



MP4 WP1.3 Transnational Assessment of Practice

Case study report
draft: Craigmillar
Urban
Regeneration

February 2010

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Craigmillar: introduction

Located on the South-eastern side of Edinburgh, Craigmillar is a mostly residential suburban area (mainly social rented housing) that went through a long decline period and is now undergoing extensive regeneration. The aim is to bring people and prosperity back to the region, in a sustainable way, respecting its heritage and green spaces, and reintegrating it socially and physically into the context of Edinburgh.

The Craigmillar regeneration project has been seen as a successful one so far and has won several awards for its developments as well as the quality of its policies and processes. Its 'place-making' process is innovative and shows a concern with long-term maintenance already in the design stage. 'Place-keeping', although mostly still a responsibility of the City Council, has started to be developed in different ways with more involvement of local communities, and alternative partnerships are under exploration. One of its most valuable examples, however, is the investment made in generating a 'community legacy' to ensure continuous community development and future sustainability.

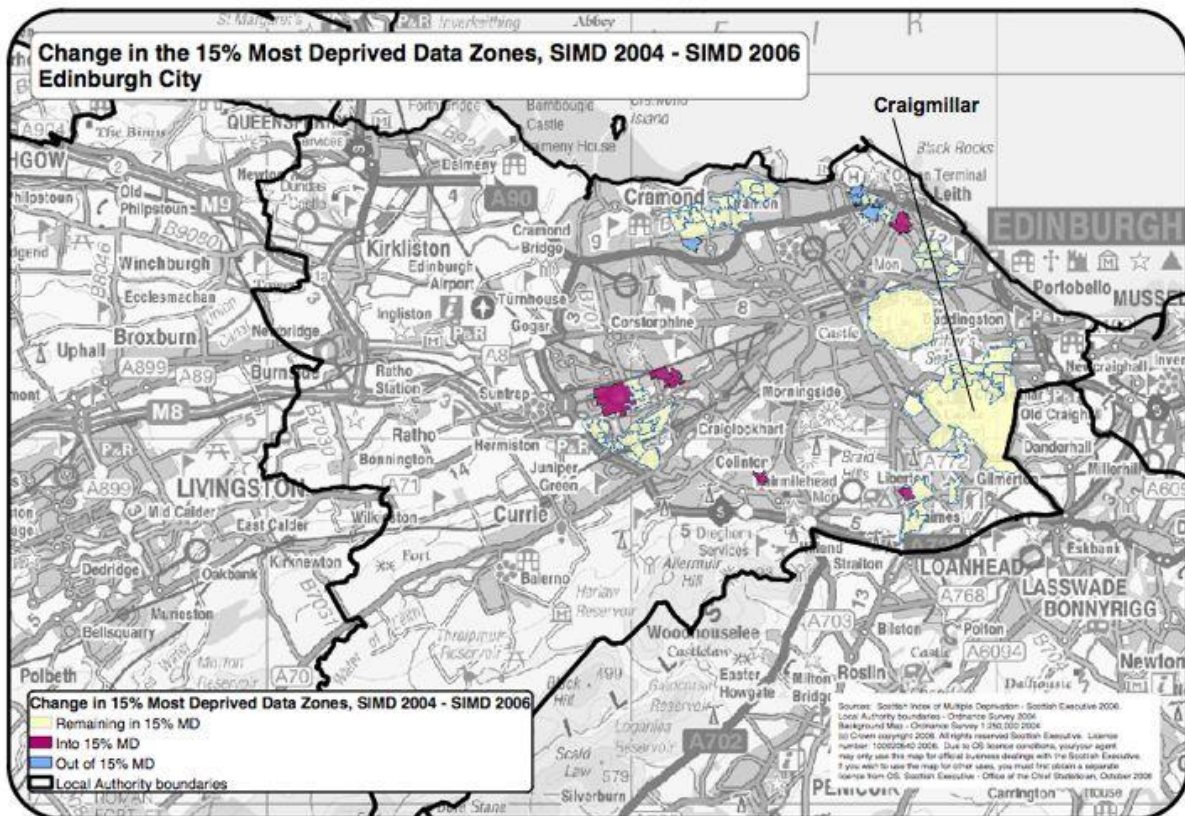


Figure 1: Craigmillar in context. (Source: SIMD 2006¹)

Context

Edinburgh, capital of Scotland, has a city region population of 1.57 million (the city itself is estimated to have around 500,000), currently growing by over 4,500 a year. It is the UK's 2nd and Europe's 9th most competitive centre, with a critical mass in banking, fund management,

¹ Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation – Scottish Executive 2006 - SIMD2006 (available online: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Statistics/SIMD/SIMDInteractive>)

life and general insurance, securities, corporate finance, broking, asset servicing and support services. Ranked by the Financial Times as the 'Top Small European City' and the 6th Top European city overall for inward investment in 2008, Edinburgh has one of the most productive workforces in the UK (data from 2006). Moreover, having high quality educational and technological centres, the city is highly attractive to high-qualified and talented individuals, having at the moment one of the most qualified workforces in Europe (50.5% of the city's population aged 24 or over hold degrees or equivalent qualifications).²

Considered to be one of the most beautiful cities in Europe, Edinburgh has won several best city and short break awards. It has the highest number of listed buildings in the UK. Edinburgh's medieval Old Town and its neo-Classical New Town together form a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Not only one of the main tourist attractions in Europe, Edinburgh is also considered to be a good place to live. It scores 95% satisfaction among local residents and it was named 'Best place to live in the UK' in 2007³. The city has a large number of museums and visitor centres, a large variety of cultural activities, and a number of well-kept green spaces.

Administratively, the city and its immediate surroundings constitute the zone governed by the City of Edinburgh Council. The headquarters of the Scottish Government, the Scottish Parliament, and the Scottish Law Courts are situated in Edinburgh. The political composition of the City of Edinburgh Council includes the Scottish Liberal Democrats, Scottish Labour Party, the Scottish National Party, and the Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party, with a slight dominance of the Liberal Democrats⁴.

Although considered to be a wealthy city, Edinburgh has some pockets of social exclusion and the area of Craigmillar has been one of these for some years. Resulting from the slum clearances that took place in the centre of Edinburgh, Craigmillar was built in the decades after 1929. Entire communities were relocated in Craigmillar, thus keeping the existing social networks. The area initially housed 25,000 people with most of them working in breweries and mines. However, the population fell with the decline of the economy during the 1960s and 1970s. Social problems then began to grow and the area became stigmatised. As a result, it has been considered the fourth most deprived area in Scotland for a long time. There have been previous attempts to regenerate the area which failed to tackle the area's multiple problems, which created disappointment and resistance to new attempts among the local residents.

The most recent regeneration initiative, however, makes use of a new model of partnership for development called Urban Regeneration Company (URC), which has been proving to be more appropriate for areas with this type of background. This model aims at a more holistic development of the area, where the involvement of private partners as well as of the local communities is essential. The application of the URC model, combined with an increasing organisation of the local communities under an umbrella organisation called 'Neighbourhood Alliance', and a policy of service decentralisation by the City of Edinburgh Council which generated the East Neighbourhood Team, all contributed to create a very characteristic context for the present Craigmillar regeneration programme.

The project and the 'place-keeping' approach

² 'Introducing Edinburgh: The Inspiring Capital' Factsheet for information. Available online at: <http://www.edinburgh-inspiringcapital.com>

³ Classification by the Channel Four television programme 'Location, Location, Location'.

⁴ 'State of the Council' – PDF document available at The City of Edinburgh Council website: http://www.edinburgh.gov.uk/internet/Council/Elections/Results/results_May_2007

Not only a housing development and renewal project, the present Craigmillar regeneration project aims at bringing people and prosperity back Craigmillar, in a sustainable manner, respecting its heritage and green spaces, and reintegrating it socially and physically into the context of Edinburgh.

