RTPI
mediation of space · making of place

The Gorbals Regeneration – Delivering Economic Value through Planning

David Pendlebury

RTPI Working Paper
June 2015

Gorbals Regeneration – Delivering Economic Value through Planning

Introduction

This working paper is an output of the RTPI's Value of Planning workstream, which is seeking to develop greater understanding of the relationship between planning and economics. The workstream was launched by the June 2014 publication of the *Value of Planning* paper by Professor David Adams (University of Glasgow) and Professor Craig Watkins (University of Sheffield). The RTPI's goal is to undertake objective and empirical analysis in order to influence the wider debate about how good planning practice can positively impact economic outcomes for people and places.

Background – Investing in places, improving outcomes? – Two cases

In what ways does the quality of the built environment influence the economic success of places? Some commentators argue that discrepancies in key economic indicators between places, such as those related to income, employment and productivity, are largely a consequence of the skills and attributes of the people living in those areas. They argue that people are attracted to particular places based on their demand, and ability to pay, for desired area 'amenities', such as access to jobs, quality and quantity of schools, transport accessibility and connectivity, levels of crime, sense of community, and social and recreational infrastructure (Gibbons, Overman, Pelkonen, 2011). This implies that 'good quality' places which have high amenity value attract high earning individuals, with the result that places become segregated by their perceived qualities and the abilities of individuals to pay for those qualities. The relationship is only an approximate one as quality is often subjective and different cultures and lifestyles lead to different tastes and priorities for amenities.

Other analysts have suggested that the qualities and amenities of places are crucial not just for attracting specialised labour but also for developing the capacity of the population to improve their economic and social outcomes (Clark and Clark, 2014). In this argument, positive area attributes that improve the quality of life for individuals living in the area, deliver positive feedback mechanisms through wellbeing to productivity and life opportunities which in turn improve expected economic and social outcomes.

Therefore, in the ***first case***, place quality has a passive effect on economic outcomes in the sense that it acts as an attraction to a particular place for specialised or high-earning labour. In the ***second case***, place quality actively impacts on economic outcomes because it recognises that the built environment and access to amenities can shape life outcomes and opportunities.

Regardless of whether we believe that place quality is primarily important as a demand-pull factor for individuals who value living in proximity of high quality built environment amenities, or alternatively, because good quality environments provide a setting in which individuals can flourish and achieve their economic potential, both rationales are logical arguments for increasing the supply of such places.

In the ***first case***, creating more good quality places with high amenity value is important simply in order to increase the supply of such places, thereby reducing the average housing costs in these areas by dampening the inflationary pressures of high demand and low supply of good quality places. This will help to prevent social segregation as a by-product of an inflated housing market, a

phenomena which is especially unjust where the high quality amenities of sought after areas are being delivered via public services, such as schools, transport infrastructure, parks and so on, and funded through general taxation. In this case, high quality public services and public amenities are not open to all, as they are commonly thought of as being, but open only to those who can afford to live near them (Cheshire and Sheppard, 2005).

In the ***second case***, creating high quality places is about getting the most out of the potential economic capacity of the whole population, by providing environments that facilitate learning and personal growth and provide opportunities for success. Creating built environments that encourage healthy lifestyles, that have strong community cohesion, low crime levels, and good transport connectivity to jobs and economic activity, are just some factors of high quality built environments that not only reduce cost burdens for individuals and the state, but that are also likely to provide individuals with the confidence, encouragement, and opportunity, to take a full and active role in society and the economy.

As a contribution to this discussion, this paper will analyse the effect of a place-improving intervention – the Gorbals regeneration project in Glasgow – on the economic outcomes for local individuals. The goal is to assess whether improving a place can improve the economic and social outcomes for people living within it, which is to say that we are focusing on our ***second case*** for the importance of good quality places. While this is not a scientific or econometric study given the limited sample size and the likely existence of a range of unknown variables, it will aim to set up a framework upon which further and more detailed studies could be undertaken.

The major implication of this analysis is that if improving places can be shown to lead to improved economic outcomes for individuals within those places, then there is an important role for town planners and other built environment specialists in using their professional skills to improve the economic life chances of individuals.

Place-based improvements – Understanding the regeneration and policy context

Over the years, many different policy tools have been developed to try and improve places, including the physical regeneration of the built environment. The term 'Area Based Initiatives' (ABIs) is often used to describe all such initiatives to improve selected people or place based outcomes within a specific location. ABIs can encompass interventions in a range of social policy areas, such as improving educational attainment, enhancing crime prevention, or reducing worklessness.

However, physical regeneration projects deserve recognition separately from general ABIs because, whilst improving the appearance and form of the built environment and public spaces can be goals in themselves, such improvements often have significant and diverse wider social and economic multiplier benefits (as explained below in 'Analysing planning's impact').

However, measuring the benefits of regeneration projects has always been a difficult task. Benefits from improvements in the built environment can accrue to **places** – for example, lower crime, lower pollution, improved perception of place – and they can accrue to **people** – for example, reduced worklessness, better health outcomes, better educational attainment. However, causation between regeneration improvements and outputs in other areas (for example, worklessness, crime, pollution and so on) is difficult to prove on account of the wide range of variables that can influence such outcomes.

