Experiences of place attachment and mental well-being in the context of neighbourhood regeneration: an interpretative phenomenological analysis

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Abbreviations

CPR – Change Process Research

CRT – Crisis Resolution Team

GP – General Practitioner (of medicine)

HMR – Housing Market Renewal

IPA – Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

JSNA – Joint Strategic Needs Assessment

LDDC – London Docklands Development Corporation

MHI – Mental Health Inventory

NDC – The New Deal for Communities

NHS – National Health Service

NRF – Neighbourhood Renewal Fund

NSNR – National Strategy for Neighbourhood Regeneration

ONS – Office for National Statistics

PA – Place Attachment

PFI – Private Finance Initiative

PHE – Public Health England

SDT – Self-Determination Theory

SRB – Single Regeneration Budget

SSC – Salford City Council

UK – United Kingdom

US – United States

WHO – World Health Organisation

Abstract

Regeneration of the built environment is an important focus of policy across the European Union (EU) and at any one time, there are numerous projects being delivered across Member States. Studies of neighbourhoods and communities highlight the significant role of the physical environment in life and how the inhabitants of existing communities cope with the changes to their socio-spatial environment should be considered. Despite its pervasiveness, however, minimal research has explored the underlying processes involved with residents' interpretation of changes brought about through neighbourhood regeneration. The current research sought to address this through the adoption of the philosophical position of critical realism and the utilisation of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA). Qualitative interviews were conducted with nine residents of the Pendleton area of Salford, a city in the North West of England, which is currently undergoing a long-term, £650m regeneration project. The interview schedule was developed according to Smith et al.'s (2009) guide for good interview practice in studies utilising IPA. To facilitate the exploration of mental well-being, characteristics of change process research (CPR) were also drawn upon: a methodology commonly used to explain how psychotherapy leads to change in clients. The findings provided greater insight into residents' experiences of neighbourhood regeneration. Explored are the underlying processes involved in residents' renegotiation of place attachments, as the area in which they live undergoes transformation. Three super-ordinate themes were identified: feelings of control; social and community relations; as well as understandings and definitions of place. The findings demonstrate the potential for regeneration to lead to adverse consequences for sense of belonging and mental well-being, which highlights the necessity for continued, in-depth research into the phenomenon. Existing government guidance for the implementation of regeneration is reflected on in light of this fresh insight. The limitations of the project and further research avenues are also discussed.

Chapter 1 Background

1.1 Introduction

Since the 1960s, successive UK governments have invested significantly in regeneration initiatives (Bunyan, 2015; Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, 2000). Florida (2002) describes how we have arrived in the age of regeneration. From a public health perspective, regeneration projects seek to improve the living conditions and life chances for those living within an area and the replacement of poor quality housing, among other structural changes, has been seen as a crucial step in improving the living conditions of inhabitants (Acheson et al., 1998; Department for Communities and Local Government, 2010). Ultimately, the goal is to improve residential health and reduce existing inequalities. The following project employs qualitative research methods and interpretative phenomenological analysis to explore this issue in a greater level of depth than has been achieved previously. By adopting such an approach, the study explores the lived experience of individuals living in an area undergoing neighbourhood regeneration, to develop a greater understanding of the experience of those living through such initiatives. Of particular interest is how understandings of place and the relationships that residents hold with the area they live may stand to be influenced by the altered physical structure of a neighbourhood. The study also explores experiences of mental well-being. If such initiatives are instigated on the basis of improved public health outcomes, this claim should be scrutinised. Through in-depth analysis, it is hoped that the research will gain further insight into the underlying processes of neighbourhood regeneration leading to its potential benefits, as well as the less favourable outcomes that are often associated with the approach.

This opening chapter will begin by outlining the main project objectives, which will be drawn on at various points throughout the thesis. Outlined next is a guide to the thesis structure, which will aid the reader in following the layout of the document. The chapter will then turn to the main phenomenon of interest: neighbourhood regeneration. To provide the background for the current study, its history will be outlined, starting with its origins in the late 1800s, moving through to the more recent re-adoption of the approach in the 1980s, and finally detailing the most recent policies in the area. The focus of the chapter will then shift to the specific research context for the current study, including details of the area itself, its demographics, public health statistics, and the nature of the ongoing regeneration initiative. The chapter will conclude by critically examining the literature surrounding the use of neighbourhood regeneration as a vehicle for improved mental well-being.

1.2   Project aim and objectives

The current research aims **to explore the influence of neighbourhood regeneration on the mental well-being of residents living within an area experiencing transformation**. In order to fully meet this overarching aim, the project will be guided by the following research objectives:

- To explore whether individuals' understanding of place is influenced by the process of neighbourhood regeneration;

- To investigate how place attachment is drawn upon throughout the regeneration period;

- To explore issues of mental well-being directly related to the process of regeneration;

- To inform the relevant stakeholders of the potential implications of neighbourhood regeneration in regards to mental well-being.

1.3   Thesis structure

Chapter 1 focuses on the background of the research area and identifies the rationale for exploring mental well-being in the context of neighbourhood regeneration. **Chapter 2** is devoted to the literature review, covering theories surrounding the people-place relationship, in the attempt to conceptualise its abstract nature. Literature is also explored in relation to mental well-being, which is once more used to conceptualise the concept for the current research. **Chapter 3** covers the methods adopted for the study, seeking to outline the main methodological decisions made, alongside their theoretical and empirical justifications. **Chapter 4** is the findings chapter and serves to outline the structure of the three analysis chapters that follow it. The chapter provides a descriptive summary of the super-ordinate and sub-ordinate themes developed from the applied analysis, as well as providing an account of how they emerged as part of the conducted interviews. **Chapter 5** is the first of three analysis chapters, examining the first super-ordinate theme of feelings of control. As the second analysis chapter, **Chapter 6** focuses on the second super-ordinate theme: social and community relations. **Chapter 7**, the final analysis chapter, examines the third super-ordinate theme: understandings and definitions of place. **Chapter 8** is the discussion chapter, which considers how the findings have addressed each of the main research objectives, and how they have contributed to the knowledge base.

The chapter concludes with a discussion of the limitations of the conducted research, as well as a consideration of further research avenues.

1.4   An introduction to the researcher

My academic background lies in psychology, and I have now been a student of the discipline for over a decade. Prior to my accidental discovery of the subject during my college years, however, I initially intended to qualify as a physiotherapist. From a relatively early age, I had given serious thought to what I actually wanted to do with my life. During my teenage years, I felt I had narrowed this down to two main areas: education and healthcare. Through the observation of my parents, I had come to realise that employment takes up a significant proportion of one's life and to a large extent, can be definitive of one's identity. I, therefore, wanted to do something that I felt was fulfilling and the way I felt I could best achieve this was to go into a career that could have a direct, positive impact on the lives of others. In my pursuit of a career in physiotherapy, I enrolled onto an Access to Healthcare pathway, for which psychology was a compulsory course component. It was from this experience that I came to appreciate the role of psychology in well-being and how living well was not simply the absence of physical illness or disease.

Following this discovery, I changed pathway and undertook an undergraduate degree in Psychology, followed by an MSc in Applied Psychology focusing on the areas of mental health and psychotherapy. As I began to develop as an academic in the field, however, I became reluctant to categorise myself within a particular sub-discipline. I maintained a broad interest in mental health and well-being, seeking to understand how people's quality of life could be improved in a wide range of settings. Following the completion of my Master's degree, I began working alongside an environmental psychologist and also took a

position as a research assistant at the Sustainable Housing and Urban Studies Unit (SHUSU), working on projects focusing on the broad bases of social exclusion, community cohesion, and community engagement. From this, I began to develop a much greater understanding of the importance and complexities of environmental issues and how these have a significant role to play in human well-being.

Moving on to consider the concept of regeneration itself, this is something I had only previously been aware of through what I had been exposed to by the mainstream media. Speaking candidly, this, coupled with the left-wing political leanings of my youth, may have led to what may be considered somewhat of a cynical view towards the endeavour. As a result of the limited picture that I had been presented, I struggled to differentiate between regeneration and gentrification (an issue explored later in the chapter). Through working in partnership with the local authority, however, I came to develop a greater appreciation of what they were striving for through regeneration efforts. This served to raise questions in my mind, primarily, why if implemented with genuine concern for residents do such initiatives carry such controversy. I wanted to develop a clearer picture of the extent to which common criticisms of the approach appear to be justified. I believe that only through further research, exploring related issues in greater depth than previously achieved, can a greater understanding of the potential for regeneration initiatives be developed. By then working alongside industry partners, those living through regeneration programmes can be more effectively and sensitively supported throughout the process. Ultimately, my ambition in completing this research is that my work can contribute to this process.

1.5   A brief history of regeneration in the UK

The origins of regeneration in the United Kingdom (UK) date back to the 1850s, with a social housing movement, put into action by a group of social reformers and philanthropists to deal with poor quality housing within areas of London. From this period onwards a number of programmes and initiatives were undertaken in order to improve the health and well-being of local inhabitants as well as to increase the supply of better quality accommodation (Roberts, 2008). The passage of the 1875 Public Health Act led to the clearance of what were termed 'slums,' aiming to address poor urban living conditions that were seen to contribute to disease (Tarn, 1973). The reform stated that all new housing was required to include running water, as well as an internal drainage system. In 1917 a government-led programme tackled the housing shortage evident after the First World War, focusing on increasing the housing supply. The onset of the Great Depression in 1929 led to increased house building, as a result of the investment in infrastructure which formed part of the government's strategy to extricate the country from economic recession. The Housing Act of 1930 granted local authorities greater power to demolish properties deemed unfit for human inhabitation (Daunton, 2000).

The 1976 London Docklands Strategic Plan is considered the first regeneration project of the modern age (Brownill, 1990). The closure of the dockyards in east London led to the repurposing of the area to meet the housing needs of the local population. A large number of new properties were made available for purchase, on the assumption this would address the current imbalance of council-owned properties, a measure that inevitably led to increased private ownership (Church, 1990). As initially intended to meet the housing need of the local population, an affordable housing provision was made available to existing inhabitants of the area. However, criticism arose of the scheme when

house prices escalated along with the land value, reducing the proportion of affordable dwellings (Docklands Consultive Committee, 1988).

Despite its long history in the UK, the term 'regeneration' was not officially adopted until the 1980s. Urban sociologist Furbey (1999) critically reviewed the term and from its roots in Latin identified the notion of re-birth. These Judaeo-Christian associations were adopted by Margaret Thatcher, alongside her neoliberal centred identification of the sovereignty of the individual. The term replaced 'redevelopment' and was regarded as a means to rescue the economy and social well-being of British society. Another significant figure during this period was Michael Heseltine, the then Secretary of State for the Department of the Environment. He spearheaded Right-to-Buy, allowing council properties to be sold at substantial discounts, leading to the privatisation of social housing and an increase in home ownership (Sillars, 2007). He also led the government response to redevelop derelict and under-utilised sites to stir economic activity and to bring about what the Conservatives saw as social change. The Conservative approach of the 1980s set the trend for large-scale interventions and the transformation of the urban environment (Jones & Evans, 2008).

In 1998, the then Labour government launched the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal (NSNR). The policy drew on over 30 years of continually developed policy and academic research in the area and sought to involve both researchers and practitioners in policymaking (Cole & Reeve, 2001; Dabinett, 2001). This approach represents good practice, and the findings of the current project could also prove useful, by examining a specific regeneration project and how it may assert its influence on the contained population of the target area. The foundation policy of the NSNR was Bringing Britain Together (SEU, 1998), which noted the spatial concentration of poverty across the UK. Through continued research, this policy concluded that such issues had structural causes, something mainstream politics had, until that point, failed to address. It was also commented

on how past government efforts had been too small in scale, uncoordinated and too short-term.

The NSNR included 105 commitments, each with measurable indicators of socio-economic status. This coupled with macroeconomic growth and public service improvement, aimed to increase opportunities and improve quality of life in relatively deprived areas. The initiative was supported by two main government funds: the neighbourhood renewal fund (NRF) and the new deal for communities (NDC). The NRF was afforded to 88 local authorities with the most deprived populations and equated to around £10 per resident per year (AMION, 2010). The NDC targeted 39 highly deprived neighbourhoods, each already with NRF already available, totalling approximately £4,000 per head, per year (Batty et al., 2010). Each policy was thoroughly evaluated with a particular focus on additionally: whether interventions produced different outcomes than would otherwise be anticipated without intervention (Cole & Reeve, 2001; Dabinett, 2001). The final evaluation of NSNR showed greater improvements in employment, education and crime in intervention areas in comparison to control groups (AMION, 2010). The final evaluation of the NDC reported the initiative to have 'transformed' the few areas it had been applied to (Batty et al., 2010, p. 6) and it was concluded to have had a measurable impact on socio-economic statistics, although smaller than hoped. Palmer, MacInnes and Kenway (2008) emphasise the need to consider this a success that must be acknowledged, however minor it may be. The alternative, they fear, is the concession that nothing can be done to address disparities in public health.

Due to the mixed findings, however, critics have called for a different approach (Hills et al., 2010). Tunstall (2016) identifies the slow nature of neighbourhood change, coupled with rapidly shifting political expectations, as leading to this. Escape rates and the size and duration of typical regeneration projects mean that significant change can only be predicted over decades. What

also has to be taken into consideration is the stability of neighbourhood status over time. Sampson (2009) describes the path dependency of neighbourhood dynamics and the pervasiveness of the reputation, levels of disorder, and moral evaluation of an area. For example, the relative social status of neighbourhoods in inner-London in 1896 has been found to correlate with measures of deprivation almost 100 years later (Dorling et al., 2000). The UK has a long and extensive history of neighbourhood decline, despite repeated efforts to address such issues through regeneration, which further highlights the need for more in-depth exploration of the underlying processes involved with such initiatives.

A nationwide programme initiated during this same period was Housing Market Renewal (HMR), which took place between 2002 and 2011. Addressing concentrated areas of housing price stagnation, HMR involved the replacement of low-value homes with high-value property, in order to reconnect such neighbourhoods to the housing market (Leather et al., 2012). This was seen as a controversial programme for a number of reasons including apparent damage to local heritage through the demolition of historic buildings (Hatherley, 2011) and claims about its role in 'class cleansing'. In his book 'Housing Market Renewal and Social Class', Allen (2008) proposes that the removal of lower-value property plays to the interests of industry, at the expense of the working class. In a further criticism, Gilroy (2012) suggests that human prosperity has been sacrificed for economic growth.

In reviewing the policies and initiatives of the past century, what becomes clear is that regardless of the intent and nature of the changes brought about by regeneration projects, its shortcomings will still be readily outlined by its critics. A common criticism revolves around the concept of gentrification. A term first coined by British sociologist Ruth Glass (1964), she defined gentrification as an economic, cultural, political, social, and institutional phenomenon, which she used to describe the latest process of urban change occurring in inner-London. Her use

of the term is seen as being somewhat ironic, used in response to the perceived emergence of a new urban gentry (Hamnet, 2003). Large Victorian properties that had previously been adapted for multiple occupancy were now being upgraded into luxury properties for single ownership (Clark, 2005). For Glass, working-class quarters had been 'invaded' by the middle-class (Glass, 1964, p. 18-19). Similar criticisms of the approach remain today and it has been suggested that rather than benefitting an existing population, regeneration may lead to change through population movement (Uitermark & Bosker, 2014). Due to such criticism, it has been commented how both the UK and US governments avoid the use of the term (Lees et al., 2013), and we have seen the adoption of different language, which can be considered reflective of their own attitudes towards the approach (Smith, 1982).

More recently, 'gentrified' neighbourhoods have been described as those with more in-moves from more affluent areas in one year (Tunstall, 2016). In a study of the most deprived 30% of neighbourhoods, just 8% of these fell into this category (Robson, 2009). Slater (2006) argues, however, that critical perspectives on gentrification have dwindled over time. He describes this as having led to an emancipatory discourse in gentrification, romanticising the notion. Zukin & Costa's (2004) New York study, for example, draws heavily on Florida's (2002) argument on the aesthetic and economic benefits of 'bourgeois bohemia', serving to attract the creative class. The article also considers East Ninth Street, the main area of focus for the study, as being completely independent of the rest of the neighbourhood. This picture of the area does not conform to its history and arguably displays a level of insensitivity toward the interpretations of those living within it.

Slater (2006) provides three theories as to why he believes this shift in discourse has occurred. Firstly, that theoretical and ideological debates about its causes have come at the expense of the scrutiny of its effects, an argument

echoed by van Weesep (1994). Secondly, what he describes as the 'pervasive influence' of neoliberal urban policies (Slater, 2006, p. 737). Some authors describe a discursive strategy employed as part of the neoliberal project, adopting language to fend off criticism, through the use of a narrative of competitive progress (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001; Tickell & Peck, 2003). And thirdly, the disregard of displacement as being a defining feature of the process. He argues that the diminishing of the critical perspective has implications for those he terms as being 'at risk' for gentrification (Slater, 2006, p. 737). Perceptions of gentrification are now said to be less about rent increases, displacement, landlord harassment, and more focussed on street-level, aesthetic changes and the inclusion of up-market establishments, seen as evidence of a healthy economic present and future (Peck, 2005). It has been described how academics have 'sugar-coated' what was once a 'dirty word' (Smith, 1996, p. 34). Slater (2006) argues for the reestablishment of a critical perspective towards gentrification, due to continuing evictions of low-income and working-class residents. Regeneration can be conceptualised in terms of a struggle between state, market and third sector forces, which Harvey (2005) refers to as the 'state market nexus.' These power relations will influence the nature of any given regeneration project and as researchers, we should now seek to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the experiences of existing residents. With multiple interests asserting their influence over the process, assurances must be made that regeneration projects are being designed and delivered in a manner that increases the benefits for the existing population of a target area and thus increasing the likelihood of their success.

The onset of the economic crisis of 2008 hit employment and income in disadvantaged neighbourhoods hardest, in terms of both employment and welfare support (Hastings et al., 2013; Tunstall & Fenton, 2009). NSNR was not extended or replaced, marking the end of 40 years of government investment in regeneration (Tunstall, 2016). Lupton et al. (2013, p. 66) even went so far to

describe neighbourhood renewal as being 'dead.' In December 2016, however, the UK Government published its Estate Regeneration National Strategy (Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government, 2016). Developed by an independent panel, chaired by Lord Hesseltine and the then Housing and Planning Minister, Gavin Barwell, the strategy accompanies the newly arrived availability of £140 million of loan funding, £30 million in enabling grants and £2m of capacity building funding. These three sources of funding have been made available in order to minimise the financial risk associated with neighbourhood regeneration and thus incentivise local authorities to instigate such interventions in concentrated areas of deprivation. The document also provides guidance on how to attract private finance, which the document identifies as an innovative method to encourage greater private investment, and thus minimise strain on the public purse.

Steps such as these may be seen as a positive means of addressing the financial roadblocks faced post-2008, raising opportunities to rejuvenate estate regeneration in the UK. The increased role of the private sector, however, poses challenges of its own. Further muddying the water of the 'state market nexus' (Harvey, 2005), vested interests may be regarded as a threat that may jeopardise the best interests of the existing population of any area undergoing regeneration. The strategy does provide guidance on the role of the local authority and partner engagement, but this largely focuses on strategies and avenues for gaining access to private sector funding. A more positive inclusion of the document is a good practice guide, which considers 'resident engagement and protection.' This section describes how residents should be afforded opportunities to be involved in the decision-making process, and identifies them as crucial partners in any regeneration scheme. In the late 2000's, whilst in the process of bidding for the funding for the current regeneration underway in Pendleton, those overseeing the initiative outlined their ambition to ensure that the existing residents of the area were fully involved in the planning, development, implementation, and delivery of the project (Salford City Partnership, 2009). Success in this regard would indicate

adherence to this guidance, and the findings of the current study should provide insight into the extent to which this has been achieved in the context of Pendleton. The section of the report entitled 'meeting the needs for all' focuses solely on housing need and as a result, falls short of highlighting the critical responsibility of meeting the broader needs of a community. As identified by Maslow (1954), housing and the shelter it provides is crucial for well-being, but to create a place that is welcoming to all, regeneration plans must go beyond this. The guidance also covers ways to facilitate better social outcomes, which centres on how to reshape the delivery of public service provisions, in order to improve the life chances of residents.

The publishing of this strategy presents a fresh opportunity to develop a research-driven approach to neighbourhood regeneration. This suggests a renewed interest in the approach, but it is essential that policymakers adopt a broader perspective than is currently present, considering the more psychosocial factors involved with regeneration. Policymakers need to draw on the theoretical knowledge that the application of policy can address (Tunstall, 2016). To facilitate this, we need to develop a greater understanding of the underlying processes involved with neighbourhood regeneration, and the factors contributing to the varying public health outcomes that have been observed. Through its employed methods, the current project addresses this need directly.

1.6 Typologies of regeneration

Although literature commonly uses 'regeneration' as a blanket term (see: Bond et al., 2012; Colantonio & Dixon, 2011; Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government, 2016), it should be noted that there is no one single approach to such initiatives. Projects vary significantly in their scale and nature and approaches are constantly evolving (Jones & Evans, 2008). The birth of

regeneration at the start of the 1990s saw the tackling of issues on a larger scale with a more strategic purpose in mind (Roberts, Sykes & Granger, 2017) and this approach has been defined as comprehensive vision and action, in the attempt to resolve social problems through economic, physical, social, and environmental interventions to an area (Smith, Sykes & Granger, 2017). This definition, however, presents the notion of regeneration as a complete package. Tallon (2010) comments how, in actuality, it is often more fragmented in both its design and delivery. Diamond et al. (2010) have noted that since the onset of the 2008 economic recession, the nature of regeneration has altered further. They describe how due to the trickier financial climate, there is now a greater restriction on activities, leading to a larger emphasis on private sector funding, with government funds being used more sparingly. He also identifies a greater emphasis on local initiatives and encouragement of the third sector.

