 5000 households (the size of a large ward) and often much smaller with around 1000-2000 households, up to 6000 people. According to Peter Hall, it should be possible to walk across a neighbourhood in fifteen minutes or less – about three-quarters of a mile¹.

Neighbourhood management requires a neighbourhood to have a logical identity, clear boundaries and manageable size for a single organisational structure and team. In poorer neighbourhoods where there are many environmental and service issues to tackle, this will rarely be above 2000 properties for the direct delivery of core services. There is no absolute on size.

We would define *neighbourhood management* as the local organisation and delivery of core urban services within a small, recognisable, built-up area of under 5000 homes. The core services include:

1 Professor Sir Peter Hall – Evidence on Urban Neighbourhood Management presented to the Urban Task Force, 1999.

- security, control of nuisance and general supervision;
- environmental maintenance and repair of damage to public areas;
- street cleaning, refuse collection and rubbish removal;
- community liaison, contact, consultation and support;
- co-ordination of specific services coming into the neighbourhood – co-ordination of inputs to maximise benefits and minimise waste and overlap – this includes housing, repairs, health, education, policing, leisure, regeneration, social services;
- links with local businesses;
- links with wider and central services that are required for the successful functioning of the neighbourhood e.g. adult education, job centre, library;
- the development of local initiatives, special projects and new ideas;
- co-ordination with and support for local voluntary groups.

To deliver the successful management of neighbourhood conditions on this broad front, there are the following prerequisites:

- a manager of sufficient seniority to control and co-ordinate major service inputs;
- a small locally based and locally accountable staff team to implement management decisions;
- a defined budget to fund the team and service delivery; and to allow flexibility in management decisions;
- a defined area of operation;
- a local base through which services can be organised and local residents can be contacted and make contact;
- a high priority to basic services, in order to make a visible impact on conditions, thus gaining the confidence and support of other services such as doctors and schools;
- an entrepreneurial approach to problem solving and to involving partner services in the neighbourhood effort;
- clear lines of communication with local authority policy makers and other decision making and service bodies;
- main stream core funding; *not* short term, project-based funding.

Why do we need neighbourhood management?

There are many factors at play:

- Modern society is increasingly mobile, urbanised, international. This makes neighbourhoods more transient.
- We live in increasingly fragmented and complex households within segmented and often highly polarised neighbourhoods.

- We rely more and more on remote and mechanical forms of communication and as part of this technological change, we have abolished many front-line manual and low skill jobs reducing informal control and basic services.
- We live at far lower population densities as households have shrunk in size but multiplied in number, creating more spread out, “thinner” neighbourhoods.
- Lower densities generate less informal street activity and less informal guarding.
- More cars reduce social interchange, affecting simple neighbourhood activities such as taking children to school.
- There is more fear of strangers, more insecurity and fewer levers of control.

One result of these changes is a continuing, long run exodus of families from inner urban neighbourhoods.

The consequences of change hit much harder in poorer neighbourhoods for many reasons – higher turnover, less resources, weaker organisation, less access to influence, greater social dislocations. Problems become concentrated and compound each other in ways that have been well documented in the Social Exclusion Unit’s report *Bringing Britain Together*.² They do not need elaboration here.

Thus there is a general need to manage urban neighbourhoods differently to improve environments, increase security, attract back and hold onto more mixed income groups and more families. Urban management can substitute for the breakdown in more informal controls resulting from radical social change.

Neighbourhood management is central to sustaining urban conditions and stemming the ever-greater demand for “thinned out” neighbourhoods in green fields. If we do not change the way we manage urban neighbourhoods, we could experience the intense ghetto collapse of US inner cities.

A focus on poorer neighbourhoods?

There is a particular and urgent need to install neighbourhood management in unpopular, difficult and disadvantaged areas. Without

² Social Exclusion Unit (1998): *Bringing Britain Together*, London: TSO.

any special inputs, declining neighbourhoods can enter an accelerating spiral, leading to eventual collapse in conditions. They simply do not have the organisational resources to hold up. This is already happening in many city areas. The process is fully documented in earlier studies³. This study explores the role and impact of a senior local manager on the ability of front line staff to affect conditions.

Better off neighbourhoods face less acute problems for three main reasons:

- Firstly, most households have the resources to maintain their property and pay for additional services that make for greater security and better general conditions. Housekeeping, childcare, maintenance, gardening, are but a few examples.
- Secondly, some residents are professionally and politically connected to ensure delivery of core services. For example, police and cleansing often respond faster and service firms operate to higher standards.
- Thirdly, more people have the resources to buy their way out of problems – private schools, trips and leisure activities. Better off people also have more freedom to move out altogether.

However, neighbourhood management is applicable to most urban areas; and to many rural areas too.

Neighbourhood management cannot operate in a vacuum. So far it has generally been created in response to extreme problems and has not been practised more widely. This is because it requires the combination of many elements which are not within the direct control of a single body. In other words, the very complexity and fragility of modern urban systems make urban management both more difficult and more urgent.

Progress is slow because:

- it requires a lot of organisational energy to break away from centralised structures and controls;
- neighbourhood management cuts across traditional hierarchies;

3 Power, A (1999) *Estates on the Edge*, London: Macmillan Press; Power, A and Tunstall, R (1995) *Swimming Against the Tide*, York: JRF; Power, A and Tunstall, R (1997) *Dangerous Disorder: Riots and violent disturbances in 13 areas of Britain, 1991-92* York: JRF

- it forces middle managers into a much more exposed position nearer the front line;
- it forces a radical restructuring of the centre with a possible loss of some second and third tier jobs, although overall it does not reduce the number of jobs;
- long-term funding and staff must be diverted from existing patterns.

There is inevitable resistance to such change and real obstacles in the path. Therefore it will require a clear framework and achievable gains to make it happen on a broader front.

The limits of decentralisation

Many local authority decentralisation initiatives have been launched over the last 15 years. They invariably provide an arm of the central system which is an important link, better information and a loose form of co-ordination and consultation. On the whole, they cannot satisfy the neighbourhood management remit because they are too generalised, too tied into central procedures, lacking in local powers, covering too large areas.

The rationale for decentralisation is to reduce the scale of central systems. We came across four main variants; one-stop shops, area offices, call centre services and area co-ordination. These models are not attempting to perform the actual neighbourhood management task we have identified – hands on delivery of core services, conditions and standards. Something more is needed.

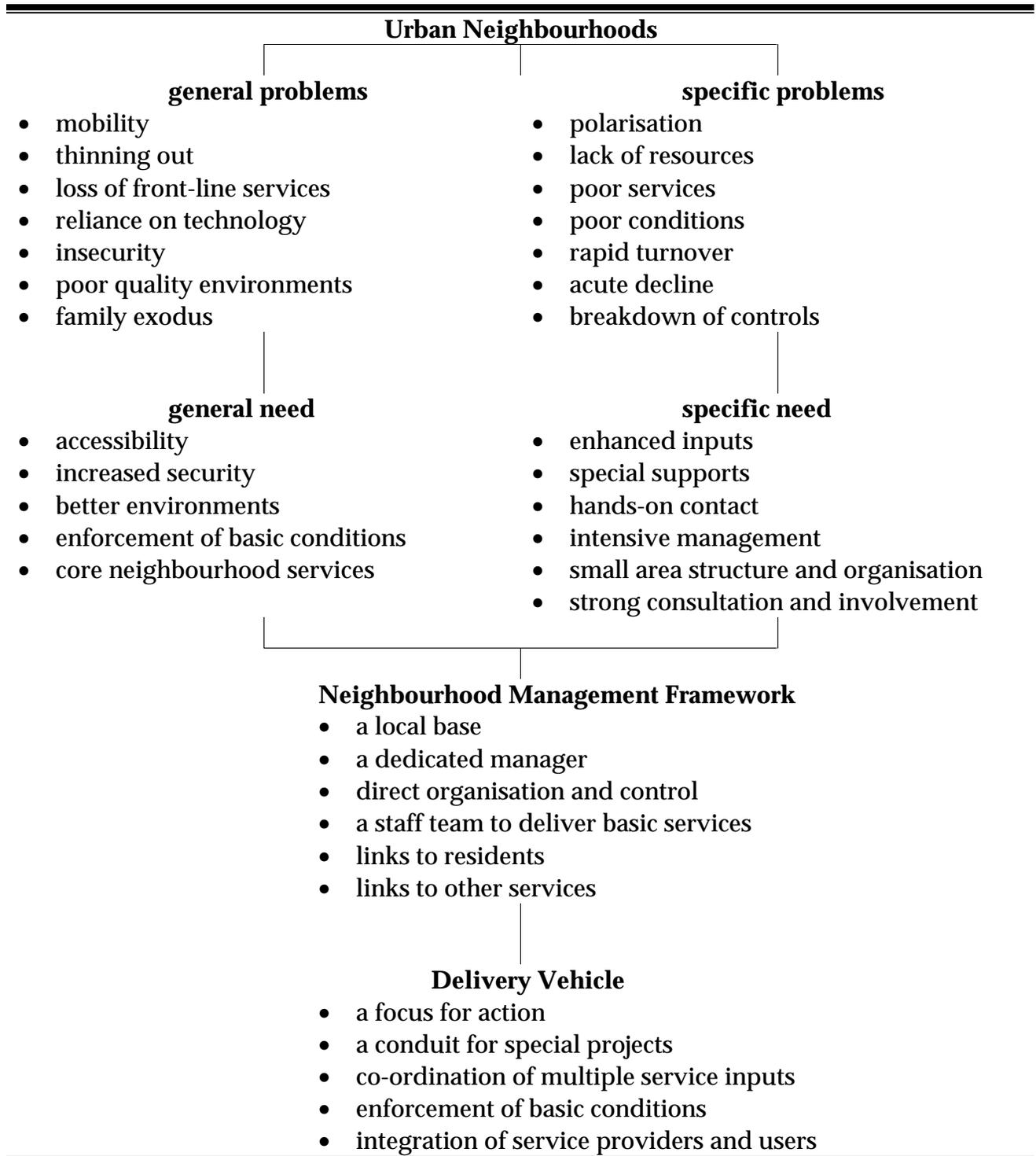
Neighbourhood management should offer a local identifiable organisation through which local residents can secure reasonable services and conditions.

- It offers a method for large urban local authorities to manage and respond to the areas that currently barely turn out to vote (in some cases only 11% of the electorate).
- It offers government a vehicle for delivering targeted programmes.
- It offers universal services such as education, health, police, a local framework for support and co-ordination.
- It offers a structure for housing management which is invariably a core requirement in neighbourhoods of predominately rented housing.
- It creates a clear management vehicle for core services, such as security, cleansing, environmental maintenance.

- It can prevent urban decay and help make otherwise collapsing areas viable.

The following Chart B summarises the rationale for neighbourhood management. It shows the general problems and needs affecting *all* neighbourhoods alongside the more specific problems and needs affecting *poorer* neighbourhoods.

Chart B: Rationale for neighbourhood management



Housing, Town Centre and Neighbourhood Wardens Experiments

The evidence from seven experiments in neighbourhood management show how directly the *housing service* is already involved. This is because of the historic role of local authorities in providing housing, its concentration in large urban estates (40% of the urban stock), its strong welfare role and its steeply declining condition. The combination of public ownership, concentrated poverty and weak, urban management structures has led to extremely serious problems. Social landlords, as the owners of property, have a direct responsibility for neighbourhood conditions. If they are council landlords, then under extreme circumstances they launch bold experiments based on the neighbourhood management concept and the rationale we have outlined. It is these experiments we outline.

The *town centre management* initiative has a similar rationale. Town centres are the hub for many neighbourhoods and central to urban vitality. But town centres have often gone into acute decline following the expansion of out of town shopping and inner city decay, leading to a drop in use, declining security, worse services, a rise in vandal damage, crime and disrepair. Businesses and local authorities have found common cause in developing a dedicated town centre management structure, with many of the same ingredients as neighbourhood management, and for similar reasons.

The other highly relevant example we found was *neighbourhood wardens*. These are often housing led, focusing on security, guarding, basic conditions and resident support. They can be organised by other bodies such as the police, other local authority departments such as social services or registered social landlords. They are a low cost version of neighbourhood management but to be effective in difficult neighbourhoods they do require a dedicated manager.

What should managers manage

The boundaries of neighbourhood management can be tightly or loosely drawn. *The first layer* is the most visible and immediate failure in conditions – cleanliness, order, security and maintenance; these basics should logically be a first target. However, they may be organised under contract and the most efficient structure may be wider than a single neighbourhood. Housing management and policing are both intimately connected with these basics.

The second layer relates to major welfare, public and social services including education, health, employment, income support. Each of these services is nationally funded, inspected and in some cases, organised. But they are delivered within neighbourhoods, affect all citizens and have great potential for impact on conditions or waste of opportunity. Each has its own professional and management structure and *cannot be directly run through neighbourhood management*. Each service must deliver its core targets. However, there is need for collaborative effort, local links, special partnerships, “joining forces” on common problems.

A third layer covers the multiple functions of local authorities outside the basics and mainline services. These include all publicly provided amenities, social services and special responsibilities such as those imposed by the Crime and Disorder Act. Most of these impact on neighbourhoods and some specifically need a neighbourhood structure to work properly.

The fourth layer includes the special programmes, regeneration initiatives and one off programmes that are often directed at specific neighbourhoods.

The following Chart C sets out the layers of responsibility.

How much should neighbourhood managers manage?

Delivering special programmes and using them as a lever to launch longer-term neighbourhood management is a common and obvious starting point. Most initiatives we visited began in this way. They only became effective neighbourhood management initiatives when they became part of a core, mainstream revenue funded service.

Who should organise neighbourhood management?

The value of all public support is around £10,000 per household. It is obvious that a public body should take responsibility for seeing that it is well managed. Only the public realm can broker and orchestrate conditions on such a broad front. Therefore central and local government will be the inevitable drivers and creators of neighbourhood management – our models illustrate this.

Chart C: Layers of responsibility for neighbourhood services & tasks from local to national

CORE SERVICES

Locally organised

- **Environmental**
Street cleaning
Refuse collection
Nuisance control
Repair and maintenance of public spaces
Parks and playgrounds
- **Security**
Sometimes provided through housing
A direct police responsibility
Warden, concierge and super-care-taking services
Sometimes privately organised
- **Housing**
Rent account
Access, allocation, advice
Investment
Repair and maintenance
Tenancy liaison, enforcement
- **Leisure & Amenities**
Libraries
Youth service
Sports facilities
Community centres
- **Special Responsibilities**
Crime prevention
Partnerships
Business liaison
Security
General well-being of area
Promotion
Neighbourhood/community development

MAJOR PUBLIC WELFARE SERVICES

Locally provided

- **School/Education**
- **Policing**
- **Social Services**
Elderly/community care
Warden services
Childcare/nurseries/Family centres
Protection and enforcement
Mental health

Nationally run services

- **Health**
- **Social Security/Income Support**
- **Job centres/Employment**
- **Higher & Further Education**

ADDITIONAL/AREA FOCUSED NATIONAL PROGRAMMES

- **Regeneration Programmes e.g. SRB**
- **Zone initiatives**
- **Additional funding e.g. National Lottery**
- **Targeted area initiatives e.g. Sure Start, New Deal for Communities**

There are many routes to putting “someone in charge” of the resources heading for each area. Therefore political will, financial incentives and scope for experiment will determine developments. Arm’s length companies, public-private partnerships and distinctly private companies, charities and trusts all have a potential to deliver neighbourhood management. It can also be delivered directly by the local authority. More often an arm’s length structure is created with the local authority as the lead organisation.