The project is managed by a joint venture company called 'Promoting and Regenerating Craigmillar' (PARC). PARC is responsible for implementing a 15 year mixed development programme of which the main elements are: 2,200 houses, 30,000 sq. metres of commercial activities, 3 new primary schools, 1 new high school, 3 new parks totalling 150 acres, and 1 new public library. Further approximately 1,000 homes will be delivered on land owned by other developers within the design framework area.

Initially, PARC funded a baseline study, together with Craigmillar Partnership⁵. An Urban Design Framework (UDF) was drawn up by consultants who were commissioned by the CEC Planning Department and PARC, with other stakeholders and community representatives also having an input. Consultation was completed and the UDF adopted by the Council in 2005. In total, the UDF took around one year to prepare, and it sets a specific planning agenda, aiming to ensure that proposed development plans are all compatible with the overall vision.

The framework objectives are: to improve the area and double its population, attracting new residents; use mixed tenure; enhance Craigmillar town centre with new, improved and refurbished facilities; create 2 new parks and an arboretum; improve the links into Edinburgh; and explore employment linkages with the nearby new Edinburgh Royal Infirmary and the Bio Park. For each sub-area within Craigmillar, the Council also requires further detailed masterplans and full planning applications.

Regarding land ownership in the area, it falls into three categories: (1) land and property that will be transferred by CEC; (2) land that will be acquired by PARC by way of a willing seller or through a Compulsory Purchase Order (CPO); (3) land and property acquired by EDI (a Council-owned development company – see below) to inject into PARC.

PARC has put into place a series of strategies to achieve its aims, one of these being the establishment of a research programme for professionals and local community to observe best practice regeneration projects, and to help inform the development of the programme and approaches in Craigmillar.

One of PARC's main roles as a URC is to 'capture and link the income arising from private development to contribute to the funding of the public and amenity projects' (Shiel and Smith-Milne 2007:19). Thinking on the long-term maintenance of these areas, requirements are made for high quality design and materials as well as sustainable techniques, which will be of easier maintenance and last longer.

Another important aspect for the success of Craigmillar's regeneration strategy is the need to provide a substantial housing development as quickly as possible in order to generate confidence in the market, attracting buyers and raising property values in the area.

The open spaces strategy is fundamental within this context. It aims to bring the obvious benefits to the environmental quality of the area, but also to contribute to the improvement of

⁵ Established in 2001, the Craigmillar Partnership is a partnership of organisations which have an interest in the redevelopment of the Greater Craigmillar area. All partners are represented on the board of directors. It is the responsibility of the partnership to deliver strategic guidance to the sub groups and partnership-funded projects, identify what Craigmillar and its residents need and find ways to provide it. (http://www.edinburghcompact.org.uk/_localOrganisations/showOrg.asp?orgID=272)

the life quality of its inhabitants, as well as to increase the attractiveness of the region. The open space strategy for Craigmillar has several strands as shown below:

I – Green Spaces

There is a strategy for the development of green spaces, which will provide a 150 acre park for the city on the perimeter of Craigmillar, composed of 5 parts:

1. Edmonstone Policies Park – 50-acre public park, with a design that reflects the original 18th century layout of the Policies; trees, open meadows and fields.
2. Community Woodland & Arboretum – a negotiation with the Forestry commission to manage this is under way. The idea is to develop this with involvement of the local community probably via schools, with community members planting a tree each.
3. Niddrie Burn Park – a linear park to be developed along the Niddrie Burn.
4. New Meadows – which will include informal meeting point, cafés, potential arena for organisation of events. PARC worked with PPS (Project for Public Spaces)⁶ and GreenSpace⁷, involving local people and organisations (school, hospital, etc) in the discussion (see also Wester Hailes Case Study).
5. Sports Park – all-weather sports' pitch next to Castlebrae High School to be used by local schools and the community, a network of paths and cycle tracks, with open views to Craigmillar Castle and the Forth Estuary.

This will all link to the new Jubilee Park around Craigmillar Castle, providing a green corridor in the direction of Edinburgh city centre.

II – Play Parks / Pocket Parks

These follow the National Playing Fields Association categorisation of play areas, which comprises the following:

- LAP (local area for play)
- LEAP (local equipped area for play)
- NEAP (neighbourhood equipped area for play)

Their aims are:

- (1) To support existing areas for play (LEAPs)
- (2) To encourage outside the house play via the use of shared spaces (LAPs)
- (3) To encourage schools to open their play areas for use

III – Common Areas / Backcourts

The strategy regarding the common areas / back courts between the houses is to wait until 60% of houses are occupied and bring landscape architects in to discuss with the local community to decide on what they want to happen within these spaces. In general the split is envisaged to be 20% social space and 80% private. However, the Council might consider selling off land to developers due to the current economic crisis and its need for capital receipts.

IV – Upgrading the existing public realm

The strategy is to seek ways of upgrading what is already there, such as: improvement and provision of allotments (e.g. next to high flats); refurbishment of local parks and cemeteries; investments in lighting.

V – Open Town Centre

Work is being done to develop a town square, emphasising it as a public realm, and trying to overcome the view of Craigmillar as a 'half-way' point between two shopping centres (Cameron Toll and Fort Kinnaird), turning the new square into a destination. The new town centre will also have a new school and a library. Strategies to delay traffic in the area and

⁶ Website: <http://www.pps.org/>

⁷ GreenSpace is a registered charity which works to improve parks and green spaces by raising awareness, involving communities and creating skilled professionals. Website: <http://www.green-space.org.uk/> (last accessed 11/03/2010).

revamp the commercial activities are being used. The Council bought all the existing shops around the square and a masterplan has been approved. The new town square will be built using funds from the Town Centre Regeneration Fund.

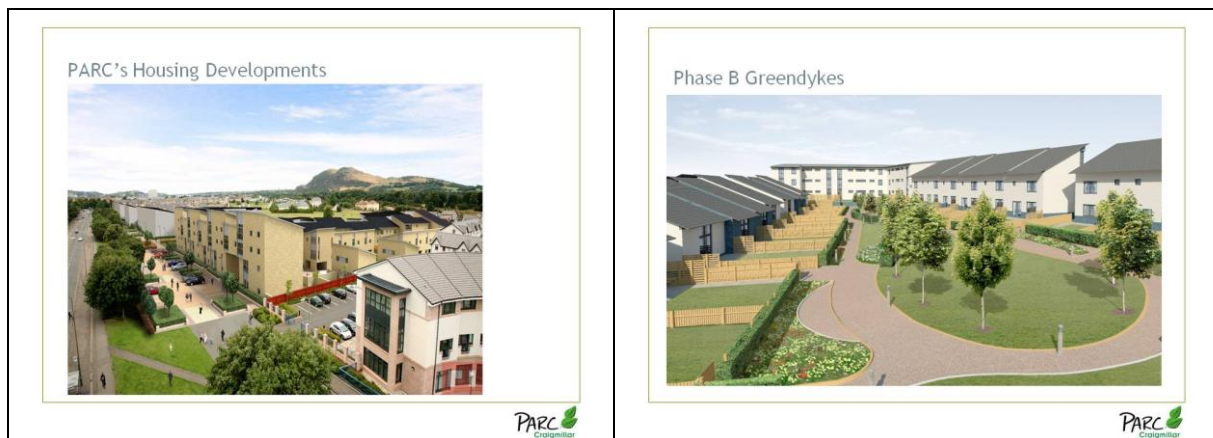


Figure 2: Open spaces within housing developments (Source: PARC)

Governance, Engagement and Partnerships

Place-Making

PARC

One thing that clearly differentiates the present Craigmillar regeneration programme from past attempts is the adoption of the URC model, which is a relatively new development in Scottish regeneration policy. After a positive evaluation of the English experience with Urban Regeneration Companies (URCs) in *Cities Review* (2002), the Scottish Executive indicated its support for innovative service delivery vehicles such as URCs, where these come forward from consultation (*Building Better Cities*, January 2003). A URC consultation exercise was launched in August 2003 with an invitation for expressions of interest in URC Pathfinder status⁸. In June 2004, the Scottish Executive published a summary of the consultation responses, showing 15 notes of interest in URC pathfinder status. The bid from Craigmillar was among the three considered to be furthest ahead in the business planning process and more able to benefit from funding to initiate the regeneration programme. Craigmillar was then granted Pathfinder URC status, which was backed by £20 million funding from the Scottish Executive.