Jones and Evans (2008) identify several specific typologies of regeneration. 'individual regeneration projects' involve single buildings being repurposed. Typically performed on derelict buildings from the UK's industrial past, such projects can be expensive but are considered desirable as they maintain symbols of heritage within a location (Jones & Evans, 2008). Manchester City Council conducted numerous projects of this nature during the 1990s (Robson, 2002). One such example is the Manchester Printworks: a former headquarters for numerous national newspapers, which was adapted as a leisure and entertainment complex (Evans & Shaw, 2001).

'Major regeneration' projects seek to repurpose large scale areas of dereliction (Jones & Evans, 2008). Many examples are waterfront areas, previously serving as dockyards. The waterside location provides a desirable proposition for both commercial and residential purposes. Prime examples of this approach include MediaCity, the new BBC headquarters located in Salford Quays (Eldeeb, Galil, & Sarhan, 2015) and Lagan Riverfront in Belfast, which is now home to a

hotel, leisure facilities, and residential apartments (Smith & Alexander, 2001). 'Developer-driven regeneration' is similar in nature to major regeneration, but in such cases, projects taken on by a single developer with specific commercial interests in a location (Jones & Evans, 2008). A prime example of this approach is the Gunwharf development in Portsmouth (Hannum, 2015). Once a derelict port, this is now home to Millenium Tower: residential apartment buildings.

The typology of regeneration taking place in Pendleton is that of 'area-based regeneration.' Such initiatives are utilised to address physical changes and social problems in specific areas of economic decline (Jones & Evans, 2008). They are also used in regions where the local economy faces specific structural and infrastructural issues. Such areas are typically more rural or industrial in nature. Area-based regeneration initiatives are commonly proposed and designed by local authorities (in this current context, by Salford City Council) and place an emphasis on local implementation. The specific details of the area-based regeneration project being implemented in Pendleton are outlined below.

1.7   The research context

Fig. 1: Aerial map of Pendleton, Salford (image from: Lathams Architects)

The current research took place in the Pendleton area of Salford, Greater Manchester. For the purposes of the research, 'Pendleton' is defined as the area contained within the geographical framework of the PFI initiative currently being implemented in the area, as demonstrated in **fig. 1**. As such, one of the recruitment criteria was that potential participants were currently living within these borders, and had done so for a minimum of five years. 'Pendleton,' however, is not how many of the interviewed participants refer to the area. Although some did associate the area with this name, this is not how many of them identify it. One common name adopted by the interviewed participants is 'Hanky Park.' A historic name for the area, 'Hanky Park' is the setting of Walter Greenwood's 1931 novel, 'Love on the Dole' and derives its name from the central thoroughfare of Hankinson Way, which is still present in the area (Constantine, 1982; Hopkins, 2008). Another common epithet applied to the area is 'Salford Precinct,' or simply 'the Precinct.' This is how the central shopping area of Salford became colloquially referred to following the removal of the previous neighbourhoods of 'Hanky Park.'

Others simply refer to the area as 'Salford,' recognising the area as the commercial centre of the wider City.

'Pendleton,' as the area is now officially named, is a location that sits against the canvas of numerous previous regeneration projects and the variety of pseudonyms by which it is referred to by residents reflects this process. During the 1960s and 70s the area experienced extensive redevelopment, in the form of slum clearance. Due to the scale of this, the majority of remaining buildings in the area are less than 50 years old. The 1980s brought a General Improvement Area declaration, a private sector housing initiative focused around Langworthy, the local ward in which Pendleton was situated during the period. Estate Action soon followed, a social housing focus involving the capping of maisonettes, as well as selective block demolition. In the 1990s, single regeneration budgets (SRB) led to a mixture of social and private sector housing changes. As a continuation of SRB, Housing Market Renewal (HMR) followed in the early 2000s, which again focused on private sector housing, but on a larger scale (Salford City Council, 2004).

The current regeneration project being implemented in Pendleton was first announced in 2013, ten years after the initiative was first proposed (BBC News, 2013). The years leading up to the official proposal involved engagement with residents, with Salford Partnership advocating a resident-led approach (TPAS, 2012). The initiative was proposed as an approximate 15-year project, seeking to create a mixed-income, sustainable community by 2025-2030. With a budget of £650 million, the project involves the building of 1,600 new homes in the form of both family houses and apartments, which will be available to both buy and rent. In addition to new builds, the project involves the modernisation of 1,250 homes (Salford City Partnership, 2009). The initiative also includes healthy lifestyle classes, 24 small and medium business enterprises, community workshops and training programmes, 2,000 work experience opportunities, 500 new employment opportunities, as well as job training. Salford City Council has outlined their

ambitions to make the area become a gateway to the surrounding areas, creating links with MediaCityUK, Salford Quays, and Chapel Street area, which borders Manchester City Centre (Salford City Council, 2015). The newly developed area is to be made up of seven new and 'distinctive' neighbourhoods, as displayed in figure 2.

Fig. 2: Map of Pendleton's neighbourhoods (image from: Salford City Council)
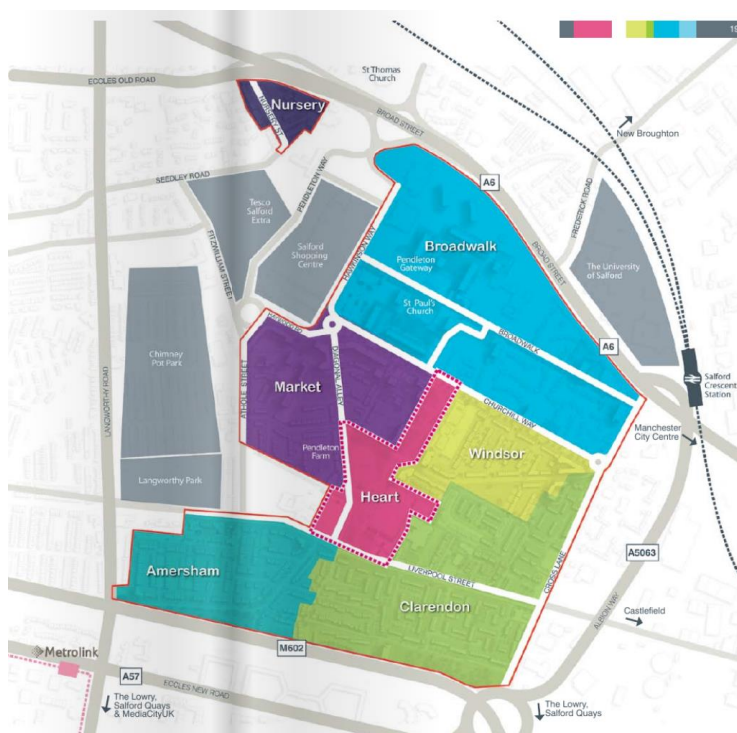
The regeneration project is being implemented by Pendleton Together: a consortium of stakeholders. The central entity of this group is Together Housing Group: the residential management company tasked with overseeing the implementation of structural changes and neighbourhood initiatives, as well as being responsible for resident engagement. This includes access to services, as well as reporting of maintenance issues within properties. The next key stakeholder is Keepmoat: a leading UK regeneration company, which is

responsible for carrying out the structural work on existing properties, and for the construction of the building of new homes and structures. The remaining stakeholders have no immediate contact with the residents of the area but have a significant role in the project itself. These are Lathams Architects, responsible for urban design and planning, with expertise in building re-use, and Planit, project designers of city-wide strategies, who were responsible for the master planning of the whole project.

1.8   The researcher's engagement with the process

The nature of the current research project required me to engage with the Pendleton Together project. I initiated this by making contact with Salford City Council (SCC), the local authority for the area of Pendleton. This engagement was facilitated by the University of Salford's partnership with the local authority. Staff within the council were incredibly receptive of the proposed research and consequently, an advisory panel was assembled, consisting of the PhD supervisors, an SCC housing officer and public health team member. The discussions we held provided clarity towards the information that would be of most interest and potential use to them. Yardley (2008) identifies 'impact and importance' as one of the four main principles that enable validity in qualitative psychological research, and I feel that the formation of this advisory panel has greatly enhanced this characteristic within the findings.

A further benefit of this relationship was that it granted me access to the partners of the Pendleton Together project. As such, I was able to arrange a meeting with the project director about their ambitions and my research. Again, news of my research intentions was well received, and he welcomed the added opportunity to gain insight into the experiences of the residents of the area. Furthermore, they also made efforts to support the participant recruitment

process, by inviting me to attend a community meeting. This was an ideal opportunity to spread the news of my research to the local community, to begin to build a level of trust with potential participants. I also believe that immersing myself into this community group facilitated a greater sensitivity to context, another principle of trustworthy qualitative research advocated by Yardley (2008).

1.9   Local health and well-being

Pendleton is a densely populated, urban area within the City of Salford in Greater Manchester. The housing stock in Pendleton is predominantly social housing, in the form of local authority-owned high-rises and housing estates. On publication of the 2012 census, Pendleton was located within the electoral ward of Ordsall and Langworthy, and the survey revealed the area to have a population of 27,129. The population is predominantly British (79.3%), with small but significant numbers of individuals from Asian, African and Caribbean backgrounds. The local population is above national levels for unemployment and the Salford Mental Wellbeing Needs Assessment (Peck & Tocque, 2010) reveals the area to have among the worst levels of deprivation in terms of both physical and mental health in the City of Salford. The backdrop of regeneration the area has experienced over the last 50 or so years makes this an interesting context in which to explore experiences of neighbourhood regeneration. Based on their length of living in the area, residents will have experienced varying levels of regeneration activities. It is hoped that this will lead to greater insight into the ways in which these regeneration initiatives have influenced the various experiences of Pendleton's residents.

Living within an area of deprivation is associated with lower levels of well-being (Guite et al., 2006) and across the wards of Salford, both anxiety and depression rise dramatically with the rate of varying elements of deprivation. The

Salford Mental Wellbeing Needs Assessment (Peck & Tocque, 2010) reveals statistics that highlight the electoral ward of Ordsall and Langworthy as having among the worst levels of deprivation in the city. Compared to its more affluent boroughs, Salford's most deprived areas are 1.5 times below the rate of mental well-being, have 3 times the level of anxiety and depression, 6.5 times the rate of self-harm and 5.3 times the degree of incapacity benefit claimed for mental health problems or conditions. Within Ordsall and Langworthy, over 80 in 1,000 people of working age claim benefits for mental health conditions, accounting for 54% of all incapacity benefits received in the area. The most deprived areas of Salford also have 6.6 times the amount of contact with mental health services, 3.3 times the amount of contact with outpatient mental health teams and 7 times the number of inpatient mental health admissions. Some of the highest levels of use of such services occur within Ordsall and Langworthy, which has been on a sharp increase since 2010/11, at a rate above the average for Salford. These figures must be treated with caution, however, as eight years have passed since their publication. At the point this thesis was submitted, a similar assessment has been completed, but its data has not yet been released for public use.

The Langworthy Joint Strategic Needs Assessment (JSNA) Profile (Salford City Council, 2016) reveals that 22.5% of the working-age population are currently claiming out of work benefits, which is higher than the Salford rate of 13.3% and the England rate of 9.1%. It should be noted, however, that these figures represent a decrease from the rate of 24.7% recorded in 2014. 16.3% of the adult population aged 16-64 claim some form of incapacity benefit, which is higher than the Salford rate of 9.6% and is over 10% higher than the rate for England. 2.5% of the population are lone parents, higher than rates for the larger city and the country. Mean household income in the area is approximately £7,000 less per annum, in comparison to the Salford average and £16,000 less than the average for households living in England. Consequently, 42% of all children in the area are currently living in poverty. This figure alone is startling, but the extent of this issue

is only highlighted further when this figure is compared to rates of 25.3% and 18% for Salford and England respectively. 12.5% of households were reported as living in fuel poverty at the most recent count. Childhood obesity is also above the national average and currently, there are more overweight and obese individuals than those of a healthy weight in the area.

Salford has some of the highest levels of long-term illness in the nation. Local population statistics predicts that 13,262 people between the ages of 18 and 64 living in Salford have a moderate or severe physical disability, a figure that is on the increase. Currently, 9.8% of the population claim some form of disability allowance. Long-term conditions shorten life expectancy and damage quality of life, and the levels of such conditions in Ordsall and Langworthy are above both the Salford and National averages. Life expectancy for women living in the area is three years below the national average, and for men, this figure is nine years lower. Statistics reveal that a quarter of all deaths in Salford are the result of cancer and that the number of new cases of the disease in the city is the second-highest in the country. In the area, 33% of the adult population smoke, a rate that is 13% higher than the national average. Salford also has the fourth-highest level of sexually-transmitted infections in the Northwest of England and cases of HIV and AIDS have risen 70% since 2005.

Another major issue within the ward of Ordsall and Langworthy is alcohol-related hospital admissions. Salford has some of the highest levels in the country, and Ordsall and Langworthy surpass the average for the city. Salford is also above the national average for drug users in treatment, with Langworthy having the highest rate of heroin and crack cocaine users in Salford. The city also has more than twice the average level of drug-related offences than levels for England and Wales. With neighbourhood regeneration seen as serving to improve the living conditions of inhabitants (Roberts & Sykes, 2008), based upon the statistics available, Pendleton would be regarded a suitable candidate for government

funding for an environmental intervention. What should first be considered, however, is the extent to which changes to the physical environment contribute to improved well-being, and how such outcomes are achieved. These questions will now be addressed, with an exploration of the underpinning theoretical base for such claims.

1.10 A theoretical basis for public health outcomes from regeneration

From a public health perspective, regeneration projects seek to improve the living conditions and life chances for those living within an area and the replacement of poor quality housing has been seen as a crucial step in stimulating the local economy and improving the living conditions of inhabitants (Acheson et al., 1998; Department for Communities and Local Government, 2010). Ultimately, the goal is to improve residential health and reduce existing inequalities. The neighbourhood is where people live, work and play and is crucial in health outcomes and research findings have highlighted the link between poor quality housing and both physical and mental health issues, a relationship that is well-established (Acheson et al., 1998; Marsh, Gordon, Heslop, & Pantazis, 2000). Identified issues include increased risk of injury, respiratory and cardiovascular diseases from indoor air pollution; illness and deaths from cold homes and the spread of disease due to poor living conditions and overcrowding (WHO, 2010). Overcrowding has not only been seen to have physical consequences, but has also been shown to lead to psychological trauma, and a sense of helplessness (Baum & Paulus, 1982; Evans, 2001; Glass & Singer, 1972; Hiroto, 1974). Poor noise conditions are also damaging to mental well-being (Haines, Stansfield, & Brenthall, 2001). In fact, psychological distress has shown to be related to such environmental conditions as overcrowding, damp, mould, pollutants, infestations,

cold, and homelessness. Research has also shown relocation from low-income to middle-income areas to lead to improved mental well-being for both adults and children (Johnson, Ladd, & Ludwig, 2002; Dalgard & Tambs, 1997).

Evans (2003) asserts that the built environment has direct and indirect effects on mental health. For example, high-rises are poor for women who have children and, as already discussed, poor quality housing increases psychological distress. He describes how the physical environment influences mental health through its role in psychosocial processes, which are related to mental health conditions. In terms of the indirect influence, mental health scores are seen to be generally higher when someone perceives themselves to be in control of their surroundings (Bandura et al., 1987; Taylor & Brown, 1988). This relates to the psychological concept of the locus of control: the degree to which an individual believes they have control of the events that influence their life. This is conceptualised as being either internal, having control of one's own situation, or external, with external forces controlling one's situation (Rotter, 1966). Research has shown higher levels of external locus of control, partnered with low self-efficacy, to be associated with higher levels of psychological distress (Bollini, Walker, Hamann, & Kestler, 2004; Roddenberry & Renk, 2010). Loss of this control can lead to feelings of helplessness and this effect is apparent in the work of Bandura et al. (1987) and Taylor & Brown (1988).

Gesler (1993) discusses the 'therapeutic' landscape, and how certain natural and built landscapes can promote mental and physical well-being. This consists of a complex composition of physical, mental, emotional, spiritual, social, environmental aspects, all coming together to produce a healing atmosphere (Gesler, 1993; Williams, 1999). Restorative aspects of place are seen to be important as they are believed to provide respite from the fatigue and stress experienced as part of daily life (Evans, 2003). The psychosocial processes of place are indicative of this, with a vast amount of research highlighting consequences of

diminished social support for mental health (Cohen, Gottlieb, & Underwood, 2000; Kawachi & Bergman, 2001). Places can facilitate this and carefully considered physical design can better enable social interactions, through the creation of focal points (Becker, 1995; McCoy, 2002). Increased access to wooded landscape is also often cited as being beneficial to well-being (Maas et al., 2009; Mantler & Logan, 2015). Milligan and Bingley (2007), however, state how the notion that natural elements are therapeutic requires a greater level of critique, due to the multitude of mediating factors at play, including individual differences such as personal goals, and environmental preference, as well as the socio-physical and temporal characteristics of the environment (van den Berg et al., 2003). This claim is supported by Totton (2003), who found woodland capable of mental health and well-being promotion, but engagement with such an environment being dependent on environmental preferences.

Another housing-related factor argued to be indicative of well-being is population growth (Curry, Koczberski, & Selwood, 2001). An increase in population is deemed to be an indicator of improving economic conditions and the availability of employment, whereas a decline is considered indicative of the loss of services and declining employment opportunities (Cawley, 1994). Walmsley and Sorensen (1990) warn how a significant fall in a population can cause a vicious cycle, leading to entrapment, as property values fall below the cost of houses elsewhere (Budge, 1996). Fraser et al. (2005) explored the relationship between population fluctuation and mental health in four rural town case studies, two experiencing growth and two in decline. Through the employment of standardised measures of anxiety and depression, results revealed those living in declining areas were generally older, less educated and more likely to be unemployed, as well as suffering poorer mental health and well-being. The regeneration of poor quality housing and poorly designed urban spaces should, therefore, be seen as having beneficial contributions to mental well-being. However, as explored in the section

below, a clear link between regeneration and improved mental well-being is yet to be established (Mair et al., 2015).

1.11 Challenging assumptions

Although on a theoretical level urban renewal projects should improve the psychological well-being of residents, at the turn of the last century, the link between changes in neighbourhood and mental health outcomes was not well established (Blackman, Harvey, Lawrence, & Simon, 2001; Mair et al., 2015). Around this time, Thomson et al. (2001) undertook a systematic review of the literature surrounding housing improvement and its health effects. From this, only two prospective control studies that purport to show beneficial effects of rehousing and refurbishment for health outcomes that include mental health were identified (Wilner et al., 1958; Carp, 1977) and only one of these controlled for confounding variables. In the same year that this review was published, a before and after study of the effects of neighbourhood regeneration on health was conducted in an area of Newcastle upon Tyne, which underwent comprehensive renewal (Blackman et al., 2001). At the onset of the project, more than 80% of households in the area received some form of state benefit, and 44% of the housing in the area was deemed unsuitable for human inhabitation (Newcastle City Council, 1993). This study employed a structured interview schedule, examining residents' physical health and depression scores. The regeneration programme was found to lead to a significant decrease in households receiving social welfare, but this was largely attributed to children reaching adulthood and leaving home. Although there were some issues present, a high proportion of inhabitants reported being happy with their homes. Despite this, however, general attitudes towards the regeneration project appeared to be negative. An improvement in attitudes, however, was seemingly apparent following the

completion of the project. This finding appears to highlight the potential disruption caused by regeneration projects in the short-term but could be seen to imply that such problems can be short-lived. The results also revealed an increased sense of security, which was attributed to crime reduction. Despite these more positive findings, however, the project was also found to lead to decreased feelings of 'community spirit'. The findings also revealed that physical health generally worsened, but this was to be confined to the population over the age of 50 on the initiation of the project. The conclusion drawn was that improvements in housing quality, including removal of damp, draughts, as well as area safety appear to lead to a significant reduction of psychological distress, but this came at a cost to more psycho-social elements of the lived-environment.

This study was not without its limitations, as due to the number of extraneous variables at play, researchers struggled to identify specific causal factors. A study that provides further insight into these factors is an in-depth qualitative case study of a neighbourhood in London (Whitley & Prince, 2005). Employing interviews and focus groups, the researchers explored the role of regeneration in assisting with coping and recovery in individuals with mental health issues. From this, researchers determined that improved community safety appeared to be by far the most important factor in coping and functioning improvements. New shared community facilities were found to have mild, yet positive effects on mental health. Aspects that had seemed to have little to no effect were environmental landscaping, as well as community involvement in decision-making. It was concluded that regeneration may have the potential to assist, but not to significantly contribute to recovery. Although physical changes to the environment were seen to have an influence, they were far outweighed by personal circumstance and individual characteristics. What this highlights is the need for planners to think beyond the physical structure of the area undergoing regeneration. Not only seeking to improve the physical landscape, it is also a

requirement for them to consider how existing communities and social ties can be maintained and how social exclusion can be minimised through such initiatives.

As well as the mixed results regarding the use of neighbourhood regeneration to address public health issues, there are some confounding findings that appear to dispute these potential benefits. One such study examined the relationship between urban regeneration and mental health (Huxley et al., 2004). This was a longitudinal study with a 22-month follow-up in a regeneration area within south Manchester, which employed measures of mental health and quality of life and also monitored GP usage. The results revealed that mental health showed no improvement over time and that general health satisfaction actually declined when compared with a control area. Prior to the study, it was believed that any improvements to health and well-being brought about by regeneration would lead to a decrease in GP usage. These levels, however, remained unchanged. The researchers concluded that although the structural housing issues were reduced by the regeneration of the area, the restricted opportunities faced by inhabitants of deprived neighbourhoods are not removed by such projects. This highlights the complex nature of the people-place relationship. Although housing quality is associated with well-being, there are many other factors at play. The assumption that physical improvements will lead to health benefits carries risk. Despite the extensive urban renewal Pendleton has undergone over the past 50 years, local area statistics reveal the area to have some of the worst levels of deprivation in the country (Peck & Tocque, 2010; Salford City Council, 2016). This serves to further highlight the importance that this issue is explored with a higher level of scrutiny, in order to further unpick the complex interrelationships between people, place, and well-being in the context of neighbourhood regeneration.