The fact that benefits can accrue in such a diffuse manner can make their measurement a complex and imperfect process. Spill-over and leakage of outputs from an initiative, both in terms of geographical and policy area, may not be captured by the necessarily limited scope of evaluations. For example, a hypothetical evaluation of the health impacts of a regenerated public park on residents in one neighbourhood will not be able to capture the utility of the park for residents outside the geographical remit of the study, for example if people travel into the area to benefit from it. Additionally, a study to measure improvements in physical health – say from cleaner air or greater exercise and recreational opportunities provided by the green space – might fail to capture any mental health benefits provided by the aesthetic, calming, nature of the park, if these are not also specifically tested. In any study, it may well be impossible to sufficiently account for the multiple potential wider impacts of a project.

Additionally, place-based case studies cannot be wholly isolated from the impact of external variables in the same way that a laboratory study can, and such exogenous variables will inevitably impact results. For example, an analysis of the success of a specific project to help adult unemployed individuals within a specific area back into work will be 'distorted' by a host of uncontrollable external variables, including for example, regional or national economic trends, or concurrent but unrelated schemes in other policy areas. To take another example, a regeneration project may involve the redesign of a built environment to 'design out' crime, but this may be taking place concurrently to a local police initiative to develop greater community collaboration with their operations. Perfectly isolating the impact of the two effects operating on the same variable may not be a feasible task.

Therefore, finding appropriate measurement mechanisms to analyse the effects of projects clearly provides practical challenges to the study of place-based interventions. In response to these challenges, social scientists and econometricians have begun to develop a variety of tools to try and better measure the impacts of people and place based projects, although this is still an evolving discipline.

In the UK, two of the most extensive ABI evaluations carried out to-date were the evaluation by Sheffield Hallam University of the New Labour Government's New Deal for Communities (NDC) programme, which started in 1998 (DCLG, 2010a), and the University of Cambridge's evaluation of the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), implemented in 1994 (Tyler et al, 2003).

Both of these studies developed methodology for analysing the impact of physical regeneration schemes, much of which will be drawn upon in this paper's analysis. Nonetheless, despite improvements in the procedures, these evaluations are still fraught with the kinds of difficulties mentioned above, and we adopt various mechanisms to attempt to mitigate for such challenges.

Analysing planning's impact – regeneration

The RTPI is interested in better understand how physical regeneration of built environments can lead to improvements in people-focused economic and social outcomes. Apart from the analysis of the NDC programme, of which built environment regeneration was only a small component, and analysis of the SRB, the research in this area is limited. This paper will not be able to entirely plug the gap in the existing research but will hopefully be able to illuminate some of the areas where further

research will be able to provide better understanding of the ways that physical regeneration schemes can improve economic outcomes for individuals.

To this end, using many of the methodologies developed to-date for measuring the impact of the place-based components of recent ABIs, such as those in the NDC evaluation, this paper searches for possible correlations between investment in planning as a means to improve the physical environment and subsequent changes in people-based economic indicators. Ultimately, a better understanding of the costs and benefits of such investments will enable policy makers to decide how best to allocate resources for improving people and place based outcomes, and enable professional practitioners to develop and hone their skills in using planning as an investment tool for positive economic outcomes.

The main focus of this analysis is to examine the economic impacts of a specific, geographically bounded, 'good' planning intervention. We will be attempting to evaluate if such an intervention can lead to improvements in economic outcomes for individuals.

As the winner of the RTPI's 2005 Planning for New Neighbourhoods award, and a recent finalist for the RTPI's 2014 Scotland's Best Places competition, the Crown Street Regeneration Project encompassing most of the Gorbals area of South Glasgow has been objectively approved as an exemplar of excellent planning. Given the widely analysed physical deprivation of this part of Glasgow before the regeneration project, it is therefore considered an example of a 'good' planning intervention, and a suitable focal point for this study.

To what extent has the master-planned redevelopment of the Gorbals led to enhanced economic outcomes for its residents and for the area?

The early changes in the modern history of the Gorbals area of Glasgow, south of the Clyde, were closely tied to the changes in the city's own broader development. The Gorbals swelled in population during the 1920s and 1930s, accommodating workers in the burgeoning ship building industry. However, social problems, such as gang culture and violence – linked to poverty, overcrowding, and poor public amenities, led to a major redevelopment programme being initiated in the 1950s in which the old tenement housing layout was pulled down and replaced with socially rented, high rise, concrete tower blocks, such as the Hutcheson Estate (Thompson Fawcett, 2004) (Pic. 1).

Pic. 1 (Credit: basilspence.org.uk)
Hutcheson C residential block, Gorbals, designed by Sir Basil Spence

These kinds of developments, although often derided today as some of the worst examples of public housing and symbols of social exclusion and segregation, were popular with some built environment specialists and governments from across the political spectrum at the time. They were also certainly considered an improvement on the overcrowded slums and bombed out residential areas that preceded them. However, by the 1980s, for a variety of reasons including poor management and neglect, these tower blocks were suffering from both structural and social problems, with some being entirely evacuated for problems such as damp, leaving large derelict and soon to be vandalised structures, like the block known to locals as 'Hutchie E' (Pic. 2).