The following Chart D sets out the seven models we examined.

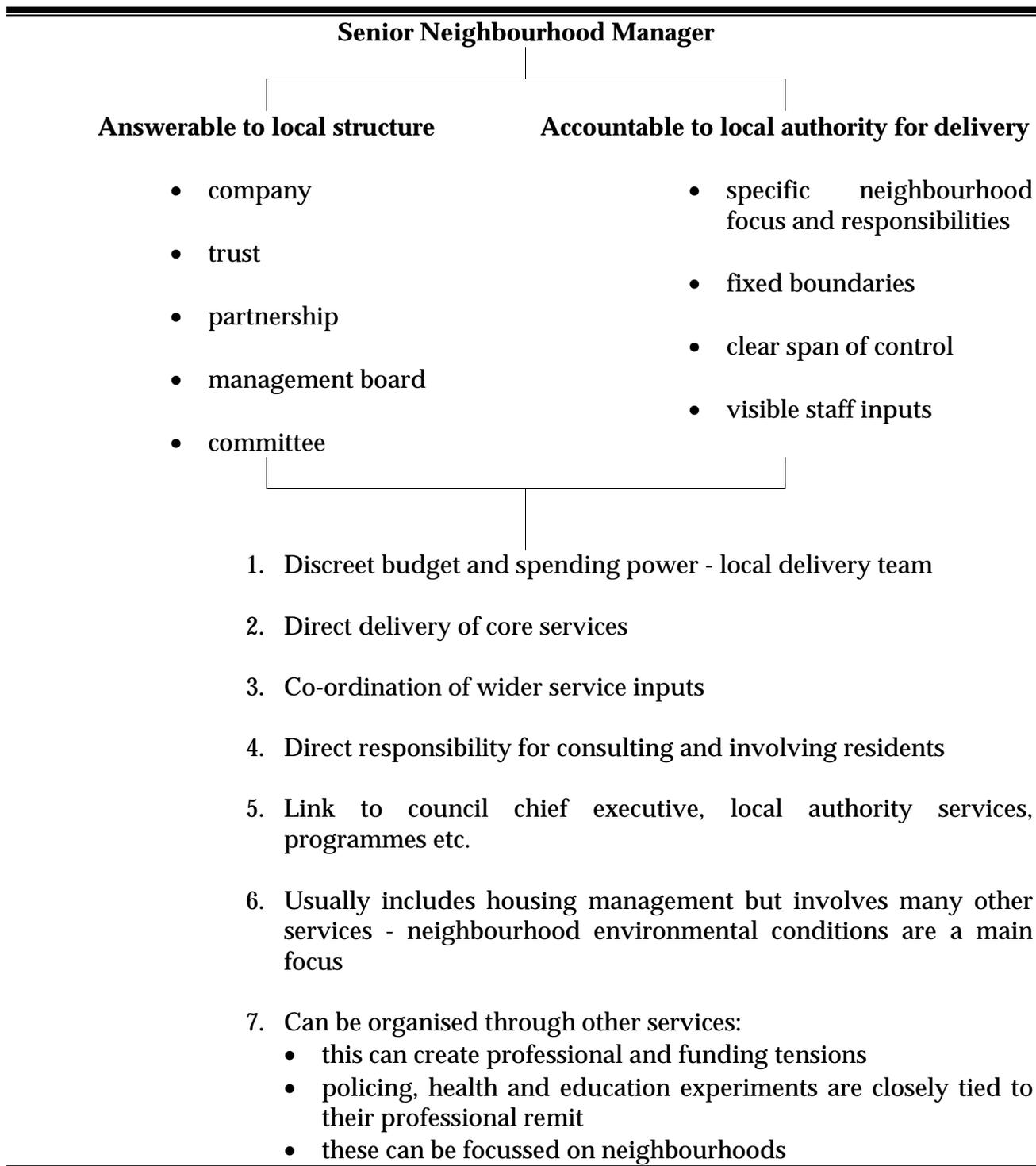
Chart D: Models of neighbourhood management

Models	Status	Local authority or government role in management organisations
1. Clapton Community Housing Trust, Hackney	Autonomous body	Council-created company with housing association backing
2. Poplar HARCA, Tower Hamlets	Autonomous with legal & ownership status	Council-led company
3. CBHA (successor to HAT), Waltham Forest	Legally autonomous registered landlord	Regeneration-led, housing association backed, community based housing association
4. Bloomsbury EMB/TMO, Birmingham	Legally independent company	Tenant-led, council supported Tenant Management Organisation
5. Broadwater Farm, Haringey	Some autonomy	Direct council-led and run initiative
6. Monsall, Manchester	Some autonomy	Council-led partnership with housing associations/ registered social landlords
7. Coventry Town Centre Company	Autonomous company with majority council funding	Council-led, town centre management

What is the role of the neighbourhood manager?

We apply our definition of management – direct responsibility, control of specific services and outcomes, co-ordination of other inputs – as the measure of the manager’s role in a neighbourhood management framework. The following Chart E sets out these roles.

Chart E: Role of neighbourhood manager



Who should fund neighbourhood management?

There is no escaping public responsibility. Residents contribute through council tax and income tax for the provision of basic services. It is possible to levy limited charges for specific additional services. Concierges and warden services are often funded this way. Housing revenue budgets can support neighbourhood management for socially rented areas. The more autonomous local organisations such as housing companies can identify revenue resources. There are several reasons why they may play a leading role:

- they have to manage their assets and alongside this, neighbourhood conditions
- they have a vested interest in tackling local problems
- they assume responsibility (and credit) for progress
- they have the power to access private investment funds, along the continental lines of publicly sponsored independent companies.

It may be logical to promote company vehicles for neighbourhood management in order to generate the regeneration resources that give impetus to change; and to give organisational momentum to neighbourhood management. Many major urban local authorities are already planning and adopting this approach.

Lessons of neighbourhood management

The examples we choose all offer useful lessons.

- They show the potential for the sound management of difficult neighbourhoods.
- They illustrate the real costs of neighbourhood management and the potential for much greater ground level staff inputs under that structure.
- They illustrate the different elements of neighbourhood management.
- They draw in and work with other services. The housing experiments have not stopped at housing management but have spread into a large range of other services.

There are limits to what neighbourhood management can do.

- One, it is hard to measure the direct impact of neighbourhood management on jobs, health, education, crime without much more detailed research. But it is clear that in the more thorough going initiatives, neighbourhood management is beginning to impact on these, particularly crime (through greater security measures) and

jobs (through local recruitment, training and actual jobs on the ground).

- Two, neighbourhood management costs around £200 per household per year. There is no dedicated fund outside housing revenue budgets to pay for it. We have some suggestions in Chapter 5.
- Three, it is impossible to launch something as complicated and sensitive as neighbourhood management in one go. It needs to grow with the capacity of local authorities and other bodies to organise it. There is a logic, underlined by the Social Exclusion Unit, to focus on the most difficult urban areas first. But even these, at 2000-3000 areas, will take time.
- Four, in most cases, the initiatives were coupled with major spending programmes. This additional investment provided a strong incentive to break out of the traditional management structure.

The rest of this report details the ways in which it can be delivered, how much it costs and what impact it has.

Summary

Our evidence shows that:

- neighbourhood management needs to be permanent and mainstream funded in all cases (with investment money coming through additional one-off start-up programmes);
- it costs about the same to provide as centrally organised services;
- it is effective in improving both conditions and co-ordination;
- its impact is visible – verified by all the parties we spoke to and by the evidence we gathered on our visits.

Such measures as resident satisfaction and involvement, support from schools, doctors, police, reduced empty property, vandalism and nuisance, high staff morale, operating within core cost limits, all suggest that neighbourhood management can help.

Chapter 3: Patterns of Neighbourhood Organisation

In this chapter we discuss the main elements of neighbourhood management that we encountered with illustrations from the models. The illustrations are in boxes, and offer practical insights into what happens on the ground. The *key messages* summarise the main findings.

First we set out the essential components of neighbourhood management we encountered. Then we discuss each key element, drawing examples from the models we uncovered. Chart F shows the essential components and Chart G shows how this applies in the seven areas we visited (**source:** visits, interviews, documentation from models and local authorities).

The chapter is in five sections:

- I Neighbourhood management
 - the manager
 - the local office
- II Housing management
 - repairs
 - caretaking
 - wardens and concierges
- III Other public services
 - police
 - health
 - education
 - training and employment
 - community provision
- IV Community representation
- V Town centre and retail area management

Chart F: The essential components of neighbourhood management

How neighbourhood management works	What neighbourhood management can deliver
Neighbourhood manager <ul style="list-style-type: none">• seniority• budget• control over neighbourhood conditions• co-ordination of services• community liaison• hands-on responsibility	Core services <ul style="list-style-type: none">• housing management (where renting from social landlords)• repair• super-care-taking and environmental services• warden, concierge & security services• nuisance control
Neighbourhood office <ul style="list-style-type: none">• organisational base• delivery of core services• information and access point for local and external liaison	Co-operation with other public services <ul style="list-style-type: none">• police• health• education• training and jobs• community provision
Neighbourhood team <ul style="list-style-type: none">• dedicated to specific area• enhancing security• tackling basic conditions• building community support and involvement• providing / organising local staff to cover basic services• small core, multiple links• developing special initiatives	Community representation <ul style="list-style-type: none">• local agreements• local boards• arms length models<ul style="list-style-type: none">– community based housing association– local housing company– tenant management organisation– community trust
	Retail management <ul style="list-style-type: none">• security• environment• insurance• customer liaison• public transport links

Chart G: Main elements of the models of neighbourhood management

	Clapton Community Housing Trust	Poplar HARCA	Waltham Forest CBHA	Bloomsbury TMO	Broadwater Farm	Monsall Estate	Coventry
STRUCTURE OF CORE SERVICES							
Neighbourhood office	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	management office
Status of manager	Chief Executive	Chief Executive	Chief Executive	Executive Manager	Senior Neighbourhood Officer	Team Leader	Chief Executive
Local budget	✓	✓	✓	✓	Some	Some	✓
Local repair team	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	contract service
Caretakers	✓ 1:125 properties	✓ 1:160	✓ 1:250	✓ 1:180	✓ 1:125	✓ 1:140	contract service for cleaners and maintenance
Concierges	No	For some blocks	No	Yes	Yes	No	contract service
Wardens	Caretakers perform some warden duties	Yes	Caretakers plus 2 wardens	1 warden for special need housing	Caretakers perform some warden duties	No	contract service for security
Housing management	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-
Resident structure	Representation on board	Representation on board	Resident control	Resident control	Negotiated Agreement	Negotiated Agreement	User liaison-
LINKS WITH OTHER SERVICES							
Police	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	✓
Education	Not yet developed	✓	On some estates only	Not yet fully developed	✓	✓	-
Health	Not yet developed	Links	✓	✓	✓		-
Improving resident employment	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-
Measures to encourage resident employment in local management	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-
Community provision	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-

Source: visits & documentation from 7 cases

I How neighbourhood management works

(A) NEIGHBOURHOOD MANAGER

Key Messages

In all of the case studies there is a neighbourhood manager or company chief executive on the ground, managing not only core housing services but helping to co-ordinate other local authority and statutory public services. Each manager has considerable dynamism and experience. Each has a high grade and a principle-level salary within the organisation. All have responsibility for at least some of their budget spending. All have close communication with the local authority chief executive (or in the case of the independent companies, the chief executive has delegated financial control).

In all areas, neighbourhood managers have responsibility for building links with residents, involving them in priorities and organising consultation over local services, investment and proposed changes. These links are a key role for the neighbourhood manager.

The areas managed by the neighbourhood manager are considerably smaller than the 4,000 household neighbourhood envisaged by the Social Exclusion Unit. The size of the areas depends on the geographic distribution of properties and on the configuration of the estates. None the less the recurrence of managed neighbourhoods of 700-1,000 households and their relative efficiency compared to many experiments in larger neighbourhoods suggest that size of area needs to be examined carefully. There may be efficiency LOSSES in larger areas.

Neighbourhood management does work better in smaller neighbourhoods of around 1000 dwellings. Larger areas have to be sub-divided for many purposes. A senior manager is essential to ensure successful delivery of services on the ground. He/she needs to have the seniority and capacity to ensure joined up delivery across all local inputs. The manager needs to be able to co-ordinate housing services, deal directly with the police, link with health, education, social and other services and respond to the needs of residents. Schools, shops, bus links and transport make a vital contribution to neighbourhood success and their interests also need to be encompassed.

Illustrations from Case Studies

Clapton Community Housing Trust

On a small, discreet transfer such as Clapton Community Housing Trust, the Chief Executive assumes many of the responsibilities of a neighbourhood manager. This is especially true, as in this case, when the Chief Executive is accountable to a Housing Trust Board made up of residents, housing associations and council members and when her job specifications states that she should ensure “that a high standard of service is provided to all residents and prospective tenants within available resources”. The cost of the overall control function performed by the Chief Executive is £35 per property per year

Broadwater Farm Estate

Broadwater Farm Estate is unique in the Borough of Haringey in having a high- grade neighbourhood officer who directly co-ordinates the large number of services being delivered on the estate. The cost of the neighbourhood officer role is approximately £35 per property per year. This is 3% of the total cost of local housing management and maintenance services on the estate.

Waltham Forest CBHA

In Waltham Forest CBHA, 3 Area Managers are employed to manage all CBHA and HAT activities related to their respective areas. Many policy and corporate responsibilities are also routinely delegated to them. Area Managers salaries currently average £35,000 or approximately £50 per property per year.

Bloomsbury

Bloomsbury TMO employs an Executive Housing Manager to manage all housing services on the estate and to liase closely with residents. He acts on the instructions of the Tenant Management Organisation. The cost of the Executive Housing Manager is approximately £50 per property per year.

Monsall Estate

Manchester Housing's Team Leader is estate based. He supervises the management of council property on Monsall estate. The Team Leader has control over budgets for day-to day repairs and holds a pot of money for spending on environmental maintenance and improvements. The Team Leader is obliged to consult with residents to think through how the money should be spent and must justify to the council's principal surveyor whether the money has been spent efficiently. Ultimately however, he has the last word in the spending of this environmental fund. The team leader rotates the "lead landlord" function on an annual cycle with the largest housing association on the estate. This involves servicing the Community Forum and preparing regular performance monitoring reports on behalf of all landlords.

Poplar HARCA

This organisation is experimenting with neighbourhood management based on community regeneration. Poplar HARCA is the one housing area where there is no clearly identified neighbourhood manager for each of the estates, although the active involvement of the Chief Executive seems to allow for a partnership form of management in the 6 HARCA areas. On each of the estates there is a partnership arrangement between the community area director and the other managers on the ground. These partnerships are developing joint service delivery and community area plans. The HARCA is considering the designation of a neighbourhood co-ordinator for each estate from within each of the community management groups.