Rogers et al. (2008) have considered the relationship between perceptions of locality, adversity, mental health and social capital in an area undergoing regeneration. From the employed qualitative methods, it was found that the

perception of both material and non-material aspects of locality were more highly valued than the intended changes in the structural elements of place. Although physically 'improved', residents were more concerned about the defining elements of the local area and of the community. The analysis also revealed themes of concern about an absence of control, the reputation of the area, as well as a lack of faith in local agencies. Respondents also revealed a greater need for self-reliant coping strategies, due to increased levels of isolation, which also led to increased feelings of entrapment. Neighbourhood regeneration should theoretically lead to improved well-being scores, but the findings discussed above serve to illuminate the complexity of the relationship between place and well-being. Not only relating to the structural quality of homes, life satisfaction is also seemingly related to other elements of the lived environment, which necessitates a deeper exploration of the theoretical underpinnings of this issue.

Another such project aimed to assess the mental health impact of a Dutch regeneration programme, targeted at 40 of the most deprived areas in the Netherlands (Jorgeneel-Grimen et al., 2016). Researchers analysed repeated cross-sectional data collected from an annual Health Interview Survey with multi-level logistic regression, drawing comparisons in mental health status between target districts and comparably deprived control areas. The results revealed that the trend change in mental health scores was approximately the same in both target and control districts, seemingly casting more doubt on the supposed health benefits of neighbourhood regeneration. When isolating specific variables, however, there were some more positive findings. Within the female population, a more positive trend was found in the target areas in comparison to control districts. Similar patterns were also identified in residents of the 19 areas undergoing the most 'intense' regeneration. The researchers concluded that these findings highlighted the potential usefulness of regeneration in promoting better mental health. It could be argued, however, that the complex nature of these results further necessitates the more in-depth exploration of experiences of

neighbourhood regeneration. Disparities between genders, as well as those across districts, serve to raise further questions about the way in which such projects influence the well-being of residents.

A recently published paper examined Communities First: a Welsh Assembly Government community-led programme of neighbourhood regeneration (White et al., 2016). This regeneration project targeted the 100 electoral wards of Wales, which had the lowest scores on the Mental Health Inventory (MHI), a population-based measure of anxiety and depressive symptoms. The research project examined 35 intervention areas and 75 control areas. Data were generated from a prospective cohort study conducted in 2001, before the initiation of regeneration, and then in 2008, following completion of the project. The researchers examined the change in MHI scores, and the findings showed that before the initiation of regeneration, mental health scores were worse in intervention groups in comparison to control groups. Outcome data revealed an association between regeneration and improved mental health in contrast to control group residents. It was concluded that targeted, community-led regeneration projects have the potential to reduce inequality in mental health status. The researchers acknowledged, however, that improvements could not be attributed to any single regeneration activity. And herein lies the critical issue with previous research in the area. Much of this literature relies heavily on quantitative methods and outcome measures of well-being. Such an approach is limited to the extent it can explore the underlying processes at play, leading to mixed findings which researchers struggle to apply to any one element of the regeneration process.

The current Conservative government have stated their intention to spatially rebalance the UK economy, through such initiatives as creation of the northern powerhouse (Martin et al., 2016). Now operating in the shadow of the Grenfell Tower fire disaster, however, those implementing such initiatives are under unprecedented scrutiny. Consequently, some are now calling for a

fundamental re-think of the approaches taken with not only tower blocks, but all forms of estate regeneration (Marrs, 2017). Theoretical assumptions are often used to justify the link between regeneration and improved health outcomes (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012). Despite this, however, the existing literature surrounding the influence of regeneration on mental wellbeing is currently mixed and the outcomes of such schemes are poorly understood (Huxley et al., 2004). Any claims regarding public health outcomes, be they positive or adverse, remain tenuous and largely theoretical. In order to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the ways in which such initiatives may stand to influence the mental well-being of residents, research in the area must adopt a fresh perspective, in order to gain greater insight into the interrelationships between the environment, neighbourhood regeneration, and mental well-being.

1.12 Conclusion

Throughout **Chapter 1**, I have sought to lay out the context in which the current research project takes place. Neighbourhood regeneration in the UK dates back to the late 1800s (Roberts & Sykes, 2008). Projects seek to improve the living conditions and life chances for those living within an area through investment to stimulate the local economy, the replacement of poor quality housing, as well as other structural changes to the environment and have been seen as a crucial step in improving the living conditions of inhabitants (Acheson et al., 1998; Department for Communities and Local Government, 2010). The current research takes place in the Pendleton area of Salford, a city in the North West of England, which is currently undergoing a large-scale regeneration project. Public health statistics show the area to have some of the worst levels of deprivation in the country (Peck

& Tocque, 2010; Salford City Council, 2016), which many would argue makes this an ideal candidate for such an initiative.

Despite continued regeneration efforts, however, some have noted the pervasiveness nature of the spatial concentration of such issues in the UK (Sampson, 2009). Critics of the approach have stated their belief that the interests of residents have been neglected in the interests of economic growth (Gilroy, 2012), which has sparked cries of class cleansing (Allen, 2008; Hatherley, 2011), and gentrification (Glass, 1964; Slater, 2006; Tunstall, 2016). Regeneration may be an important step in addressing deprivation in Pendleton, but the relationship between such projects and mental well-being is not well-established (see: Blackman et al., 2001; Huxley et al., 2004; Mair et al., 2015; Rogers et al., 2008). Gaps in the knowledge base point to a fundamental lack of understanding of the ways in which regeneration initiatives may assert an influence on the well-being of residents, which I argue leads to a need to understand this phenomenon from an alternate perspective. For this to be achieved, I must first draw on a broad theoretical base.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In examining the past research into neighbourhood regeneration and mental well-being, one notes the varying ways in which such projects appear to influence residents' experiences of life. Some positive influence on mental well-being may be apparent in some studies (White et al., 2010; Whitley & Prince, 2005), but this is challenged by the findings of others (Huxley et al., 2004; Jorgeneel-Grimen et al., 2016). Even when positive outcomes appear to be present, these seem to have come at a cost to community, and the cultural heritage of a location (Hatherley, 2011). This necessitates the in-depth, qualitative exploration of the issue. By adopting such an approach, we can potentially begin to understand how individuals may negotiate the changing landscape. Even if implemented with the best intentions, the way in which neighbourhood regeneration will be interpreted may vary. In order to examine this, we must first consider the nature of place, and of the relationship people hold with an area. By examining the literature surrounding this issue, I will begin to build a conceptual framework to which the accounts of participants can be applied, in the attempt to develop a clearer vision of each participant's individual relationship with the area in which they live.

Within environmental psychology, the emotional attachment people hold toward the physical surroundings in which they live is commonly known as place attachment (Low & Altman, 1992). When considering place attachment, the first factor to take into account is the diversity of theoretical and methodological approaches from which it has been considered. Also noted is how many researchers have conducted empirical studies, without first clarifying their ontological and epistemological positions (Giuliani & Feldman, 1993; Hidalgo &

Hernández, 2001; Lalli, 1992; Unger & Wandersman, 1985). Rapoport (1987) describes how the term is used too frequently and is often poorly defined. Although this broad level of interest suggests a level of importance, he states how the concept has become ill-defined and that research needs to utilise more precise terminology. The following chapter explores each of these issues, first considering existing definitions of the term, as well as its relevance to the context of neighbourhood regeneration. This is followed by an exploration of the various conceptual understandings and identified sub-processes of the concept, in order to operationalise it for the current research context. The chapter then goes on to explore the literature surrounding mental well-being, again seeking to operationalise this central concept of focus. Scrutinising the theory surrounding these concepts, it then becomes possible to develop a well-justified research methodology that sits on a robust theoretical framework.

2.2   The complex concept of place attachment

One definition of place attachment (hereby referred to as PA) is an emotional bond people hold with the physical surroundings in which they live (Low & Altman, 1992). A common understanding, several theorists utilise similar terminology, referring to affective bonds and emotional ties (Hummon, 1992; Low, 1992; Shumaker & Taylor, 1983). Although such definitions seem to highlight an apparent consensus on its nature, they fall short of differentiating PA from other, similar terms, such as community attachment (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974), sense of community (Sarason et al, 1974), place dependence (Stokols & Shumaker, 1981), and sense of place (Hummon, 1992).

In an attempt to differentiate PA from such terms, Hidalgo and Hernández (2001) relate the concept of PA to that of interpersonal attachment, and the desire to maintain proximity towards an object of attachment (Ainsworth & Bell, 1970;

Bowlby, 1969). They define PA as the tendency people have to prefer to remain close to specific places with which they share an emotional bond and to leave would cause discomfort. Core developmental theory asserts that forming emotional bonds with others is a fundamental aspect of human development, providing both security and comfort, as well as facilitating physical and cognitive growth (Ainsworth, 1967; Bowlby, 1969). Environmental psychologists discuss how people also develop such attachment with the places they inhabit (Altman & Low, 1992; Giuliani, 2003; Lewicka, 2011) and the influence that neighbourhood regeneration may have on this should be explored.

2.3 Place attachment in the context of neighbourhood regeneration

Attachment systems, be they interpersonal or people-environmental, are considered relevant to survival (Scannel & Gifford, 2010). As with human attachment figures, places of attachment can provide rest and a sense of security, offering individuals a reprieve from the hassles and stressors of daily life (Harris, Werner, Brown, & Ingebritsen, 1995; Shumaker & Taylor, 1983). As such, stronger attachment bonds have been shown to be associated with higher levels of life satisfaction, social capital, and overall adjustment (Lewicka, 2011; Rollero & De Piccoli, 2010; Tartaglia, 2012).

A central element of theories surrounding interpersonal attachment is separation anxiety: a sense of unease and discomfort caused by a separation from one's attachment figure (Ainsworth, 1967). As with interpersonal attachment, separation anxiety is also said to be experienced when an individual is unable to gain proximity to a place of attachment. Consequentially, this may have implications for both physical and psychological health (Apfelbaum, 2000; Fullilove, 2005; Tall, 1996). Disruption of an existing attachment may be brought

about by physical changes in the environment, which impact on the daily routines of the local inhabitants. This may be the result of physical displacement, environmental change (Devine-Wright, 2009; Perkins et al., 2009), or the perceived potential for these to occur (Billig, 2006; Fullilove, 2005). Research has shown how individuals displaced by natural disasters and forced relocation can experience a period of grief and have exhibited such issues as acute stress disorder, anxiety, and depression (Abramson, Stehling-Ariza, Garfield, & Redlener, 2008; Fried, 1963). Such extreme examples of displacement, however, cannot be readily applied to the context of neighbourhood regeneration. Research is therefore required to look beyond instances of physical displacement, to consider issues of mental well-being as the symbolic understandings of place and community are influenced by changes to the environment. Neighbourhood regeneration can involve historic buildings and homes being demolished or modernised, in order to make way for modern apartment buildings and accommodation (Denecke & Shaw, 1988) and has been shown to have the potential to affect an individual's understanding of place (Devine-Wright, 2009; Relph, 1976; Scannel & Gifford, 2010).

2.4   Development of a theoretical lens

In seeking to examine experiences of PA in the context of neighbourhood regeneration, it becomes necessary to operationalise the concept. Due to the numerous conceptual understandings of PA, multiple and varied methodological approaches have been taken to explore this topic. Hidalgo (2013) states how terminological and conceptual ambiguity and empirical operationalisation is severely hampering progress in the area. Place research is seen to have developed from the emergence of more humanistic geographies (Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2014). Adopting a relativist perspective, theorists sought to challenge the existing

understanding of place as a physical location, and little more than a container for independent human behaviour (Peet, 1998; Relph, 2008). Criticisms were also raised towards environmental planning of the time, which to some was seen to promote behavioural and economic goals, at the expense of deeper sentimental and symbolic elements of place (Stokols, 1990). This led to the dualistic development of two main uses of the term: place as a locus of attachment and place as a centre of meaning (Williams, 2014). It has been noted that place research of the period defined it as either, leading to a split between quantitative and qualitative methods (Lewicka, 2011; Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2014). As a locus of attachment, PA is a construct measuring emotional intensity. As a centre of meaning, it describes the processes involved in the formation of attachment and meaning.

To consider place as a locus of attachment is to approach the concept from a positivist perspective. From such a position, PA is a construct with common elements, the strength of which can be measured and compared objectively across individuals (Garner et al., 2012; Tolman, 1992). To take this approach suits quantitative methods and the employment of psychometric instruments. Early measures of PA considered duration of inhabitation as the sole determinant of attachment level (Riger & Lavrakas, 1981) and with such a narrow definition, quantitative methods seem well suited to PA research. However, modern tools have moved beyond length of residence as its sole determinant, to self-report measures of various underlying concepts (Lewicka, 2011). Depending on the particular components being investigated, researchers have developed their own measure of PA (Chen, Dwyer & Firth, 2014; Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001; Jorgenson & Stedman, 2001; Williams & Vaske, 2003).

Opting for qualitative methodology in the pursuit of the in-depth exploration of the people place relationship led me to consider place as a centre of

meaning. Such theory identifies common elements of the PA bond, but this is regarded as a unique, subjective experience (Williams, 2014).

Stokowski (2008) states that to disregard the identified sub-processes of PA forms too narrow a definition of the term and Kaltenborn (2009) has shown how PA can be both conceptualised on a general level while still considering its sub-dimensions. Doing so is seen to enable better prediction of the relative importance of the different attributes of place. Due to individual experiences and perceptions of the world around them, the nature of the relationship held by residents with a location will differ among individuals (Garner et al., 2012). PA is a multi-faceted concept, and people can identify with a place in different ways and on varying levels. One example of research that effectively illustrates this employed in-depth, semi-structured interviews to explore the individual experiences of PA in international students who had relocated for study (Terrazas-Carillo, Hong & Pace, 2014). What the research achieved through the adoption of this approach is a greater understanding of how PA contributes to the process of adjusting to a new cultural environment. The results showed how participants appeared to engage in a form of renegotiation, forming attachments to their new location in ways that met the specific needs of each individual. Such findings serve to highlight the potential benefits of considering place as a centre of meaning for the current research. By doing so, I am seeking to develop a greater understanding of the underlying processes involved with the interpretation of changes brought about by regeneration, as well as the different ways that residents may respond to this.

In order to operationalise PA for the current research context, I draw on the work of Seamon (1979, 2000), who approaches place phenomenologically, defining it as: "any environmental locus in and through which individual or group actions, experiences, intentions, and meanings are drawn together spatially" (Seamon, 2012, p. 11). By adopting this stance, person and place become interwoven, enabling the research process to explore the phenomenon of 'person

in place.' Seamon also draws attention to what Lewicka (2011, p. 224-225) refers to as the 'generative aspects of place': the underlying processes that can be both sustaining and detrimental to the person-place relationship. Although existing literature identifies numerous potential sub-processes of place attachment, individual experiences will vary (Hummon, 1992). As such, for the current research, I draw on the five sub-processes of PA identified by Seamon (2014): place definition, place dependence, place bonding, place interaction, and place identity. Each of these will now be examined more closely, or order to enable their utilisation in the analysis of collected data.

2.5   The underpinning processes of place attachment

Often referred to as place definition (see: Cresswell, 2008; Shamsuddin & Ujang, 2008), place realisation is described as encompassing the factors of the environment that contribute to individuals' understanding of a location, providing it with a form of identity (Schneider, 1986). This is said to involve physical elements and social activities becoming intertwined with place, forming the meaning it holds for residents (Shamsuddin & Ujang, 2008). Theorists argue that this stands to be damaged when the atmosphere deteriorates through poor design, policy implementation, or a destructive event. Such events are seen to alter people's experiences, which if positive can strengthen attachment bonds, and weaken them if undesirable (Seamon, 2012).

In a key paper, Firey (1945) provides several prime examples of this, situated within the city of Boston, Massachusetts. This is a city that has inherited spatial patterns and iconic landmarks of the past, each of which remain persistent to this day, Firey explains this persistence as resulting from the group values that these have come to symbolise (Firey, 1945). One such example is Beacon Hill, a historically upper-class district of the city, which for many has become the symbol

of numerous sentimental associations with prominent Boston families, leading to a form of 'sacred eminence' (Firey, 1945, p. 141). Local literature refers to the stately, old-time appearance of the area, which is seen as having a tradition of its own. The district is also known for its literary traditions, with several distinguished authors having resided in the area. Beacon Hill thus elicits aesthetic, historic and familial sentiments. Another example is that of Boston Common, an area of the city with its own symbolic significance. This is seen as the survival of the nation's colonial past when every New England town had allotted land for pasture and militia. Over time Boston's huge growth has led the city to expand around this 48-acre area, surrounding it with the sprawl of the towering business district. Local literature details the importance of its preservation, the pride associated with it regarded as being of far greater importance than the financial interests of big business. The site is home to countless accumulated memories and remains a source of tradition and inspiration and a now legally protected symbol of historic sentiment.

Protective efforts such as these serve to highlight the potential significance of place realisation in residents' interpretation of place change. Drawing on this concept, it can be argued that Pendleton, like Beacon Hill, will have a definitive presence of its own for its residents. Its physical structure coupled with its contained human activity will have evoked a particular ambience and character and residents have come to apply meaning to the area. Pendleton has been 'realised'. Now the area is faced with significant structural change, the residents of Pendleton face a period of renegotiation. With many factors of the environment standing to be influenced, there is an argument to be made that its definition could potentially be altered. The voices of the people living through such experiences should be heard, in order to better understand this process and how they can be best supported throughout this period of renegotiation.

Place dependence refers to how well a place meets a person's needs, through its contained resources and available activities (Kyle, Graefe, Manning, & Bacon, 2004; Pretty, Chipuer & Bramston, 2003). Such resources serve to not only meet the functional needs of an individual, but also facilitate their ability to accomplish life goals and to enjoy life (Lai, Said, & Kubota, 2013; Lee, 2011; Lopez-Mosquera & Sanchez, 2011). It has been described how, over time, an individual can become dependent on these, and they are arguably liable to suffer if changes to the environment obstruct their access to them. An individual's interpretation of change can be guided by their place dependence, as it will determine whether changes have been for the betterment or detriment of the local area. This relates to the concept of place intensification, which describes the improvement or detrimental effects caused by place-making (Gieryn, 2002). Robust knowledge of a place and its demographics can enable positive enhancement (Alexander, 2012), but a place can be seen to be damaged when the needs of inhabitants are misunderstood or ignored, leading to thoughtless and ill-thought-out change (Alexander, 2012; Jacobs, 1961; Seamon, 2012). The strategy employed by those implementing the regeneration of Pendleton sought to include residents in the decision-making process (Sherriff et al., 2015). Research into residents' experiences of the regeneration process should, therefore, provide insight into the success of this strategy in meeting the needs and interests of the existing population and whether their place dependence has been in any way influenced by the changing physical landscape.

Another process seen to be involved with PA is that of place bonding and the emotional ties that a person has with their physical surroundings. Sometimes referred to a place affect, this emotional element of the relationship held with a place allows individuals to develop feelings towards a location, as well as giving it meaning and significance (Tuan, 1977). Another concept related to this process is place release, which is said to occur when a place enables serendipitous, unexpected events have a positive impact on one's life (Jacobs, 1961). In such

instances, because of a place, life has been improved, which can facilitate the development of stronger emotional bonds with the location. These enable a person to be more 'released' into themselves, bringing them closer to self-actualisation (Mehta, 2007). The more such positive, unexpected events occur, the more this bond will grow. This process can be understood in relation to Morgan's (2010) description of the development of PA in infants, which he describes as forming through a process of arousal, interaction, and pleasure.

It is also noted, however, how a lack of such positive experiences may lead to a sense of mundanity and a weakening of this affective bond. Upsetting, unexpected events are also seen to have the opposite effect of positive ones, serving to damage place attachment (Seamon, 2012). Said to involve behaviour, affect, and cognition (Qingjiu & Maliki, 2013), research has shown place affect to have a negative association with acceptance of place change (Devine-Wright & Howes, 2010; Vorkinn & Riese, 2001). From this perspective, a stronger emotional bond could equate to a stronger emotional impact if a place were to be 'lost', leading to more negative perceptions of potential change. In seeking to explain this, Moser (2009) discusses the concept of people-environment congruity. According to this theory, when measuring quality of life, the relationship that individuals have with their physical environments has a critical role to play. Research has shown that inhabitants satisfied with their living conditions have a positive attachment bond with their current dwelling, whereas those dissatisfied with their living conditions had no emotional attachment with their home (Moser, Ratiu, & Fleury-Bahi, 2002).

Despite the apparent relationship between holding an emotional attachment to place and life satisfaction, however, research has also suggested that stronger PA can also lead individuals to be more accepting of place change (Devine-Wright, 2011; Venables et al., 2012). One such example was conducted by Cheng & Kuo (2015), who instigated a photo-based survey involving two groups

from different countries. The findings highlighted how place bonding can be enhanced by adding familiar landscape elements to unknown places. The results also suggested that individuals may form initial bonds to new places based on previous experiences with similar environments. It has been described how globalisation is leading to architectural uniformity, which can be said to lead to a loss of identity of places and a weakening of the emotional associations held by their residents (Altman & Low, 1992; Lewicka, 2011). Through the use of in-depth research, the hope is that a greater understanding of the role of PA in adaptation to place change will be developed. Of particular interest is the varying ways in which residents' emotional attachment to place may facilitate, or hinder, this adaptive process.