Pic. 2. The then derelict Hutcheson E residential block, Gorbals

Thus, as in the pre-war era, the Gorbals remained a byword for social deprivation, the area remained undesirable and poor social and economic outcomes were likely for its residents (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2005).

In the 1990s, Glasgow City Council began a more ambitious redevelopment scheme, known as the Crown Street Regeneration Project, using more sophisticated and modern planning techniques, such as master-planning, competitive design tendering, and public consultation, in collaboration with a wide range of public and private partners. Since the start of this project, much has been written about the transformative effect on the area, which can be clearly seen and felt and intuitively grasped by residents and visitors. Attractive design has replaced grey monotony, a social mix of housing has been introduced, pedestrian environments and public spaces have been improved, and space for employment opportunities have been provided for (Urban, 2013) (Pic. 3). Residents have also largely expressed satisfaction with both the area and homes, which were generally built 15% larger than prevailing space standards (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2005).

Pic. 3 *Socially rented residential housing on the old site of Hutcheson C residential block*

However, while the social and environmental improvements have been well documented (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2010), what has not been actively monitored is the impact of the redevelopment on economic outcomes for residents. In an age of austerity, or even just where a dominant culture of restricted public spending prevails, there is a danger that projects which, by their scale and scope require at least public direction, if not active investment, will be discarded as luxuries, superfluous to requirements, or worse, not even imagined or envisaged on account of being outside the realm of the economically possible. If the need for balanced budgets dominates all other concerns, then it is paramount that projects which provide strong social returns are also able to promote their economic credentials. The purpose of this paper is to investigate whether such projects as the one described here, which can deliver transformative effects for the lives of individuals, can prove their economic importance. Ultimately, if they can, then it will provide an economic case for greater investment in such ambitious planning schemes, which would justify them being regarded as investment opportunities delivering positive returns to national and local balance sheets.

How can the economic outcomes of such projects be measured?

As mentioned above, the Government entering into power in 1997 launched the New Deal for Communities (NDC) scheme, an ambitious programme of ABIs to improve 39 economically deprived areas. While the project in the Gorbals was not one of these, the analysis and evaluation of the NDC programme, led by an ESRC-funded research programme at Sheffield Hallam University, developed a methodology for assessing the outcomes of the built environment components of the ABI schemes. We will be partly drawing on that methodology (see below) in this analysis, as well as adopting other methods specific to analysing economic outcomes.

Hypothesis

There are many reasons that one may expect improvements in the built environment (**places**) to lead to improved economic outcomes for those individuals living within it (**people**). Life factors that contribute to an individual's likelihood of improvement in his or her economic situation have been widely analysed by econometricians. Factors such as education, familial and social support, innate ability, physical and mental wellbeing, social inclusion, connectivity, are often highlighted - amongst others - as some of the key indicators that contribute to economic wellbeing over the course of a lifetime. Whilst some of these factors are environmental and others are more or less innate to individuals, planning, as a tool for improving the built environment, is clearly a major force contributing to those environmental factors that partly determine economic opportunity.

Therefore, our hypothesis is that areas which receive an investment via a planning intervention, using modern mechanisms in the planners' toolkit, such as urban regeneration, considered use of design, master-planning to achieve specific goals and so on, can see improved economic outcomes for individuals. By controlling for the other non built-environment independent variables mentioned above, and undertaking additional spatial economic analysis on comparator areas – in order to account for the 'counterfactual' scenario of what would have happened without investment – we hypothesise that a correlation may exist between investment in planning and economic outcomes. Whilst this paper will not be able to prove such a correlation due to small sample size and a lack of sufficient data to develop a regression model that could account for all identifiable variables, through analysing data readily available for a pilot study such as this one, we will be able to shine a light on where further, more detailed analysis, could follow.

Methodology

The regeneration of the Crown Street area began with a competition to produce the master-plan, won by design consultants CZWG in 1990 (Scottish Government: Planning Advice Note, 2008) (Fig. 1).