It was made clear by the Scottish Executive that the expected regeneration of an area managed by a URC is not only physical, but also social, economic and environmental. A URC is expected:

- to provide a single vision and strategic focus for the regeneration of an area
- to act as a catalyst for private sector investment by raising investor confidence
- to guide investment by the public and private sectors towards an agreed set of objectives and outcomes
- to speed up the pace of delivery
- to maximise the use of public sector assets, including land
- to provide a strategic approach to tackling infrastructure issues such as transport and land assembly.⁹

⁸ Pathfinder status is acquired when a project which represents a new approach is chosen to be financed and work as a test-bed for an idea, opening the way for its application elsewhere.

⁹ Liz Shiel and David Smith-Milne (2007) Best Practice in Establishing Urban Regeneration Companies in Scotland, Scottish Executive.

The Scottish Government's Pathfinder Urban Regeneration Company in charge of managing the Craigmillar Regeneration Project is called '**Promoting and Regenerating Craigmillar**' (**PARC**). PARC is a 50:50 joint venture company comprising the City of Edinburgh Council and the EDI Group initiated in 2003. EDI is a Council's owned development company created in 1988, with an investment portfolio of around £100 million. EDI was selected by the Council as the preferred joint venture partner after consultation with the local community. The deal is that EDI receives interest payment on its investment and CEC receives new facilities. PARC has a company Board, which is composed by four representatives each from CEC, EDI and community stakeholders, but only CEC and EDI have voting rights. The chair rotates annually between CEC and EDI. If wished, they can also bring in additional directors. An executive committee meets monthly and reports directly to the Board. This committee oversees the management of the programme, which is managed under contract by EDI. The only EDI member of staff working full time in Craigmillar was the project manager, who worked with a particular focus on community engagement.

PARC has been working in Craigmillar within a context of changing governance structures, including the application of the Neighbourhood Management Model which involves the decentralisation of local government service delivery in Edinburgh, the development of new community support organisations and the renewal in community-based representative bodies.

The City of Edinburgh Council

The decentralisation of Council services implemented by the City of Edinburgh Council in recent years has the aim of providing more localised delivery of services and promoting local governance, delivering local community planning. This decentralisation is based on the concept of the **Neighbourhood Management Model**, which generated 6 Neighbourhood Teams (see Figure 3 below) and 12 Neighbourhood Partnerships¹⁰ (see Figure 4 below). Each Neighbourhood Partnership has a Neighbourhood Committee which is composed of Council Committees (with locally elected members – 3 per ward), council officers, community representatives, voluntary sector representatives, and representatives from bodies such as the police and fire brigade.

Each Neighbourhood Partnership (NP) is responsible for defining priorities for a Local Community Plan that are identified by local residents. Each NP has a number of action groups that work together to improve local services and quality of life. **Portobello & Craigmillar Neighbourhood Partnership** (P & C NP) covers the local authority ward of two neighbourhoods: Portobello and Craigmillar. It contains the following sub-groups: Area Board; Community Safety; Environment Forum; Families, Children and Young People; Funding Panel; Health & Wellbeing; Housing & Regeneration; and Voluntary Sector. These sub-groups were created 'to identify and develop approaches to the priorities in the Local Community Plan'¹¹.

¹⁰ For more information on this see www.edinburghnp.org.uk

¹¹ Portobello & Craigmillar Neighbourhood Partnership
(http://www.edinburghnp.org.uk/page/More_About_Us.aspx)

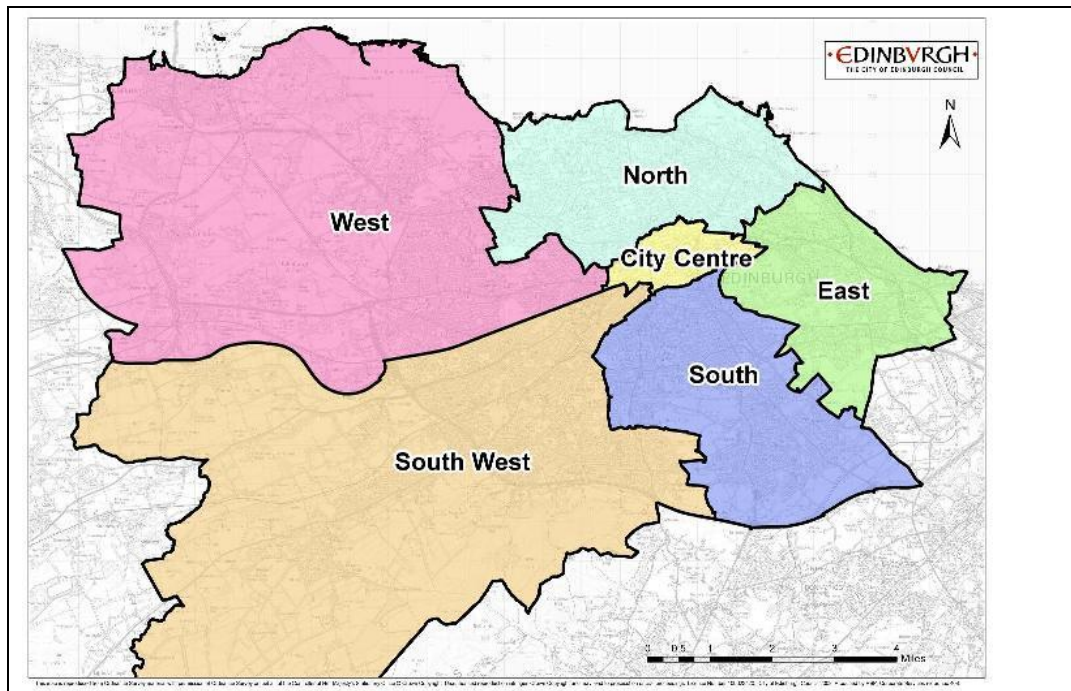
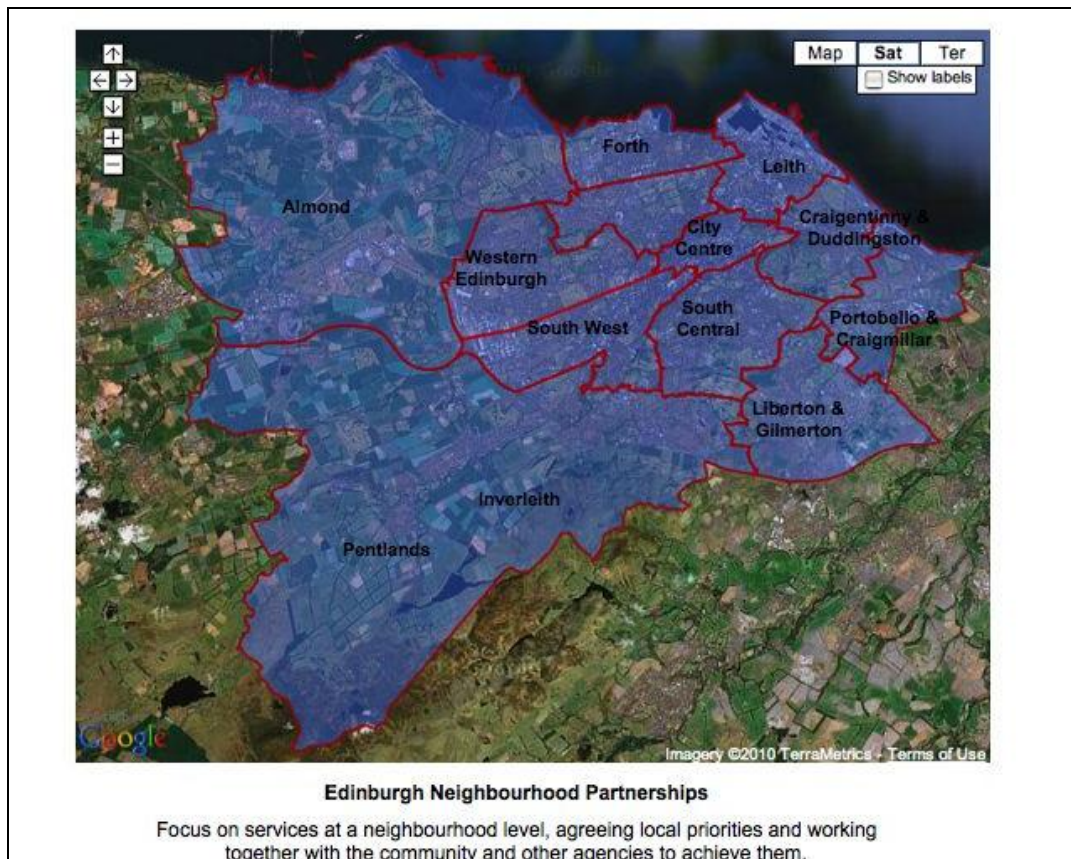