Another process relevant to the interpretation of place change is place interaction. From a phenomenologist perspective, Merleau-Ponty (1962) describes the concept of 'body-subject' or the bodily routines rooted in the physical structure of a place. Expanding on this, Seamon (2012) discusses what he calls place-ballet and the interaction of the individual routines of multiple parties within a single space. This theory identifies this process as being fundamental in the development of interpersonal relationships, place identity, and ultimately PA (Oldenburg, 1999; Seamon & Nordin, 1980). PA is seen to be sustained by the actions and routines conducted by those individuals that frequent a location, which are maintained by the attachment bond they each hold with it. As such, this becomes a cyclical process, with each factor serving to strengthen the other (Fullilove, 2005; Seamon, 1979). This process is seen to damage place attachment when events disrupt routine interaction, which can cause friction and conflict and alter the perceptions held of the location (Seamon, 2012).

Another identified sub-process of PA is place identity (Williams & Roggenbuck, 1989). Considered a sub-structure of self-identity (Proshansky et al., 1983), place identity is described as being enabled when living in a particular

location becomes instrumental in a person's life, leading to a symbolic connection between a person and a place (Williams & Vaske, 2003). Based upon spatial memory, imagery, as well as a geographical framework of activity, this can lead to a place forming a part of an individual's personal identity (Fried, 1982; Proshansky, 1978; Proshanky, Fabian, & Kamnoff, 1983; Proshanky & Kaminoff, 1982; Proshanky, Nelson-Shulman, & Kaminoff, 1979). Such a phenomenon is said to occur through the accumulation of experiences (Cheng, Ng, Chan, & Givoni, 2012). Physical surroundings are associated with memories, emotions, values, preferences, attitudes, and the routines that come to define a person's everyday identity (Bonaiuto et al, 1996; Proshansky et al., 1983).

It has been argued that place forms the basis for both social and self-identity, which are seen as strong factors in terms of health and well-being (Haslam, Jetten, Postmes, & Haslam, 2009; Sharma & Sharma, 2010). Forming part of an individual's identity, a place is seen to serve as a significant factor in their perceptions of self-worth, with the two concepts inextricably linked (Leary & Tangey, 2012). Holding a positive self-image is identified as having a key role to play in well-being, and it has been shown that a threat to self-concept can lead to psychological distress (Thoits, 1999). It is therefore unsurprising that strong place identity has been shown to be related to negative attitudes towards place change (Devine-Wright & Howes, 2010). In such instances, change is often seen as a personal threat to the self, resulting in the negative attitudes to the overall process.

From his research, Fried (2000) has surmised that place identity was fundamental to human functioning. Strength of place identity is based on having a place, and that it is held in a level of esteem (Fullilove, 1996). Research conducted in New Zealand has shown how the appropriation of land can lead to alienation. Results revealed how the place identity of settlers was perceived to be threatened by the presence of the indigenous, Maori people. Each group considered the land

their own, and felt to lose it would be to lose their way of life, as well as their sense of self (Dominy, 1993, 1995). Land development is seen as a threat to indigenous land rights, but to place a restriction on who purchases within an area leads to decrease in land value and can hinder regeneration efforts (Omar & Yusuf, 2002). As with indigenous peoples, the residents of Pendleton may perceive a sense of ownership of the area in which they live. Due to PA and the emotional bond they hold towards where they live, regeneration could arguably be seen as a form of symbolic dispossession. This raises questions around the extent to which they 'own' the neighbourhood in which they live, as well as the ethics around the repurposing of land. Residents may be seen to question the right that government and other stakeholders have to regenerate a neighbourhood (Porter & Barry, 2016).

2.6   Understanding the role of time in place attachment

A further factor associated with PA that requires attention is that of time. Duration of inhabitation is considered a critical element in PA and it has been said how an individual with a strong attachment will desire to continue to inhabit a place in the future. As such, length of residence is often considered in the measurement of place attachments (Kaltenborn, 2009; Moore & Graefe, 1994). Early models determined that this factor alone was the sole determinant of the strength of this bond (Riger & Lavrakas, 1981). More recent models still consider length of inhabitation as a predictor of attachment strength, if not a direct one. The role of time in the formation of place attachment, however, has not been fully examined (Smaldone, 2006). Despite little being thought to be known about this process, several theoretical explanations have been proposed for the relationship between time and PA. At the root of each of these is the assertion that time is

essential for deepening meaning and emotional ties to a place (Low & Altman, 1992; Moore & Graefe, 1994; Relph 1976; Tuan, 1977).

The influence of time on PA has been described as coming through the development of different place meanings, with the meaning of a place changing over time (Brandenburg & Carroll, 1995; Cantrill, 1998; Gustafson, 2001). From this perspective, significantly longer association is seen to shift the basis of attachment from the physical to the social aspects of place. In an attempt to further unravel this relationship, Schroeder (1991) identifies the two separate concepts of 'place meaning' and 'place preference.' In doing so, Schroeder acknowledges how individuals may interact within a location without developing an emotional bond towards it. According to this theory, in order for a more significant emotional attachment to develop, meaning must first be applied to a location: a process that requires time. The theory arguably falls short, however, of shedding more light onto the underlying mechanisms involved in this process.

Moving beyond the surface, Lewicka (2014) considers the role of human memory in this process. PA is seen to connect the present to the past, through the biographical experiences and memories associated with a particular space. Longer inhabitation means more experiences and, consequently, more memories. From a cognitive perspective, there are two forms of memory involved in this process: declarative and procedural (Goldstein, 2007). Earlier discussed was the concept of place-ballet and understanding of place being developed through the multiple ways in which people interact with it (Seamon, 2012). This process relates to procedural memory, with memories developed through experiences over time. Declarative episodic memory serves autobiographical memories: the various life events experienced within a location (Goldstein, 2007). From the perspective of cognitive psychology, over time these will be utilised time and again, strengthening the emotional connection between person and place (Lewicka, 2011).

The formation of new PAs is seen as an important factor in adjustment, wellbeing and health (Hornsey & Gallois, 1998) and an understanding of how this occurs is therefore essential. Although several theories purport to explain the role of time in the development of place attachment, there is still much to learn in terms of the actual underlying processes involved. In cases of place change, the past is commonly seen as a barrier to adaptation. It has also been shown to prevent people from considering future alternatives to their current living situation (Fried, 2000). Not only connecting the present to the past, however, PA also links the present to the future. Ryan and Oligave (2001) suggest it may even serve as a facilitator to this process, as well as in the development of new attachments. Through nostalgia triggering events, the present becomes associated with the past, enabling the recognition of the role of the new environment in one's life. Regeneration of the built environment provides a novel context in which to further explore these issues.

2.7   The role of community

Not only an individual phenomenon, Mihaylov and Perkins (2014) also identify a social aspect of PA, which they refer to as community place attachment, which describes how the interpretation of place change can be both individual and collective. Community PA is rooted in community involvement and local social relations (Fried & Gleicher, 1961; Hummon, 1992), however, the phenomenon encompasses more than this. As with interpersonal attachment, community attachment can be of a profound emotional significance. Attachment theory was initially developed to highlight the significance of the mother-child bond, as this factor was considered lacking in the mainstream approach of the time period, psychodynamic theory. Characteristics of interpersonal attachment are also seen to be present with community attachment. For example, it often involves the

desire to stay within an area, which an individual believes provides a sense of security and familiarity, enabling greater freedom of behaviour and exploration, and a new level of confidence (Mihaylov & Perkins, 2014). Consequently, a threat to this state can lead to community protest and active efforts to ward off perceived threats to the sense of community. As such, community PA has come to be understood as a desire for familial enclosure. Such behaviours are distinctive of close community bonds, which are of particular significance for individuals with minimal independent resources of their own, such as individuals living in poverty, or marginalised groups. Akin to its more individualistic form, there has also been a temporal element identified to community PA. This refers to when social networks are embedded in current and past group affiliation, a shared identity based on characteristics relating to ethnicity, race, class, or culture. A potential pitfall, however, is that this can lead to in-group, out-group conflict.

A factor seen to contribute to community PA is social interaction, which is influenced by physical space and environmental quality (Fried, 1965). A related concept here is that of place social bonding, which refers to the experiences relating to the social interaction occurring within a location (Scannel & Gifford, 2010). One such activity is neighbouring, which can provide social support, allow symbolic communication, and people will often develop an emotional attachment to their neighbours (Unger & Wandersman, 1985). According to Brown, Brown, and Perkins (2004), there will be greater levels of social cohesion and individuals will be more likely to support one another in areas with strong community attachments. Research has also shown an association between the presence of community place attachment and fewer social issues such as crime, fear, as well as more frequent instances of physical improvements to a neighbourhood (Brown et al., 2004).

Community PA also stands to be influenced by changes brought about by neighbourhood regeneration and this is seemingly apparent in the research

literature explored in **Chapter 1**, which showed how physical improvements to the urban landscape were seen to come at a cost of the sense of community within residents (Blackman et al., 2001; Rogers et al., 2008). Another way in which regeneration may stand to influence notions of community is their generation of new inhabitants, which can lead to changes in the demographic profile of an area. Corcoran (2002) states such changes may create issues around community cohesion and difficulties in integration, which could potentially lead to a fragmented society and breakdown of 'community.' Feldman and Stall (1994) dispute this, however, asserting that changes can also serve to strengthen community PA. They state how the appropriation of spaces to the dissatisfaction of residents can achieve this by presenting a common enemy, against which an existing community can unite.

In a landmark paper, a study involving approximately 500 working-class men and women explored forced geographic displacement in Boston's West End (Fried, 1963). Prior to the study, it was believed that the threat of regeneration would lead to a level of stress. However, the results suggested the extent of this was far greater than anticipated, showing large numbers of residents to be so strongly attached to the community, that the idea of relocation was considered intolerable. Others that were very satisfied with their living conditions, however, were found to not hold a strong attachment to the community. The third main group identified were individuals who were dissatisfied with their current living conditions, but still maintained a strong attachment with the community and experienced a profound sense of loss after being relocated. The use of local shops and services was seen to contribute to the feelings of belonging and neighbourly atmosphere of the area. Changes to this caused a sense of threat and feelings of alienation. Relocation was found to cause distress, even in those with weaker community attachment. Utilising the clinical criteria for grief, the researchers were able to identify indicators of grief and mourning in displaced residents. In a separate study, Fried (1965) found the loss of social relationships to be by far the

most significant factor contributing to the sense of loss brought about by residential relocation. Individuals relocated within close proximity of their previous neighbours were found to adjust more easily than those more isolated.

Such findings serve to further demonstrate the complex nature of PA. Metzler (2007) describes how the efforts to improve conditions for health present numerous challenges and may even lead to unwanted consequences. Even small-scale regeneration projects can displace low-income residents and renewal has also been shown to lead to decreases in social cohesion and the willingness of members of a community to cooperate and work towards the well-being of members (Larsen, 2013; Uitermark, Duyvendak, & Kleinhans, 2007). Regeneration projects generate new inhabitants and social demographics change, posing potential challenges around broader social cohesion. Within this, Corcoran (2002) has asserted that difficulties in integration could potentially lead to a fragmented neighbourhood and breakdown of 'community'. Social ties are seen to contribute to both well-being and quality of life (Moser, Legendre, & Ratiu, 2003) and research has shown the positive effect this can have on social well-being (Poortinga, 2006; Rollero & De Piccoli, 2010). These are also seen to be related to vulnerability to stress and depressive symptoms (Kubzansky et al., 2005). Consequentially, a decrease in social cohesion has been said to lead to increased depression and mortality (Kawachi, Kennedy, Lochner, & Prothrow, 1997; Mair et al., 2015). To fully understand the potential implications of neighbourhood regeneration for aspects of community, the chapter next explores the concept of social capital.

2.8 Using social capital to understand community mobilisation

Social networks are seen to enable community mobilisation, either in opposition to change or to allow greater influence over the decision-making

process (Perkins, Hughey & Speer, 2002). Citizen participation within a local community is also seen to facilitate the adaptation process, through community-based activity. The existence of local voluntary associations, such as a neighbourhood watch scheme, for example, can significantly improve the capacity to respond to an impending threat (Mihaylov & Perkins, 2014). Higher participation levels are also seen to increase the likelihood of community involvement in the decision-making process (Manzo & Weinstein, 1987). Another supposed benefit is that it can increase an individual's sense of community. Involving emotional connections, shared values and beliefs (Perkins & Long, 2002), this describes feelings of belonging to the social community. This leads to greater belief in one's ability to cope and a more pro-active attitude to the potential impact of change (Mihaylov & Perkins, 2014).

A supposed benefit of community PA is that it enables the development of social capital, through discussion of local issues (Manzo & Perkins, 2006). One definition of the term is a capital asset for the individual, comprised of social-structural resources (Coleman, 1994), a definition that bridges both the individual and collective elements of the concept. According to Coleman's theory, social capital is not purposively sought out by individuals, but rather it arises as a consequence of the pursuit of self-interest. From this perspective, community PA arises through residents working together to ensure their own, individual well-being. A neighbourhood watch, for example, is set up out of concern for the safety of oneself, and not of the surrounding community. Despite identifying ego-centrism as an underlying motivation, Coleman regards the phenomenon as a public good, in this case, serving to improve the safety of residents. From this perspective, social capital is regarded almost entirely benign in its functions, holding no disadvantages, and providing a set of norms that enable people to cooperate for mutual advantage. In identifying the value of such for all, be they privileged, or disadvantaged, Coleman's theory has been criticised as being naïve (Field, 2008). Bourdieu, a key theorist in this area, regards social capital as more of

a circular process, with privileged individuals securing their position through the maintenance of existing networks. Both theorists regard social interaction as an exchange, but where Coleman sees this is a rational, sub-conscious device, Bourdieu regards it as being a deliberate strategy, laying the basis of cultural materialism (Phillips, 2006).

Putnam (2003) regards social capital as a major resource in the ensuring of safety, good education, health and other dimensions, which he refers to as quality of life. Putnam considers this to be declining in modern society, a consequence he attributes to varying social, cultural and technological developments. He also identifies a generational change in values, such as the two-career family, factors that serve to divide members of society, preventing the development of social capital. This, according to Putnam, has damaged quality of living, which he says will be repaired by greater community participation, bonding people in a form of togetherness.

Despite its clear relevance to the concept of community place attachment, social capital is a heavily critiqued concept. It is thus necessary to consider some of its identified weaknesses. Navarro (2002) first identifies the absence of the consideration of power and politics in social capital theory, describing how it has become depoliticised and dominated by the language of economics. As a consequence, the purpose of social activity is reduced to the accumulation of capital, enabling people to better compete for resources and this is a view common among social capital theorists (see: Colombo, Franzoni, & Rossi-Lamastra, 2015; Grootaert & van Bastelaer, 2002; Putnam, 1995). Navarro argues that such virtues, in fact, serve to further alienate individuals, something that does not enter the theory of Putnam (2003). He regards the terminology applied to the concept as contradictory, calling for both togetherness and competitiveness. Capitalistic virtues are regarded as a solution to the breakdown of social capital in society, while from the perspective of Navarro, it is anti-capitalist relations that are

required to repair such ills. Another criticism of the concept is its disregard for the purpose of togetherness, and how members of a single group can work towards differing, sometimes conflicting goals. Smith and Kulynych (2002) concede the undoubted 'social' element of its name, but raise questions to the appropriateness of the term 'capital.' In doing so, they too identify social capital's historic association with economic discourse. To view community involvement in such terms, they say, blurs important distinctions. Capitalism is a system of individualism and competition. It is their belief that the term 'social capacity' serves the same purpose, without the call for the competitiveness that Navarro identifies as being contradictory to the benefits supposedly afforded by social capital (Smith & Kulynych, 2002, p. 180).

2.9   Seeking to operationalise mental well-being

In essence, the overarching aim of this research project is to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the interrelationships between person, place, well-being, and neighbourhood regeneration in the context of a specific regeneration project. Having now operationalised the people-place relationship, it becomes necessary to perform the same task for mental well-being. One definition of the concept is: "a positive state of mind and body, feeling safe and able to cope, with a sense of connection to people, communities and wider environment (Mind, 2015; p. 10)." As with PA, however, defining mental well-being is problematic. The term is heavily value-laden, which could potentially lead to ambiguity around the aims of the project.

Well-being is considered an established element of concern for any professional field involved with the design and management of the environment (Coles & Millman, 2013). However, this is a complex and multi-dimensional concept, relating to how the world is perceived and understood. Well-being and

the environment are inextricably linked and multidisciplinary understandings of the nature of this relationship exist. Well-being is a concept that has been subject to a vast quantity of research and literature and there are many theoretical approaches to its study (McMahon & Estes, 2011). There is also a need to untangle several related and overlapping concepts, such as subjective well-being, satisfaction with life, psychological well-being, and happiness (Ryan & Deci, 2001). In the sections that follow, I explore such issues, in the attempt to elucidate the complexities of well-being, and present a clearer picture of its meaning in the current research context.

2.10 Common approaches to 'well-being'

Broadly speaking, there are two main conceptual views of well-being: the hedonic approach and the eudaimonic approach. The hedonic approach speaks of subjective well-being and 'happiness' and is concerned with the frequency and intensity of satisfaction with life and emotional experiences (Chrisodolou, Schneider, & Stone, 2014; Díaz et al., 2006). Emotions such as happiness, joy, stress and worry, are each seen to contribute in some way, be it in a positive or negative manner, to a person's enjoyment of life (Kahneman & Deaton, 2000). Converse to the hedonic approach, the eudaimonic approach associates well-being with the development of human potential. The term eudaimonia was first used by Aristotle, who proclaimed how finding what is worth doing and realising one's full potential is the ultimate human goal (Waterman, 1990). According to this approach, the use of 'happiness' is flawed, as not all human desires are healthy. Things that make a person happy are not always beneficial for their well-being, and things that are considered as beneficial for health, do not necessarily contribute to feelings of happiness (Wells, 2010).

Two key names in eudaimonic well-being are those of Maslow (1968) and Rogers (1980), authors who focus on self-actualisation. Their theories describe how by reaching one's potential and becoming a fully functioning person, one can achieve positive well-being and personal fulfilment (Sheldon & Kasser, 2001). One criticism they had of psychoanalysis and behaviourists of the time, is how their theories seemingly reduced human behaviour to machine-like responses to stimuli (Bohart & Greening, 2001). A central humanistic premise, however, is that individuals have free will to follow desires that impact on their well-being (Maslow, 1968). Another idea unique to this approach is that of the actualising tendency: the intrinsic motivation towards growth (Rogers, 1980). Maslow, in his 'hierarchy of needs' (1954) for instance, discusses five basic needs that a person must fulfil in order to become fully functioning (Putnam, 2015). These are physiological, safety, love/belonging, esteem, and self-actualisation (Maslow, 1970). According to this model, an individual must first satisfy the most basic and fundamental needs, located at the bottom of the hierarchy, before progressing to further stages of fulfilment. Only then can an individual reach their full potential and become 'self-actualised' (Lester, 2013).

Another Eudaimonic model is that of the self-determination theory (SDT). Ryan and Deci (2008) state that there are three fundamental needs, which are universal across cultural and temporal barriers. These are: autonomy, or the need to choose what you are doing, and having control over one's life; competence, or environmental mastery and the need to feel confident in your ability to achieve life goals; and relatedness, or the need for human connectedness, close and secure relationships with people who respect autonomy and facilitate competence (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Ryan & Deci, 2000). This theory describes how when these are satisfied, motivation and well-being are enhanced, and when they are not, there will be adverse consequences for functioning. Research has shown the benefits of the fulfilment of each of these needs across individuals. Through their research, Veronneau, Koestner and Abela (2005) have shown how individuals with higher

levels of need satisfaction report higher levels of well-being in comparison to those with lower levels of need satisfaction. Daily levels of need fulfilment are shown to be predictive of reported levels of well-being within individuals (Reis et al., 2000).

A third model of this nature is that of Ryff, who describes the concept of psychological well-being (Ryff, 1995). She divides this into the six sub-dimensions of self-acceptance, or a positive evaluation of one life and past life decisions; positive relations with others, or holding meaningful relationships; autonomy, or holding a sense of self determination; environmental mastery, or the ability to meet one's life goals; purpose in life, or the sense that one's life is meaningful; and personal growth, or a feeling that one is developing as a person (Ryff & Keyes, 1995). A ten-year cohort study has shown measures of this model of well-being to be predictive of instances of depression at the ten-year point (Wood & Joseph, 2010). Overall, those of lower psychological well-being were found to be 7.16 times more likely to be depressed. Even after controlling for personality, economic and demographic variables, physical health, negative functioning, and prior depression, individuals with lower positive well-being were still more than two times as likely to be suffering from depression at the conclusion of the research.

2.11 Mental well-being research in practice

Across these various theories, there are many overlapping aspects of positive psychological functioning. Mental health research, however, has tended to focus on psychological dysfunction (Ryff, 1995). To do so, however, limits well-being to the absence of illness and does not enable consideration of capacities and needs to prosper and fully self-actualise, as well as the associated protective traits (Ryff & Singer, 1996). The logic behind this is that by studying disorder, a greater understanding of adequate functioning may be developed (Hupport, Baylis, &

Keverne, 2004). It has been noted, however, how studying depression has revealed little about the nature of happiness, just as the study of Alzheimer's revealed little about memory function. As with these examples, despite the continued study of mental health disorders, they remain highly prevalent among the general population (Hupport et al., 2004). This highlights the importance of exploring successful functioning and seeking to find an answer to how to live well.

The understanding a researcher has of well-being is crucial, as it will determine the methods employed to assess the phenomenon. A common approach to the measurement of well-being is the utilisation of social and economic surveys, with items relating to happiness and satisfaction with life. This method is frequently adopted for public policy use, in the shape of national well-being accounts, which function on a population level and track measures of subjective well-being over time (Diener, 2006; Diener & Seligman, 2004; Kahneman, Krueger, Schkade, & Shwartz, 2004). In the UK, for instance, the ONS currently adopts the National Happiness Index, which attempts to assess the well-being of the population through four survey items. These measure life satisfaction, feeling that what one does in life is worthwhile, happiness yesterday, and anxiety yesterday on a scale of 0-10 (Office for National Statistics, 2015). The field of psychology predominantly substitutes such measures, in favour of more comprehensive and standardised scales of identified sub-elements of well-being (Kesebir & Diener, 2008). An example of this is a measure developed by Ryff (1995), based on her six-factor model of psychological well-being. This includes 20 items for each of the identified sub-dimensions. An added advantage of such measures is seen to be their function in enabling more in-depth exploration of the underlying welfare of individuals, as opposed to relying on external, measurable supposed indicators of the experience of positive well-being (Adler & Posner, 2008).