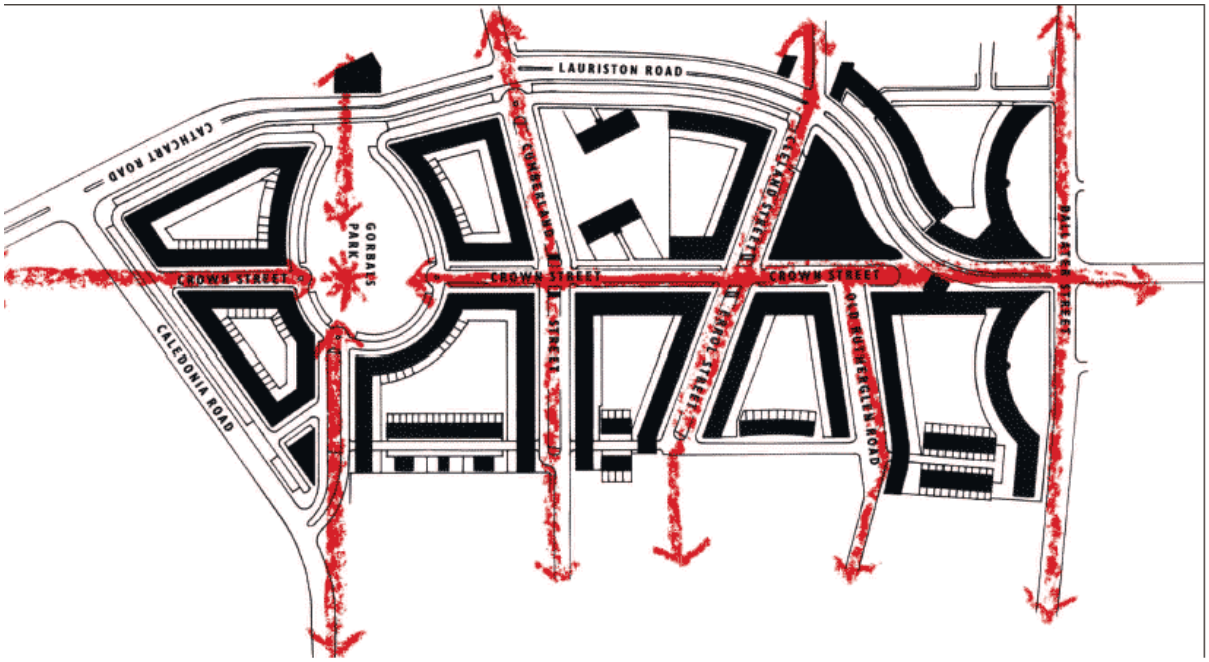


Fig. 1 Early CZWG master-planning designs (Source: Scottish Government)

To analyse the economic impact of the planning intervention in this specific area, which is the area recognised by the RTPI in its 'Scotland's Best Places' initiative (Scottish Planner, 2014), it will be necessary to look at data related to the economic outcomes of residents in the area that have benefited from the planning intervention.

To this end, using data available from 2001 onwards via the Scottish Government's Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics (SNS, 2012), data has been selected at the lowest and most overlapping level available. This is Data Zone – S01003268 (Fig. 2)

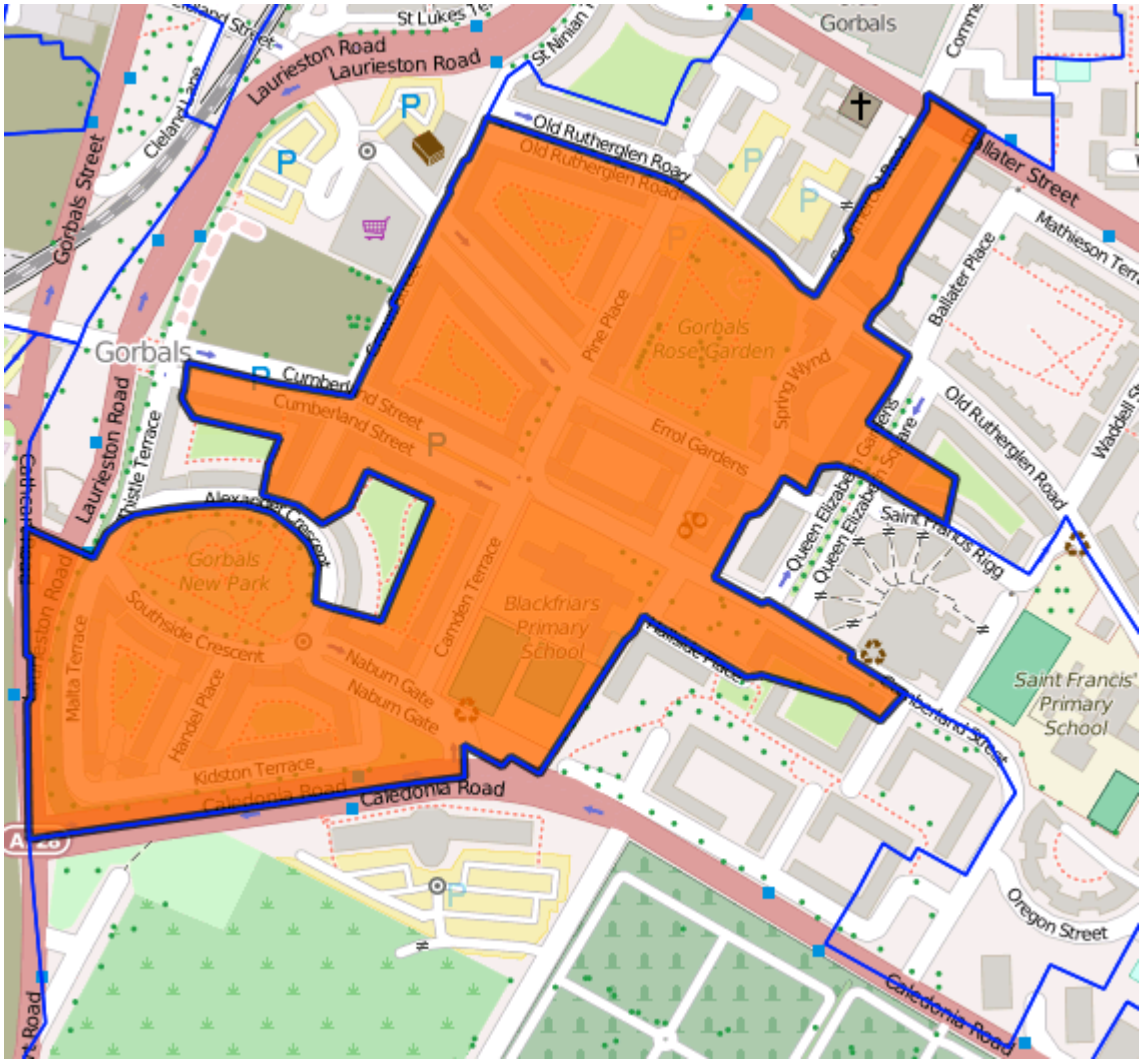


Fig. 2. Data Zone - S01003268 (Data available since 2001)

Finding an overlapping geographical area enables the spatial isolation of the impact of the planning intervention. It would be useful to analyse data at this level from prior to 2001 and also prior to the start of the project in 1990, but such data is not publicly available.