(B) NEIGHBOURHOOD OFFICE

Key Messages

In all of the six housing organisations studied, neighbourhood offices are present on the estates that the organisations manage. The neighbourhood office in each of the case studies has a functional base, i.e. practical essential services are provided directly through them.

In the cases of Clapton Community Housing Trust, Waltham Forest CBHA, Broadwater Farm Estate, and Bloomsbury TMO, new neighbourhood offices have been set up from scratch, (although in some cases there was an estate presence at one time). In the case of Poplar HARCA, existing council estate offices have been taken over and their function has been radically expanded.

All the neighbourhood offices manage repairs, cleaning, care-taking, environmental improvement and tenancy matters through these offices. In the HARCA, there is a local service depot for repairs, care-taking, horticulture and a multi-function community centre providing a base for “community regeneration” on each estate.

A neighbourhood office provides the local base within which neighbourhood management is organised. The neighbourhood office is the organisational hub of housing management services. In all cases which are housing-led there is a layer above the direct housing service with a broader remit to work with residents, support and address community needs, create a secure, attractive, well maintained environment and develop initiatives to expand the resources and enhance the viability of the area.

Illustrations from Case Studies

Broadwater Farm Estate

Broadwater Farm Estate has one of the longest established neighbourhood offices in England. The benefits of a locally organised housing management services is measurable in terms of the:

- reduction the number of voids, which were exceptionally high and are now down to 2%, a figure lower than the national average for socially rented property.
- collection of rent, which at 99.51% is the highest for any housing area in the Borough of Haringey and considerably higher than comparable estates in Inner London that do not have a neighbourhood office.
- reduction in the historic rent arrears debt, which was at £1.2 million and has now been almost halved to £625,455 (or £588 per unit- still very high) at 31st March 1999. The overall reduction in the rent arrears debt for the year to March 1999 is the highest reduction of any housing area in Haringey, although historic arrears were exceptionally high over a long period.
- production of a high quality monthly newsletter, produced jointly by the housing office and Broadwater Farm Residents Association, which presents information on estate improvements, rent arrears and repairs and allocation procedures with regular features on the Resident Association’s forthcoming events, and articles about prominent members of the Broadwater Farm community.

As a direct result of the neighbourhood management structure, there are close links with the Health Centre and direct involvement in education, employment and community projects.

The sense of community and easy contact between residents and housing staff, demonstrated by the production of the joint newsletter, may help to explain the results of the Haringey, borough-wide tenant survey, which found that Broadwater Farm residents' satisfaction rate is higher than the average Borough satisfaction rating for repairs, cleaning and housing related services.

Bloomsbury

Bloomsbury also has one of the longest established local offices in England. On Bloomsbury TMO, all housing services are managed through the neighbourhood office.

The costs of salaries of the neighbourhood manager and local housing office employees, including National Insurance and superannuation are £181,600 p.a. Premise costs (electricity, business rates, etc.) are £12,810 and supplies and services costs (purchase of office equipment, telephone charges) are £12,900. The total expenditure for the neighbourhood manager, housing staff and the neighbourhood office is £207,760.

Birmingham City Council also provides neighbourhood offices across the city. In the neighbourhood offices are neighbourhood strategy advisors and housing staff offering welfare benefit information and advice on financial matters and accommodation problems in both the public and private sectors. But in contrast to Bloomsbury TMO, none of the neighbourhood office staff are of sufficient grade or have sufficient decision making powers to make decisions. They can only refer people to other services. The net cost per citizen of this service is £17 per citizen or approximately £18 per query.

Clapton Community Housing Trust

In Clapton Community Housing Trust all housing services are provided locally. The head office of CCHT is located on the largest estate.

At the head office, there is a 'One Stop Service'. This means that residential caretakers can be contacted immediately to deal with repairs. Issues such as minor and serious repairs, harassment, allocations, rent arrears and neighbour disputes can be addressed on the spot.

Local bases are also established on each estate. Staff are not bound to their local offices however. To build up familiarity and improve service, CCHT also expects that housing officers, caretakers and the deputy and chief Technical Service Manager spend much of their time out on their estate, working or visiting properties. The aim is to have a high profile accessible service, with staff 'policing' the estate to deter anti-social behaviour.

The Tenant Service Manager, (salary £30,000) who deputises for the director in her absence, is responsible for the delivery of a comprehensive system of housing management. Under him are the Deputy Tenant Service Manager (£20,000) and 2 Housing Officers (£22,000-24,000). There is also a temporary rehousing officer.

A team of 5 housing management staff are responsible for maintaining regular personal contact with tenants and ensuring that CCHT's duties and obligations as a landlord are correctly discharged and that tenants meet their duties and obligations under the terms of their tenancy agreements. Housing officers are also required to report repairs and defects to the maintenance service; monitor rent payments; monitor the estate service contractors and recycle voids quickly.

Waltham Forest CBHA

Waltham Forest CBHA's area-based staff delivers all operational services. Running costs per annum of each of the local housing offices (excluding salaries) is £25,000 in each area (£100,000 in total).

There are Housing Service Managers and other front line staff in each of the four areas. Housing Service Managers run all day to day operational housing matters, freeing up the Area Managers for more strategic and policy based work.

For allocation procedures, there is an arrears officer in each area (in the two smaller areas the arrears officer is shared). The allocation function is based in Oliver Close, one of the smaller areas, which employs 2 officers.

There is a Money Advisor and a Property Inspector in each area (in the two smaller areas a property inspector and money advisor are shared). Property Inspectors (salary £19,000) carry out the surveying function and manage repairs and maintenance contracts on a day to day basis. Money advisors (salary £19,500) provide confidential advice to tenants on debt repayments and advise on the benefit system and money management. They accept referrals from staff as part of the CBHA's rent arrears policy. They also take part in supporting the New Deal Gateway.

Poplar HARCA

There were 'neighbourhood offices' on the estates transferred from the London Borough of Tower Hamlets to Poplar HARCA, but when controlled by Tower Hamlets, 85% of their time was spent with repairs. Poplar HARCA is reducing the time the customer support teams spend on repairs down to 20/25%. Locally based community management groups that include the local super-caretaking teams (estate service teams), the local community area directors and customer support teams form the core of neighbourhood management.

These services rely on a smaller number of management staff than under the council, with just one customer support officer in each of the neighbourhoods. These officers have a strategic role at the local level.

Poplar HARCA has considerably added to the front line services in the neighbourhoods. Caretaking/ repairs staff (called estate service operatives) and local community and regeneration officers are all locally based. It is further hoped that part of the finance function will also be devolved to the local level and that area co-ordinators/ directors will be designated with control over budgets.

The HARCA is operating at 55% of the cost of Tower Hamlets Council.

II Housing Management

Housing and neighbourhood management are closely allied. The advantage of the neighbourhood management structure encompassing housing management is that signs of social and environmental decay can be tackled.

The neighbourhoods of estates we visited delivered most or all housing services locally, with the main exception of allocations in the council

initiatives. The key housing functions that impact on neighbourhood conditions most directly and are needed in almost all urban areas are:

- repairs
- caretaking
- environmental care
- warden and concierge service
- enhanced security
- empty property and derelict land.

There are many other crucial targets for neighbourhood management, some of which affect all tenures, but most often land in housing manager's laps. The following are some examples:

- nuisance
- anti-social behaviour
- abandoned buildings and spaces
- roads, traffic and parking
- arson and fire hazards
- sub-legal activities
- drugs
- poor quality shops
- racial harassment
- gang fights
- extended family conflicts.

Here we illustrate key points about repairs, super-caretaking and warden services, which in practise help with some of these much wider problems.

(A) REPAIRS

Key Messages

All the organisations we visited had a local repair office. Where clear financial information was available, repairs costs for the case studies were lower for the year 1997/8 than the amount spent by the relevant local authority. The lower cost of repairs should be offset against the cost of capital improvements that the case studies have undergone. However the reduced cost of running repairs is also influenced by constant on-site maintenance and the quick response times of the local repairs teams, plus caretakers helping with minor repairs. Formal and informal communication between caretaking and repairs teams to report repairs and assess void levels helped. Neighbourhood management appears to offer the 'stitch in time' lesson which long-established landlords such as Peabody and Guinness exemplify.

Repairs are often thought of as the most distinctly housing-related of all the functions discussed in this section, yet failure to repair and maintain property to a high standard has significant repercussions on neighbourhood conditions more generally. In fact, maintenance and repairs matter for pavements, street lighting, gates, fences, bollards, open spaces, empty buildings etc. as well as for homes. It is the service that most often signals neighbourhood conditions.

Illustrations from Case Studies

Bloomsbury

In Bloomsbury there is a local dedicated repairs team, of 12 members of the Council's Building Services Department, who are based in the estate and carry out all necessary repairs. Repairs spending in Bloomsbury was £608,670 for 1998/99. Lift maintenance costs an additional £27,070. The repair service is provided through the local Housing Office with operatives and supervisors working alongside the technical staff. The liaison between the locally based staff and the repair team has resulted in a reduction in the number of cancelled or aborted work. Cancelled jobs totalled 30% in 1994 when Bloomsbury was serviced by the Council's central office. They are now approximately 12% and falling.

Waltham Forest CBHA

In Waltham Forest CBHA, the repairs service is provided by contractors. However each of the repairs teams provide their services on a local basis and each of the repairs teams have local offices in each of the areas. One of the reasons why the repairs team are estate based is because the CBHA allow the repairs teams to use disused offices owned by the CBHA on a rent-free basis. This arrangement has led to benefits accruing to both parties, i.e. the repairs company get a rent-free office and the CBHA have a local repairs team presence in their areas.

Broadwater Farm Estate

A local repairs team of 10 members maintains properties on Broadwater Farm and on some neighbouring Council property. The total cost of repairs on Broadwater Farm in the year to March 1999 was £431,271. This is 36% of the total housing management and maintenance costs on the estate.

On *Clapton Community Housing Trust* non-serious repairs are completed in-house by the caretaking service (8 resident caretakers). Half of the caretaking time is taken up with repairs.

On *Poplar HARCA*, the estate service teams are presently undertaking approximately half of the repairs and this will be increased to 90% over a six-month period. The estate service teams, which are on a PC network, are also responsible for repairs and maintenance budgets and the issuing of repairs to and monitoring of contractors.

(B) SUPER-CARETAKING AND ENVIRONMENTAL CARE

Key Messages

Super-caretaking combines several front-line functions. These vary in each case study but they typically have security, cleaning, repairs, environmental care and community liaison roles.

Caretakers are a popular feature of the experiments. The MORI survey of residents of Clapton Community Housing Trust found that on the question of dedicated new services, the top request was for resident caretakers (49%), followed by a locally- based estate manager (36%) and a local estate office (35%).

Caretakers are a dominant service in all our case study examples. The number of caretakers to households varies from approximately 1:125 for dense flats to 1:250 for low-rise high density houses. Some caretaking services take on repairs and cleaning functions directly whereas some contract out these duties or they are performed by a separate in-house unit.

There is no clear view on whether caretakers should be resident or not. The general trend is away from a resident-based service, even though in some cases residents get the jobs. In these cases, it is not tied to accommodation (a cost usually reflected in lower salaries). Some managers argue against residents holding warden or concierge jobs because of fear of intimidation or corruption. Others regret its passing or advocate it. In all cases caretakers identify closely with the local community and spend all their time on the ground.

The responsibilities, expectations, training and involvement of caretakers in non-manual and manual tasks – community liaison and basic conditions – defines their role as “super-caretaking”, rather than basic caretaking.

Illustrations from Case Studies

Clapton Community Housing Trust

Since transfer, CCHT has appointed 8 resident caretakers or 1 caretaker: 125 households. The caretakers are managed by a Technical Services Manager (salary £28,000), who together with his eight caretakers is responsible for:

- Day to day repairs
- Void recycling
- Cleaning and landscape maintenance
- Planned maintenance
- Major works after the CCHT’s forth year

In support of the Technical Services Manager are the Deputy Technical Service Manager (salary £23,000) and the Administrator/Order Processor (salary £16,000). There is also a temporary surveyor to service the inherited empty flats.

CCHT caretakers are paid £13,000 plus accommodation. The caretaker is responsible for cleaning, routine non-specialist repairs and gardening. As a guide, approximately 50% of the caretakers’ time is spent on repairs, 10% on security and 40% on gardening and cleaning.

Non- specialist repairs include:

- Plumbing
- Joinery and carpentry
- Painting and maintaining of lighting to common access areas
- Caretakers also have responsibility for reporting more complicated repairs to the repairs department at the main office.

Security responsibilities include:

- Security inspection on void properties
- Patrols
- Daily inspections of community centres.

Cleaning duties include:

- Sweeping and collecting rubbish from grounds, including roads, play areas and communal areas.
- Changing of bins, unblocking chutes and disinfecting regularly
- Checking for bulk refuse and arranging disposal
- Cleaning of lifts and other communal areas.
- Garden maintenance: cutting the grass, weeding, trimming, and planting, watering and chemical treatment.

Poplar HARCA

Caretakers in Poplar HARCA fulfil a similar generic role. Called 'estate service operatives', they work together in teams of 4 to 6 depending on the complexity and size of the neighbourhoods. This is approximately 1 caretaker: 175 properties. Each of the operatives are graded according to qualifications and length of service. There are four levels and a wide salary range among operatives. When fully up and running, the teams will have responsibility for 90-95% of day to day repairs (presently they look after 60/65%), cleaning duties, horticultural duties and a security role during the day. Individual operatives are assigned to tasks according to the requirements of the team. Each team is responsible for its own maintenance budget, also for issuing and monitoring repairs to contractors.

Bloomsbury

Bloomsbury has four caretakers or 1 caretaker: 179 households. The total associated costs are £59,780 (caretakers basic salary is £12,210 each) which includes National Insurance and superannuation and uniforms, light bulbs, etc. Caretakers work as a team to a specification that has been agreed jointly with caretakers and board members. The caretakers are not resident, residential caretakers are being phased out.

Bloomsbury contracts out cleaning for the low-rise properties to ACS/Douglands for £20,300. Bloomsbury TMO is also presently buying out the Council's grounds maintenance service. Board members are unhappy with the service. Currently, five different Council departments provide ground maintenance services.

Broadwater Farm Estate

Caretaking on Broadwater Farm costs £164,800 p.a. There are 7 caretakers and 1 caretaking supervisor working on the estate. This works out at 1 caretaker: 132 properties. Caretakers go through a detailed daily routine which includes the fixing of minor repairs, the maintenance of all communal areas including some which are strictly the responsibility of residents, the maintenance of outdoor areas around the estate, the removal of graffiti and the twice daily cleaning and checking of lifts.