The optimum strategy for the assessment of well-being is subject to much debate, and questions have also been raised as to whether the concept is truly measurable (Griffin, 1986). Theoretically, if an objective state, void of any inconsistencies between individuals, well-being would indeed be measurable. As demonstrated by the numerous and various theories surrounding its nature, however, this is no straightforward endeavour. Well-being is described by many as a multi-faceted concept, comprised of several sub-constructs. If the well-being of two parties were to be measured objectively, an equal 'score' might be recorded, but still would fall short of representing a clear picture of how any one individual experiences the phenomenon. One individual may score above another on one sub-dimension and below on another. So, although on the surface two people may be attributed the same level of well-being, the contributing factors may differ. Also needing to be considered is the possibility that such sub-constructs are valued differently between individuals. One person, for instance, may consider a particular element of well-being to be of fundamental significance, where another may regard it as a much lower priority. If researchers and practitioners seek to 'increase' well-being within populations, this first requires a strong understanding of what matters to any given person. In an attempt to attain this, the current study will adopt a broad, eudaimonic definition of the concept, understanding well-being as an individual's capacity to self-actualise. My analysis will draw on the three models of Maslow (1970), Ryan and Deci (2008), and Ryff (1995), exploring the sub-elements of well-being discussed above through in-depth, qualitative methods. I argue that by taking such steps, it becomes possible to develop a greater understanding of each individual participant's sense of well-being, as well as the specific interpersonal and environmental factors contributing to it.

2.12 Understanding individual differences in resilience

With some research findings indicating the possibility of neighbourhood regeneration leading to adverse outcomes in terms of mental well-being, questions arise as to the coping strategies that may be adopted by residents experiencing neighbourhood regeneration. Not only is it necessary to explore residents' experiences of well-being, but it is also vital to develop insight into the factors that may aid residents in adequately coping with regeneration, and which may inhibit this. This relates to the concept of resilience, which is said to be called upon when environmental conditions cause stress, requiring a person to cope (Tucker, Harris, Pipe, & Stevens, 2010). Resilience can thus be understood as the experience of health during periods of stress, and the process involved in seeking a positive adjustment to such conditions (Masten, 2001; Ungar, 2005). The majority of research in this area centres on young people who have experienced some form of childhood trauma – specifically, how they develop pathways to well-being. Resilience research must be innovative, as it must consider several other concepts in tandem. Firstly, when exploring resilience, research must also consider the concept of risk. One conceptualisation of resilience is as an outcome of living through stressors (E.g., Sturgeon & Zautra, 2013). Therefore, in order to assess an individual's level of resilience, a clear picture of their personal circumstances, and the various stressors with which they have both lived through and are currently experiencing, needs to be developed. Resilience is also regarded as the capacity to cope with adversity and the responsiveness of the environment in providing the resources required for adequate coping. Herein lies a further complication, with the innumerable confounding variables at play. Studying resilience requires not only an understanding of risk but also of the interaction between risk exposure and solutions found in the attempt to cope. An individual factor identified is the willingness and motivation to seek improved well-being (Dallope, 1996). Success can, therefore, be dependent on holding a meaningful role in one's community,

self-efficacy, self-esteem, holding secure attachments, safety, as well as optimism and a having positive outlook for the future (Kirby & Fraser, 1997). Resilience has thus been described as lying hidden at the intersection of individual motivation and environmental resources available to minimise risk and promote well-being (Ungar, 2004). Measurement of resilience is complicated even further by the diverse understandings of well-being, an issue explored earlier in the chapter.

Resilience research is developing and the term is heavily-laden with subjective assumptions regarding such factors as the interpretation of biographical life events and of the nature of distress (Glantz & Slobodan, 1999). It thus remains conceptually ill-defined, with little consistency in how it has been operationalised and measured (Lerner, 2006; Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000). One of the bigger debates in resilience literature is whether it should be considered as a process or as an outcome. As a process, it is understood as a dynamic interaction between person and environment (Rutter, 1987). Moving forward, it has been considered more of the internal and external presence of resources in enabling to cope (Lerner & Benson, 2003). Some of the latest theories have revolved around the discursive element of resilience and how understandings of the concept are shaped by language, culture and context (Boyden & Mann, 2005; Ungar, 2004).

In the attempt to consolidate all perspectives of the concept, Ungar (2004) defines resilience as such: "In the context of exposure to significant adversity, whether psychological, environmental, or both, resilience is both the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to health-sustaining resources, including opportunities to experience feelings of well-being, and a condition of the individual's family, community and culture to provide these health resources and experiences in culturally meaningful ways" (p. 225). Applying this concept to the current research scenario will enable a greater understanding of the varying extent to which people can adapt throughout the implementation of regeneration and to changes made to the environment in which they live. I will achieve this through

the identification of the environmental and interpersonal factors that appear to demonstrably contribute to participants' experiences of mental well-being.

2.13 Conclusion

In **Chapter 2**, I have drawn upon the literature surrounding place attachment (PA) and in doing so have sought to conceptualise the complex nature of the people-place relationship. I have argued that in order to fully understand the varying ways in which people may relate to their surroundings, the concept should be considered as a process and thus, I have opted to understand place as a centre of meaning (Garner et al., 2012; Hummon, 1992). I have also drawn on the work of Seamon (1979, 2000, 2014), who considers place phenomenologically. My analysis will, therefore, explore experiences of 'person-in-place.' In analysing this phenomenon, I will draw on the five sub-processes of PA identified by Seamon (2013), including: place definition (Shamsuddin & Ujang, 2008); place dependence (Kyle et al., 2004); place bonding (Tuan, 1977); place interaction (Fullilove, 2005); and place identity (Williams & Vaske, 2003). Lewicka (2011) refers to such processes as the generative aspects of place and examining them will serve to help understand the ways in which neighbourhood regeneration may stand to influence the PA of existing residents. Each of these processes stands to be influenced by changes brought about by neighbourhood regeneration and research must explore how each of these may be influenced during this transitional period of place change. Also considered was the role of community in PA. Neighbourhood regeneration has in the past been seen to contribute to a decline in a sense of community (Blackman et al., 2001; Rogers et al., 2008). In making sense of this, I have critically examined notions of social capital and consider whether this too can potentially be disrupted by regeneration initiatives. I have also covered literature on the role of time in the development and maintenance of PA. Although

considered to be influential in this process, the underlying processes involved in this remain unclear (Smaldone, 2006), something which requires further exploration.

As part of the chapter, I have also explored the literature surrounding the nature of mental well-being. Through scrutinising the existing theory, I have outlined how for the current study, a broad eudemonic definition has been adopted, understanding well-being as an individual's capacity to self-actualise (Wells, 2010). I will, therefore, draw on the models and identified sub-elements identified by Maslow (1970), Ryan and Deci (2008), and Ryff (1995), in order to explore participants' experiences of well-being and how interpersonal and environmental factors may serve to contribute to this. I have also considered the literature on the nature of resilience, in order to develop an understanding of the varying ways in which residents may stand to cope throughout the implementation of regeneration efforts. With each of these theoretical frameworks in place, it now becomes possible to develop a well-justified research strategy.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter serves to situate the study within its philosophical, theoretical, and methodological frameworks. It outlines the strategies employed to generate knowledge and breaks down the decision making processes involved. Having built a theoretical framework in **Chapter 2**, it becomes possible to develop a methodological approach with a strong base. The project employed an analytically led methodology and therefore, **Chapter 3** begins by introducing Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) as the elected method of analysis, outlining the reasons for the selection of this over alternate methods. In covering the intended analysis, it is also pertinent to examine the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of IPA. This will help articulate what the findings will represent and ensure that the central concepts of focus that were operationalised in **Chapter 2** are considered in a manner that is theoretically, philosophically, methodologically, and analytically appropriate.

The chapter also examines the specific methods adopted, as those chosen in research will influence any collected data (Feyerabend, 1978). Particular attention is paid to data collection in studies using IPA, and how they apply to the current research scenario. The development of the involved interview schedule is laid out, drawing on guidelines for best practice. Due to the idiographic nature of IPA, it is also essential to introduce the members of the sample, including their pseudonyms, as well as a short biography of each. Covered next is reflexivity. IPA involves a double-hermeneutic (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009) and it is, therefore, necessary to understand the position of the researcher, as well as the participants, and to acknowledge their role in the shaping of knowledge (Henwood, 2008). Also

broken down are the different stages of the analytic process, as well as the steps taken to ensure the trustworthiness of the findings.

The chapter concludes with some reflective material. This first covers some of the initially intended additional data collection strategies, which ultimately were not employed. The theoretical reasons why are discussed alongside a consideration of the pragmatics of data collection. Finally covered are some ethical reflections and some of my thoughts on the purpose of research.

3.2   Selecting a mode of analysis

In seeking to explore the interrelationships between people, place, mental well-being, and neighbourhood regeneration, I had to give serious thought to the mode of analysis through which I would seek to generate new knowledge. One possible approach was grounded theory, which Charmaz (2006) describes as a systematic but flexible approach to collecting and analysing qualitative data. Developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), what sets grounded theory apart from other approaches is that rather than starting with a theoretical framework, analysis begins with the data itself (Smith & Osborn, 2003), which is utilised to develop an explanatory theory of human behaviour (Morse & Field, 1995).

In the current research scenario, however, the main concepts of focus are mental well-being and the people-place relationship. There is a plethora of related academic literature for each of these, which I reviewed in **Chapter 2**. The novel element of the research came through the application of this theory to the phenomenon of neighbourhood regeneration. In **Chapter 1**, I documented the existing research findings in the area and highlighted my perception of a necessity for a more in-depth exploration of residents' experiences of neighbourhood regeneration. It was this that ultimately led to my decision to adopt Interpretative

Phenomenological Analysis (hereby referred to as IPA), which seeks to develop insight into the lived experience of participants. In comparison to Grounded Theory, IPA provides a more nuanced and detailed account of individuals' experiences (Smith et al., 2009), which I felt was the most appropriate approach to tackle the primary research aims of the project.

In seeking to build the most comprehensive picture of this experience as possible, in my interpretation, I will draw on the existing theoretical knowledge on mental well-being and place attachment. As described in **Chapter 2**, I have adopted a phenomenological definition of place for the current research. Drawing on existing literature, I use IPA to explore the associated sub-processes leading to individual perceptions. I was not seeking to build a theory of the people-place relationship, but rather, to draw on these theories to conceptualise experiences of a particular regeneration project occurring in the North West of England.

3.3   Interpretative phenomenological analysis

IPA is an approach informed by issues emerging from three main areas of philosophy: phenomenology, hermeneutics, and idiography. These will now each be examined, in order to layout the underpinning theory of IPA.

3.3.1 Phenomenology

In short, phenomenology is the study of experience. There are multiple, varying theories as to what this involves, but the common thread uniting each is their concern with the lived human experience and the significant components and structures of which the world is comprised. The concept also provides a

wealth of knowledge in regards to strategies available in the continued exploration of the lived experience (Smith et al., 2009; Sokolowski, 2000).

An early figure in phenomenological thought is Husserl, who held a particular interest in how one may come to accurately know their experience and to identify the key qualities of the world in which they are placed. To achieve this, he argued, enables these features to transcend the circumstances in which they appear, facilitating the illumination of this experience to others (Moran, 2012). Husserl believed that research should focus on objects of interest in their own right, and that to be truly phenomenological, researchers need to disengage from the 'taken-for-grantedness' of reality. In striving to achieve this, Husserl (1931) highlights the need for the researcher to 'bracket' their preconceptions. Successful removal of these provides a clearer lens through which to interpret another's perception of the world (Staiti, 2014).

Extending from the work of Husserl, Heidegger regards humans as 'persons in context.' According to his musings, humans are unwittingly thrown into a world of objects, relationships, and language (Heidegger, 1962). The world is one ready to be used by the individual, and human beings are merely actors provided a range of physically and intersubjectively-grounded options, i.e., what is possible and what is meaningful. Intersubjectivity is also central to his theories. This is descriptive of the shared, overlapping and relational nature of the engagement of multiple actors with the world, accounting for the ability of individuals to make sense of one another. In short, according to Heidegger (1962), one's existence in the world has subjective, temporal, and relational elements. Consequently, he emphasises the potential impact of the researcher's preconceptions on the interpretative process. He states that bringing one's fore understanding to the analytic process is inevitable, bringing into question the possibility of the 'bracketing' advocated by Husserl (1931).

Akin to Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty also proposes a more contextualised phenomenology. His perspective was that humans each see themselves as being distinct and somehow different from the rest of the world. They are a separate self, looking onto the world, as opposed to an entity contained within it. He states that although it is possible to observe others in the attempt to develop an understanding of their experience, one can never fully share, or know another's world, as it is gazed upon from their unique position within it (Merleau-Ponty, 2002).

Considering phenomenology in the current research scenario, Seamon (2014) describes place attachment (PA) as the phenomenology of people experiencing place. This complex and dynamic process is said to include the generative processes through which place and the meanings applied to it may shift. Phenomenologists have increasingly turned to place (Casey, 2009; Mugerauer, 2008), as it offers a means to articulate the experience of the 'lifeworld,' the taken-for-granted nature of existence (Finlay, 2011; Graumann, 2012; Seamon, 1979). Being involves 'being-in-place' (Casey, 2009, p. 178) and to thus interpret the people-place relationship from a phenomenological perspective is to present a reductive rendition of the wholeness of the relationship (Malpas, 1999; Seamon, 2012).

3.3.2 Hermeneutics

Hermeneutics describes the theory of interpretation, its purpose, and methods (Frost, 2011). Two central questions tied to the concept are whether it is truly possible to uncover the original intentions of the author of a text and what is the relationship between the context of production and context of interpretation (Smith et al., 2009). According to Schleiermacher, the unique nature of the intention and techniques employed by an author produces a text of particular

form and meaning (Schleiermacher & Bowie, 1998). He posits that the original meaning is available, should the reader accommodate the broader context within which the writing was produced. The interpretative process first involves developing an understanding of the writer, before the text can be considered. He goes so far as to say that through systematic, comprehensive, and holistic analysis, a researcher may even develop a more complete understanding of the author than they had of themselves. It should be noted, however, that Schleiermacher developed his theories of hermeneutics with historical texts in mind. It should be affirmed that with IPA research, this does not permit a researcher to hold their own interpretation in higher esteem than the claims of research participants. Instead, this highlights the possibility of developing further insight into data of a more descriptive nature, through comprehensive analysis, and the identification of patterns (Schleiermacher & Bowie, 1998; Smith et al., 2009).

Heidegger is an advocate of hermeneutic phenomenology: the lived engagement with the world explored through interpretation (Heidegger, 2005). Applying this perspective to IPA, analysis is concerned with examining the appearance of phenomena, striving to make sense of this. With this approach, objects have a visible meaning (one which may, or may not, be deceptive) and can also have hidden meaning. For Heidegger, the phenomenological process involves examining something as it 'emerges into the light' (von Herrmann, 2013). In the current research, the focus is towards the processes involved in participants' experiences of PA and well-being in the context of neighbourhood regeneration. Not simply looking to provide a descriptive account of these experiences, the analysis will probe further beneath the surface, striving to identify the underlying generative mechanisms contributing to such perceptions of reality.

IPA is said to involve a double hermeneutic (Smith & Osborn, 2008). Smith (1996) describes how a single hermeneutic involves a single participant making sense of their lifeworld and the double hermeneutic involves the researcher

striving to make sense of the participant seeking to make sense of their lifeworld. In respect of this double hermeneutic, Ricouer (1970) contributes the hermeneutics of empathy and of suspicion. The hermeneutics of empathy involves the interpretation of context as it is presented by the participant. Through engagement with the hermeneutics of empathy, the researcher seeks to develop a picture of participants' lifeworld (Smith et al., 2009). The hermeneutics of suspicion involves interpretation using theoretical concepts, in this case, those of the discipline of psychology. Schleiermacher (1998) emphasises the necessity of the IPA process integrating a strong balance between the hermeneutics of suspicion and of empathy. He argues that to fail in this regard is to risk a power imbalance between the researcher and participant in terms of the presented findings.

One element of IPA research that helps to assure this is the hermeneutic circle, which identifies how all understanding involves self-understanding (Debesay, Naden, & Slettebo, 2008). Smith et al. (2009, p. 28) state: "to understand any given part, you look at the whole. To understand the whole, you look at the parts." This once more emphasises the double hermeneutic, as I, the researcher, seek to make sense of participants striving to articulate their experience. To understand the interpretation of any given part of their words, I must consider both the wider context of the interview and the role of my own preconceptions. The first step of engaging with the hermeneutic circle is to get as close to the participant's experiences as possible and to suspend one's preconceptions to the greatest possible extent (Findlay, 2003). As Heidegger (1962) suggests, however, complete bracketing of one's preconceptions may not be possible. The second stage of the hermeneutic circle is then to return focus to the researcher, reflexively evaluating the role of such preconceived ideas on the interpretative process (Findlay, 2003). Understanding is, therefore, achieved through interpretation through this circular process.

3.3.3 Idiography

Psychological research is predominantly nomothetic, seeking to make claims at a group or population level, aiming to develop generalisations of human behaviour (Pelham, 1993). The approach involves the use of measurement and statistics, to produce aggregated data from multiple individuals. With this approach, it is not possible to access the accounts of singular participants. Lamiel (1987, p. 90-91) is critical of this approach, asserting that you: 'cannot logically establish something which is the case for each of many individuals.' Results represent not cases, but averages, constructing people that have never been. Conversely, IPA is an idiographic approach (Breakwell, Smith, & Wright, 2012), focusing on the particular in two main ways. First, in regards to detail and the depth of analysis applied, it is performed thoroughly and systematically. Secondly, it explores 'experiential phenomena' from the perspective of the individual, uncovering the understanding of particular people, within a particular context (Smith et al., 2002). IPA's orientation to the particular leads to more purposive recruitment, over more probabilistic methods. Consequently, studies employing IPA will involve a small, purposively selected sample, or even single cases. Data collection and analysis is about meaning-making and participants are selected according to their ability to provide insight into a particular phenomenon, in the case of the current research, individuals experiencing neighbourhood regeneration. It must be noted, however, that a focus on the particular does not equate to focus on the individual. Phenomenology identifies a reality that is complex, but one that is uniquely embodied, situated and perspectival. This makes it well suited to an idiographic approach. However, it also regards reality as being embedded and immersed in objects, relationships, structures, and culture, and is thus also relational. Individuals can offer a unique perspective on their personal relationship shared with the explored phenomena.

An opposing alternative to nomothetics is the study of the single case. Galton (1883, p. 387) states that 'acquaintance with particulars is the beginning of all knowledge' but warns that to begin analysis too soon risks knowledge becoming too fragmented, or for research to make false generalisations about larger populations. IPA moves outwardly from the single case, to draw more general conclusions while still enabling the retrieval of unique claims of particular individuals. In short, IPA pursues an idiographic commitment: participants in a particular context, exploring personal perspectives, through the detailed examination of each before drawing more general conclusions. With IPA, research participants are granted the freedom to express experience on their terms, as opposed to by the constraints of predetermined systems. This is amenable to the current research, which seeks to develop an understanding of individuals' experience of PA within the context or neighbourhood regeneration, rather than to support or dispute existing theories surrounding the concept.

3.3.4 Epistemological and ontological underpinnings

IPA is a qualitative methodology, for which there is a diverse range of epistemological positions available (Willig, 2008). IPA has been combined with a variety of these approaches, which is seen to be enabled by its apparent flexibility (Smith et al., 2009). The flexibility of IPA is praised for enabling analysis to engage with new areas of discovery and existing theoretical frameworks (Reid, Flowers, & Larkin, 2005). This flexibility, however, has led to debates about the epistemological underpinnings of IPA. Larkin, Watts, and Clifton (2008) identify two main commitments of IPA, to seek to understand the lived experience of individuals by giving voice to participants (Larkin & Griffiths, 2004; Smith, 1996) and the interpretative requirement to make sense from a psychological perspective (Larkin & Thompson, 2012; Smith et al., 2009). They also identify,

however, an underdevelopment of the underpinning theoretical relationship between these two pursuits (Larkin et al., 2008).

Central to this issue is the concept of objectivism versus relativism and the extent to which phenomena can be studied in a vacuum (Adamopoulos & Lonner, 1994). In his musings on 'humans-in-context,' Heidegger (1962) dismisses the possibility that we, as researchers, can fully 'bracket out' ourselves, including our thoughts, preconceptions, biases, and meanings to understand an object of focus definitively. This highlights the role of the researcher in shaping understanding, which has been said to imply that reality is a construction, leading to an assumption of a relativist ontology (Larkin et al., 2006). Converse to the typically nomothetic nature of psychological research, this has led to questions about the credibility of the findings generated from research employing IPA (Madill, Jordan, & Shirley, 2000). Dreyfus (1995), however, identifies Heidegger as a minimal hermeneutic realist. From this perspective, reality itself is not deemed to be determined by human perception, but that human action has a central role in the meaning of reality. Polt (1999) states that Heidegger's position is that although existing outside of human perception, no object is revealed until it is encountered and meaning is applied to it. This position, therefore, recognises that discoveries are the product of the relationship between the researcher and the subject matter of focus and that the emergent reality is dependent on the process of intellectual construction (Carey & Smith, 1993).