The census data used has been subsequently collated into useful measurements by the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD), and is analysed below. Inline with the NDC evaluation methodology, other steps have also been taken to enable a better analysis of the data:

- Analysis of data for a comparator, 'untreated' data zone (that is, not receiving a planning intervention in the recent past) in the Govanhill area (Govanhill West), which is close in geographical terms to be a relevant city comparator, but not too close to be strongly impacted by spillover effects. According to Paul Lawless of Sheffield Hallam University, this form of benchmarking "change in 'treatment' areas against change in similar localities not in receipt of support" is the best solution to the 'counterfactual challenge' of trying to understand, "what would have happened had the initiative not gone ahead?"(Lawless, 2012) – a major challenge in assessing the impact of regeneration and redevelopment schemes. The low level of detail provided by the Scottish data zone makes them a highly useful tool to

undertake this analysis, overcoming some of the challenges in previous studies of regeneration interventions.

- An SIMD data analysis has been carried out on the wider Gorbals area (Gorbals and Hutcheson Town Average) and wider Govanhill (Govanhill East and Aikenden) area to control for more broad 'neighbourhood effects'. This also allows the comparison of the wider 'treated' area with a wider non-treated area.
- Analysis of the SIMD indicators at the Glasgow city level has also been undertaken, both to try to identify trends in the wider economy and to offer a reference point for the relevant performance of the Gorbals S01003268 (Crown Street) data zone. Both of these analyses allow us to benchmark the change in the area "over and above what was happening elsewhere" (Lawless, 2012, p316).

The SIMD data has been analysed related to the percentage of the relevant populations classified as income deprived and the percentage classified as employment deprived. These indicators capture a range of factors related to individuals and their economic situation including those in the Claimant Count and other sources of income dependency.

According to a report by the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG), regardless of social outcomes, lower values for key economic deprivation indices such as these are directly and indirectly logically attributable to better economic outcomes. Directly through lower overall outgoings in income and other benefit support, and through added GVA and the enhanced tax base of the local economy. Indirectly, the links between joblessness and poor health outcomes also have economic consequences, where higher economic activity will be positively correlated with enhanced health outcomes, reducing the public health expenditure burden (DCLG, 2010a).

We have focused on Income Deprivation and Employment Deprivation indicators despite the fact that there are many other ways to measure the economic benefit of such projects. For example, NDC evaluation uses shadow pricing and hedonic pricing techniques to analyse the monetary value of aspects ranging from how safe people feel in an area, to their level of positivity towards living in a community. The analysis finds that an average individual can place a monetisable value of up to £59,500 per annum to live in an area in which they feel 'satisfied' (as determined by survey responses) compared to 'not satisfied', i.e. this is the amount of money that they would be willing to pay, if hypothetically available, to live in such a place (DCLG, 2010b). Nevertheless, while these values are important to individuals, they are hard to capture at a practical level or for the basis of policies which need to balance budgets in the short term. Therefore, the analysis in this paper is likely to be producing a low-estimate of economic benefits, but focusing on those that can be measured and potentially captured at an aggregate level.

Analysis

The data in Table.1 and Table.2 show a consistent outperformance of the 'treated' (Gorbals S01003268) area compared to the comparator areas for our two measured variables, '% of population income deprived' and '% of population employment deprived. Additionally, while the Gorbals S01003268 (Crown Street) data zone also consistently outperforms the Glasgow average, the untreated comparator 'Govanhill East and Aikenden' does not.

Moreover, Govanhill East and Aikenden (five data zones) was chosen as a comparator to the wider Gorbals and Hutcheson Town (five data zones) due to their comparable SIMD ranking. While Gorbals and Hutcheson Town (incorporating Crown Street Data Zone – Gorbals S01003268) has benefited from partial regeneration via the Crown Street project, Govanhill East and Aikenden has not. It is clear from Chart 1 and Chart 2 that going from a more deprived starting point, economic improvements in Gorbals and Hutcheson Town have been much more rapid than those in the untreated areas.

Govanhill West is a 'better off' comparator, with a much more favourable SIMD ranking, used here to capture the wider SIMD changes, and shows similar average trends associated with the whole Glasgow city region ('Glasgow').