One of the features of the caretakers on Broadwater Farm is their length of continuous service. The caretaker supervisor, for example, has worked on the estate for more than 20 years, previously as a manual caretaker. Although only two caretakers now live on Broadwater Farm, the majority of caretakers have previously lived on the estate. In many cases caretakers have built up friendly relationships with residents and are aware of the special requirements of those with particular needs (including the elderly and those with mental health problems). The council moved to a non-residential caretaking service, leading to the removal of rent free privileges across the borough in the late 1980s – a move some still regret.

Waltham Forest CBHA

There are 2- 4 caretakers in each of the Waltham Forest CBHA areas, depending on the size and complexity of the areas. The proportion of caretakers: property is approximately 1 caretaker: 250 units. Caretakers have now been relieved almost totally of their cleaning functions. Their new duties include resident contact, supervision of cleaning, the fixing of minor repairs and surveillance and security functions. Because they are the most common contact point of the CBHA with residents, caretakers receive training in customer relations. Caretakers receive a salary of £15,000.

Cleaning is done on a contract basis in Waltham Forest. The cleaning contract costs £40-45,000 per annum for the more than 2,000 properties. However these costs exclude the costs associated with the important supervision role provided by the caretakers.

As in Poplar HARCA, the CBHA cleans the streets that have been newly built because the Council does not recognise these streets (according to the Council, they are private and unadopted) and refuses to clean them. However, there is an expectation in the CBHA that the Council's attitude will change in the near future.

(C) WARDENS AND CONCIERGES

We group wardens and concierges together because their role is similar even though they are often deployed in different ways. While concierges are needed for high rise properties (five stories and above), the use of wardens works best in low rise areas, particularly in areas of high crime. Wardens often perform functions similar to super-caretakers but since they can be organised as a special service to any type of area, we consider them separately.

(i) Concierges

Concierges are present in the high rise blocks in Bloomsbury TMO and are in the process of being provided across the whole of Broadwater Farm Estate. In both areas, the benefits from the installation of concierges have been measurable in terms of a significant reduction in vandalism, an increased sense of security and higher occupancy level, which further reduces overheads and increases income. According to staff, concierge surveillance has also strengthened the hand of the neighbourhood office in dealing with difficult tenants. Specific savings relate to reduced vandalism and crime, higher occupancy, lower turnover and lower repair costs. Concierges are invariably organised and funded through housing management.

Illustrations from Case Studies

Bloomsbury

During the day, concierge services are provided by four concierges in Bloomsbury, with total associated costs of £80,050 including National Insurance and superannuation. At night, four Assistant Housing Officers provide concierge services. Their total salary costs are £58,720.

Assistant Housing Officers are employed as concierges at night, rather than normal night time security wardens. This is because the Assistant Housing Officers also have a role in the inputting and filing of repair requests when fulfilling their night time concierge role. Assuming that half the estate is covered by concierges, the cost per unit for these properties is £390 per unit per year. The cost is fully covered by extra charges to rent or £7.40 per week.

Broadwater Farm

When fully operational in 2002, the concierge services on Broadwater Farm will cover all the 1036 apartments but not the 27 houses and will cost approximately £400,000 p.a. or approximately £7.40 per unit per week. The charge to residents for the concierge services is presently £4 per unit per week, although according to the Senior Housing Officer this charge is likely to rise to cover the full concierge cost. One third of all residents do not receive housing benefit and pay directly for the concierge services.

Poplar HARCA

Poplar HARCA is presently installing a concierge co-ordination centre based in two high-rise blocks centrally within the Poplar area. In addition to providing concierge services for the two blocks, the centre will also provide a mobile concierge and CCTV service on a demand basis across all HARCA blocks utilising microwave technology and mobile CCTV and concierge stations.

(ii) Wardens

Wardens take on many tasks in the areas we studied: security patrols, brokering neighbourhood disputes, informing the neighbourhood office and police about disruptive behaviour and criminal incidents. Other tasks such as fixing minor repairs, tenant liaison and visits to vulnerable tenants (tasks more normally associated with caretakers) are also taken on by wardens. In Swansea, one of the areas we studied, one-third of incidents dealt with by wardens could be described as housing management issues, the other two-thirds being community and security issues. Wardens are often funded by housing management. But they can also be supported through general funding or as a supplement to the police. Often residents are charged for concierge and warden services.

Conversely, caretakers in the neighbourhoods often take on some of the warden duties (Waltham Forest is a good example). There is clearly an

overlap of objectives, with both “wardens” and “caretakers” offering a responsible human presence in often neglected neighbourhoods and acting as representatives of the housing departments in most cases.

The three models of good practice we outline below – Townhill Estate in Swansea, the Taplow Neighbourhood in the London Borough of Southwark and the Poplar Estate Rangers Scheme – show the cross over of the warden’s functions with the functions of the concierge and the caretaker’s role. These warden services are all housing funded.

Warden, caretaking and concierge services offer local employment possibilities to people of the local neighbourhood. This is the case in Poplar HARCA, Broadwater Farm and Waltham Forest CBHA.

In the Netherlands, this idea has been taken a step further, with a national public “civic warden” scheme, which covers the cost of the wardens from welfare benefit. Wardens receive training in communication skills, IT, first aid and social interaction. The money for the scheme is channelled and managed through local authority districts. In France a similar youth employment programme trains unemployed youths as wardens and “youth mediators”. There may well be a possibility for something similar in England, through the use of funds from the New Deal programme to provide training for a national warden service for disadvantaged areas. This may require a change in the rules of the New Deal, as presently jobs are only subsidised for a maximum of 6 months.

Concierges and wardens offer a human link in insecure environments. The value of a concierge presence in high rise apartment blocks is widely accepted in neighbourhoods where they have been properly introduced. It is expensive and is usually only used to control large blocks of flats or dense flatted estates. A warden scheme is usually less than half the cost of the high rise concierge services. Warden schemes in terraced and low- rise areas offer a solution in places of high crime and low demand where a neighbourhood presence is desirable.

Illustrations from Case Studies

Townhill Estate, Swansea

Townhill Estate was built in the 1920s. It consists of 3,000 properties.

The cost of the warden scheme is £600,000 p.a., including staffing costs, the premises and service. A further one-off investment of £460,000 was spent on the purchase of security screens and radio alarms. Thus ongoing management costs for the warden scheme works out at £200 per property per year or less than £4 per property per week. However, these gross costs do not include the potential savings to be made on the security of void properties. Before the introduction of the scheme in Swansea, the damage to void properties was costing the Local Authority approximately £300,000 annually. This has been eliminated.

Allowing for the savings, the net cost p.a. per household of running this intensive warden service is £100 per annum.

Funding for the scheme is taken from the Housing Revenue Account as the warden service is solely provided for on council estates. The Local Authority is considering extending the provision of the scheme to Housing Associations to widen the impact of the service and to generate an income by charging Housing Associations.

The Council's Housing Office organises the warden scheme. Links have also been forged with the local Police Department. Collaboration has led to Police training for local authority staff and the enforcement of Housing Act injunctions by Council housing staff.

The scheme employs 31 staff members and approximately 1 warden: 150 properties.

Swansea staff complement

- 1 Neighbourhood Support Manager
- 1 Housing Lawyer
- 1 Neighbourhood Support Supervisor
- 6 Shift Supervisors
- 2 Support Officers
- 20 Neighbourhood Support Workers

Taplow Neighbourhood, London Borough of Southwark

The warden scheme in Southwark covers approximately 4,515 properties. The Council's Neighbourhood Manager originally thought up the scheme and he developed the idea with help from the tenants and residents associations.

The cost of the warden scheme is £180,000 p.a. or £40 per property per year, less than £1 per property per week. The cost of the scheme has been taken directly from the Housing Revenue Account housing repair budget. This has been justified on the basis that the scheme will reduce vandalism and repairs costs on the estate.

The warden scheme is provided on a contract basis. The scheme has been contracted out to three different private organisations over the five years since introduction. Continuity has been maintained however, as each organisation has employed the same wardens.

New partnerships have been developed since the introduction of the scheme, with wardens building up a working partnership with the local home beat policeman as well as the residents association and the neighbourhood office. The warden supervisor attends resident association meetings and the association forms part of the evaluation panel each time the contract is tendered.

While no exact monitoring of the scheme has taken place and the overall savings on repairs have not been assessed, according to Southwark Council, there has been a clear drop in crime and a considerable reduction in the fear of crime. This may have contributed to the fall in void levels that have been monitored since the installation of the scheme.

Poplar HARCA Estate Rangers Service

As part of its comprehensive, Community Safety strategy the Poplar HARCA provides Neighbourhood Wardens known as the Estate Ranger Service through a contract with a private company. The HARCA recognises the problems of crime and anti-social behaviour, including harassment, on estates in the Poplar area. In order to tackle these problems – and especially at night when the Estate Service Teams & other Customer Service departments are not available – the HARCA employed the Estate Ranger service, 365 days a year, from 4pm to 5am. Duties include patrolling, reporting incidents, liaison with residents, contacting police, liaison with emergency services and other agencies.

Costs

The current costs in association with this contract are:

Costs per annum	£94,246.32
Costs per tenanted dwelling per annum	£23.56

The cost of the service is met from the budget for major works, which are being done with residents in situ. They increase security problems e.g. scaffolding. No contributions are required from residents (tenants or leaseholders).

III Other public services within neighbourhoods

In this section, we examine the common ways in which other elements of neighbourhood delivery, beyond housing management, have been co-ordinated in the seven models. We set out the measures that have been taken to achieve more appropriate policing, improved health, better education, training and employment opportunities in each of the selected areas.

We then look at the role community representation plays in each of the case studies. We investigate how participation and leadership from the community has been facilitated through community provision.

(A) POLICING

Key Messages

All our case studies did at one time and often still do face high levels of crime.

National schemes sponsored by the Police, such as the Safer Estates Agreements have helped foster alliances, but these schemes have not guaranteed improved co-ordination between the police and the housing office. One major problem with special policing initiatives is that they tend to be withdrawn as soon as more normal conditions prevail. This often results in a return of crime and the need for another bout of anti-crime activity. Another is police being called away to other centres.

The police generally support the creation of local offices as it makes their job more manageable. Very often local housing officers set up close liaison with police.

The addition of wardens, concierges and caretakers have all been important factors in the reduction of crime in each of the areas we visited. After the introduction of an estate presence, all the areas have enjoyed lower crime rates and less fear of crime. It is important to bear in mind the value of ancillary security and custodial services in assessing the police role and resources. However ancillary warden-type services are only effective with police backing.

A major unresolved policing problem in some areas is witness intimidation and difficulty in obtaining evidence.

Partnership with the Police is central to the neighbourhood offices. A dedicated neighbourhood police unit is the optimum local service. One good example where this has happened is on Broadwater Farm Estate. The political will to set up the dedicated policing unit and to ensure joint-working with the neighbourhood office and with residents may be due to the Estate's singular history. Sustained policing, linked to warden-style services, can transform conditions.

Illustrations from Case Studies

Broadwater Farm Estate

The cost of providing the dedicated mobile policing unit on Broadwater Farm of 1 superintendent and 6 officers has been estimated at approximately £200,000. Since Metropolitan Police costs for the approximately 3,500 residents on the estate equates to a total policing bill of approximately £770,000, these costs do not seem unreasonable.

The intensive police service and the other housing and resident inputs on Broadwater Farm have ensured that the crime rate on the estate is considerably below other areas of its kind. There were no burglaries of any of the properties on the estate and only two crimes against the person for the full three months of December, January and February 1999.

Another feature of the localised policing service is that less serious criminal acts committed by young people from the estate are reported informally to the parents of the offender for them to take action. This has helped to avoid stigmatising young people with lifetime criminal records. This has been the express wish of the residents, with whom police relations have improved considerably. A key factor of this policing approach is the consistency and continuity. This enables “real partnerships and trust to develop”.

Monsall Estate

Security initiatives in Monsall have been extremely successful in reducing crime on the estate (although there may be some questions as to whether crime has spilled over into other areas).

One of the estate partnerships first measures and one that has been maintained since the start has been Monsall's rigorous pre-offer interview procedure, in which prospective tenants are asked to demonstrate local connections and a commitment to the area. The housing services also look for references and make police checks.

To combat neighbourhood nuisance, the North British Housing Association, introduced 6 month probationary tenancies. This was the first national pilot. The tenancies, which have now been adopted by the Council and the other RSLs on the estate, stipulate that if the tenant's behaviour is not acceptable during the probationary six-month period, tenants may lose their tenancy and no landlord will rehouse them on the estate. The threat of expulsion has been sufficient in all cases and the measure has not been used since it has been instituted. Introductory 12-month tenancies have now been legislated for local authorities throughout the country.

Monsall's Targeted Neighbourhood Nuisance Initiative was one of the first neighbourhood management inputs on the estate. It sought to develop a partnership between the housing agencies and police. Launched by the Project Manager and implemented and co-ordinated by housing staff, the initiative, which is now discontinued (thanks to its success rather than its failure), set up case conference style meetings amongst residents to develop action plans to combat unsociable activities. Information was openly shared between the residents, the housing service and the Police. The local youth service and a local employment and training project also offered supportive and diversionary activities likely to offer alternatives to juveniles involved with crime and drugs.

Poplar HARCA

Like in Monsall, most of the security initiatives on Poplar HARCA's estates have been led by the housing provider. The HARCA's main security initiative is the employment of a private security company to provide warden patrols on one of the HARCA's estates which suffers from a severe drug problem. The warden/rangers act as professional witnesses, give information to the Police and offer physical reassurance to residents. At first the local Metropolitan Police had reservations about the introduction of wardens. However, the Police have now fully embraced the warden service and a strong working partnership has emerged.

Waltham Forest CBHA

On Waltham Forest CBHA, in one of the four neighbourhood areas, a community policeman has a surgery every Tuesday afternoon. In another of the neighbourhood areas a policeman is held locally accountable by reporting to the resident committee. The meetings also facilitate tip offs to the police on areas that need greater policing. Costs fall to the police service.

(B) HEALTH

Key Message

We have found some concrete instances where the health authority has attempted to reshape its service delivery in response to the neighbourhood manager or resident representatives. Three neighbourhood projects have been strongly innovative in health care illustrating how well a neighbourhood partnership can work.

Joint working between the neighbourhood and the health authority can lead to exciting partnerships which create stand-alone health projects. These transform health problems and community conditions.

Illustrations from Case Studies

Waltham Forest

In 1992 Waltham Forest HAT approached Redbridge and Waltham Forest Health Authority to consider a pilot project to meet health needs of local people as an integral part of the HAT's wider regeneration programme.

In June 1994 a Community Health Co-ordinator was appointed for 2 years with the remit to improve the health of people on two CBHA/HAT housing estates, Oliver Close and Boundary Road. From these small beginnings, the Community Health Project has evolved into a central community based primary care support service available to 160,000 people and 86 GPs in North East London.

The co-ordination of the project has short term funding, a quarter paid for by the HAT, a small amount from private funding and the bulk of funding coming from the Health Authority's London Implementation Zones Budget. The budget for 1997/8 was approximately £200,000.

The project aims to:

Pilot new models of care. The project has introduced counselling sessions, organised the setting up of anxiety and panic attack groups and courses on healthy cooking and stress management. Complementary therapies including osteopathy, aromatherapy, homeopathy, acupuncture and therapeutic massage have also been introduced.