Madill et al. (2000) distinguish three realist epistemologies. The first is naïve realism, which describes how the senses serve to provide an individual with an awareness of the external world. Objects within it are composed of matter, occupy space and hold properties that obey the laws of physics, regardless of human perception (Olson, 2003). The second is scientific realism, which describes reality as that which is determined by science and that the scientific method serves as an accurate guide to truth (Okasha, 2002). The third, which I argue to be the most

compatible with IPA, is critical realism. A primary consideration when selecting the analysis to be performed is that it is theoretically consistent with the epistemological position of the research (Thorne, 2000). IPA is said to be theoretically rooted in critical realism, making this philosophy highly suitable for the current research context (Bhaskar, 1978; Fade, 2004). A major tenet of critical realism is its adoption of fallibilism: the theory that all knowledge of reality is falsifiable. It is also anti-foundationalist, stating that there are no sure foundations to any knowledge of reality (Somerville, 2012). Sayer (1992) describes how these two positions are logically complementary, as if reality exists outside of human perception, none can be truly sure of its nature. I argue that it is this element that directly relates to Heidegrerean phenomenology and thus makes it highly suited to the principles of IPA.

3.3.5 Critical realism

There are multiple and differing views of critical realism (Hunt, 2003). The approach currently being explored for the research at hand is based on Sayer's model (1992), which identifies eight key principles of the philosophy:

- The world exists independent of human consciousness;
- All knowledge of the world is fallible and theory-laden;
- Knowledge develops neither in a continuous fashion within a stable framework, nor through simultaneous changes in concepts;
- Objects, be they natural or social, have particular powers and susceptibility;
- The world is differentiated, consisting of events, objects and structures, each capable of generating further events;
- Social phenomena are concept dependent and exploration must go beyond their material effects to uncover their meaning;

- Social relations and interaction is central to the production of knowledge, which is primarily linguistic, being understood and communicated through language;
- Social science must be critical of its objects of exploration.

From the perspective of critical realism, reality consists of a system of events, objects, and structures. Events, or outcomes, are the external and visible behaviour, exhibited by people, systems, or objects. A problem here, however, is that any data collected is descriptive of reality as reported, not as experienced, or observed first-hand (Groff, 2004). In terms of events, critical realism is concerned with the processes that produce such outcomes. It also considers the non-occurrence of expected events and seeks to develop explanations as to why they did not occur. Critical realism looks beyond surface-level behaviour, in search for the underlying mechanisms that lead to such events (Easton, 2010). As well as events, the world consists of objects and structures, which have powers to generate events of their own. However, a distinction from pure realism is they do not create regular patterns of events (Frauley & Pearce, 2007).

Objects are the basic building blocks of the critical realist's approach to the world. Also known as entities, objects can be anything from people, attitudes, relationships, or organisations. They can be human, social, or material in form, complex or simple, structured or unstructured. Objects are an alternative concept to variables used in other realist philosophies (Hartwig, 2007). A shortcoming of variables, however, is that although measures of objects, they are not the objects themselves. Consequently, they can only be used to measure change and not cause. The consideration of objects over variables enables a more in-depth exploration of their nature, beyond their measurable properties. Social science must be critical of its object of investigation. Not only should science seek to

explain their form, but also interpret their meaning within the context that they are observed (Aveh, 2013).

Critical realism proposes that the object of investigation is required to hold tangible, real and manipulable mechanisms that produce particular outcomes. From the naïve realist position, through accurate measurement and the identification of cause and effect, reality can be readily accessed (Somerville, 2012). In contrast, however, critical realists do not believe it possible to observe cause and effect in socially constructed systems. Where empiricism and positivism find causal relations at the surface level, critical realism explores them at the level of their generative mechanisms. This seems somewhat contradictory, but critical realists state that although shaped by society, this is not the sole determinant of reality. The real world is capable of breaking through socially constructed systems. This non-positivist approach to developing knowledge around causation is considered by some to be more robust than social constructionism, which cannot move beyond the negative position of scepticism (Cruickshank, 2011).

According to critical realism, objects have causal powers and liabilities of their own. Sayer (1992) describes 'causes' as what makes something occur. Their compatibility with the researcher's interpretation of the nature of reality justifies their use. Essentially, researchers will identify causes that correspond with their perspective of reality. A strength of critical realism is that by taking this approach, the researchers are addressing three clear questions: what are the objects to be researched, what relationships do they have, and what are each of their powers and liabilities.

Critical realism describes how society shapes the behaviour of individuals through socialisation (Wheelahan, 2007). All objects of the world are located within many structure-like systems. Human agency is determined by social structures that individuals can reflect on, change or remove. This involves three main processes: action, system and context. Power determines what should be

done, which is described as an official system. A prime example of this would be the law. A formal system such as this, however, can vary from the real system, as context also has a role to play. This describes the constraints within which individuals form their intentions. This involves the current social processes, the actions of others, the physical, social and technological environment, along with the relevant history of each (Bhaskar, 1979). Action is therefore mediated by an individual's understanding of their situation. The term 'context', however, describes little of the relationship it holds with action. Critical realism adopts the term 'contingency' and how the context influences the observed events (Frauley & Pearce, 2007). The regulation of the two creates the 'real' system and the action that is taken. The level of control someone has influences their behaviour, serving to shape intentions and the action they choose to take.

3.3.6 Critical realism's role in the current research

Easton (2010) proposes that critical realism is both a rigorous and novel position for case-study research. It offers characteristics, which overcome the short fallings of other philosophical positions benefitting both theoretical development and the research process. He goes on to state that frequently, the use of case study research is not fully justified, with the novelty of a context being cited as the primary motivation. In the current research, however, the study explores the phenomenon of neighbourhood regeneration in the single environmental case study of Pendleton.

Critical realism accepts the stable elements of reality independent of human thought, whilst recognising the mind-dependent element of perception, which struggles to understand said reality (Danermark, Ekstrom, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2002). The different meanings and interpretations people hold of events and experiences are made possible, as they experience different parts of reality.

Approaching the current research scenario from this perspective, the neighbourhood regeneration ongoing in Pendleton is regarded as a solid reality with stable characteristics. This solid reality, however, is viewed through the more subjective, mind-dependent lens of the area's inhabitants. Critical realism offers characteristics that overcome the short fallings of other philosophical positions benefitting both theoretical development and the research process. In the current research, of particular interest are the perceptions of inhabitants in regards to their understanding of the local environment, and how mental well-being may be influenced by elements of the regeneration process.

The aims of the current study include the exploration of how an individual's understanding of place may be influenced by neighbourhood regeneration and how PA may be drawn upon throughout this process. The first principal entities of consideration here are the local inhabitants of the area of Pendleton. The outcome examined is the process of person experiencing place. The context is living in a particular, working-class area of Salford, which has undergone extensive regeneration over the previous 50 or so years and is currently undergoing a £650m neighbourhood regeneration project. This specific set of circumstances will be interpreted by inhabitants and has the contingency to influence their sense of place. The research process is set to explore the underlying social and psychological mechanisms that may affect this change. The nature of the systems in which these objects lie, as well as the influence various objects have over one another, will be determined by the research findings. Potential examples of such systems, however, could be the local authority, regeneration plans, neighbours, family, and the law (in cases of compulsory purchase orders, for example).

The project also aims to explore mental well-being in the context of neighbourhood regeneration. Again, the central entities of consideration are the local residents. The outcome to be examined is their mental well-being. The research process will seek to explore the underlying generative mechanisms that

make the experience of living in an area undergoing regeneration influence the mental well-being of residents. The structures are again to be determined by research, and could potentially be similar to those identified earlier.

Critical realism accepts there are stable elements of reality, independent of human thought. This is viewed, however, through the subjective lens of individuals. People, therefore, hold a unique understanding based on the parts of the world they encounter and their experiences within it. IPA explores experiences and in the current study is ideal for picking at the complex web of factors involved with the interpretative process. Through the utilisation of this analytic strategy, a greater understanding of the underlying, generative mechanisms contributing to individual understandings and experiences of neighbourhood regeneration, place, and well-being will be developed.

3.4   Data collection in IPA research

Data collection strategies in studies employing IPA are qualitative in nature and typically use techniques such as interviews, focus groups, or diary studies. It is acknowledged that the methods that are chosen for research influence any collected data (Feyerabend, 1978). The current project collects data from the employment of semi-structured interviews. These were used to explore personal experiences of mental well-being and PA within the context of neighbourhood regeneration. As the employed method of the current study, the report will concentrate on the use of semi-structured interviews.

Qualitative interviews have been described as 'conversations with a purpose' (Burgess, 1984, p. 102). In essence, although having specific themes of focus, they tend to be loosely structured and of an informal nature (Mason, 2002). Adopting an abductive approach, existing knowledge of PA is drawn upon to frame

the discussion. Data collected, however, was used to develop a further understanding of PA, rather than to support, or dispute existing assumptions. The purpose of this phase is to enable a more in-depth exploration of individuals' experiences of PA and mental well-being. Semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to ask additional questions, to explore interesting and unexpected points raised by participants (Mitchell & Jolley, 2010).

3.4.1 The development of an interview schedule

To provide a guide for the semi-structured interviews, I developed an initial interview schedule. The first step I took in doing so was to scrutinise the earlier identified research questions. This ensured that the interview schedule was based around the central concepts of focus, namely PA and mental well-being. I also developed the questions according to a guide for good interview practice in research utilising IPA (Smith et al., 2009). With studies employing IPA, questions should be both open and explorative, seeking to gain responses that are both narrative and descriptive. It is considered good practice to open with questions of a more descriptive nature, with invitations for participants to be more analytical coming later in the interview session (Smith et al., 2009). Questions should remain open-ended while making minimal assumptions in their phrasing. Questions will take several different forms: descriptive; narrative (more linear, how something came to be); structural (process and organisation related); contrasting (identification of differences); evaluative (exploration of meaning and associated feelings); circular (asking to consider the perspective of others) and comparative (considering how thing may be different in other circumstances (Pietkiwicz & Smith, 2012). The interviewer should also avoid questions that could be considered being over empathic, manipulative, leading, or closed (Pietkiwicz & Smith, 2012; Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). A copy of the interview schedule can

be found in **Appendix E**. It should be noted that the interviews followed a loose structure, and this guide is indicative of the topics explored and the questions asked, as opposed to the exact running order of the interview.

To facilitate the exploration of mental well-being, I also drew on characteristics of Change Process Research (CPR), a methodology commonly used to explain how psychotherapy leads to change in clients. The significant events approach to CPR (Rice & Greenberg, 1984) looks to understand the micro-outcomes at key points of the counselling process. The change interview (Elliott, Slatich, & Urman, 2001) assesses a client's understanding of what has changed in them and how this has occurred through the use of open-ended and exploratory questioning, as well as understanding responses, in order to help interviewees elaborate. In the current research, CPR enabled the attribution of emotions to particular aspects of the people-place relationship, as well as the regeneration process. This approach offers greater access to underlying generative mechanisms, which allowed me to begin to untangle the complex relationship between the participants and their environment, an opportunity that would be lost with traditional measures of mental health (Easton, 2010; Frauley & Pearce, 2007; Sayer, 1992). This form of research has been seen to be useful in understanding how particular changes occur in an individual (Heppner, Kivlighan, & Wampold, 2008). CPR is considered to provide research findings that could be beneficial to the therapeutic process (Gabbard, Beck, & Holmes, 2007). In the current context, this could be used to identify the factors contributing to the varying experiences of residents.

Having developed and refined the focus and categories of inquiry, the initial draft of the interview schedule was complete. It is noted, however, that this should first be tested on individuals with similar characteristics of the research sample (Maykut & Morehouse, 2005). To achieve this, in the early interviews, this was treated as a pilot interview guide, in order to develop a sense of its

effectiveness in drawing out the desired data. The researcher should reflect on these experiences and adapt the interview schedule accordingly, as well as identify personal research skills requiring development (Maykut & Morehouse, 2005). By taking such steps, it became almost immediately apparent that a revision of the broader structure of the interview was required. Initially, I sought to structure the interview around the chronological experience of the ongoing regeneration of the area. I began by seeking to explore participants' earliest memories of life in the area and then gradually move their attention forwards in time. However, to follow a solely chronological structure meant that I was required to attempt to keep the focus of their descriptions on the time period they were currently describing. I very quickly felt that this served to stifle them and prevent further elaboration when participants would leap forward to the present, in order to draw comparisons. A benefit of following a semi-structured interview schedule meant it was possible to adapt my strategy as part of the first interview, meaning the data was still of value to the project.

3.4.2 Introducing the sample

A crucial consideration of sampling is that it is theoretically consistent with the elected mode of analysis (Patton, 1999) and a central element of IPA is its orientation towards the particular (Breakwell et al., 2002). This, therefore, necessitated purposive sampling, as the research aims to develop insight into the experiences of individuals living within the context of a specific regeneration project. Potential participants were identified according to their circumstances, and their ability to provide a perspective of the considered phenomenon. IPA research requires a sample with a reasonably high level of homogeneity. The goal in doing so is to minimise the differences between participants, which may have a bearing on their interpretation of events. As such, all participants in the current

study were 'White British', working-class people of retirement age, and were selected based on their living in the central area of development for a minimum of five years. As precise age was not recorded as part of the interview process, the precise age of each participant cannot be explicitly stated.

Although living in the same central area, however, it must be acknowledged that what the regeneration process means for each of the participants will vary to some extent. Broadly speaking, participants fall into one of three categories: residents that have experienced clearance from their home and have been re-housed within Pendleton; residents who have remained in their current dwelling and have experienced home, block, or estate improvement; and residents that have remained in their current dwelling and have experienced no home, block, or immediate estate improvement. Even within these groups, however, to assume complete homogeneity would be inappropriate, as individual experiences of these processes will also vary. Of key interest to the current research is how these individual experiences of regeneration may have contributed to differing interpretations of the changing physical landscape.

Due to its idiographic nature, IPA research requires a relatively small sample size, when compared to other qualitative approaches. Its analysis is considered more rigorous than different approaches, developing an in-depth understanding of the interpretations and understanding each participant holds of their world (Smith & Osborn, 2003). There is no consensus on the ideal sample size for IPA research. For professional doctorate research, Smith et al. (2009, p. 52) recommend a figure between four and ten participants. Another figure that has been suggested is between six and eight participants (Turpin et al., 1997). In both of these cases, the theorists believe that these numbers provide adequate data to develop a meaningful level of similarity and difference between participants, whilst preventing a quantity of data that would inhibit a focus on the individual. Essentially, with IPA, more issues arise with a larger sample, in comparison to a

smaller one. As such, a total of nine adults, living within the borders of the regeneration project ongoing in the Pendleton area of Salford, were invited to take part in the study. Participants were recruited through local community groups, made possible by the university's partnership with the local authority and close links in the area. Each participant will now be introduced, covering their allocated pseudonym, as well as a short biographical introduction.

Table 1: Participant demographic information

Participant	Nature of regeneration	Age	Gender	Ethnicity
William	William lives in a high-rise tower block, which has undergone refurbishment as part of the ongoing regeneration of Pendleton.	UK national retirement age or above.	Male	White British
Steven	Steven is a homeowner and lives in a two-storey property. He has experienced no direct home improvement as part of the on-going regeneration of the area.	UK national retirement age or above.	Male	White British
Sheila	Sheila lives in a high-rise tower block, which has undergone block improvement as part of the ongoing regeneration of Pendleton. She was temporarily relocated to a hotel in Southport, while this work took place.	UK national retirement age or above.	Female	White British
Jim	Jim lives in a ground floor flat of a high-rise tower block. As part of the current regeneration of Pendleton, his home has undergone refurbishment work.	UK national retirement age or above.	Male	White British
Margaret	Margaret lives in a two-storey property, which has undergone no physical reconstruction as part of the ongoing regeneration of Pendleton.	UK national retirement age or above.	Female	White British
Joe	Joe lives in a high-rise tower block, which underwent construction work as part of the ongoing regeneration of the area. Joe took the option for his property to be	UK national retirement age or above.	Male	White British

	decanted, allowing him to remain in the property while this work took place.			
Rita	As part of the current regeneration project, the high-rise building in which Rita was living has been demolished and she has been relocated into a newly renovated tower block in the local area.	UK national retirement age or above.	Female	White British
Emily	Emily previously lived in a two-story property in the area. This property was untouched by the current regeneration project, but she has opted to move into one of the newly renovated high-rise tower blocks in the area.	UK national retirement age or above.	Female	White British
Doris	Doris lives in a high-rise tower block. As part of the ongoing regeneration project, this has undergone construction work. While ongoing, Doris was temporarily relocated to one of the completed flats in the local area.	UK national retirement age or above.	Female	White British

William

William has lived in Pendleton for his entire life. Now retired, he boasts of having held the same post-code for the entire 70 years of his life. He expresses pride in his and his family's history in the area and shows great respect for the city of Salford. He goes so far to question why the city does not have a post-code of its own and is denoted with the 'M' of Manchester. Being from Salford myself, I identify the conflation of the city with the neighbouring Manchester as a common irritant among many a proud Salfordian. William remembers the building of the first tower blocks in the area in the late 1960s, and he was rehoused into one himself during this period. He now expresses surprise at some of these building being demolished having, from his perspective, only existed for a relatively short period of time. William is fascinated by local history, both of its physical landscape

and of its contained families. He is also a member of the cooperative housed within the tower block in which he currently lives.

Steven

Steven came to live in Pendleton at the age of two, 63 years prior to our interview. He describes how the homes into which his family moved were the first in Salford to have upstairs waste facilities. This was considered 'posh' by many of his neighbours, but he rejects this claim, citing the lack of a back garden as evidence. He describes how those living around him became more of a 'family' than simply neighbours and he appears to hold very positive memories of his past in the area. In his early twenties, he moved to another area of Salford. After his father's death, however, he moved back to Pendleton, to care for his ageing mother. Steven describes how despite having spent some time living outside of Pendleton, his 'roots' remain in the area.

Sheila

Sheila is originally from a county in the West Midlands. She moved to Pendleton at the age of 14, due to her Father's work commitments. She initially lived in a maisonette, but in 1977 came to live in her current tower block accommodation, along with her then ten-year-old son. It was here that she met her future husband, who lived just a floor below her. Following their marriage, they moved into his flat and lived together until his death. She recalls how she and her husband founded the tenants' association of the block together and she speaks proudly of the various changes they have initiated through membership of the group. Now in her late seventies, Sheila is widowed and living alone, but speaks positively of the community facilities of her block and describes the various social occasions they have hosted.

Jim

Jim was born and raised in Yorkshire. He describes how he moved away at the age of 20 to attend college and has not been back since. He has spent time living in areas of north and south Manchester and came to live in Pendleton in 1998. At this time he did consider moving back to his 'native' city but explains how he wanted to stay in relatively close proximity to his now-adult children. When first moving to Pendleton, he initially lived in a tower block and he describes his desire to live in quiet accommodation with few children, or teenagers. Around six years ago, Jim requested to be rehoused into a ground floor flat, due to increasing issues with his mobility, as he grows older. He describes his positive feelings towards now living in social housing, describing a release from the 'burden' of property maintenance that comes through private ownership.

Margaret

Margaret has lived in Salford her entire life but did not move to Pendleton until approximately 2002. She describes how she had begun to feel unsafe where she was living previously, due to regular drug dealing, which had started to occur in front of her home. At that time, she was the mother of several children and she was also concerned about the influence that this could have on them. She hence requested to be rehoused by the local authority. She described how she had no specific desire to move to Pendleton, having no ties to the area at that time. Her decision was based on the pragmatics of the home that was found, which was suitable for her large family. Despite this, however, she describes how when first moving to the area, she did form some early connections with some of her neighbours with whom she got along well. Her, now adult, children have now had children of their own, and her role as their Grandmother is identified as an important part of her life.

Joe

Joe moved to the area in 1993 and to this day remains in this same flat. He shows a keen interest in the history of the area and has researched the original use of the site up until the building of the tower block in the late 1960s. He is heavily involved with the community efforts of his block, as a senior member of its tenants' association. One of the changes of which he seems to hold great pride in is the increased security of the building. When he first moved in, the building and surrounding courtyard were completely open to the public. He identifies this as having led to problems of hygiene, fly-tipping, trespassing, theft, and arson. Through the efforts of the tenants' association, the block now has locked gates and 24-hour security, which is seen to have greatly reduced such problems.

Rita

Rita has lived in Salford since birth, having moved around various areas of the city, but it was at 19 years old that she first moved to Pendleton. Rita very quickly identifies the place in which she lives as being 'rough'. This was due to disturbances taking place within and outside of the tower block in which she was living. Noise disturbances, fighting and crime were frequent occurrences and she describes the experience of locking herself in her bedroom in order to feel safe. During this time she also experienced threats, to dissuade her from reporting anything she had witnessed to the police. This block of flats has now been demolished and Rita has been rehomed in another tower block in the area.

Emily

Of those interviewed, Emily is the most recent resident of Pendleton, having moved to the area in 2009. At the time of the interview, she had been living

in the area for eight years and was taken aback by this realisation. Emily expresses positive feelings towards the area and describes how despite now having lived there for a significant period, this time has passed very quickly. Prior to her life in Pendleton, Emily lived in a town in north Manchester. Having until that point lived there for the majority of her life, she felt forced to leave due to interpersonal difficulties she was having within the local community. She describes her experiences of verbal abuse, which she feels was racially motivated. It was around this time she met a man who, although not described in a romantic capacity, appears to plays a significant role in her life. This relationship saw her decide to move to Pendleton and through knowing this individual, she describes how she very quickly began to make new friends and form more connections in the area.

Doris

At the time of the interview, Doris was 79 years old and was only several weeks away from turning 80. She has lived a long life in Pendleton, having lived in and around the area her entire life. She recalls fond memories of her father going to work as an electrician, repairing radios. She also talks of the poverty experienced during her youth and the influence of post-war rationing. She describes how this was a shared experience, however, with all those around her living through similar sets of circumstances. When she reached working age, Doris began employment at the Pendleton cooperative, a job she would maintain for a significant period of her life. Now retired, she keeps busy through her regular attendance and involvement with the local church.