Table 1.:

% of **income** deprived population				
	2004	**2006**	**2009**	**2012**
Gorbals S01003268	25.2	23.7	24.0	20.0
Govanhill West Average	26.7	25.3	30.1	21.3
Govanhill East and Aikenden	33.3	31.9	37.6	27.2
Gorbals and Hutcheson Town Average	42.7	36.9	37.1	27.8
Glasgow	28.0	25.3	26.2	22.0

Chart 1.:

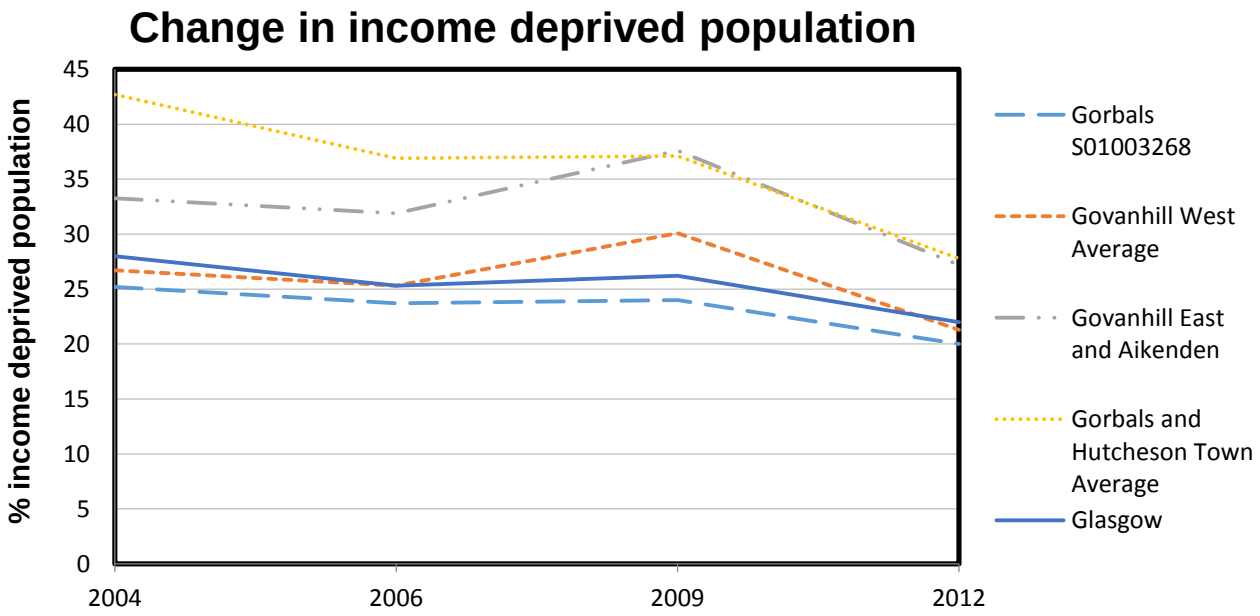
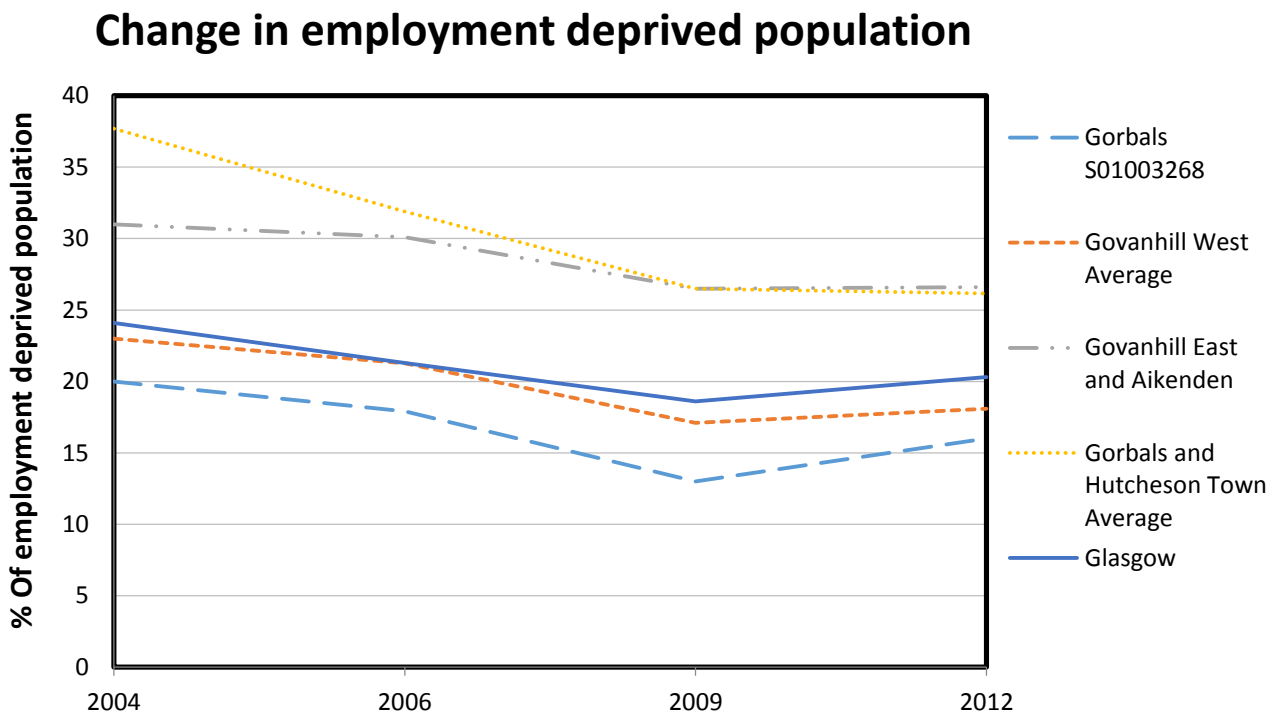