Facilitate access into existing services. A rapid appraisal in 1994 found that mental health and back and skeletal problems were the most common health needs and were the areas in which the greatest improvements in access were needed. Improved access has been achieved through the transferring of health staff onto the housing estates. It has also been helped by the Health Authority taking on tenant volunteers to learn health skills and afterwards supporting tenants to set up their own registered health charity. The health authority also runs a joint training programme with the CBHA to educate housing staff on mental health issues and conflict management.

The project has pioneered an extremely successful early intervention programme. It has enabled individuals and communities to develop skills to take more control of their own health. 97% of clients rated the quality of the service as either excellent or very good. 90% of GPs referred clients to counselling or complementary therapy services. The project has delivered improving health, clearly measurable by the 80% reduction in medical prescriptions for stress problems. Many new ideas are being pioneered such as health clinics for elderly people who previously visited their GPs as often as 3-5 times per week.

However the innovations introduced are still seen as add-on, once off additions to mainstream health care provision. In the present financial climate it is difficult to see how all the services provided in the project could be funded through mainstream sources. This is not to say national health policy will not evolve. Indeed some of the “add-on” services provided by the Community Health Project have become “legitimised” as mainstream. For example, national health policy may well change with regard to the provision of mental health support services in primary care.

Broadwater Farm

A new health centre with a special focus on user involvement has been built on the estate. The neighbourhood manager is voluntary chair of the Health Centre Project Management Team, which includes resident representatives. The Centre runs an open toddlers and parents area, food and diet sessions, anti-smoking support and other preventative health services as well as providing normal doctors’ and nurses’ services. The whole thrust of the project is a friendly, welcoming, open, community oriented service. Several residents work in the centre. The King’s Fund contributes to the user involvement project

Birmingham Health Authority Family Support Strategy

A radical city-wide, multi-service health and education programme is being pioneered in low income neighbourhoods including Bloomsbury/Nechells. The experiments are in their early days. They are trying out new ways of helping families out of poverty, poor health and poor educational achievement.

Poplar – Bromley-by-Bow Community Development Trust

The health project within this innovative centre is breaking new ground in community focused care. The links with Poplar HARCA are growing. A doctor from the London Hospital will work full-time with both organisations on the 'community regeneration' targets of the HARCA.

(C) EDUCATION

Key Messages

The emphasis on area conditions and housing problems has limited the links to schools. There is considerable scope for greater joint working between the schools and the neighbourhood office. All the areas are trying to do more with the help of and in support of the schools. Schools can be far more integrated into the areas they serve.

Schools in difficult inner city neighbourhoods face huge challenges in meeting government targets. The spare energy within schools for neighbourhood, home, parent outreach is strictly limited. Yet, school-home links are pivotal to educational success in poor areas. Neighbourhood management can help. The focus on social and economic, as well as physical problems, should tackle some of the problems holding children back. More secure conditions definitely help schools perform.

Illustrations from Case Studies

Agreements have been reached with some of the local schools in **Poplar HARCA** and in **Monsall** whereby class room and school leisure facilities can be used on weekends by local residents in exchange for use by the school of the community and other facilities owned by the housing provider.

In **Bloomsbury**, the proposed new community sports centre will be used by the local school for gym classes in return for the transfer of the school sports grant to the sports centre.

Attempts have also been made in **Waltham Forest CBHA** to find agreement with some of the school head teachers on a number of issues, including the opening up of school sports grounds on weekends. However the CBHA Chief Executive suggests, that only a local or central government commitment can ensure greater co-ordination when head teachers are not willing to co-ordinate the use of their resources with the landlord. The CBHA runs computer training for children and youth in school holidays.

There are some instances of success. On **Broadwater Farm**, the neighbourhood manager is the co-ordinator of two significant new schemes linked to the education service. The first is the plan for new childcare provision, including the provision of breakfast clubs, in partnership with the local school. The second scheme, thanks to a successful bid for grants of £700,000 from the Millennium Commission, is to carry out a number of self-development projects with the involvement of the local school. There is also a Basic Skills project linked to IT training and English as a second language in the enterprise workshops.

(D) TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT

Key Messages

Although the landlords in the areas we have visited are obviously constrained in what they can achieve, a number of micro measures they have implemented have been successful.

In all areas, new measures are underway to employ local people in the housing and neighbourhood services; also to link residents to the wider job market. The employment of residents through these measures has helped channel a little extra money into the neighbourhoods while at the same time giving the organisations greater credibility and visibility in the eyes of residents. Some cost-free measures such as residents' membership of interview panels for the appointment of staff also help to build good will and a neighbourhood identity.

Once the basic housing services have been sorted out, residents have tended to shift the focus of their demands to improved job opportunities. This links to training. All neighbourhood management initiatives have created new local jobs.

Illustrations from Case Studies

Waltham Forest

More than 750 Waltham Forest residents have secured jobs thanks to measures undertaken by the HAT and the CBHA. The majority of jobs that have been secured were not connected with the housing service and have been obtained via the HAT and CBHA's Career Advice and Placement Project. Other measures to secure outside employment have been:

- Childcare programme, including 'breakfast clubs', organised through co-operation between the HAT and the schools;
- Introduction of a mobile computer classroom, to the four areas during school holidays in August 1998;
- Setting up of the Careers Advice Centre.

For employment within the housing service, the CBHA's joint residents' agreement states that 30% of workforce should be residents. Residents comprise 40% of Waltham Forest CBHA's 58 staff. 94 residents have also been employed to build the houses.

Broadwater Farm

On Broadwater Farm, there has been an estate agreement since 1994. Among other things the agreement sets out procedures for employment of staff on the estate. As specified by the agreement, members of the Broadwater Farm Residents Association are involved in the staff appointment panels and any staffing vacancy must be advertised to all residents through the leafleting of every apartment. All things being equal, the staff vacancy goes to the resident in competition with an outsider. In addition there is a conscious effort to secure at least 20% local labour in all estate contracts. This is often exceeded. There is a new pilot employment project to help 25 long-term unemployed people.

Poplar HARCA

In Poplar HARCA, caretakers are predominantly residents. This has been achieved not only by the general HARCA policy to recruit locally, facilitated through local advertisement (using main local papers, word of mouth, own newsletters to advertise positions) and residents' presence on interview panels, but also because of the requirement that operatives should be within 20 minutes of their estate for night time call outs. Poplar HARCA is linking its IT training to the recruitment needs of Stanstead and City airports.

Clapton Community Housing Trust

Clapton Community Housing Trust has established a work and training project that provides support for residents in seeking employment.

Bloomsbury

Members of the Bloomsbury EMB are involved with:

- Nechells Credit Union
- Thames Access Point (job centre)
- Local Exchange Trading Scheme (LETS)

The EMB co-ordinate their services and share their office facilities with these local organisations, although the organisations themselves are independent of the EMB.

(E) COMMUNITY PROVISION

Key Message

Each of the case studies has many forms of community provision, often based around a community centre, which provides a base for social functions, local groups, and local services.

Neighbourhood management specifically targets community needs and community involvement. The community base helps to facilitate participation and leadership from the community. The extent and cost of community provision varies from £20 per property per year in Waltham Forest to £180 in Poplar HARCA. These amounts were written into the social and business plans of the independent companies.

Illustrations from Case Studies

Waltham Forest CBHA

Community development cost the CBHA £22,350 for the year 1997/8. This excludes the costs of board training and expenses which cost a further £19,883. This is £20 per property per year. There is a small grant fund for community groups, community centres hosting theatre and dance groups.

Broadwater Farm

There is a community centre on Broadwater Farm Estate. The centre was opened in 1995. It cost £2 million to build and employs 8 staff. It provides sports facilities and events for young people, a quality cafeteria, English classes, classes for those expelled from school, a venue for private functions and community events and a base for worship for faith groups. Local organisations can use it.

The costs of subsidising on-going activities in the community centre falls to Haringey Council. The total subsidy for the year to March 1999 was £162,000. Residents are involved in the management the centre and representatives sit on the board of the Trust that runs it. There is also a Community Advisory Committee involving residents..

Poplar HARCA

All of the seven estates on Poplar HARCA have a Community Access Centre. These are owned and managed by the company. A Community Director is employed by Poplar HARCA to run each of the centres. The Community Directors have the freedom and responsibility to build up new projects. They employ youth workers and have set up training courses (including a very popular IT course). The Community Directors work with the Community and Economic Development Manager who is based in the Chief Executives Office.

The remit of each community Area Director (one for each of 6 areas) is to:

- To identify and work in partnership with existing organisations, both other social providers and the private sector, in the Community Area, to improve social and economic opportunities for local people
- To identify and support viable and sustainable new initiatives in the Community Area to improve social and economic opportunities
- To empower and involve local people in social and economic regeneration
- To identify opportunities for social innovation and explore new ways of working – specifically those which operate in an integrated way
- To create a culture of enterprise within a multipurpose building based on each estate, encouraging personal growth and social cohesion

- To establish practical activities in the Community Area which foster relationships across ages, races and genders which develop mutual respect and celebrate diversity.
- To transform a core budget of £70,000 per annum, and transform it into a turn-over of £250,00 in five years

The HARCA pays for the building construction/ refurbishment and running costs and salaries of the directors but funding for the extra services must be provided by other sources. The amount spent on “community regeneration” by Poplar HARCA is a net expenditure of £835,051 or £179 per dwelling per annum. The HARCA covers this net expenditure since the original ERCF bid included community regeneration as an on-going item of expenditure. This reduced the private finance requirement and hence allowed the HARCA to support community regeneration on a permanent basis. The HARCA is to employ a fundraiser to sustain and grow the money available for community regeneration.

The HARCA has also developed a close relationship with the very successful Bromley-by-Bow Centre. The Centre is a local provider of good practise in community development. The Centre has acted as an advice centre to the HARCA for neighbourhood based management structures. The Centre is also doing some of the consultation work prior to the next ballot on transfer.

IV Community Representation

Key Messages

The extent of community involvement is partly dependent on the area’s history of community activism and the profile of residents. Some areas have much stronger traditions of involvement and an accumulated experience of running things jointly or with residents in the driving seat.

In the case of Poplar HARCA and Clapton Community Housing Trust, 5 of the 15 board members are residents. In Waltham Forest CBHA, 10 of the 15 board members are residents. In Bloomsbury EMB, 12 of the 20 board members are elected representatives of the community. On both Broadwater Farm and the Monsall Estate, community involvement is formalised through a joint estate agreement between residents and the Council.

There is also the important model of Community Development Trusts where a local community asset such as a community centre is run and managed through a local community based charity or trust. In some cases the ownership is vested in the trust.

In the case of town centre management, it is also important for the company to liaise closely with owners, users and residents, both within and nearby.

The chart below sets out the forms of community representation found in each case study.

Chart H: Community representation in seven models

Resident Control-Tenant Management Organisation/Community Based Housing Association	Representation-Company Model	Negotiated Agreement-Estate Agreement	Community Trust	Consultative/Public Liaison Structure
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bloomsbury TMO • Waltham Forest CBHA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clapton Community Housing Trust • Poplar HARCA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Broadwater Farm Estate • Monsall Estate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Broadwater Farm Community Centre 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coventry Town Centre Company

All the neighbourhood organisations we visited provide community development support, training for residents, pump priming for local initiatives and a constant effort to involve local people in decisions. This effort is necessary, partly because of the social pressures these neighbourhoods are under, partly in recognition of the major contribution resident involvement makes to successful management of conditions. It would be difficult to overstate the role of community representation in the progress of the areas we visited. Community involvement is embedded in each of the organisations.

Illustrations from Case Studies

Clapton Community Housing Trust

Clapton Community Housing Trust's survey of residents before transfer found that 76% of residents felt that CCHT should be accountable to them. CCHT aims to have a high level of tenant and leaseholder involvement in all aspects of its work. A Community Initiatives Officer (salary £22,000) is employed to promote resident participation through CCHT's structures, to manage community facilities, including 3 community centres, and support the development of employment, training and other community initiatives.

On top of resident representation on the board, estate committees are being set up on the 4 estates. CCHT also constantly consults with residents about matters directly affecting them, through surveys, through its flyers and newsletters and through individual interviews with residents. These are being supplemented by estate walkabouts with staff and residents to monitor problems and progress on the ground.

Waltham Forest

The Board of the CBHA is majority resident. The focus on training, community development and empowerment is the dominant ethos – “fundamental to our way of working”. There is a Joint Estate Committee, the overall co-ordinating group for resident representatives. In addition there are 10 Design groups which gather residents' views of the options and feed them into the major works programme.

Bloomsbury

Bloomsbury EMB is run by a Management Committee made up of 12 elected community members (elected by 200 shareholders of which about 50 vote), 4 co-opted members (from statutory authorities including local health centre and police) and 4 nominated members from the City Council. The local management team, who are currently employed by Birmingham City Council and seconded to work for the EMB, receive instructions via the EMB manager from the EMB Management Committee. The Management Committee also has control over the budget, allowing it to make decisions about housing management spending on the estate.

This year Bloomsbury EMB will further progress to become a Tenant Management Organisation. This means that it can employ its own staff and make its own contracts and is no longer obliged to employ secondees from the Council.

Presently in Bloomsbury, community involvement is budgeted for through tenant training and committee expenses, which costs £16,850 p.a.

Poplar HARCA

In addition to the five tenant directors (increasing to seven), the HARCA has a joint estate panel, which includes representatives from all of the six estates that, in turn, each have estate boards. The estate boards cover areas such as technical services, community regeneration. A Tenant Empowerment Officer is employed to support this process.

Monsall Estate

All of the case studies- with the exception of the Monsall Estate – are areas with some tradition of community activism. In Monsall, where there is little or no such tradition, residents' main preoccupation after the Estate Action work was to ensure that their estate was secure and stable for the long term. They wanted the landlords to provide a quality service that was guaranteed into the foreseeable future.

Monsall Partnership's strategy has been three pronged: a joint estate agreement between landlords clarifying management responsibilities; the Monsall Community Declaration, which spells out an agreed code of conduct for neighbour relations; the Monsall Community Forum, allowing residents an input into decisions over how things are run. It offers one good approach for areas of lower community involvement.

V Town Centre and Retail Area Management

Key Messages

The survival of neighbourhood shops is important to residents, neighbourhood managers and landlords. therefore building in security, cleaning and public maintenance can be critical. It can reduce insurance costs and therefore the overheads on goods. Learning from the Town Centre Management experience is important for neighbourhoods facing similar problems of decline.

The emergence of the town centre manager role over the last 10 years suggests an important need to co-ordinate the basic services – cleaning security, environmental care – as well as increase customer satisfaction and therefore expand trade. The main requirements are:

- a competent manager;
- a clear arm's length structure and service contract;
- agreement with traders;
- a dedicated budget;
- a contribution to costs from traders and local authority;
- a significant input of dedicated staff.

Town centre management can reduce crime and vandal damage, keep public areas clean, attractive and in good repair, improve customer relations, upgrade the quality of services provided and help promote the image of an area.