3.4.3 The position of the researcher

In conducting social research, it is crucial to acknowledge the role that the researcher plays in the shaping of knowledge. As Henwood (2008, p. 49) states: "seeing involves seeing from somewhere," a quotation which neatly highlights the necessity to adopt a reflexive approach. Application of reflexivity has increased in social inquiry, to enable transparency in the data generation process (Findlay, 2002; Riessman, 2003). The use of reflexivity enables the location of oneself in the research to understand how my perspective may be interwoven into the results as a result of the analytical process (Doucet & Mauthner, 2008). It is, therefore, important to consider what I bring to the research and how this influences data generation and analysis. From a critical realist perspective, research seeks to explore how individuals form their individual interpretation of a solid reality. The double-hermeneutic of IPA necessitates not only developing an understanding of the position of the participant, but also the researcher. I, therefore, need to consider my background and how this may frame the research (Henwood, 2008).

My interest in the topic arose from an academic background in mental health and psychotherapy. From my studies, I have developed the goal of developing a greater understanding of such issues, in attempts to improve well-being in different scenarios and contexts. The specific interest that I have developed of environmental psychology has arisen through my work with the Sustainable Housing and Urban Studies Unit. Based within the University of Salford, the work of this research and consultancy unit centres on complex issues relating to the built and human environment.

It should also be acknowledged that there will be both many similarities and differences between the researcher and the researched, who will differ in such characteristics as age, gender, ethnicity, and social class (Taylor, 2001). A conventional approach to this issue is to consider these differences in terms of

insider-outsider status (Corbin-Dwyer & Buckle, 2001). Being regarded as an insider increases the ease in which a researcher will gain acceptance (Trainor & Graue, 2013). One way in which I may be granted insider status in the eyes of the participants is that I have spent my life living in the city of Salford. Just like many of them, I identify as a 'Salfordian'. I was born in what is now known as Salford Royal Hospital, situated just outside the area of study.

Although having travelled sporadically for work, study, and family reasons, I have always considered Salford to be my home and my main place of residence has always remained within the city. Reflecting on my own PA, the bond with which I have with the city is complex and has changed greatly over the duration of my life. I am fortunate to have maintained contact with a small group of friends from my time at primary school, and as I reflect on our experiences together, I acknowledge that I have come to associate these relationships with multiple physical landmarks in the city: the school that we attended; the streets on which we would play; and the houses which I would visit. As I grew older, more locations became intertwined with this friendship circle: the houses my friends now live in as adults, and the pubs in which we would occasionally socialise. Now working at the University of Salford, I rely on the city for employment and income and this has added another dimension to the relationship I hold with the city. Previously, the city has not served as much of a 'resource' for me, and my place dependence may have been considered weak. Growing up on the outskirts of the centre of Manchester, it was always more convenient for my family to get what they required from the neighbouring city centre.

These experiences have the potential to create a shared sense of insideness with the research participants, the majority of whom are also long-term residents of the city. This has felt apparent in interactions with both potential participants and those who have gone further and signed up to take part in the research. A sense of comfort seems to be experienced upon hearing I too am from the area.

For many individuals I met, there was almost an immediate change in behaviour, as I ceased to be the anonymous academic, and became Michael, the 'young lad' from Irlams o' th' Height: a village situated at the top of the Irwell Valley, on the outskirts of central Salford. Although it has its advantages, 'insideness' can also create barriers. It can lead to the assumption of predetermined knowledge between the researcher and the researched, which can prevent new insights from being developed. A participant may not feel it necessary to verbalise unspoken beliefs that they would to an 'outsider' (Burns, Fenwick, Schmied, & Sheehan, 2012). This may also lead to a sense of over-familiarity with the research context and participants on the part of the researcher, further influencing the interview process (DeLyser, 2001).

It should be noted, however, that being an insider and sharing some form of group membership with a participant does not override existing differences (Merton, 1972). Griffith (1998) asserts how as researchers, we cannot assume insider status based on shared characteristics. With this in mind, I remain aware that I cannot assume shared characteristics based on my living in Salford. This is one characteristic we share, but the experiences we will have had within the city will vary. The participants live within the Langworthy ward of Salford, which public health statistics show to have some of the worst levels of deprivation in the country. I am from the Claremont ward, which although sharing a border with Langworthy, holds a very different demographic and public health profile. This serves to highlight how a place of residence alone does not create shared characteristics. The extent to which living in an area accurately describes an individual can also be disputed. Also, in my lifetime, the area in which I live has experienced minimal urban renewal, in contrast to the area of study, which sits against a backdrop of numerous and varying regeneration initiatives. In other ways, I may also be considered an outsider, first, as a researcher and academic. Also, as the research is being completed in partnership with the local authority, public health team and housing provider, this could have the potential for me to

be seen as someone who represents the interests of stakeholders, as opposed to those of the residents of the area.

In laying out my position as the researcher, I also feel it necessary to outline my perspective on the relationship between academia and industry. In my younger years, I may have seen regeneration as injustice and dismissed all such efforts as gentrification. Through my continued work in the area, however, I have developed a much greater appreciation for the potential of such an approach to tackle issues associated with living in an area of deprivation. Ultimately, it is my belief that to lead to improvements, something needs to change. By acknowledging the role of the environment in health and well-being outcomes, you begin to see the mechanisms through which regeneration may potentially assert its influence.

As an academic, I believe that I and other researchers in the area have an important role to play in this. From this position, we are limited in our ability to ensure that improved understanding is implemented as part of regeneration initiatives. To achieve this, we must work alongside industry partners as colleagues. Although we seek to identify the limitations of regeneration initiatives, it is not our role to chastise, but rather, to support them in strategic implementation. As psychologists, our ability to influence people's circumstances directly is limited, as this requires those with direct contact with a population of focus to heed the lessons being learned through research. I also believe that while we must strive to identify ideals, we must not become overly idealistic when seeking to improve approaches to regeneration. We need not only to focus on desirable outcomes but must also acknowledge the pragmatics involved in seeking to achieve them. With the increased reliance on private-sector funding, those implementing projects have goals of their own, and as researchers, we need to be sensitive to these. I hold a belief that environmental interventions such as neighbourhood regeneration hold the potential to benefit the life circumstances and well-being of a population. This potential, however, can only be realised

through the further developed understanding that comes from in-depth and rigorous academic research and through meaningful collaboration with industry partners.

3.5 The analysis phase

For the current study, data takes the form of transcribed recorded dialogue between the participants and the researcher as part of semi-structured interviews. With the consent of the participant, interviews were recorded using a digital recorder and later transcribed verbatim for analysis. The transcribed dialogue was analysed qualitatively, exploring experiences of PA and mental well-being in the context of neighbourhood regeneration. Interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) (Smith et al., 2009) was used on the data, which can be used to analyse one-to-one interviews to develop in-depth descriptions to help better understand human experience. Used to study how individuals make sense of their personal and social world, this enables exploration of the meaning people apply to experiences and their personal perception of events (Smith, 2004). Specifically, this focused on attachment to place, as well as mental well-being. IPA has its origins in health psychology (Smith et al., 1999) and is theoretically rooted in critical realism (Bhaskar, 1978), making it highly suitable for the current research context (Fade, 2004).

In conducting the analysis, I draw on the guidance of Smith et al. (2009), who advocate healthy flexibility to the endeavour. They state that what is essential to any application of IPA is that its analytical focus remains on each individual participant's attempts to make sense and articulate their experience of the phenomena being explored. As such, methods will employ a systematic, standardised process, beginning with the individual and the particular, working outwardly to make more general statements. The process will move from the

descriptive to the interpretive, in the form of an iterative and inductive cycle (Smith, 2007). The stages of this process are outlined below, with a discussion of the steps I took in following them.

3.5.1 Immersion

The first stage of the IPA analytic process identified by Smith et al. (2009) is active engagement with the data, in order to immerse oneself within it. A perhaps unexpected contribution to this was the process of transcription. Although an incredibly time-consuming process, this required me to listen to each interview sentence-by-sentence, in order to reproduce the content verbatim. In doing so, I had to actively process what was being said and frequently re-listen to sections of the dialogue, in order to clarify some of the points being made by the participants. Following transcription, before analysing each individual case, I listened through the recording of the relevant interview several times. My goal here was to re-familiarise myself with the interview setting and the actual tone of my interactions with the participant.

3.5.2 Initial note-taking

The next stage identified by Smith et al. (2009) is initial note-taking. Although common to work on paper when conducting qualitative analysis, I prefer to work digitally, as I feel it gives me more freedom to handle data and reorganise the content that I have begun to generate. Working with standard word processing software, I formatted the page into three columns: A large central column for the transcript of the interview, the left column for my initial comments, exploratory of the lived experience, and the right column for the next stage of the

process: the identification of themes within each individual case. For clarity of process, an example of this is included in **Appendix F.**

Working in the left column, I documented my thoughts on the ways in which the participants discussed their experiences of the central concepts of focus. Throughout the initial readings of the transcript, I began to work more descriptively, giving an account of how each participant talked about their experience. In doing so, I was seeking to paint a picture of their lived-experience and what they were consciously aware of. I worked through each transcript several times, becoming more analytical on each successive reading. In doing so, I began to consider the text with a narrower focus, paying particular attention to language choice, contradictions, echoes in speech, paraphrasing, as well as the use of questions, metaphors, and symbols (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2012). My intent here was to provide 'evidence' of the participants' seeking to make sense of their world. An example of this annotation has been provided in **Appendix F**.

3.5.3 Identification of themes within individual cases

I next began to identify emerging themes within single cases. In beginning my initial interpretation of the coded data, I opened a dialogue between myself and the annotated data. I used the right-hand column to document patterns and themes that were emerging. In doing so, I also actively engaged in the hermeneutic circle (Smith et al., 2009), interpreting the part in relation to the whole and the whole in relation to the part. In practice, I achieved this by checking each theme in relation to the transcript as a whole. As each theme emerged, I would re-read the transcript with this in mind, to consider whether or not each theme was sufficiently reflective of the account provided by each participant. In following this process, I was seeking to detail my attempts to make sense of the words of the participants. In doing so from the perspective of a psychologist,

where appropriate, I would begin to draw on theoretical concepts that I felt useful in conceptualising the words being spoken. An illustrative example of this annotation has been provided in **Appendix F**.

I next took the themes that were slowly identified by this process and organised them into a structure, illustrating any relationships between those identified. Each of these early steps should be organised and presented in a manner that allows the process to be tracked from start to finish. For this reason, an example of such a structure has been included in **Appendix G**. It is also noted that fellow researchers should be involved in the testing and interpretation of early themes and postulations (Smith & Osborn, 2004). In the current research scenario, the supervisory team took on this role. At each stage of the process, the analysis being produced was sent to the team to be considered and critiqued. In their feedback, the supervisory team would identify gaps in logic and instances where interpretation may have strayed too far from the words of the participants. By following this step, the findings being generated became more reflective of the accounts of the participants and ultimately, the trustworthiness of the study has been increased.

3.5.4 Development of themes across cases

Before moving onto the next stage of analysis, I ensured to consider each case individually. I also sought to leave a period of time between the analyses of each transcript. One way in which I achieved this, was to treat transcription as part of the analytic process. When moving on to each case, I would treat transcription as the first opportunity to re-familiarise myself with the data. This thorough process served to immerse me within that interview scenario, as I did my utmost to consider each case in isolation, seeking to minimise the influence of previously analysed accounts. Once I had developed themes for each individual case, I then

moved onto the next stage of analysis identified by Smith et al. (2009): seeking to identify wider patterns and develop themes across cases. I sought to do this by identifying convergent and divergent data, as advocated by Pietkiewicz and Smith (2012). By taking this approach, each example of these opened a new avenue of inquiry, as I strived to identify the factors appearing to lead to the similarities and differences between the accounts of individual participants. This process gradually led to the organisation of sub-ordinate themes into clusters, which in keeping with the hermeneutic circle, were tested in relation to the whole sample (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Through continual checking, this process gradually reduced the identified patterns down to what became the superordinate themes. An illustrative example of this structure can be seen in **Appendix H**.

3.5.5 Writing up

The final stage identified by Smith et al. (2009) is the writing up of the conducted analysis. Covering a multitude of discussed topics and psychological theory, this process was complex. Many of the issues that participants discussed were interrelated and it proved difficult to present the findings in a linear narrative that would enable a reader to see a clear picture of the analytic process. For this reason, a comprehensive audit trail has been presented in the attached **Appendices**. In addition to this, I aimed to present the findings the most logical structure possible, whilst seeking to ensure the fullness of the accounts. Verbatim extracts are also used to facilitate this, which was achieved in two main ways. First, they were treated analytically, with words of participants being interpreted as a part of the writing up of the findings. Secondly, verbatim extracts were used illustratively, in order to ground the postulations drawn from the prior mentioned interpretation in the words of the participants (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2012).

3.6   Ensuring the trustworthiness of the research findings

In seeking to ensure the validity, reliability, credibility, and trustworthiness of my eventual findings, I followed the guidelines proposed by Yardley (2008), who identifies four main principles to the endeavour. The following sections outline how these were each adhered to, as part of the process of analysis in the current research scenario.

3.6.1 Sensitivity to context

The first of these principles is sensitivity to context (Yardley, 2008) and the initial step I took to ensure this was through the thorough exploration of the existing literature on the main concepts of focus of neighbourhood regeneration, the people-place relationship, and mental well-being. Doing so ensured that I had the most comprehensive knowledge of existing theory possible, greatly enhancing my potential to apply interpretation throughout the analytic process. The outcome of this pursuit is documented within my literature review, covered in **Chapter 2**.

I also sought to conduct comprehensive research into the geographical context in which the current research took place. To achieve this, I extensively explored the available data and statistics on the demographic and public health profile of the population of Pendleton. This enabled me to build a clear picture of the issues that the ongoing regeneration of the area is seeking to address. I also researched details of the historic regeneration efforts that have taken place in Pendleton, as well as those of the current regeneration project being implemented in the area. The details of the knowledge gained from these efforts are documented in **Chapter 1**.

I sought even further sensitivity to context through my engagement with the ongoing regeneration process: making links with the local authority, the Pendleton Together partnership, and with the local residents of the area themselves. By meeting with potential participants in a natural setting, namely, at a local community group meeting, I achieved greater immersion into the research context. This served to facilitate the hermeneutics of empathy, a crucial element of the IPA process (Smith & Osborn, 2004). I also took great care to contextualise the words of participants, in order to highlight the cultural and geographic significance of their words, and also supported my interpretative arguments with verbatim extracts (Smith et al., 2009).

3.6.2 Commitment to rigour

The second principle identified by Yardley (2008) is commitment to rigour, which refers to the trustworthiness of the study (Cresswell, 2008; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This first required a thoroughly in-depth engagement with the literature, in order to immerse myself in the existing knowledge base and to develop a more comprehensive picture of the gaps within this. Smith et al. (2009) also advocate attentiveness to the participant when seeking to increase rigour. To enable this, I engage in active listening, a skill I first developed as part of my Master's training. This is a strategy commonly used in a therapeutic setting, involving a therapist engaging in unconditional acceptance and unbiased reflection in trying to understand the experience of a client (Weger, Castle, & Emmett, 2010).

In my commitment to rigour, I also immersed myself in my methodology of choice. I wanted my project to become a living, breathing IPA study, and I actively pursued this immersion to ensure that the methods I employed were as systematically consistent with the proposed guidelines for such an approach as possible. I also attended multiple research training sessions and engaged with

fellow students of IPA, to further develop my skills and expertise in the approach. I also pursued rigour through my conduction of the analysis. Speaking anecdotally, educational psychology is one of my areas of teaching and based on my knowledge I would readily identify as an 'analytical' learner. I am naturally inclined to seek to understand 'why' and 'how' things occur. I felt that this natural desire benefitted the analytic process, as I alternated between the hermeneutics of empathy, and of questioning. Another important step was to have my arguments, analysis and interpretation challenged by the supervisory team. Having my postulations checked at each stage of the analytic process meant that my interpretations were constantly brought into question, ensuring the strong justification of the findings that were ultimately generated.

3.6.3 Transparency and coherence

The third principle advocated by Yardley (2008) is transparency and coherence, in regards to the methodological and analytical process. I have first sought to achieve this throughout **Chapter 4**, in which I have mapped out all the methodological decisions made throughout the design and implementation of the research. I have also looked to justify each of these decisions by drawing on relevant theoretical knowledge, and philosophical arguments. I have endeavoured to map out this process in as coherent a manner as possible so that each decision appears logical and fully justified based upon the prior discussed literature. To further achieve transparency and coherence, I have included an audit trail as part of the appendices attached to the thesis, which is referred to throughout this methodological chapter. The reflexive elements of the thesis have also served the pursuit of transparency. By recounting my personal position on various issues, my intention was to highlight where I feel this may have influenced decisions made in the design and implementation of the methodology. This is also of particular

importance, due to the double-hermeneutic of IPA, and the influence of my own preconceptions on the analytic process (Smith & Osborn, 2003).

3.6.4 Impact and importance

The fourth and final principle identified by Yardley (2008) is impact and importance, which refers to how interesting and useful the eventual findings of qualitative research become (Smith et al., 2009). This is first highlighted in **Chapter 1**, in which I seek to identify the limitations within the current knowledge base and how the current research sought to address them.   By reviewing the available research findings in regard to well-being and regeneration, I also highlight the potential serious influence that such initiatives can have, and therefore the necessity that this issue is explored in a greater level of depth than has been previously achieved. Not solely focussed on the academic output of the research, I also considered how the research findings may be of use to the actual stakeholders implementing the ongoing regeneration of Pendleton. In the initial stages of the research process, an advisory panel was established that enabled me to understand the information that would be of most use. On completion of the PhD, as well as academic publications, I will also develop a more practical, industry-friendly briefing note. This will outline the examples of good practice and more problematic issues faced by the residents of Pendleton, facilitating the direct addressing of such issues by the relevant stakeholders.

3.7   Participant mapping

An additional method of data collection that I initially considered was participant mapping, for which interviewees were asked to produce a map of their

experiences in and of Pendleton. The purpose of this was to develop a visual representation of a particular issue raised as part of the semi-structured interviews. As a largely abstract and theoretical concept, the aim was to adopt the participatory research method, in order to produce visible, tangible representations of place, unique to each individual participant. Mind maps seek to provide information less influenced by the constrictions of language, as well as cultural differences between the researcher and the researched (Habermas, 1976). As a consequence, more personalised and individualistic data is thought to be collected (Tattersall, Watts, & Vernan, 2007). The produced maps were also intended to be used to aid participant recall in the interview stage of data collection. Participants using these have been shown to identify more unique ideas and to provide a greater level of depth in their responses (Wheeldon, 2011). Participants have described how the strategy helps organise and frame their reflections of the past and ultimately lead to better recall. I had hoped that this graphic description of their experience would offer insight into the lens through which participants view the world (Kommers & Lanzing, 1997).

Difficulties initially arose in the execution of this strategy, however, when several of the interviewed population identified themselves as living with joint problems, such as arthritis, and as a consequence, they were not keen to participate. Then, through further reading and attendance of research methods training, the decision was made that no further analysis was to be applied to the already generated data. Content analysis of images is complex. A central issue of the process is materiality: the properties of a created image which must be considered prior to any analysis of content (Lister & Wells, 2001). The context in which an image is viewed can alter interpretation. In content analysis, the research must also distinguish between the form and content of an image. These are two related, yet separate characteristics that should be explored independently and in tandem. Form mediates content, which can put constraints on what is produced and can determine the content which is possible to be produced. This has been

used to critique the approach, as it is the form as well as the content that can lead to the 'meaning' that is ascribed to an image (Chaplin, 1994).

As the participants were not expert cartographers, and each would have a varying ability in terms of artistic production, based on my reading it seemed inappropriate to subject the produced images to further analysis. To achieve this, there must be several constant 'control' characteristics amongst considered images and the variability produced by the research sample would prevent any meaningful comparisons to be explored. No longer being scrutinised with in-depth analysis, the few maps that were produced as part of interviews were instead used to provide a visual representation of some of the issues discussed as part of interviews. Although no longer providing further insight into experiences of regeneration, where they were used, I believe they work well in another sense, that of providing a visual representation of discussed topics, which serves to neatly illustrate points whilst adding another, novel dimension to the findings.

3.8   Practical and ethical reflections

In reflecting on the analytical process, the first ethical concern I experienced was gauging the balance between the voice of the participants and that of myself. IPA involves a double hermeneutic and consists of the researcher trying to make sense of the researched making sense of their world (Henwood, 2008). In doing so, a researcher should combine an empathic, but also a questioning hermeneutic (Smith, 2004). A frequent point raised throughout the critical consideration of the words of participants was how readily certain discussed issues could be directly attributed to the regeneration process. Although its influence on an environment can being extensive and varied, there remains a multitude of additional forces at play.

In tackling this issue, my reading led me to the concept of relational ethics. A contemporary approach to ethics, this situates ethical action within the relationship between the researcher and the researched. By adopting this position, it means that informed, autonomous consent is no longer sufficient. One must go further and consider the complexity of a situation and our moral responsibility within it. As researchers, we need to be sensitive to the whole. Relationships are said to be governed by the dynamics of power (Austin et al., 2003). When research involves working with people who may be in some way marginalised within society, as a result of poverty, gender, or illness, they can become disadvantaged. Considering this argument in the context of the current research serves to underscore my responsibility as a researcher. A central theme within the accounts of those interviews was that of power, and how much control they may have over their circumstances, an issue explored fully in **Chapter 5**. Many of those interviewed spoke of the difficulty they have had in trying to get their voices heard, and for them, my research may have been regarded as their opportunity to do so. By taking this relational approach to ethics, I have become aware of the need to address such issues of power, enabling me to conduct research in a way that minimises risk and maximises benefit.