Table 2.:

% Of **employment** deprived population				
	2004	**2006**	**2009**	**2012**
Gorbals S01003268	20.0	17.9	13.0	16.0
Govanhill West Average	23.0	21.3	17.1	18.1
Govanhill East and Aikenden	31.0	30.1	26.5	26.6
Gorbals and Hutcheson Town Average	37.7	31.9	26.5	26.2
Glasgow	24.1	21.3	18.6	20.3

Chart 2.:



Raw data source for all charts and tables: SIMD data from SNS. All formatting and analysis by RTPI.

Pic. 4. Hutchie E site today on Crown St (affordable housing)

Evaluation

It is clear that, as discussed in the introduction, from being historically regarded as one of the most deprived areas in Glasgow, the Gorbals S01003268 (Crown Street) data zone now has, as can be seen from Tables 1 and 2, consistently lower levels of income deprived population and employment deprived population than the wider Glasgow city region.

The trend improvement (Table 3.) between 2004 and 2012 for '% Change in income deprived population' in the Gorbals S01003268 (Crown Street) data zone is (at -21%) equal to the Glasgow average and 3 percentage points preferable to the wider comparator average of Govanhill East and Aikenden (-18%).

That we do not see a superior trend in comparison to the wider Glasgow area may reasonably be put down to diminishing marginal returns from area improvements, that is returns to investment may be expected to be larger where there is a lower relative starting point for the key indicators, which we might have expected to see in data prior to 2001.

Furthermore, the wider treated area – Gorbals and Hutcheson Town – has also improved significantly better in terms of proportion of income deprived areas than both the city average and

comparator areas. The Gorbals and Hutcheson Town Average (incorporating Gorbals S01003268 data zone) for '% of population income deprived' has improved at a far greater rate (-35%) than both the Govanhill East and Aikenden comparator area (-18%) and the wider Glasgow area (-21%) trend, as well as outperforming the 'better off' Govanhill West Average comparator.

Table 3.:

% Change in **income** deprived population	
	2004 - 2012
Gorbals S01003268 (Crown Street)	-21
Govanhill West Average	-20
Govanhill East and Aikenden	-18
Gorbals and Hutcheson Town Average	-35
Glasgow	-21

Looking at the '% of employment deprived population' data, the Gorbals S01003268 (Crown Street) data zone has preferential indicators to the wider Glasgow area in absolute terms (Table 2.), whilst the improvement trend (-20%) in the '% Change in employment deprived population' is also preferential to both the wider Glasgow area (-16%) and the Govanhill East and Aikenden comparator (-14%) (Table 4.).

Again, similarly to the above, the wider trend improvement for Employment Deprived data in the wider Gorbals and Hutcheson Town (-31%) is significantly better than all other measured areas, and 15% percentage points preferable to the wider Glasgow area.

Table 4.:

% Change in **employment** deprived population	
	2004 - 2012
Gorbals S01003268 (Crown Street)	-20
Govanhill West Average	-21
Govanhill East and Aikenden	-14
Gorbals and Hutcheson Town Average	-31
Glasgow	-16

As mentioned above, the indicators chosen are just one of many ways to measure the potential economic impact of the project, let alone the non-economic impacts. According to experimental methodology, there are many other additional variables individuals attach an economic premium to. For example, the NDC study has shown that using shadow pricing techniques the NDC resident survey study estimated that the qualitative survey response value of "being satisfied" with an area as a place to live is worth an additional £59,600 to annual household income within NDC areas (Sheffield Hallam, 2010). In other words, the NDC research found that owner-occupier households would be willing to pay, on average, an additional £59,600 on top of their current house value to live in an area in which they feel 'satisfied'.

This is an evolving methodology where further research would help elucidate the true value of these kind of regeneration projects, however we will not attempt to add such values to this study as they can be hard to capture and make use of in a practical, revenue generating sense.

Furthermore, there are likely additional indirect economic benefits from place based improvements that aren't necessarily immediately identifiable at the individual level, or the benefits of which might accrue in a separate sector. For example, studies that show that improvements in the built environment lead can lead to better mental health outcomes suggest that good planning could also lower costs in diverse sectors like healthcare (Guite, Clark and Ackrill, 2006).

Challenges – Further research

Of course, as recognised by the NDC methodology, despite showing an interesting relationship between treatment and outcomes, it is extremely difficult to prove causality in such projects. Wider research would need to be undertaken to measure the effects of other policies that may have uniquely been in existence in the Gorbals area at the same time, such as educational, outreach, or charity projects, that may also have impacted people's economic outcomes. This could be completed and controlled for by a wider study of the contemporary history for factors which are generally accepted to influence lifetime economic outcomes (for example, education). Demographic changes would also need to be monitored, such as changes in the pre-existing economic profile of post-redevelopment residents (that is, displacement of poorer pre-existing residents with richer residents) on account of the pull-factor of 'gentrification'. However, research by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation suggests private sector displacement will only be able to explain a partial amount of the change within the Gorbals regeneration area due to the maintenance of a significant social housing stock (yellow - shown below). Indeed, over 90% of new social housing in the area was allocated to re-locating tenants from other Gorbals Local Authority-owned homes, suggesting that the new composition of the housing stock will be similar to that pre-development (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2006).