Many neighbourhood shopping areas are in acute decline. Shops have a need for security, cleanliness and intensive refuse collection. These basic services help attract trade and sustain businesses. Bus links, attractive, secure environments and a good mix of traders affect the viability of shops. There often needs to be a critical mix of services and a clear maintenance agreement for a shopping parade or centre to work. But getting shopkeepers to co-operate as well as compete is often difficult. Where there is a shopping parade or high street in a neighbourhood, it is a key function of neighbourhood management to make it work.

Illustration from case study

Coventry

Coventry's City Centre Management strategy transformed conditions in the main shopping centre, cutting crime and vandalism, winning the support of shoppers and shopkeepers alike. It led Coventry City Council to consider reorganising some of its service delivery in residential areas.

Summary

The five main aspects of neighbourhood management can be brought together within small, discreet areas to deliver better standards, co-ordination and value.

They are:

- the neighbourhood management framework
- housing management and basic area living conditions
- public service innovation and co-ordination
- community involvement and representation
- retail management

If neighbourhood management is well organised and well led, it will certainly address the key issues concerning the Social Exclusion Unit: crime, education, health and employment, as our case study findings show.

Chapter 4: Costs and benefits of neighbourhood management based on existing models

In this chapter we outline the benefits of a neighbourhood-based service. Based on the examples we studied we calculate the costs of the neighbourhood management component to show these costs separately from the direct housing services. We compare the costs of local housing management, including the neighbourhood management role, with the cost of the centrally run locally authority housing service. We do this by comparing the costs of five of the case studies with the five corresponding local authorities. Because these models of neighbourhood management derive from council housing, we are able to show the relative costs of a local and centrally based service.

We use published housing revenue accounts to arrive at the central costs. We use local budget information, published accounts and agreed business plans to arrive at local costs. Local costs include overheads for staff and other direct charges. However it is only possible to show a breakdown of costs as presented to us. We have taken these costs as accurate.

The most striking findings are:

- each local team has at least 17 locally based staff covering 700-4500 homes;
- the staff to property ratio is slightly higher than the average for council housing management – between 1:29 and 1:48;
- a majority of jobs are at a basic level (care-taking, repairs);
- the costs are close to the council average;
- the impacts are positive and directly visible.

Chart I gives a case by case summary of the main inputs and impacts.

Chart J presents an overview of the main costs and inputs matched by the main benefits and outputs.

Costs and benefits of neighbourhood management in the case of Broadwater Farm, Haringey

Broadwater Farm is one of the longest running and most thoroughgoing experiments in neighbourhood management. We carried out a more detailed study of Broadwater farm for the Social Exclusion Unit's Housing Management Policy Action Team.

At its inception in 1983, the Chief Executive of Haringey Council backed the creation of the project, ensuring its wider remit and its decision-making status. From the outset it was funded from the main stream housing revenue account. This helped ensure continuity. Additional funds were provided at different stages for specific activities. Major renewal funds were provided from 1989.

The strongest assets of the Broadwater Farm model include:

- a local base with a cohesive staff team covering basic services, ongoing maintenance and environmental care
- well-organised resident input into decisions and development, far beyond accepted consultation e.g. job recruitment
- a neighbourhood manager with a broad remit to include community relations, direct services and wider co-ordination
- a training approach to caretaking leading to outstanding cleanliness, maintenance and tenant liaison
- close liaison with the police, health, education and social services
- a clear role for black and other minority community representation
- direct work with young people and support for youth initiatives
- a clear security role – combining super-caretakers, concierges, active residents involvement and a dedicated police unit.

The Broadwater model has remained unique within council structures, partly because of the estate's particular history, partly because the effort and commitment it entails – an uncosted input – are hard to galvanise or replicate within public systems.

Chart I: The costs and inputs for the seven models, then the benefits and impacts

COSTS AND INPUTS	Clapton Community HT	Poplar HARCA	Waltham Forest CBHA	Bloomsbury TMO	Broadwater Farm	Monsall Estate	Coventry
Staff/Property ratio	1:42	1:48	1:38	1:29*	1:40*	1:38	-
No. of staff in local organisation	25	94 (housing) 31 (community regeneration)	58	24 (+ 8 concierges)	27 (+19 concierge staff)	17	50
Number of caretakers/wardens	8	26	11	5*	8*	3	-
Cost per unit per annum of local service	£1781	£1464	£1124	£1564*	£1125*	(£1000)**	total budget £4.9m
Equivalent council costs	£2636	£2131	£1330	£1422	£1530	-	-
Major repair & improvement funding	✓	✓	rebuild	✓	✓	✓ some rebuild	-
BENEFITS & IMPACTS							
Improved conditions	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Improved performance	Too early	Too early	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Viable area	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ but needed in wider area	✓
Falling crime	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Falling vandalism	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
New approaches	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Greater activity/use	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Higher motivation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Well organised service	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Friendly, accessible reception area	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Additional voluntary contributions	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Note: *excluding concierges; **estimate only

Source: visits, documentation from 7 models and local authority annual accounts.

Chart J: Costs and benefits of neighbourhood management based on the models

Costs/Inputs	Benefits/Outcomes
<p>MUSTS</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. senior manager locally based 2. cleaning, wear & tear repair, security services 3. close rapport with residents/users 4. discreet local budget under control of local manager 5. strongly linked into & supported by local authority and police 6. proactive police liaison 7. focus on basic conditions 8. open co-ordination with other services 9. political backing & central support/reorientation <p>NEEDS</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 10. to include private property & shops contributions for this may be difficult 11. to increase ground-level staff – caretaking/cleaning/basic repair (i.e. warden / super-caretaker) - requires 1 staff to 150-250 properties. An area of 1000 properties requires 4-6 ground level staff & 1 neighbourhood manager; for rented housing areas min. 20 staff per 1000 properties. 12. to make initial up-front investment (e.g. office, equipment etc.) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Better environmental conditions 2. General improvement in repair, cleaning & other basic services 3. More patrolling, supervision & control over conditions 4. More social contact & liaison 5. More reporting, more local information, better informed action 6. More co-ordination between local actors e.g. housing & police 7. More resident inputs & liaison 8. New projects & initiatives 9. Greater sense of pride & commitment to area 10. More occupied property, stronger income base 11. More interest from senior politicians & city officials/more visitors – creating virtuous circle (until lots of neighbourhoods do it!) 12. Knock-on development of local jobs 13. Skill development among residents - greater access to training - new roles, demands, responsibilities
<p>Summary:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Costs are comparable to the centrally organised service • Staff are highly visible on the ground. 	<p>Summary:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Direct benefits stem from the local framework & local delivery with face to face contact as a key • Staff / property ratio is comparable to the centrally based service • Human contact & manual tasks are combined

Note: derived from the experience of the 7 cases and earlier work for the Priority Estates Project

However, the main ingredients of the model are replicated in most of the other free-standing examples we found. Arm's length models generate the necessary momentum.

The following chart (K) summarises our findings showing costs and benefits in more detail than we provide in the other cases. The unit cost of neighbourhood and housing management at Broadwater Farm is **£1,125** without concierges, **£1,500** with concierges. The average unit cost of housing management for Haringey Council is **£1,530**. Most Haringey estates do not have concierges or a fully localised service.

Estimated costs of the neighbourhood management service in addition to core housing costs

In order to show the likely cost of neighbourhood management in addition to the direct delivery of basic services, we have done two cost calculations, the first covering 1000 units, a common size for many estates and social housing areas; and the second 4500 units, the size of New Deal for Communities areas and also the Poplar HARCA. We include a basic warden service and support for both the neighbourhood manager and community initiatives as we only see neighbourhood management working with these.

Specific services such as policing or housing incur separate additional costs, paid for from specific budgets. Based on our case studies we would conclude that it is far easier and possibly cheaper to deliver these core services within a neighbourhood management framework in practise, than to deliver them without a local framework. This could contribute directly to neighbourhood management funding. In difficult areas, basic housing, policing and security services often breakdown in the absence of a clear delineation of local responsibilities with a person in charge locally to co-ordinate and ensure delivery. Averting such breakdown represents another potential source of revenue. Chart L shows our calculations for a neighbourhood management budget the two sizes of area.

Chart K: Broadwater Farm – Estimate of costs and benefits of 5 main components of service including neighbourhood management function

Costs	% total local cost	Benefits
a) Neighbourhood officer £35,798 p.a. £33.68 per unit £0.65 p.u.p.wk	3%	(i) seniority and clout in Council (ii) motivation and energy to deliver (iii) clear co-ordination & co-operation (iv) high level, local supervision (v) high performance on basics (vi) strong tenant support
b) Housing Management £176,041 p.a. £166 p.u.p.a £3.18 p.u.p.wk	15%	(i) occupancy - 98% - above national average - previous high void rate (ii) rent collection - 99.5% (iii) rent arrears halved (from 1990) - still high at £588 per household (iv) tenant satisfaction above national average (survey findings)
c) Super-caretaking £164,800 p.a. £155 p.u.p.a £2.98 p.u.p.wk	16%	(i) clean, graffiti free environment (ii) no visible vandalism (iii) clean lifts, corridors, stairs, entrance (iv) personal contact with tenants (v) daily liaison with senior staff (vi) close collaboration with repairs staff (vii) enhanced security, supervision (viii) watch-out for vulnerable tenants (ix) regular contact with police
d) Concierge system (estimate for whole estate, currently half) £400,000 p.a. £376 p.u.p.a £7.24 p.u.p.wk	33%	(i) saving of £100 per unit in reduced repair costs (ii) elimination of vandal damage (iii) much improved block condition (iv) increased sense of security/reduces fear (v) informal and formal surveillance (vi) close liaison with office over difficult tenants (vii) friendly positive contact with residents
e) Repairs Unit £431,271 p.a. £406 p.u.p.a £7.80 p.u.p.wk	36%	(i) fast response to emergencies e.g. floods (ii) mutual reinforcement with caretakers (iii) collaboration with housing office (iv) familiarity with estates residents (v) costs one fifth <u>below</u> borough average (vi) high tenant satisfaction - Borough survey - higher than other estates (vii) extremely well maintained estate
f) Community support	Own budget	(i) large council funded community centre (ii) strong community involvement in decisions and priorities
g) Links with other services	Part of (a)	(i) police (ii) health } Outstanding locally-based services

Total: £1500 with concierges
£1125 without

Source: Haringey

Chart L: Budget for Neighbourhood Management

1. for an area of 1000 units, excluding housing or other service costs, but including super-caretaking/warden services to provide a custodial/maintenance /liaison/support service

Neighbourhood Manager	£35,000
Administrative/community support	£16,000
Office costs	£5,000
Employer costs (at 20%)	£10,200
Super-caretaker/wardens (1 per 200 properties including on-costs)	£100,000
Equipment and materials	£10,000
Community fund (for small local initiatives and pump-priming)	£20,000
TOTAL	£196,200

Cost per unit = £196 per household; £78 per person

(b) for an area of 4500 units as above

Function	Cost
Neighbourhood Manager	£60,000
Admin. / PA	£18,000
Community support manager	£30,000
Admin. / organiser	£16,000
Supervision of environmental service delivery (2 posts)	£50,000
On-costs at 20%	£34,800
Super-caretaker / wardens (1 per 200 + supervisors - 24 posts)	£480,000
Materials and equipment	£45,000
Office costs	£25,000
Community fund (£20 per household p.a.)	£90,000
TOTAL	£848,800

Cost per unit = £189 per annum; £76 per person

Notes to Chart L:

1. These costs are based on figures from the models with around 1000 and 4500 units. Senior salaries are higher for bigger areas but unit costs are slightly lower. Our estimate is £189 per household for an area of 4500 dwellings
2. All cost calculations exclude any housing management function but assume a basic warden/super-caretaker service to ensure improved neighbourhood conditions, security and resident contact.
3. In areas of social rented housing, the costs would be more than halved as housing revenue funds would pay for the super-caretaking/warden component. We have included it as a core service team including wardens is essential to better conditions.

4. In practise some of the costs are recoverable from reduced repair of vandal damage, better use of property. Some charge could be made to owners, residents and traders in exchange for negotiating lower insurance premiums, based on reduced crime.
5. Other aspects of the neighbourhood management role are either self-funding or can generate and attract separate funds.
6. For flatted areas (as our cases) a higher ratio of caretakers is necessary (1:150).
7. The on-site manager reduces some central costs.

Warden and concierge costs and benefits

Next we present the costs of warden/concierge services based on our research. The real cost to the authority for warden services allowing for savings elsewhere is probably negative. However, up front direct costs have to be met. It may be possible to charge people for the extra service and security:

- less than £1 per week for the cheapest security service,
- £2-£4 per week for warden service,
- £4-£7 per week for more intensive concierge services.

These are more costly than warden services but the potential savings are much greater. Both services enhance conditions as the uncosted benefits show.

Imaginative new ways have to be found of funding these core security and environmental maintenance services alongside neighbourhood management if we are to keep city neighbourhoods working. Private development companies in and near city centres who are responsible for new mixed developments are providing these services through management companies, in order to protect property values and entice higher income residents in. They offer some clues of what is necessary to maintain the viability of estates.

The following Chart M shows the costs savings and benefits

Chart M: Concierge/warden costs and savings - per annum, based on examples we visited

(a) Concierge/warden costs

	per dwelling/per annum costs
CONCIERGES	
Bloomsbury TMO	£390
Broadwater Farm	£374
WARDENS	
Swansea	£200
Poplar HARCA	£23
Southwark	£40

(b) Concierge/warden savings

	per dwelling/per annum savings
Savings on repairs due to reduced vandalism, quicker relets etc.	£100
Additional rent income of 5% from lower voids, lower arrears, quicker re-lets, reduced turnover/transfers	£130
Reduced property insurance charges due to lower claims, enhanced security, clearer supervision etc.	£100
Costed savings	£380

(c) Uncosted benefits of warden / concierge schemes

- Reduced crime, greater security do not affect both repair costs and insurance for landlords other owners (e.g. shops) and residents
- Clear police liaison and reporting, control over anti-social and criminal behaviour
- Resident liaison, information exchange, support for vulnerable households.
- Clearer records, more careful monitoring of costs etc.
- Clearer lines of reporting (see Poplar HARCA details) because of proximity to problem coupled with close supervision
- Higher standards of cleanliness and maintenance
- Safer, more welcoming environment
- Improved appearance and marketability of blocks

Note: Costs are derived from actual services. The second report on the models provides detailed costs for each case study.

Summary

Chapter 4 shows the costs and benefits of neighbourhood management. The figures suggest that neighbourhood management can be funded directly by social landlords where they are responsible for large rented estates (of 700 to 1500 units) or groups of smaller proximate estates (150+ to 500 units). This funding approach can also be applied to multi-landlord estates (as long as the RSLs agree to co-operate) and to exclusively RSL estates.

Funding problems arise in privately owned areas needing intensive management. It is not obvious who, other than the local authority, can organise, manage and pump-prime neighbourhood management. It is urgent to innovate and experiment in private areas – particularly declining inner city areas. New Deal for Communities could begin the process. We consider the question of private areas again in Chapter 5.

The slimmer management structures and greater focus on front line delivery makes neighbourhood management surprisingly cost-effective, as well as motivating. The efficiency and service gains seem to justify the investment.