Figure 3 - Map showing the 6 City of Edinburgh Neighbourhood Teams areas. (Source: The City of Edinburgh Council website¹²)



Edinburgh Neighbourhood Partnerships

Focus on services at a neighbourhood level, agreeing local priorities and working together with the community and other agencies to achieve them.

Figure 4 – Map showing the 12 Edinburgh Neighbourhood Partnerships (after NPs map on the Edinburgh City Council website¹³)

¹² http://www.edinburgh.gov.uk/internet/City_Living/Your_neighbourhood/Neighbourhood%20services/CEC_which_part_of_the_city_is_my_neighbourhood_in (last accessed: 19/03/2010).

¹³ http://www.edinburghnp.org.uk/page/Map_of_all_NPs.aspx - last accessed 11/03/2010).

In addition to the Neighbourhood Partnerships, six **Neighbourhood Teams** have been created within the City of Edinburgh Council with the aim of bringing the City Council services closer to the local communities. Each of the Council's six Neighbourhood Managers in the Neighbourhood Teams has responsibility for between one and three Neighbourhood Partnership areas¹⁴. The services these Neighbourhood Teams provide include keeping neighbourhoods:

- clean (fining people who litter, issuing penalties for dog fouling, tackling fly-tipping and graffiti);
- green (managing parks, providing recycling facilities, maintaining cycle paths);
- safe (monitoring using CCTV, funding Police Youth Action Teams, tackling nuisance noise);
- well housed (repairing Council homes, working with private landlords, tackling homelessness);
- well managed (working in partnership with the Police, working with resident groups to improve areas, managing local libraries); and
- well maintained (repairing footpaths, maintaining street lighting, repairing roads)¹⁵.

There is a central Director of Services for Communities and respective Heads of Housing & Regeneration, Environment, Performance & Community Engagement, and Community Safety. This team manages the local teams that work in each Neighbourhood Team. Within each local team there is a Neighbourhood Manager (who leads the local team), a Local Community Safety Manager, a Local Environment Manager, a Local House & Regeneration Manager, and a Local Partnership & Information Manager – these have the responsibility for management and development within their respective areas at a local level. The **East Neighbourhood Team** is the one responsible for the Craigmillar area.

The **P&C Neighbourhood Partnership** meets six to eight times per year. The **Environment Forum**, which is one of the P&C NP sub-groups, was established in 2007 and is presently chaired by the Council's Local Environment Manager for the **East Neighbourhood Team**. It aims to provide joined-up thinking about open space maintenance and management. It is a step in the direction of including the community in the negotiations between Council and landlords over open space management, and the Environment Forum's Sustainable Environment Plan reflects local priorities as identified by local people via several consultation processes. The Environment Forum, which is led by the Council, doesn't have an established structure, with people who turn up on the day having a say. In practice it has a good level of community representation, with attendance by some councillors as well, but little presence of landlords, who the community members argue should be there. The Environment Forum's remit goes beyond Council/social housing areas to cover issues related to roads and pavements anywhere in the Craigmillar area. The Environment Forum has been good at joining up funding for 'placemaking' (e.g. mixing Town Centre Renewal funding with Area Board and Environment Forum funding in an area called Magdalene).

¹⁴ Edinburgh City Council website -

http://www.edinburgh.gov.uk/internet/City_Living/Your_neighbourhood/CEC_neighbourhood_teams_and_neighbourhood_partnerships_2 (last accessed 11/03/2010)

¹⁵ Edinburgh City Council website

http://www.edinburgh.gov.uk/internet/City_Living/Your_neighbourhood/Neighbourhood%20services/CEC_locally_managed_services (last accessed 10/03/2010)

Another forum in the local government structure at neighbourhood level is the **Housing Area Board** or **Area Board**. Each of the six neighbourhoods or areas that Edinburgh is divided into for service delivery purposes has a Housing Area Board. These Area Boards, which were created as an early stab at ‘community planning’, have a say in how the Housing Revenue Account (HRA) budget is allocated, and therefore only deal with funding allocated to Council/social housing land. An example of Area Board involvement with open space in Craigmillar was its allocation of funds to turn a green into a well maintained park and car park, with the Council retaining responsibility for maintenance. In each of Edinburgh’s areas, the Area Board is a subgroup of the **Neighbourhood Partnership**, which is ‘owned’ by **Resident Tenant Organisations** (RTOs) and resident groups – members consisting of representatives from all tenants associations (in Craigmillar participation is based on neighbourhood rather than tenure¹⁶), which outnumber the councillors on the board. In the case of Craigmillar, all RTOs had pre-meetings before Area Board meetings, where frank discussion of priorities took place, and which ‘mirrored’ the councillors’ pre-meetings. The agreement among RTOs in Craigmillar was to take budget decisions on the basis of need, equitable divide, and things otherwise not being done. This resulted in a high level of success in allocating funds to community proposals.



Figure 5: clockwise (a) traditional local pub with awaiting renovation; (b) view of Craigmillar castle & surrounding green space; (c) locals in one of the participatory activities; (d) participation of local school children in the maintenance of school garden. (Source: PARC).

Community Organisation

The community is directly represented in both these forums – the Environment Forum and the Area Board – and is also supported at these through a specific organisation called the

¹⁶ The RTOs being supported by the local communities organisation “**Neighbourhood Alliance**” (see below) changed their constitutions to make it more inclusive by defining the membership on the basis of neighbourhood rather than tenure.

Neighbourhood Alliance (NA). The NA has been involved in promoting engagement and constant empowerment of local communities, not only providing material support (space for meetings, photocopies, minute taking, etc) but also strategic (encouraging locals to organise pre-meetings and decide matters among themselves before meeting others such as Council or Housing Association representatives, as well as to carry out their own research). The NA evolved from a project set up by the Council: the Craigmillar Housing Development Project (CHDP). This project was overseen by the Craigmillar Festival Society, a community arts association, during the early 1990s, and it aimed at supporting community involvement during the housing regeneration phase in the area. However, a view emerged that the way the project was run 'was not taking account of the wider community views', and that it was perceived as being controlled by local councillors. The regeneration project also became more complex and started to involve more than housing and including social and economic issues. Changes in staff and in the management committee gradually took place and the project was 'rebranded' as the Craigmillar Neighbourhood Alliance, to reflect the changes in the organisation's aims. More recently the name was changed to Neighbourhood Alliance to include the neighbourhoods immediately outwith Craigmillar with which they have been working.