Furthermore, if there was a large enough sample of population who had remained in the social housing stock and which had been of economically active age both before and after the development, then the impacts on these residents' economic outcomes could be measured via survey-based research. Additionally, in Fig. 3. below, looking at the brown area of existing housing stock not directly impacted by the regeneration project, a separate study could analyse the impact of the wider area improvements on the long-term residents of these buildings. Finally, a fully rigorous study to identify causality between treatment inputs and economic outputs would need to evaluate a much larger sample of similarly measurable planning interventions in separate locations.

It is also interesting to note that the wider area (Gorbals and Hutcheson Town) has seen its economic indicators improve at a significantly faster rate than the other areas, including the Crown Street regeneration area and the Glasgow average. Whilst part of the improvements will be down to the Crown Street area data being endogenous to the wider area data, it also suggests that positive area spill-overs may be significant for such projects and suggest the need for a broad geographic scope to capture such benefits to wider areas.

Fig 3.: Housing by type (Source: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2005)

Conclusions

There is a positive relationship identified in the data between the planned regeneration 'treatment' in the Gorbals redevelopment area and the economic outcomes of its residents. Moreover, the analysed improvements to key economic indicators are greater than in comparison with comparator areas, including the wider Glasgow city area itself. Combining this data analysis with our own hypothesis at the RTPI and with the qualitative research of other organisations such as Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF), there is a strong case for further econometric analysis, both in the Gorbals and in other areas that have received planning interventions, to try and establish if causality exists between proactive planning and positive economic outcomes, and to identify through which specific factors, and under which specific circumstances, these positive outcomes are realised.

If further evidence can be garnered which points to the positive economic impact of well-planned regeneration schemes then it could have a significant level of importance for future planning policy and research. In such a scenario it would be even more incumbent upon policy makers and professional planners to adopt a proactive approach to using the planning toolkit, incorporating its regeneration and master planning components, to work towards delivering economic benefits for people and places.

References

Cheshire, P., and Sheppard, S. (2005), Capitalising the Value of Free Schools: The Impact of Supply Characteristics and Uncertainty, Urban Studies, 42 (4), pp.647 -663.

Clark, G. and Clark, G. (2014), Nations and the Wealth of Cities, Centre for London.

DCLG (2010a), Improving Outcomes for People in Deprived Neighbourhoods: Evidence from the New Deal for Communities Programme, The NDC National Evaluation, Vol.4 .

DCLG (2010b), Valuing the Benefits of Regeneration, Economics Paper 7: Volume 1.

DCLG (2010c), The NDC Programme: Assessing Impact and Value for Money, The NDC National Evaluation: Vol.6.

Gibbons, S., Overman, H., Pelkonen, P. (2011), Local Development: For People not Places, ESRC, http://www.esrc.ac.uk/news-and-events/publications/evidence-briefings/local-development-for-people-not-places.aspx

Guite, H., Clark, C., and Ackrill, C. (2006), The Impact of the Physical and Urban Environment on Mental Well-being, Journal of Public Health, Vol. 120 (12), pp.1117-1126.

Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2005), A Good Place for Children? Attracting and Retaining Families in Inner Urban Mixed Income Communities.

Joseph Rowntree Foundation, (2006), Creating and Sustaining Mixed Income Communities,

Lawless.P, (2012), Can Area-based Regeneration Ever Work? Evidence from England's New Deal for Communities Programme, Policy Studies, 33.4,.

Scottish Government (2008), Planning Advice Note 83: Master Planning, Regeneration Crown Street.

Scottish Planner (2014), Scotland's Best Places, No. 158, June
http://www.rtpi.org.uk/media/1047659/23348_-_scottish_planner_magazine_158_k_final_proof.pdf

Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics (2012), Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation
http://www.sns.gov.uk/ .

SHU (2010), The New Deal for Communities Programme: Volume six – Assessing Impact and Value for Money.

Thompson-Fawcett, M., (2004), Reinventing the Tenement: Transformation of Crown Street in the Gorbals, Journal of Urban Design, 9.2, pp.177-203.

Tyler, P., Rhodes, J., and Brennan, A., (2003),The Single Regeneration Budget: Final Evalutaion, Department of Land Economy, University of Cambridge.

Urban, F. (2013), New Tenements and the Image of the Past: The Crown Street Development in Glasgow's New Gorbals, Architectural Research Quarterly, 17.01, pp.37-48.

About the research

This report is based on research undertaken by David Pendlebury, RTPI Economic Research Officer

Further information

The report is available on the RTPI website at: www.rtpi.org.uk/knowledge/valueofplanning

About the RTPI

The Royal Town Planning Institute holds a unique position in relation to planning as a professional membership body, a charity and a learned institute. We have a responsibility to promote the research needs of spatial planning in the UK, Ireland and internationally.

More information on our research projects can be found on the RTPI website at: www.rtpi.org.uk/knowledge/research/

You are also welcome to email us at: research@rtpi.org.uk