Chapter 5: Council Spending and Neighbourhood Management – sources of funding

It is important to set our costings for neighbourhood management in the context of council spending overall. Geoff Fordham has set out average amounts for all public spending and distribution across all services including local authorities, based on Glen Bramley's work.⁴ In order to see how this works out in practice for typical city councils, we analyse the costs of council services for four sample local authority areas. Later, we set out the average policing bill, nationally and for a number of metropolitan areas. This offers us some insight into the range of council responsibilities.

The information suggests the limited scope for funding neighbourhood management across the board out of core funds. However, there may be some redirection of resources, such as staff, buildings and basic overheads. In addition there is the potential for specific budgets to contribute. Housing revenue spending in each of the case studies is analysed in the supplementary report.

If we include council subventions to police costs, then net council spending per citizen per annum is on average £1,500 in Inner London, £1,184 in Manchester and £1,085 in Birmingham. Between all the different public services we have identified as contributing to neighbourhood management, there should be scope within these amounts for a contribution to a dedicated Neighbourhood Management Service.

Housing is excluded from the main estimates because the housing revenue account is ring-fenced and is increasingly intended as a 'resource account' to run rented housing on business lines, separately from other council activities. This raises important questions about the funding of neighbourhood management through this route but two factors suggest that it is still an option.

- Firstly warden/super-caretaking services can be directly funded from housing revenue for council housing areas and make up nearly half the cost of core neighbourhood management.

4 Glen Bramley *et al* (DETR, 1997), *Review of Local Distribution of Public Budgets*.

- Secondly, this reinforces the potential and need for neighbourhood management in predominantly rented areas in order to oversee warden services and allow them to take root. In this situation the neighbourhood management framework itself can be funded from the housing revenue account.

The following Chart N shows the distribution of spending based on four local authority annual accounts that we examined.

**Chart N: Net Spending on Council Services for Four Sample Areas
1996/7^(a)**

	Birmingham	Manchester	Leeds	London Borough of Islington ^(b)	Metropolitan Average ^(c)
Population (estimate based on available information)	1,000,000	415,000	710,000	165,000	
Number of Council Employees per 1,000 people	33	42	34		30
Net cost per citizen - Education	£457	£432	£377	£474	384.49 ^{(d)*}
Net Cost per citizen - Social services	£192	£240	£171	£402	175.54*
<i>Gross Cost per child in care – estimates 1997/8</i>					
Fostering	£12,525	£9,161	£6,370		£7,905
Residential Homes	£44,900	£91,482	£30,239		£43,223
Net Cost per citizen- Public Transport ^(e)	£47 (5.00)	£23 (13.05)	£46 (3.98)	£20 (9.65)	(3.26)*
Net cost per citizen- Sports and Recreation ^(e)	£21 ^(f) (7.68)	£34 (13.35)	£13 (2.24)	£45 (16.32)	£25 (estimate) (12.10)*
Net Cost per citizen- Libraries, Museums, Art Galleries	£19 ^(f)	£34	£13	£33	15.98*
Net Cost per citizen- Street Cleaning & Litter responsibilities	£9	£16	£4	£21	6.82*
Net Cost per citizen- Refuse Collection /Disposal	£23 ^(g) (26.54)	£30 (14.16)	£21 (20.69)	£24 (11.27)	17.38*
Total (for named services)	£768	£809	£645	£1019	
Other (not included above)	£183	£240	£120	£291	
Net Cost per Citizen- All Council Services (excluding housing)	£951	£1,049	£765	£1,310	£830 (estimate)

Notes on Chart N:

(a) Figures have been based on consistent sources wherever possible. However, different ways of defining and presenting spending may cause some discrepancies. All figures have been checked against official sources.

(b) We included an inner London borough that is high on the deprivation index (Islington is the tenth most deprived borough nationally) to compare costs between metropolitan areas and inner London).

(c) Source: Birmingham City Council, Annual Statement of Accounts, 1997/8.

(d) Metropolitan average figures are derived from Finance and General Statistics, 1996-97 where marked with *.

(e) Public transport, sports and recreation, refuse, included different items according to different definitions. The figures in brackets are based on Finance and General Statistics, 1996-97

(f) Total cost of Leisure Services (Museums; Sport, Youth, Community and Play areas; Parks and Nature Conservation; Libraries and Adult Learning) provided by Birmingham City Council for the year 1996/7 was £64 per citizen.

(g) Total cost of Environmental Services (Waste Disposal, Refuse Collection, Environmental Health) provided by Birmingham City Council for the year 1996/7 was £41 per citizen.

Sources: Local Authority Performance Indicators, 1996/97: Council Services Compendium. Audit Commission for Local Authorities and National Health Services in England and Wales. Statements of Accounts, Birmingham City Council, Manchester City Council, Leeds City Council, London Borough of Islington. Finance and General Statistics, 1996-97.

The chart shows several important things.

1. There are big differences in absolute spending levels between city authorities e.g. Birmingham and Leeds; and between inner London and other metropolitan areas. Within local authorities there is a big difference between wards, as Glen Bramley and Martin Evans' work shows.
2. The amount dedicated to cleaning and rubbish removal is very small compared with the more social and welfare services. The cost of such basic universal services are surprisingly lower than the cost of libraries and museums, which are few and far between.
3. The money spent in the 'other' category is significant. Closer examination may reveal a potential for budget reorganisation to dedicate some additional resources in 'other' to security and environmental care. Neighbourhood management as we outline it, would need all money under 'other'. This is almost certainly not practical.
4. The cost of children in care is puzzlingly high and extremely variable. Some more cost-effective way of caring for children at risk is a major challenge to government.

5. If local authorities are to organise and fund neighbourhood management on a permanent basis, targeted at inner urban and difficult areas at first, careful negotiation and re-examination of spending patterns may be an essential pre-requisite.
6. With between 30 and 40 council employers excluding housing per 1000 population, there is potential to redefine tasks, to change priorities, and to dedicate more human resources to a visible ground level presence in each neighbourhood.
7. Many front line jobs tend to be cheaper than centrally based management jobs, both in salaries and overhead costs. A shifting of priorities in favour of street-level services could free up some resources to fund the neighbourhood manager posts required. But this shift towards the front-line would not be fundable or manageable without fundamental changes in the large-scale local authority systems. It is possible that the new Best Value regime may point to innovations that make this possible.

Our breakdown of costs does not identify a clear resource for neighbourhood management outside the housing revenue account. However, it does reveal the potential to redirect staff and to subvert some resources to help with up-front funding for a basic neighbourhood management and warden service. Much of this money can come back through savings, charges and redirection of resources.

Resources for neighbourhood management

Our overall conclusion is that

- there is no clearly available resource for neighbourhood management, but
- there is some scope within various service budgets to redeploy effort and resources
- the costs are not unmanageable given the potential gains. They do require a fresh organisational impetus.

For this reason we propose the organisation of neighbourhood management on an incremental basis through:

- regeneration or other area programmes like New Deal for Communities;
- company transfer initiatives;
- locally based housing management where it is sufficiently focused to take on the additional neighbourhood roles;
- housing association and RSLs involvement in areas where their role coincides with the need for neighbourhood management.

Neighbourhood-based programmes could be made conditional on an ongoing neighbourhood management structure and service.

Why universal services don't manage neighbourhoods

There are many reasons why other more social services – health, education, police – do not take a leading role:

- They are professionally organised and have a clear professional remit separate from neighbourhood management, if not from neighbourhood issues
- They need good neighbourhood conditions to operate effectively but do not have direct responsibility for them. They can help neighbourhood management and benefit from it but do not see it as their role to organise it.
- Their direct responsibilities are complex, wide-ranging and carefully scrutinised by the public and government. There is a limit to how far they can broaden that remit to encompass general neighbourhood conditions. It would not satisfy either professional or audit standards if they tried.

A lead role for local authorities

- Local authorities and social landlords in contrast have a direct interest in and responsibility for general neighbourhood management. Although British law is less than clear-cut on this than Continental examples, landlords and local authorities are generally held responsible for basic neighbourhood conditions by the courts.
- The interaction of basic conditions and wider services e.g. policing is direct. Neighbourhood care has been reflected in lower crime. Unless basic conditions are tackled first, it is hard to see how neighbourhood management can win the support and confidence of residents or professional bodies. This suggests that a local body is needed to address the problem of basic conditions alongside co-ordinating other service inputs.
- It has been shown through many studies that the 'broken window'⁵ theory applies to most neighbourhoods i.e. if basic conditions are maintained – cleansing, repair, security, enforcement, community liaison – then other improvements flow

5 Power, A (1996), "Area-based poverty and resident empowerment", *Urban Studies*, 33(9): 1535-1564.

and residents become more proactive in guarding and maintaining conditions. We conclude that, unless there are particular conditions or commitments from other services, neighbourhood management will develop more swiftly and logically through local authority core services, but landlords and owners of all kinds, companies with a neighbourhood remit and other neighbourhood organisations may provide the local vehicle. The core funding will derive from core local authority or landlord budgets.

Costs of Local Policing

It is important to link neighbourhood management with proactive localised policing. There are many examples of special policing initiatives, usually covering a wider area, beyond the small neighbourhoods we describe; operating on a limited basis, without a full policing role; operating for a limited time period to address a specific problem; or operating without the support of neighbourhood management. It should become possible to develop more long-term, more pro-active local policing within a neighbourhood management framework as Broadwater Farm shows.

Annual costs of policing vary from approximately £90, which is the lowest in easier areas to more than double that figure in London – £220.

The following chart O shows expenditure on policing 1996/97 per head of population.

Chart O: Expenditure on Policing 1996/97 -Per Head of Population

Expenditure on Policing 1996/97 - Per Head of Population	
National Average (England and Wales)	£109
Metropolitan Police	£220
Manchester	£135
West Midlands	£135

Source: Local Authority Performance Indicators 1996/97: Police Services. Audit Commission for Local Authorities and the NHS in England and Wales.

Most of our case studies are adopting special security measures because of inadequate ground level policing. Broadwater Farm is the only model we came across which has its own dedicated police unit. Its success makes it an attractive model. It provides one policeman per 150

properties. The cost of the localised police force in Broadwater Farm is estimated at £67 per resident per year or £200 per household. This is less than one third (30%) of the average cost per citizen of the Metropolitan Police Force, but it is far more input than the police would normally dedicate to a single estate of 1000 dwellings.

The local police unit has led to measurable benefits in low crime, positive community relations, enhanced sense of security, positive impact on staff morale, on neighbourhood conditions, on community relations and on rent income through increased security and therefore lettability. If adopted in the most vulnerable and precarious neighbourhoods on a sufficiently intensive scale, i.e. at least 1 policeman per 200 properties to allow for shifts, leave, etc., it would strongly support the neighbourhood management approach in areas currently being abandoned because of a break-down in security and conditions. Around 10,000 dedicated policemen would be required nationally to cover the 2000 most difficult neighbourhoods identified in the Social Exclusion Unit's report. These would not be additional, rather they would be redeployed. One way to free up more police for the front-line is to free them from more routine 'back room' tasks, as already proposed by South Yorkshire and other police services.

It may make sense to ring-fence 30% of police budgets for dedicated proactive front-line visible policing while 70% of police budgets are absorbed in broader policing roles and special security (public events, demonstrations, drugs, terrorism, firearms control, recording and documenting etc.)

The challenge is to find a readily replicable and affordable model of security. The police cannot do this alone. Models such as Estate Rangers in Poplar HARCA, costing £24 per household per year, are bound to emerge to supplement the limited cover provided by the police. We believe that a middle ground can be found through the framework of neighbourhood management with warden and super-caretaking support.

It is important to see the link between police and neighbourhood management. A neighbourhood manager needs and offers support and direct supervision for a warden or super-caretaking service which can cost around £23-£40 per resident per year. This neighbourhood service makes proactive local policing more viable, more successful and more

essential. In the most difficult areas, neighbourhood management requires both wardens and a consistent police backup.

Policing is the clearest example of a dedicated service that requires neighbourhood level organisation, at least in difficult areas. But a similar case could be made for services such as health, education, and social services.

Local, dedicated police units almost certainly save at least as much in falling crime, damage reduction and enhanced property values as they cost.

Sources of funding for neighbourhood management

The continental model of neighbourhood management provides a useful point of comparison because local authority areas are much smaller and basic services (cleaning, security, environmental maintenance) are more directly delivered at a local level.

We now discuss the different funding scenarios for neighbourhood management.

(A) NO NEW FUNDING – AS DETERMINED BY THE COMPREHENSIVE SPENDING REVIEW

1. Restructuring in favour of neighbourhood management

A government commitment to neighbourhood management, but no new sources of funding, at least until 2002, challenges the local authority to restructure its organisation away from the present departmental service delivery to an area based focus. This in turn forces high-grade managerial staff to manage services at the neighbourhood. Newly appointed neighbourhood managers are part of a fundamental restructuring of local authority operations. Some local authorities are discussing this approach, although normally covering much larger areas.

But there are a number of problems with not allocating extra resources for neighbourhood management. Firstly, lack of extra support may lead to strong opposition from local authorities. Secondly, if there are no new sources of finance, central government's commitment to neighbourhood management may not be taken seriously by local authorities. Thirdly, some injection of funding to establish neighbourhood management is almost certainly necessary at the start of the process, even if it is just to

move offices or build up the capacity and skills of staff to take on new challenges. The question is whether local authorities have these resources already.

Based on the experience of Coventry, Birmingham, Islington and other authorities that have attempted borough-wide decentralisation we propose an incremental approach to introducing neighbourhood management, starting with precarious areas first. Where these are predominately owned by social landlords, most core neighbourhood management costs can be met from rent income. Other budgets and services then contribute as they become involved in local change.

In private, low income areas, special funds must be found. These areas often involve a high percentage of ethnic minorities. Special sources of funding need to be identified that will provide better conditions and better community relations. The Housing Action Area model is useful.⁶ (See also point 7 below.)

2. *Reducing empty property*

Low demand housing, not just Council housing, adds to the owners' costs through the amount of value and rental income forgone. The Bloomsbury EMB offers a model. The income generated by a reduction in the number of voids is kept by the housing management provider, in this case, the residents TMO. The extra income can be spent on a better neighbourhood housing service. Thus improved services and resident involvement are rewarded by the extra rental income generated which can be spent on community and housing service priorities. In all our cases, the community priorities have coincided with the neighbourhood management priorities of the Social Exclusion Unit.

In areas of low demand, investment in neighbourhood management could be made in the expectation that this will reduce voids and increase rental income. The increased rental income could be used to pay back the initial investment in neighbourhood management and to maintain a high level of service over the long term. This seems to be working in the Monsall example. This must be part of a wider strategy.⁷

6 Urban Task Force (1999), *Towards an Urban Renaissance*, London: TSO.

7 Unpopular Housing Action Team (1999), *Unpopular Housing*, London: TSO.

3. *Community Declarations/Agreements*

A community declaration, as in Monsall, costs little and adds to the sense of stability and neighbourliness in the area. The advantages of a community declaration are that it can apply in all areas including mixed tenure areas, (although there may be less interest from private renters/owners) and that it involves residents directly in improving conditions. But a community declaration needs considerable groundwork first. Neither is it sufficient on its own. It needs strong local management to support and enforce it. It can be linked to low cost warden schemes in many areas, as long as the core neighbourhood management structure is in place.