The Neighbourhood Alliance employs three people. As an organisation it endeavours to be transparent. There are 10 **neighbourhood groups** composed by representatives of local residents in 10 different local communities or sub-groups – smaller groups are seen as being easier to sustain as every meeting is relevant to them. Each neighbourhood group has an Annual General Meeting (AGM) once a year, as well as monthly meetings (which are open to the public) of their committee members – on average there are 10 people at these meetings, but as they are open to the public attendance varies and there can be even 30 participants sometimes. The Chair of each neighbourhood group is automatically on the board of the NA. In addition, three people from each of the ten community groups can become part of the **Community Regeneration Forum (CRF)**, which is the umbrella group. The CRF has an open meeting every month and has a more strategic role. They have an AGM once a year, when the CRF is elected. The AGM is the only time when voting is used; in the monthly meetings decisions are reached through consensus. The chairperson can be in the post only for one year and they try to allocate the chair to a person of a different area each year. There is a pool of around 25 people. Normally someone can only be nominated for one position. An exception is the participation in the **Craigmillar & Portobello Neighbourhood Partnership**, as members of the CRF can also occupy posts there, but they try to limit this to a maximum of two posts per person in order to avoid building up of power bases.

Specific public participation was organised when discussing the Craigmillar Urban Design Framework. The CRF put themselves forward as participants in the process and 22 local people volunteered to participate. Three groups were organised: two day-time groups and 1 evening group. NA staff went through the whole UDF with each group. The results of these discussions were published in the local newspapers.

The NA were also approached during the consultation by groups which are not officially recognised, such as a group of 'show-people'. This very distinct group had traditionally occupied sites in the area but did not have the 'right to return' that occupants of houses and tenement flats to be demolished had. Through their participation in the CRF as a group, they were able to guarantee their rights and sites are identified in the area for them now.

A statutory form of community representation in Scotland is the Community Council, which is geographically defined and depends on community members' willingness to stand for election – it is not a tier of local government. During the consultation on the Craigmillar Urban Design Framework a clear split emerged between the CRF and the then Craigmillar Community Council (CCC) members, when it became clear they had different agendas. During the discussions on the Urban Design Framework, the Community Council wanted all the social housing to be built together and urgently, while the CRF wanted regeneration and

change via the improvement of the region, with community involvement and mixed tenure. As the Community Council was divided, the CRF had the opportunity to counterbalance their views and be heard. Both CRF & CC sent deputations to the Council's Planning Department, and CRF members spoke at the Planning Committee meeting. 'Ordinary people spoke up their views at the meetings'. As the Council had an interest in the regeneration of the area, they supported CRF views, and the approved UDF proposes mixed tenure (social & private) rather than 'mono-tenure'.

Following the consultation on the UDF, there was a big change in the governance of Craigmillar Community Council (CCC). During the next CCC election, CRF put forward 16 people and got 12 elected. The election was highly political and resulted in the highest turnout for a CC election in Scotland, with more than 600 people voting. The controversy resulted in the CC subgroup election going to judicial review at the High Court. The present Community Council is seen by interviewees as being open, transparent and democratic. There is now a Joint Planning Group composed by members of the Craigmillar Community Council and CRF. Previous existing power bases have disappeared through community action.

Overall, a lot appears to have been achieved via community engagement in recent years. There is a perception of real change taking place. During the years, local residents had become known for being tough and having a difficult relationship with the council. Local councillors used to be seen as having a 'patronising' attitude towards residents and these, although present at meetings to a certain extent, were not able to effectively influence decisions when deliberating on changes taking place in the area. The changes in governance described above are seen by interviewees as having brought about renewed local engagement. In addition, the community itself has been tackling anti-social behaviour issues, for example. The NA has a good relationship with the police and with the Council, which helps to solve problems. Through the NA, local community members know where to go and who to speak to when an issue needs to be discussed or a service requested. Several initiatives are being made to get locals more involved in the discussion of common issues. The community gets together and prioritizes action, as for example in the case of Greendykes, where people from the Area Board and different areas who had never spoken before worked together and prioritised an area as the main one needing urgent re-development, putting others' problems first when most needed. NA is proud of facilitating the organisation and engagement processes as an 'honest broker'.

In summary, decisions on place-making during the current regeneration of Craigmillar have been made in the context of great change and innovation in governance and forms of engagement and partnership at all levels: local authority, community, and partnerships which engage with the private sector.

Place-keeping

Place-keeping at the moment is still carried out in a 'conventional' way, but residents are becoming much more organised and more empowered to voice their opinions on the subject. The responsibilities of maintenance of open spaces are formally set as follows:

- Residents: responsible for the maintenance of their private gardens
- Housing Associations / Landlords: responsible for factoring arrangements for new areas being built, carrying out maintenance of internal courts and some common spaces.
- Council: most open spaces such as parks, squares, and roads.

However, there are also examples of different arrangements such as:

- Hunters Hall Housing Cooperative - the maintenance standards are decided by the local community and the area was cited as the best maintained in Great Craigmillar.

- Kintry Environmental Trust (which no longer exists) - this was established by the Kintry Housing Partnership, which comprised four social housing landlords, as well as the Council and community representatives. The Kintry Housing Partnership (which used central government NHP funds to regenerate the Craigmillar Castle area and the Hays), formed the Trust, and provided it with funding to look after the open spaces in the regenerated area.
- Pocket parks – local groups of residents are formed to get involved in the maintenance and use of small green spaces. These are presently being organised with advice from the Housing Team of the East Neighbourhood.
- Voluntary work: e.g. a local resident collects the waste and recyclable material – he works as a reference in the area, with other residents bringing recyclable material to him.
- 'Friends of the Park' types of association are under discussion in the Environment Forum, with 2 or 3 already established in the East area.

CEC's Environment team is responsible for parks and green spaces, and for maintenance of open space. Jointly with PARC, the Council established the **Parks & Green Spaces Board**, which has also other stakeholders as members. This board discussed a strategy for green space which included the delivery and maintenance of 150 acres of new green spaces. Developers contribute with funds to develop green space such as in the New Meadows, the Greendykes development and Niddrie Burn Park, but after around one year, the ownership and maintenance of these spaces is transferred to the City Council, as is standard practice.

Partnerships for place-keeping are encouraged and developed where there are common interests. The Council does not expect developers to take over more responsibilities than what they have done so far, but hope to explore synergies with other possible partners such as the Hospital (Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh) and the Bio-medical Park, getting them more involved in the maintenance of the nearby parks. These are major employers in the area and the nearby green areas provide benefits not only for their employees but also for patients. A new 40 acre public park providing informal activity spaces will link Greendykes with Edinburgh's Royal Infirmary and Hawkhill Wood with the Niddrie Burn.

Policy

National Policy

Several documents (policies, regulations, reports) set out and provide advice and regulations on design, architecture, housing and sustainability in Scotland.¹⁷ One of the main documents is *Designing Places* (2001), which sets out the Scottish Government's urban design policy encouraging a high quality public realm and places for people.

Influential in the whole UK was the guide published by CABI in 2000: *By design –urban design in the planning system: towards better practice*¹⁸. It promotes higher standards in urban design and provides sound, practical advice. It encourages those who influence and shape development decisions to think more deeply and sensitively about the living environments being created.

¹⁷ Some of these documents are: Scottish Executive (2001) *Designing Places A Policy Statement for Scotland*; Scottish Executive (2001) *An Architecture Policy for Scotland*; Scottish Government (2007) *Building Our Legacy – Statement on Scotland's Architecture Policy 2007*; Scottish Government (2008) *Design at the Heart of Housebuilding*; Stevenson, Fionn and Nick Williams (1999) and (2006) *Scottish Sustainable Housing Design Guide*, Scottish Homes. Available online at the Scottish Government website (<http://www.scotland.gov.uk>).

¹⁸ DETR and CABI (2000) *By design –urban design in the planning system: towards better practice* Thomas Telford Publishing, London,

Influential to the Craigmillar regeneration project were the *Cities Review* (2002) report, which made a positive evaluation of the English experience using URCs, which was answered by the *Building Better Cities* (January 2003), where the Scottish Government indicated its support for innovative service delivery vehicles such as URCs, if coming forward from consultation.

More specifically concerned with open spaces, the *Scottish Planning Policy (SPP11): Open Space and Physical Activity* (2008)¹⁹ aims at ensuring that local authorities take a coordinated and strategic approach to protecting and developing an open space network and promote access to sport and recreation.

More specifically the *Planning Advice Note: PAN 65 Planning and Open Space* (2008) gives advice on the role of the planning system in protecting and enhancing existing open spaces and providing high quality new spaces. It supports *Scottish Planning Policy (SPP) 11: Open Space and Physical Activity*. The PAN also sets out how local authorities can prepare open space strategies and gives examples of good practice in providing, managing and maintaining open spaces. The advice relates to open space in settlements: villages, towns and major urban areas. It emphasises the importance of 'place-keeping', although not using this terminology, highlighting that long-term maintenance should be taken into consideration in the design phase, with community involvement also as a form of empowerment and community building process, and involving private and public partnerships. It recognises the limited control planning systems have over open space maintenance, but emphasises that provisions can be made for maintenance through planning conditions or agreements on planning consents ensuring the provision of new or improved open space as part of development proposals; particularly in new housing developments, clear responsibilities of all parties involved in long-term arrangements should be established before consent. The Note sets out options on how agreements can be made, such as (a) setting up a residents' association with factoring arrangements; (b) developer/owner handing over the title to new areas of open space to the local authority, usually with a commuted sum with which the local authority can fund future maintenance; and (c) councils or developers making arrangements with a suitable third party for long-term maintenance.

Local Policies

Edinburgh's planning policy and a growing number of guidance documents include support for high quality urban design, improvements to the public realm, open space strategies, priority to pedestrians over cars and recycling.

The *Open Space Framework*²⁰ approved by the Planning Committee and the Council Executive in November 2005 intends to co-ordinate open space strategies, having as a vision 'to deliver quality and sustainable open space for the City of Edinburgh that continues to contribute to environmental well-being, economic prosperity and quality of life.' Its aims are:

1. to create a network of open space (green and civic space) that knits the city together;
2. to improve the mechanisms for funding and management of open space;
3. to improve the quality, quantity, accessibility and enjoyment of open space.
4. to improve the mechanisms for protecting open space;
5. to obtain even greater benefits for all from the city's existing and new open spaces;
6. to provide opportunities for all those who live in the city to lead healthy and physically active lifestyles;
7. to promote the city locally, nationally and internationally.

The Scottish Planning Policy requires that local authorities undertake an open space audit and prepare an open space strategy. As a result of this, the *Edinburgh Open Space Strategy*

¹⁹ Scottish Planning Policy 11: Open Space and Physical Activity, report to Planning Committee, 28 February 2008.

²⁰ Finalised Open Space Framework for Edinburgh, report to Planning Committee, 3 November 2005.

project started in February 2009²¹. It aims ‘to ensure that a coordinated approach is taken to protecting and developing the city’s network of open space’. An audit of open space is being carried out to inform the strategy, which will inform planning decisions on loss and provision of open space, including an action plan identifying proposed changes to specific spaces and sites in the city.

Other existing Council strategies relating to open space are: (a) Public Realm Strategy (ongoing); Green Flag assessment of Parks and Gardens (June 2008); Edinburgh Public Parks and Gardens Strategy (March 2006); Pitches Strategy (March 2005); Edinburgh Local Biodiversity Action Plan 2004-2009 (2004 – review by 2010); Access Strategy (February 2003); Allotments Strategy (November 2002 – under review); Play in Partnership: a Play Strategy for the City of Edinburgh (April 2001 – under review); Urban Forestry Strategy (1991 – ongoing review).

Finance

The financial information available consists of ‘place-making’ costs. The total cost of the regeneration programme is more than £300 million. The project is market-led, with funding coming mainly from house sales, but with grant-funds from the government too. PARC invests around £180m, which will come from different sources, including grants and loan stock. The City of Edinburgh Council (CEC) enters with the land assets and facilitates the access of development funding for social housing in the form of ‘Housing Association Grant’ (HAG). EDI has to provide an equivalent amount in cash or income producing assets to match CEC’s land assets. Furthermore, there is also conventional project finance: from private loan finance to PARC or via third party sales, and for the development of the housing association. PARC will provide further financial contributions to complement HAG and guarantee the delivery of the social houses required. PARC sources of funding are: (a) City of Edinburgh Council £11.0 million (in kind - land value); (b) EDI £11.0 million; (c) Scottish Executive £21.2 million; (d) HAG £18.0 million; and Private Loan Finance £62.0 million. (See Figure 6 below)

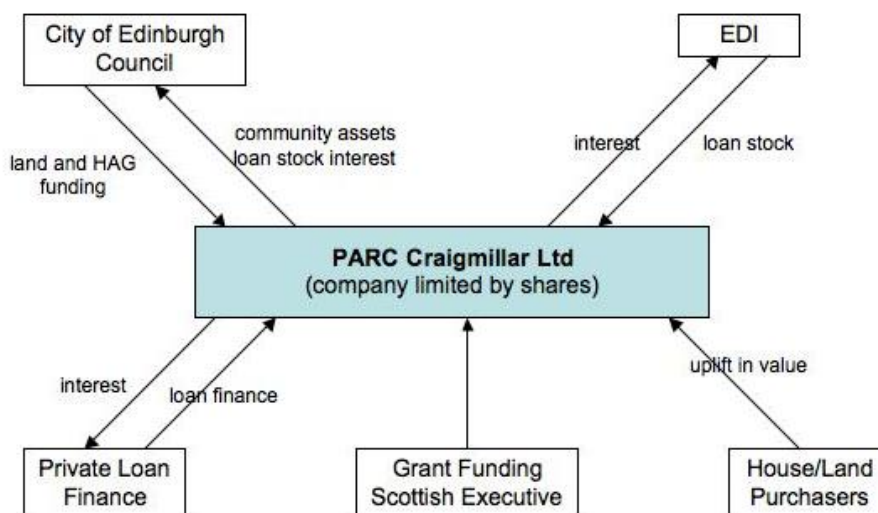


Figure 6: PARC structures and relationships (after Shiel and Smith-Milne 2007:18)

²¹ Edinburgh Open Space Strategy – Start of Project, report number 8, 18 March 2009.

According to the existing business plan, early investment is to be made in the private sector housing and other amenities, which will make the area more attractive and generate a steady rise in house prices and commercial rents, which consequently will bring a return on loans and investments. As the loan stock is interest bearing, it provides part of the overall return to shareholders.

Regarding 'place-keeping', there are no exact figures, but the expectation is that after the 15-year time frame of PARC a 'Community Legacy' will be generated. This 'Community Legacy' initiative will then ensure continuous community development as well as future sustainability. In order to deliver this legacy, models such as Community Foundations, Regeneration Trusts and Community Associations will be explored.

Community organisations seem to be an extremely important factor as they are key partners in both place-making and place-keeping processes. The experience in Craigmillar has shown the importance of listening to all communities of an area. An organisation that has had an important role in facilitating such community engagement is the Neighbourhood Alliance, whose funding has actually declined from an initial figure of approximately £150,000 to a current figure closer to £90,000. In addition, from being initially funded solely by the CRF (Community Regeneration Funding), it has had to diversify its sources of income and the types of agreement these are linked to (e.g. Service Level Agreements, contracts for running consultations, etc.), with such sources including The City of Edinburgh Council, CRF, PARC and FSF (Fairer Scotland Funding). Providing the community with a constant support to facilitate their engagement therefore entails certain levels of funding, which the example of Craigmillar shows as not being assured.