(B) POSSIBLE NEW SOURCES OF FUNDING

There is scope for targeting funding on neighbourhood management from a number of different sources.

1. *New Deal for Work*

The Government's New Deal gives extra funds for job seekers to take up employment with private companies and voluntary organisations. We see scope for redirecting New Deal funding for the provision of wardens/ caretakers. Some areas, for example, Knowsley, Merseyside are supplementing New Deal allowances to improve environmental services.

On the Continent warden schemes have been running with some success. There, the warden service has three roles:

- To offer extra supervision in the neighbourhood
- To give employment to the long term unemployed
- To train young people in 'soft' skills, communication, customer liaison, environmental supervision, patrolling.

Wardens receive training in IT, first aid and communication skills while on the scheme.

A warden/caretaker scheme might require a change in the rules of the New Deal, which is time limited to 6 months, after which formal employment must be found. Such a scheme would likely have a high turnover, with wardens treating the scheme as a stepping stone to further employment. A constant flow of new recruits could undermine the stability and community links that longer serving wardens can foster, unless the focus is also on recruiting old residents who would be more likely to stay with it. The funding needs to be longer term for this.

However, strong local management could back them up and make it work, as in Holland and France.

2. Regeneration Partnerships and Proposed New Urban Priority Areas

Many regeneration partnerships express frustration about being unable to influence social, environmental and housing service delivery in the areas in which they work. The redirection of some of the funding of a regeneration partnership to the start-up cost of neighbourhood management, in return for the Regeneration Partnership having much greater say in the delivery of service, would overcome this lack of control, as well as offer an additional short-term source of funding. The proposal has the additional advantage in that regeneration partnerships often operate in areas of mixed tenure where neighbourhood management is most difficult to fund. However, neighbourhood management based within regeneration initiatives must build in main stream funding for its core costs from the outset. In other words, regeneration can be a vehicle for reorganisation of main local services. This applied in five of our models and it can apply in mixed and private areas too.

As a starting point for neighbourhood management experiments, the government could target the next round of New Deal for Communities – around 20 – and the next round of Single Regeneration Budget's – maybe 50- as well as inviting all other area targeted programmes such as company transfers to build this in. There are drawbacks to this idea. Firstly, regeneration partnerships only cover a limited number of areas. Secondly, regeneration partnerships are time limited and follow through often flounders. But government could require the advance commitment of local authorities to permanent neighbourhood management as a condition of regeneration funding.

3. Town Centre Management

The creation of a Town Centre Management Organisation/ Company seems a real possibility for every city/ town centre. This is a conclusion of the Urban Task Force in its Final Report. Coventry's example shows that funding can be identified. Coventry's willingness to devolve responsibility and control of funding to a centre manager allows for improved co-ordination and control over the spending of money that was previously passing through several departments.

Once experiments are under way, the Council may recognise that a company offers advantages, including greater transparency; stakeholder

involvement; guarantee of a dedicated staff and budget; and greater scope for contributions from private individuals and companies.

4. *Social Services*

Our analysis of costs shows council spending for some of its services in 4 sample local authorities. Spending on social services is a major cost, averaging £190 per citizen per year in metropolitan areas in England. Social services provision is concerned with the mentally ill, the street homeless, the vulnerable, child protection; all individually based personal services. In theory however, this work links with the neighbourhood manager's role. We found little evidence of contributions by social services to the services in the neighbourhood, because of their special remit.

Warden services at neighbourhood level could help social services on several fronts – a call-by/call-in service for vulnerable residents with a clear reporting system; a link to prevent scape-goating of vulnerable families causing neighbourhood problems; a call-out service in case of emergencies; a general watch-out role to prevent and report serious social problems. Many super-caretaking, concierge and warden services perform some of these 'social service' roles already. The organisation and financial benefits could be negotiated through a neighbourhood management agreement with social services.

There is scope for similar negotiations with local police forces in reporting crime, acting as surveillance and street watch, supporting resident reporting and guarding property. Some warden services already have a direct police link.

In addition, health and education services could benefit from a proactive neighbourhood management role. For example

- elderly care and contact
- baby and child-care,
- a contact and information link with obvious links to sure-start type programmes,
- home school support and information, link for untoward or recurrent school absences or childcare problems.

A more preventative, proactive neighbourhood approach would support these services.

Some contribution to neighbourhood management from these service budgets for these purposes could be negotiated on an experimental basis.

5. *Income from charges*

A source of some funding is a contributory system. RSLs, bus companies, the Police, shopkeepers and publicans benefit from neighbourhood management along the lines of concierge charges to tenants. This may support the costs of the neighbourhood manager or a particular neighbourhood service such as wardens, in return for guaranteeing reduced vandalism or increased footfall and reduced insurance premiums.

In private areas such as shopping streets and privately owned areas, a contribution from owners towards the cost of neighbourhood management maybe justified, e.g. £100 per annum per private owner, £200 per annum per shopkeeper, on the basis of reduced crime, improved conditions and supervision, giving a signal of more positive value. It is probably the only way forward.

The advantage of a contributory system is that it gets the wider community and not just the council involved as a stakeholder, sharing good practice and building partnerships, especially between the RSLs and the Council housing service. This is already working in Monsall. Owner-occupier and privately owned areas could set up warden services in this way. This form of provision might then act as a future model where most council properties are transferred from council control and the proportion of social renting declines.

There are disadvantages to charging, including questions about how to treat private owners, in areas of extreme low demand where any extra financial contribution would undermine the value of the property even further. Secondly the scheme would need considerable preparation and consultation. Thirdly neighbourhood management needs to be up and running before any contributions can be collected.

A levy for neighbourhood warden services would have to produce very direct benefits, and operate on a very local scale for residents to contribute. But service charges for local supervision are common in continental cities and tenants often agree to charges which they have to pay themselves to make their homes secure.

6. *Collective insurance scheme*

A collective insurance scheme can reduce insurance costs for all and becomes attractive when accessible neighbourhood management is in place. The problem with such a proposal is that a neighbourhood management structure needs to be in place first. If it could be properly structured, then it would justify resident and business charges to fund neighbourhood management.

7. *The true cost of new developments*

Each greenfield house costs the Government and local authorities up to £15,000 in infrastructure. If the true cost of new development was charged to the purchaser, it could release significant funds for neighbourhood management and inner city regeneration.

8. *Creation of asset bases/income streams*

A number of examples exist where regeneration projects have attempted to create asset base and/or income streams out of the capital funds for the project, to provide for its ongoing maintenance and management, including both physical and the wider social and economic aspects of jobs, training etc. Wigan is a good example of a City Challenge which did this; Development Trusts are extensively used in Bristol; and endowments for maintenance of green space were used albeit in a marginal way in Leicester. Waltham Forest HAT has done this too. It provides not only sustainable funding, but local control of these resources in a responsive way.

Summary

- Once a commitment is given in principle to the proper management of neighbourhoods, but especially in failing urban areas, there are several funding streams which can be tapped.
- Neighbourhood management could be piloted across all the first tranche of New Deal for Communities areas; in some cases there could be more than one neighbourhood initiative per area, because of the size and geography.
- Other vulnerable areas could be aided with a target of at least one per high priority local authority, based on the Single Regeneration Budget list. These could be tied in to Single Regeneration Budget regeneration funding and company initiatives.
- Registered Social Landlords could lead or be partners in further company and multi-landlord experiments, based on the Monsall, Clapton and Waltham Forest experiments.

- Special experimental approaches are needed in declining inner cities, particularly where there are heavy concentrations of ethnic minorities.
- The target could be 200 neighbourhood management initiatives over 2 years, with immediate build-up to 500 over the following 3 years.
- Regeneration funding could be made dependent on a longer-term, main-stream neighbourhood management structure and budget. This would ensure a reasonable pace of development, with time to gain experience and develop more general models.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Ways Forward

Cities are made up of neighbourhoods and their fortunes are locked together. The success of cities depends on successful neighbourhoods, and therefore the attempt to reverse urban exodus and overcome social exclusion – focuses on neighbourhoods as well as cities and regions. They are intrinsically interconnected.

Neighbourhoods are physical areas within which people organise their lives, base a significant portion of their social time and therefore connect with the world outside the home. Urban neighbourhoods usually cover around 2000 homes, 5000 people, a typical primary school catchment. Neighbourhoods often have sharp boundaries, either physical or atmospheric, but the layers of neighbourhood life are like an onion with a tight core and a loose outer skin.

Neighbourhoods have three interlocking aspects: the home and immediate surroundings – services such as shops and schools and the neighbourhood environment, giving an intangible but powerful signal of who we are and how we should behave. Neighbourhoods offer a sense of familiarity and security to the people who live there, which counters fear of the unknown, even where the neighbourhood is poor, run-down or unpopular.

Neighbourhoods can break down if the home, services or environment decline or are disrupted to a point where security disintegrates. If decline is very rapid, then even the sense of familiarity can go. It is the issue of neighbourhood breakdown and rescue that concerns government because school failure and crime – their top social preoccupations – are neighbourhood problems. Poor education and crime fuel the movement outwards, creating large rifts in society and leaving much poorer neighbourhoods behind. It is this cleavage that drives the high political support for the Social Exclusion Unit's daring attempt to "bring Britain together".

So complex is the task that the government had to set up eighteen policy action teams drawn from the very top of Whitehall and from residents in some of the poorest estates to dissect the multiple problem and draw them together. But "joining up" multiple, long running problems can compound difficulties. And linking very poor areas to the mainstream

has failed in the past precisely because it is so elusive as a goal and our local management of problems is so weak.

For these reasons we conclude that a neighbourhood will only work with a direct approach to neighbourhood conditions and problems. Better management of neighbourhoods involves joining up local problems and local solutions with wider support. The following lessons are the most significant.

1. *Basic conditions and local services*

Sorting out the basic, visible services – street cleaning, environmental maintenance, security – with community support, generates confidence among residents and among more specialist local professionals, such as teachers and doctors. Housing management has a direct neighbourhood remit where rented housing predominates. But police, health, education, social services, also have a direct stake in neighbourhood management. So do shops and private owners. It does not matter which organisation takes the lead but local authorities alongside landlords and owners have a direct responsibility for neighbourhood conditions. They will therefore normally act as a catalyst.

2. *Hands-on Management*

Services only work with a visible management presence. People on the ground, with direct hands-on responsibility, create organisational units that are manageable and focused. This means operating within local areas or neighbourhoods, if the conditions and problems of those areas are to be tackled. Broken down, dedicated budgets controlled by the local manager are a key management tool.

3. *“Someone in charge” in the neighbourhood*

There are many inputs from multiple services into every neighbourhood of 2000 homes. They are worth around £20 million a year for each neighbourhood. Someone has to be responsible for making these inputs work, for tackling problems and for raising standards. The role of neighbourhood manager is key to this change.

4. *Domino effect*

Neighbourhood management is doable but it needs vision and energy. It must have a highly local focus but a broad remit within the area to give it vitality and scope for radical change. Careful local hands-on management with someone in charge has a big knock-on impact on security, jobs on the ground, service innovation. It could make cities and

inner neighbourhoods much more attractive, to a broader range of people, but it can be applied and work almost anywhere. Rural areas, villages and small towns have less pressures and many more informal links, but they can also gain from neighbourhood management.

5. *Change in local authorities*

Local authorities need a flatter structure with a more strategic focus at the top, and more arm's length service structures below. Companies, trusts, local management organisations and other partnerships offer different models. We need to extend these experiments, by driving neighbourhood management through the creation of many more innovative, break-away organisations. It increasingly makes financial and organisational sense to separate the longer-term management role from the local authority strategic, brokering, enabling and monitoring role. This approach is widespread on the Continent and generally delivers much better neighbourhood conditions⁸.

6. *Housing companies*

Publicly owned urban council estates make up many of the most difficult neighbourhoods. Highly localised, focused initiatives can transform some of the most atrocious conditions. The voluntary transfer of estates to local housing companies or RSLs creates a catalytic shift that involves residents in very new ways giving them a direct stake in conditions. Locally based and controlled housing companies can help local authorities deliver better neighbourhood conditions and provide a strong framework for neighbourhood management.

7. *Private areas, ethnic minorities and housing associations*

In private and mixed ownership areas, registered social landlords may be able to play innovative roles. They often own some homes and have a vested interest improving neighbourhood conditions. They can access private finance for upgrading and can organise on a local, community basis. This will only work where there are housing associations with a strong track record, a local asset base, and a community focus.

In areas of ethnic minority concentration where there is often significant private housing, housing associations, including black and ethnic minority associations, can play a role in neighbourhood management

8 Power, A. (1999), *Estates on the Edge* London: Macmillan.

and renewal. These areas will need special community supports and outside links if we are to stem the drift towards “ghetto” concentrations. Strong local authority vision and community leadership could come together in the areas under the firm umbrella of neighbourhood management. It will require some special resources to work in poor run-down inner city neighbourhoods with falling property values and trapped communities. There is major community potential within these areas.

8. *Resident involvement*

Direct resident involvement is critical to success in tackling neighbourhood conditions. It ensures simple, doable targets; it responds directly to need; it builds confidence and capacity. Neighbourhood management is only meaningful if it involves residents. For this reason the national strategy needs to grow over time as experience is gained of how to mount neighbourhood management *with* not *over* the community. It is vital to give people time to get on board and to focus the early efforts on where there is already some momentum. Community based housing associations in Scotland have had major successes working this way.

9. *Regeneration levers*

Regeneration funding is a key lever in provoking change. Neighbourhood management is needed to protect the investment over time so that on-going social and environmental conditions match the initial upgrading. Therefore special funding for regeneration should be directly linked to main stream funding for management of improved neighbourhoods. There should only be special regeneration funds where the local authority can ensure a long-term structure for neighbourhood management.

10. *Costs and benefits of neighbourhood management*

Neighbourhood management can often be funded through reorganising and redeploying effort or by creating new independent structures with the ability to raise money. But the creation of new models needs pump priming. There are major funds within the public system dedicated to helping neighbourhoods. Many of these are targeted at poorer and more built-up areas. To make these funds work harder, we need to manage more closely. This makes neighbourhood management essential *and* affordable, but only if we redeploy resources to make it happen. We cannot afford *not* to manage our scarce public resources.

The benefits are clear:

- better conditions
- higher standards
- more staff at ground level
- more local jobs for equivalent money
- more involvement, training and capacity building for residents and front-line staff
- significant improvements in security, repair, enforcement of basic conditions and eventually value
- many innovative ideas unleashed by breaking the mould
- immediate links to schools, training, health services, the police and other local services that founder in chaotic conditions but promote real change in better managed neighbourhoods.

If neighbourhood management works, it can help bring about an urban renaissance and save the government the large, hidden infrastructure subsidies that support green field building. It could make unpopular urban neighbourhoods attractive to more people and it would allow us to live at sustainable densities in pleasant surroundings.