Groups in the **Neighbourhood Partnerships** have access to specific funds such as:

- Community Engagement Fund – provided by the Council, it is a £20,000 small fund for community councils only. Neighbourhood Partnerships can award small grants of up to £500 per community council per year for engagement activities. This is managed locally by Neighbourhood Managers, who make the final decisions in consultation with the NP.
- Community Grants Fund – which is a small grants scheme supported by funds provided by the City of Edinburgh Council that aims at encouraging small scale activity that benefits local communities and supports the work of Neighbourhood Partnerships and their Local Community Plans. The fund can provide grants of up to £5,000 to voluntary and community groups and is allocated locally by Neighbourhood Managers following the advice of the Neighbourhood Partnership²².
- Waste Action Grants – currently available until April 2010, these are provided by the City Council in two levels: (a) small grants of £50 to £200 that can be applied for at any time and (b) larger grants of £500 to £2500 that are considered every three months.
- External Funding – the Council provides periodic information on external funding available encouraging NPs to apply for these. Examples are funds for young people (The Brit Trust, Enid Blyton Trust for Children); community projects (Paths to Health); disadvantaged (The Volant Charitable Trust, The Hilden Charitable Fund, The Rozelle Trust, Santander Foundation, The Allen Lane Foundation), and for young carers (Princess Royal Trust for Carers).
- Fairer Scotland Fund – aiming to address causes of poverty, this is an allocation of regeneration money made by the Scottish Government from 2008-2011. The total Fund available to Edinburgh is limited to £7.645m for 2008/9 and £ 7.599m 2009/10.

²² Edinburgh City Council website resource:
<http://www.edinburghnp.org.uk/www.edinburghnp.org.uk/userfiles/File/NP%20Community%20Grants%20Fund%20Guidance.pdf> (last accessed 11/03/2010)

Activities been supported aim at improving employability, reducing health inequalities, and early intervention.²³

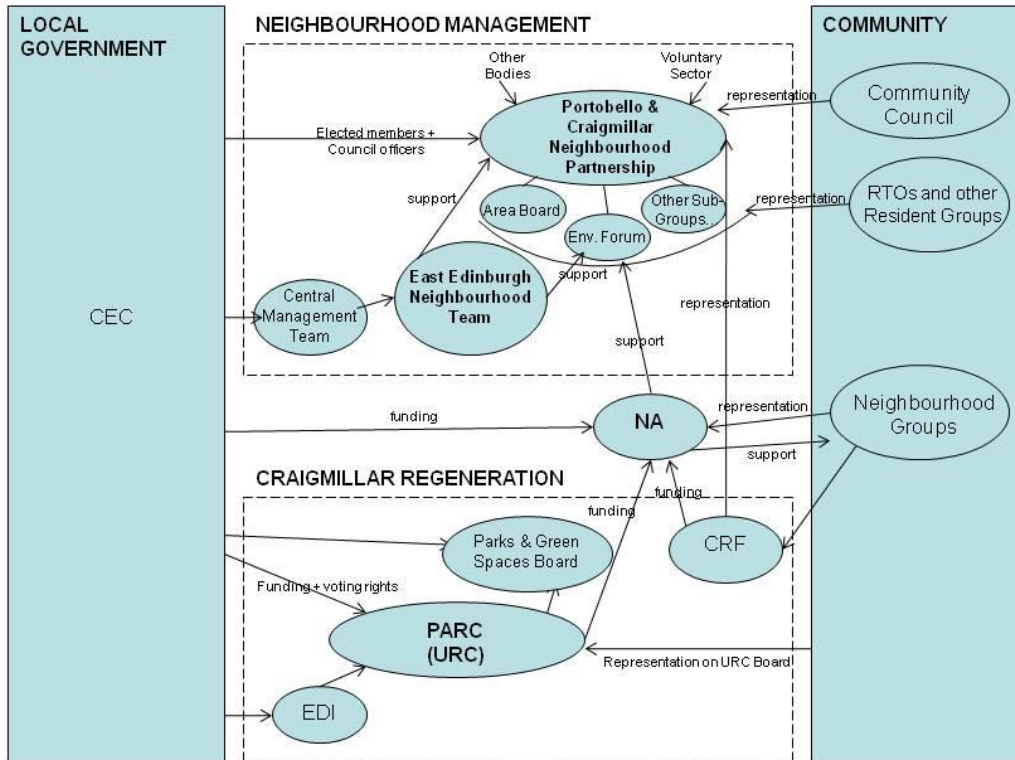


Figure 7: overview of organisations/partners involved in the regeneration of Craigmillar and their relationships.

Evaluation: measuring success

Place-Making

A review of the three first URCs created in Scotland (Craigmillar, Clydebank, and Raploch) was commissioned by the Scottish Government and a report entitled 'Best Practice in Establishing Urban Regeneration Companies in Scotland' was published in 2007²⁴.

Although things have evolved since this review was done, the report highlights relevant conclusions on the work of URCs, pointing out what had been working well – from governance structures through to structures for community involvement – and also outlined potential pitfalls to be avoided. The report identified six 'policy lessons', which the authors consider important to improve the work of the existing URCs and to subsidise the work of future companies. They are:

(1) *vision and focus* – each one of the three URCs, including Craigmillar, seem to have been able to bring a new vision for the area across. This was done via 'master-planning; assembling and analysing baseline data; engaging with the market, including soft market testing; using specialist advisors; and the creation of new legal structures, that help to both signal the intent and seriousness of the partner organisations whilst concurrently placing a

²³ Neighbourhood Partnerships website: http://www.edinburghnp.org.uk/page/More_About_NPs.aspx (last accessed 11/03/2010)

²⁴ Liz Shiel and David Smith-Milne (2007) Best Practice in Establishing Urban Regeneration Companies in Scotland, Scottish Executive.

new emphasis on the roles and legal responsibilities of board 'members' to act in the best interest of the Company itself' (Shiel and Smith-Milne 2007:viii).

(2) *raising investor confidence* – the arrangements in place within PARC (private loan finance) were specially mentioned as they demonstrated how under the Scottish model (different from the English²⁵) new frameworks / structures can be built that encourage the participation of investors. Although the robustness of this model is now under test due to the economic downturn, the model still has a strong appeal.

(3) *brand marketing and PR* – although PARC has gone through a lot of effort to rebrand Craigmillar, generating a good website, marketing widely its high quality new developments, including advertisement in buses and taxis, and particularly exploring the attractiveness of the regenerated open green spaces – it is not considered to be the best example. Clydesdale Rebuilt²⁶ approach was considered the most effective.

(4) *quickenning the pace of delivery* – this does not seem to have been a contribution generated by the examined URCs. Especially in areas where regeneration projects have been tried before and failed, there is the need to overcome the failed expectations of the community with a quick delivery on a large scale. Pace and scale are essential where the funding model depends on the early sales at increasing values to fund further development.

(5) *procurement and cost effectiveness* – the report highlights the existence of other efficient models for delivery of large scale regeneration programmes, as there can be cases where other simpler and lower cost models would be more appropriate. However, it points out that the URC model is more appropriate for areas like Craigmillar, where the deprivation is multi-faceted and entrenched and a regeneration process will take many years. This added to the requirement to engage large scale capital finance from the private sector (as opposed for say HAG funded schemes) showed to be a suitable new approach, going beyond the traditional 'housing renewal project' to bring added-value via the provision of design quality and community development.

(6) *design quality* – PARC as well as the other reviewed URCs have aimed to achieve design quality and innovation. They, as well as the other URCs, won awards for both their developments and the quality of their policies and processes. But this is not enough to guarantee the quality of the final built environment. As the report highlights, it is important for the 'URCs and their local authority partners to follow through when the developments reach planning application stage' (Shiel and Smith-Milne 2007:x).

Place-Keeping

It was argued by some interviewees that there is a need for local landlords to assume more responsibility in place-keeping. There are 9 main landlords in the area and each one has their own maintenance service. There has been good collaboration in the process of place-making, e.g. through the establishment of a Neighbourhood Agreement on housing allocations between all landlords, housing associations and the Council, as part of the Demos project, which the NA was involved in. However, there is a perception that there is still a need for better communication and coordination among landlords/housing associations, communities and the council.

The development of the Hays (one of the areas in Craigmillar), which is 7 years old, was cited as an example of poor attention to the place-keeping implications of regeneration. This

²⁵ In England most URCs have to rely on their partner organisations to contract with third parties and create models for equity participation in physical development projects.

²⁶ According to the report (Shiel and Smith-Milne 2007), Clydebank Rebuilt (CR) has had an exemplary programme, involving: design events and competitions; high quality publications and public realm investment; use of skilled PR professionals; provision of fully and honestly reported feedback from design consultation events, which hooked the interest of the local population; an intensive programme of engagement in schools to counterbalance the majority presence of older people in the consultation events; a high quality website, making available a large amount of relevant material about the URC and its plans, bringing openness and accessibility to the process.

area was described as being already in a poor condition due to poor maintenance and lack of common understanding among residents, council, architects and planners about the local issues (e.g. high walls creating dangerous dark areas). There was criticism of people who were previously housed in flats being allocated new houses with gardens without a proper induction process on how to maintain these – in addition to the fact that some may not have the interest nor time or resources to maintain a garden.

Critical views were also expressed on how Housing Associations approach such incidences of poor garden maintenance by tenants who depend on social benefits. It was argued that rather than penalising such tenants through bringing in factors to carry out such maintenance and then charging the residents, it is sometime better to find alternative solutions such as paving gardens, which would lower the maintenance burden on tenants. Thus, careful place-making should consider socio-economic factors, and also allow flexibility in place-keeping arrangements.

The Neighbourhood Alliance as an organisation which supports local communities takes an informal monitoring role in both place-making and place-keeping, following developments and discussions as well as acting as a connection between locals and the Council, not only in negotiations, but also when communicating issues that require the Council's attention (e.g. local residents often pop into the NA office to report a problem, such as flooding, expecting this to then be passed on to the appropriate contact at the Council.

Key conclusions and lessons which are transferable aspects of the case study

Policies

The existence of a set of policies at local, regional and national levels that encourage more sustainable regeneration projects, the adoption of partnership models with more involvement of local communities and private organisations, more flexible arrangements for place-making and place-keeping, the recognition of the importance of open spaces in improving quality of life, and the importance of designing spaces for people are shown to be important factors in recent projects in the UK and in special in the Craigmillar Regeneration Project.

Urban Regeneration Company model

The experience of using the URC model has shown to be positive as it provides an opportunity to bring focus, integration, strong coordination and increased investment to areas that have significant and complex regeneration needs, being able to facilitate new governance structures and of helping structuring community involvement²⁷. Its benefits in terms of place-making have been documented, though there is less on place-keeping, which will require longer term monitoring.

Holistic approach

This case study illustrates the need to make links between legitimate community engagement and the definition of the quality of design in order to achieve not only quality in the resulting built environment (including open spaces), but also in the place-keeping arrangements that are needed to ensure the long-term success of such new (or regenerated) built and open spaces. There is an understanding of the need for this holistic approach.

Financing

Financing of place-making and place-keeping is still a big issue. New alternatives are being searched for. Although necessary in some cases, the need for private investment brings more uncertainty to the process as it makes it more susceptible to market changes, such as the present economic downturn. Flexibility needs to be built into the place-making and

²⁷ Liz Shiel and David Smith-Milne (2007) Best Practice in Establishing Urban Regeneration Companies in Scotland, Scottish Executive.

ensuing place-keeping processes in order to make it possible to find new ways of financing when required.

Decentralisation of services

The Neighbourhood Teams created by CEC with the aim to decentralise services and promote local governance appear to have been considered a good initiative by local communities and to have contributed to higher local input to budget allocations. Particularly the Environment Forum has shown to be good at joining up funding for 'place-making'.

Community Legacy

The focus on the generation of a 'community legacy', generating a place where people like to live and are proud of, sets the basis for good 'place-keeping'. This is deeply linked to the following two points:

Community engagement: It is important to engage all different communities of an area as well as to involve different categories of participants (e.g. different age-groups, gender and background) in the participatory process. This can be achieved via the combination of different consultation and participatory methods: engagement of schools to involve children and young people, different facilitators, door-to-door surveys, special 'place-making' activities. Especially important is the use of effective participation of local inhabitants in the design process from an early stage as well as during and post-construction. This should have an empowering educational character helping to fine-tune design solutions to the cultural and socio-economic reality of inhabitants as well as to considerably improve these.

Community organisation and structure: Community organisation and structure is vital to promote real community involvement and develop a sense of ownership of the area. The communities themselves need specialist support to get organised, better prepared and to be more effective participants in all discussions. The Neighbourhood Alliance is a good example of neighbourhood support organisation. They also need appropriate forums where their views can be put forward and where they can take active part in decision-making: the Area Board and the Environment Forum are examples of this.

Power and politics

This case study has referred to changes in power bases in the local community and in the relationships between councillors and the community, without going into the detail of the power struggles that took place. It has, however, helped to highlight how such issues of power and politics in any given community have an impact on processes which contribute to both 'place-making' and 'place-keeping', including that of open spaces, which can become highly contentious. Any place-making and place-keeping initiatives need therefore to take account of the politics of the area and of how these may be manifested in views over how open spaces should be designated, designed and managed.

Glossary:

Community Council: Community Councils were established by law in Scotland in 1973 as representative bodies in local communities which are independent from local government, with the purpose of working towards the improvement of their communities.

Community planning: this is the term used in Scotland to refer to an approach to co-ordinate the planning and delivery of services within the area of a local authority, introduced through legislation in 2003, and facilitated through the establishment of local Community Planning Partnerships.

CCC: Craigmillar Community Council (see Community Council).

CRF: Craigmillar Regeneration Framework - a document that establishes a basic conceptual structure, a vision, aims and guidelines for the regeneration of Craigmillar.

Environment Forum: one of the sub-groups within a Neighbourhood Partnership area, which has the responsibility for environmental issues.

GreenSpace: registered charity which works to improve parks and green spaces by raising awareness, involving communities and creating skilled professionals.

Housing Area Board or Area Board: sub-group of a Neighbourhood Partnership which is responsible for implementing the Neighbourhood Improvement Programme to enhance the environment around Council housing areas. Its members include local residents, housing and environment staff and local councillors.

Housing Association Grant (HAG): this grant is made available by the Scottish Government to registered social landlords in order to subsidise the acquisition of land or buildings and to build, convert or improve housing for rent or low cost home ownership.

Neighbourhood Alliance: organisation that gives organisational and strategic support to local communities in the area of Craigmillar and surrounding neighbourhoods.

Neighbourhood Management model: model adopted by the City of Edinburgh aiming at providing more localised delivery of services and promoting local governance, delivering local community planning. This generated 6 Neighbourhood Teams and 12 Neighbourhood Partnerships (see detailed explanation in the main text)

Neighbourhood Partnership: organisational structure established across 12 areas of Edinburgh linking local government and communities. NPs were created within the Neighbourhood Management model explained above in order to facilitate the involvement of local communities in the definition and application of Local Development Plans. It contains sub-groups that deal with different areas such as the Environment Forum and the Area Board.

Neighbourhood Team: team from the Edinburgh City Council working within a specific area of the city and being responsible for services within two or more Neighbourhood Partnership areas.

PARC: Promoting and Regenerating Craigmillar – is a joint venture company (an Urban Regeneration Company – see URC) which is responsible for managing the implementation of a 15 year mixed development regeneration programme in the area of Craigmillar.

Pathfinder: pathfinder status is acquired when a project which represents a new approach is chosen to be financed and work as a test-bed for an idea, opening the way for its application elsewhere.

PPS: Project for Public Spaces is a non-profit organization dedicated to creating and sustaining public places that build communities.

UDF: Urban Design Framework – a document or a set of documents that establishes a basic conceptual structure, a vision, aims and guidelines for the urban design of an area.

URC: Urban Regeneration Company – a type of company especially created to promote the regeneration of an area, aiming at a more holistic development of the area, where the involvement of private partners as well as of the local communities is essential.