A key component to achieving this is said to be the attitude of the researcher towards their participants. One must hold genuine respect for them, their experience and their accounts of it (Given, 2008). One may question the accuracy of their attribution of certain environmental changes to the process of regeneration, but ultimately, this is the picture they are presenting. The supposed benefit of IPA is that it affords the opportunity to gain insight into the experiences of those living through a phenomenon (Smith et al., 2010). Whether such changes are genuinely the result of regeneration is not the crucial point, but rather, the manner in which the participants attribute changes to the process of regeneration. If they regard such changes as being consequences of the project, we as researchers cannot simply disqualify that perspective. While remaining critical, this

perspective must be acknowledged and treated as a legitimate standpoint. To manipulate findings to come in line with some form of an accepted view of truth could arguably be seen to serve the interests of industry and those who, from the perspective of many of those interviewed, already have the greater level of power in their relationship and to further contribute to their disadvantage. This would also go against the philosophical position of critical realism, which recognises that agents hold a unique understanding based on the parts of the world they encounter and their experiences within it (Hunt, 2003; Lawson, 1997).

The bigger question here is who the research project is for, and what is the purpose of research. Is its primary goal to serve as a tool to facilitate higher levels of agency within disadvantaged groups? Is it simply a vehicle for social capital? Empowerment is indeed a positive outcome, but what then if this comes at the detriment to the validity of the findings? One of the main research objectives of the current project was to gain improved insight into the experience and perspective of residents, to better inform those implementing the regeneration of Pendleton. It would seemingly be in the interest of all involved parties for regeneration initiatives to run smoothly, be they the residents, workforce, stakeholders, or local authority and that is what I hope to facilitate from having conducted this piece of research. I hope I have served to highlight the issues and perceptions held by residents. In doing so, even when disagreement occurs, this should at least serve to open a dialogue between involved parties. It was never the intention to present any gained finding as irrefutable fact, as this goes against the underlying philosophy of IPA. Instead, it was intended to give those implementing the regeneration of the area an insight into the life of those living through the experience, to help them to better understand, empathise and support those who may be in need and in the hope of addressing the perception of a power imbalance within their relationship.

3.9 Conclusion

Throughout **Chapter 3,** I have built upon the previously constructed theoretical and philosophical frameworks, to outline and justify the decision-making process involved in the design of the employed methodology. It was my intent for the methodology to be analytically led and I sought the use of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA): the analytic approach I felt most suited to the accurate addressing of the research questions. IPA involves the examination of experience and its application in the current research context will enable greater insight into the lived experience of those living through the implementation of a specific, large-scale regeneration project. Coupled with the philosophical position of critical realism, IPA should serve to unearth the underlying generative processes involved in the interrelationship between mental well-being and neighbourhood regeneration, as well as that between the changing physical landscape and the PA of local residents.

The chapter also recounts the development of the interview schedule, for which I drew upon Smith et al.'s (2000) guide for good interview practice in studies utilising IPA. As part of this process, I also adopted characteristics of Change Process Research (CPR), a methodology that is commonly used to explore how therapy leads to change within patients (Elliott et al., 2001; Rice & Greenberg, 1984). I argue that such an approach offers greater access to underlying generative mechanisms, which will enable me to begin to untangle the complex relationship between the participants and their environment, an opportunity that would be lost with traditional measures of mental health (Easton, 2010; Frauley & Pearce, 2007; Sayer, 1992).

Sampling must also be theoretically consistent, which I have also sought to justify. IPA is orientated towards the particular (Smith et al., 2010) and is considered more rigorous than other qualitative approaches to analysis (Smith &

Osborn, 2003). Based on recommendations made within the methodological literature, a sample of nine working-class, retired residents were recruited, each of which had lived in the area of Pendleton for a minimum of five years. As IPA involves a double hermeneutic (Henwood, 2008), I also engaged in reflexivity, with a particular focus on my insider/outsider status in relation to the sample. By outlining the positions of both me the researcher and that of the researched participants, this chapter has shed light on the lenses through which the findings will be generated. The chapter also recounts the stages of the analytic process, as well as the steps taken in order to ensure the trustworthiness of the gained findings.

Chapter 4   Findings

4.1   Introduction

The following chapter provides a descriptive overview of the findings developed from the analysis of the data generated from nine qualitative interviews with residents living in the Pendleton area of Salford, in the Northwest of England. The purpose of the chapter is not to provide in-depth analysis, but to lay out the overall structure of the findings and to articulate the process that led to their development. The chapter presents the three super-ordinate themes that illuminate how residents experience place attachment (PA) and well-being throughout the process of regeneration. **Table 2** maps out each super-ordinate theme, including the contained sub-ordinate themes, and the pseudonyms of the contributing participants.

Table 2: Summary of super-ordinate themes

Super-ordinate Theme	Contributors	Sub-ordinate themes
Feelings of control	Sheila, Joe, Emily, Doris, Jim	Physical health concerns
	Sheila, Joe, Doris, Jim	Managing choice
	Sheila, William, Jim, Margaret, Steven	What regeneration means for the area
	Jim, Margaret, Doris, Rita, William, Steven, Sheila, Joe	Crime and safety concerns
Social and community relations	William, Sheila, Steven, Doris, Jim, Joe, Rita, Emily	High-rise living
	Doris, Rita	The perils of relocation
	Sheila, Steven, William, Rita, Margaret, Emily	Removal of social spaces
	William, Steven, Joe	Changing demographics
Defining a place	William, Doris, Emily, Sheila, Jim, Margaret, Rita, Steven	Resources and landmarks
	Doris, William, Steven	Sense of belonging
	William, Jim, Steven, Emily, Sheila	Self-identity
	Joe, Doris, William, Steven, Rita	The role of time

Each section of the chapter will first present the audit trail for each super-ordinate theme in the form of a table, outlining the related sub-ordinate themes, as well as a list of the relevant contributors, and the page and line references for each contributing interview excerpt. Each sub-theme will then be laid out, drawing on indicative extracts to highlight the formulation of the overarching super-ordinate themes. The thesis will then include three comprehensive analysis chapters: one for each super-ordinate theme.

4.2 Super-ordinate theme: Feelings of control

Table 3: Structure of super-ordinate theme one

Super-ordinate theme	Sub-ordinate theme	Contributors	Excerpt page and line references
Feelings of control	Physical health concerns	Sheila, Joe, Emily, Doris, Jim	SH-204, JO-490, E-644 JO-488, JO-537, E-636, E-640, E-652, JI-44.
	Managing choice	Sheila, Joe, Doris, Jim	JI-251, SH-78, JI-290, D-341, SH-417, JO-471, JI-281, D-308, D-310, D-339, SH-251.
	What regeneration means for the area	Sheila, William, Jim, Margaret, Steven	W-79, SH-33, JI-142, JO-334, W-79, W-77, W-439, W-374, W-393, JI-240, JI-223, JI-128, JI-117, SH-33, SH-34, JO-220, JO-235, JO-315, JI-108, ST-117, WI-97.
	Crime and safety	Jim, Margaret, Doris, Rita, William, Steven, Sheila, Joe.	M-351, D-258, W-629, JI-175, JI-181, M-351, D-255, D-259, D-264, R-36, R-47, W-134, W-137, W-629, D-68, ST-102, SH-6, JI-187, JO-63.

This first super-ordinate theme was contributed to by all nine of the interviewed participants. The theme developed through discussion of various topics, as they described the experience of living in an area undergoing regeneration as having influenced their level of control over their personal circumstances. Each of the contained sub-ordinate themes are explored below,

highlighting how they were raised in the interview and how they contribute to the overarching super-ordinate theme.

4.2.1 Physical health concerns

As part of the interview, I inquired as to the possible existence of any negative experiences that had arisen since the initiation of the current regeneration project underway in the area. The discussions that followed led to what became the first sub-ordinate theme relating to feelings of control, which is concerns for physical health. These concerns were raised exclusively by those participants whose properties had been refurbished as part of the current regeneration of Pendleton, as well as Emily, who had recently relocated into one such property at the time of the interview. The primary source of these worries was the dust created as part of the process, with properties being subject to significant changes, including the fitting of new boilers, doors, double-glazed windows, kitchens and bathrooms, full rewiring of electrics, roofs retiled, cleaning of brickwork, and improvements to guttering and drainage (Salford City Council, 2012). Sheila here describes her decision to temporarily relocate while the work took place, explicitly identifying health concerns as a motivating factor:

Sheila: *"I have asthma and er (pause) like a bad heart, so…   You couldn't stay in with all that dust."*

Another participant living in such a property is Joe, who refused to be temporarily relocated and chose to stay living in his property as the work was carried out. Through probing for further description of his experiences, a factor that seemingly exacerbated his experience is that assurances made prior to the initiation of the work in his home were not kept:

Joe: *"We were assured there would be dust monitors. We never saw one."*

Joe had made the decision to stay within his property as he believed that monitoring equipment would be used to ensure his safety. As a result of this, he feels he has made an ill-informed decision, limiting his capacity to minimise his health concerns and increase his level of control over his circumstances. Emily made the decision to move into one of the flats renovated as part of the current regeneration of Pendleton. On moving in, Emily discovered the presence of asbestos: a carcinogenic building material. On raising this issue, I asked her to explain the steps she has taken since this discovery:

Emily: *"When I checked on my – online, on my rent account where you report repairs, it said: completed. So they'd just closed it off. So, I've opened up another repair for the same - the same issue and I haven't heard nothing back yet."*

In this excerpt, Emily is explaining how despite making her concerns known to the property management company, they have been unresponsive to them. The presence of asbestos is sufficient for her to worry about her health, and due to her perception of dismissiveness from her resident management company, she has been left powerless to address this, reducing her capacity to control her personal circumstances.

4.2.2 Managing choice

As participants described their negative experiences of living in a property undergoing refurbishment, my questions flowed to explore the options made available to residents to minimise such distress. This line of questioning, coupled with the performed analysis, led to the development of the second sub-ordinate

theme relating to feelings of control: managing choice. Based on the accounts provided, Pendleton Together provided opportunities to accommodate residents throughout the implementation of structural work to their properties. The nature of these options varied, however, according to the phase of the regeneration project underway at any given point. Those having homes worked on in the first phase of refurbishment work were given the opportunity to relocate temporarily to a hotel in Southport:

Jim: *"I went to a hotel in (pause) Southport… I was away for 5 weeks."*

The benefit of this was that it gave residents the opportunity to remove themselves from a property that may raise concerns for their health. This opportunity served to give residents some level of control over their circumstances, but was not free from limitations:

Sheila: *"You was alright the first two weeks, but then it was like, you know. And then you're thinking, oh I'm going up to the same places again."*

Here, Sheila outlines her perception of the restrictive nature of this accommodating initiative. Although she was initially content with a relaxing time away, the lack of activity available led to a sense of mundanity over time.

A further opportunity afforded during the second phase of refurbishment works was the temporary relocation of residents to completed flats within the area. Theoretically, this step would remove residents from a property undergoing construction, but allow them to continue living in the local area, reducing the disruption to daily life. One participant who accepted this offer was Doris:

Doris: *"There was no carpet down or anything."*

Doris's account was of a property that did not meet her expectations. Despite being moved to minimise her exposure to property unsuitable for inhabitation, she found herself in such circumstances regardless. Once more, an accommodating measure seeking to increase autonomy has instead served to minimise her level of control over her situation.

4.2.3 What regeneration means for the area

The third sub-ordinate theme relating to experiences of control, arose when the interview sought to explore residents' perceptions of the design phase of the current regeneration project. I explored their involvement with and/or knowledge of how the exact nature of the project was developed. One measure that was discussed was tenant involvement. One participant who raised this topic was William, who expressed his distrust in the effectiveness of this measure in giving residents control over the wider elements of the regeneration process:

William: *"They didn't want to be throwing money at some of these sink estates without getting some feedback, or some participation off tenant groups. So, I think that was part of the deal for releasing money."*

William is dismissive of tenant involvement. Here, he describes his belief that such efforts are simply used to gain access to government funding. Although perhaps having the potential to afford residents a level of control over the nature of change brought to an area, he does not believe it has been used in a manner that enables this. Jim and Sheila, however, spoke differently about the process of tenant involvement. What became apparent is they each have had a more active engagement with the process:

Sheila: *"It was us (tenants' association) that got the security going… They were going to put a fence in, all the way round each block and we said no way!"*

Here, Sheila describes how she was able to influence the decision-making process surrounding the security measures available in her block of flats. The level of control appears to be afforded by her membership of a tenants' association. Jim is also a member of this group and as with Sheila, his words portray him as having a greater degree of power over decision-making involved with the regeneration process:

Jim: *"I just think we've got the best out of it that we could. So, I'm very happy about that!"*

As with Sheila, as a result of membership of a tenants' association, Jim speaks as an active participant in the regeneration process, as opposed to a passive recipient of changes brought to the local area. Within the words of Joe, however, is the indication that membership does not guarantee such autonomy:

Joe: *"I go to meetings and I know what goes on… There are certain people who rule the roost."*

Joe is a member of the same tenants' association as Jim and Sheila, but he expresses disillusionment at the group's achievements. This excerpt serves to emphasise the role of power and politics within the organisation. Again, as with other accommodation measures, tenants' associations have the potential to afford a greater level of control, but within such groups, power structures appear to mediate any sense of direct control over regeneration efforts.

4.2.4 Crime and safety concerns

The fourth sub-ordinate theme relating to feelings of control is 'crime and safety concerns'. This theme arose when participants were asked to consider some of the less positive elements of life in the area of Pendleton. Based on the accounts of the participants, the perceptions of crime in the area appear to be severe, with seven of nine of them referring to such issues:

Margaret: *"Because there is bad sides of it... The shootings and the drug dealings that go on and stuff."*

One of the common issues raised in this regard is drug use, which is described as being highly apparent in the area. In the excerpt above, Margaret highlights some of the more serious crimes associated with this problem. This issue arose when talking about the geographical area, as opposed to regeneration, but these accounts do highlight an issue that could potentially have been addressed through such initiatives. Furthermore, through my conversation with Doris, her resident management company is implicated as having contributed to her perception of the risks associated with crime:

Doris: *"Because he was outside and they hadn't let him in. You know, you have to press to get in? You see, these are safety things. Nobody buzzed me and said suchabody's downstairs, which they're supposed to do."*

Here, Doris explains that issues are not simply present in the wider area, but also within her own building. In this scenario, she describes a drug user being present in her hallway. The security of her building is managed by her resident management company and the negative experience she cites has arisen by a failure to adequately adhere to this responsibility.

My conversations with William and Doris led to a further perspective on the causal factors of crime-related issues:

William: *"Well, you don't feel as safe doing them sort of things, do you? In anonymous areas, like you did when there was shops there. And loads of people around, surrounding you. You feel a lot safer walking in areas where you knew there was loads of pedestrians doing shopping."*

William and Doris both relate their fears of crime to the changing physical landscape. The factors they raise are the removal of communal areas and the addition of 'anonymous' overpasses and underpasses, which they deem as increasing the risk to one's personal safety. What these accounts highlight is the potential for physical changes brought by regeneration to impact on the ways in which people interact with their environment. In the examples shared by the participants, this has resulted in a perception that the area is now less safe.

Within the words of Joe, Sheila, and Jim, however, is the indication that changes brought about by regeneration have had benefits for community safety:

Jim: *"So, they gated all that, so it's like a small estate... And the electric gates… I just felt so secure."*

Here, Jim outlines his perception of improved safety enabled by security changes that have been brought about as part of the most recent regeneration efforts in the area. His words describe the sense of safety that these bring to him, and he hints towards an increased communal feeling within the block in which he lives.

4.3 Super-ordinate theme: Social and community relations

Table 4: Structure of super-ordinate theme two

Super-ordinate theme	Sub-ordinate theme	Contributors	Page and line reference
Social and community relations	High-rise living	William, Sheila, Steven, Doris, Jim, Joe, Rita, Emily	D-101, ST-551, SH-28, W-57, D-102, W-132, ST-548, SH-8, SH-554, R-34, E-104, JI-40.
	The perils of relocation	Doris, Rita	D-130, R-149, R-352, R-372, R-160, R-149, R-421, D-130.
	Removal of social spaces	Sheila, Steven, William, Rita, Margaret, Emily	W-191, ST-32, E-311, SH-372, ST-118, ST-173, W-199, M-226, E-429, E-370, SH-112
	Changing demographics	William, Steven, Joe	ST-573, W-877, ST-567, W-880, W-872, JO-32.

The second super-ordinate theme developed from the analysis is 'social and community relations.' The social life of each participant was something that I directly asked about as part of the interview, as I sought to understand the potential influence of regeneration on residents' personal lives. A separate, but an arguably related topic that was raised voluntarily by many participants was that of community, which is also described as being influenced by the changing physical landscape. Each of the various sub-ordinate themes contributing to this super-ordinate theme are explored below.

4.3.1 High-rise living

The first sub-ordinate theme that social relations were raised in relation to is high-rise living, with eight of the participants living in such accommodation. One thing worth noting is that when discussing regeneration, participants would frequently refer back to historic regeneration projects that have been

implemented in Pendleton. One example of this is their discussion of the replacement of the previously existing Victorian terraced streets with high-rise tower blocks, an initiative that took place in the late 1960s:

Doris: *"We were moved out of 2 ups 2 downs into these flats (pause) a totally different way of living."*

Here, Doris emphasises that this alternative is not only aesthetically different but also has an influence on the daily lives of inhabitants. The words of the participants portrayed this different mode of living as having impacted on their social interactions. Steven describes the experience of his friends who live in high-rise flats:

Steven: *"The only people they talk to is the people in the lift."*

These accounts serve to highlight that the potential influence that structural changes to the environment extend beyond the aesthetic and can have a profound influence on the experience of inhabitants. Also within the findings, however, were more positive examples of how regeneration also has the potential to address some of the social issues frequently faced by those living in high-rise property:

Sheila: *"We have our own community room… I do bingo at night time and (pause) on a Wednesday night. And up to being poorly last year, I was doing cooking. I used to cook every tea on a Wednesday night before they had the bingo."*

Such facilities were highlighted when I asked participants about their regular social activity. Sheila's accounts of these facilities are the most positive within the sample, but they are also discussed by Doris and Rita. What the accounts appear to show is how the retrofitting of social facilities may enable a greater level of

interaction within multiple-occupancy properties, which represents an example of good practice within the current phase of regeneration.

4.3.2 The perils of relocation

Although presented as a potential facilitator of interaction within high-rise properties, based on the accounts of the participants, facilities are not the sole contributor to residents' experiences of social relations. The experiences of Doris and Rita in particular, highlight the role of further mediating factors. When the topic of social interaction within high-rise property was raised by participants, I probed for further explanation of these experiences. By doing so, what emerged was that living in such property is not necessarily the primary issue faced by residents, but rather the process of being relocated from one home to another. These discussions led to the development of the next sub-ordinate theme of 'the perils of relocation.' Doris, who was relocated during the regeneration initiative of the late 1960s explains her view on the problems associated with this:

Doris: *"It's going from good neighbours to people that you don't know. People – we knew people there."*

Her account identifies a limitation of previous regeneration efforts, and how if not conducted in a careful and strategic manner, relocation can serve to sever the social ties of residents and lead to detrimental consequences for their social functioning. Unlike Doris, Rita has been relocated as part of the current regeneration underway in Pendleton and has moved from one high-rise tower block to another:

Rita: *"Where we were, you used to get on with everybody. All their friends used to live underneath them. Now, they're too far out. They've gone all different places."*

Despite the limitations of historic regeneration projects in the area, the words of Rita suggest that lessons in this regard have not been learned. Almost half a century has passed since Doris was first relocated within the area, and yet Rita appears to have shared a similar experience as part of the current regeneration project underway in Pendleton.

4.3.3 Removal of social spaces

As well as exploring the personal lives of participants, as part of the interview, I also sought to explore their perceptions of the changing physical landscape of the area. Despite the focus of the initial questions being toward the physical, however, participants would frequently elaborate to explain the further consequences of such changes. It was this elaboration that primarily led to the development of the third sub-ordinate theme relating to social relations, the removal of social spaces:

William: *"You were passing dozens and dozens of (pause) pubs, which have all disappeared now. I can't think of a single pub on Cross Lane where I live now, and I used to have to come onto Cross Lane to get to the library and I think there was, if I remember rightly, there was 15 pubs."*

In this example, William discusses the removal of pubs from the area. Other examples cited by participants included the changing shopping environment, as well as the removal of picture houses and sports facilities. It should be made clear, however, that much of this was not carried out as part of any regeneration project, but the participants often associated the changes with such initiatives. This provided a further example of changes seemingly being forced upon them, which arguably highlights the issues of control discussed as part of the first super-ordinate theme in section **4.2**. Steven provides a further example, which highlights

the potential unintentional consequences of making changes to the physical landscape of a neighbourhood:

Steven: *"Because I lived in a cul-de-sac and at the top was the washhouse wall and we used to play cricket and football."*

The regeneration of Pendleton was not only identified as having negative consequences for social interaction in the area, as the introduction of the new Gateway centre was identified as a positive factor in this regard. The Gateway centre was identified as a positive example of regeneration efforts by six members of the sample. During the interview, discussion of the centre arose from two main lines of questioning: the exploration of the resources that the participants make use of, as well as their experiences of social interaction in the area. In the accounts of the participants, the Gateway's facilitative role in social interaction arises from its housing of the local Time Bank community group:

Emily: *"Time Bank is a group where you share skills and your time. You make time for people. It's basically like it was in the olden days, where people used to do things for other people. You know, just because they could do. But this is, you volunteer to do things for other people. And it's just a nice feeling, you know. And people get together and you make lots of friends there."*

What these accounts highlight is a specific need that regeneration could have sought to address. The participants highlight an apparent vacuum left by the gradual removal of social spaces, which could have been tackled through the effective design of regeneration efforts. The findings may also serve as a useful warning to any party with the intention of implementing physical change to a location. Specifically, they highlight how buildings can serve a purpose beyond their designed function and that comprehensive understanding of the meaning of such structures is crucial for effective place-making.

4.3.4 Changing demographics

During our conversations about social relations in the area, three participants identified the presence of friction among the community. One factor identified as having contributed to this is changing social demographics as a consequence of regeneration, which is the next sub-ordinate theme of the overarching super-ordinate theme of social and community relations. Through the replacement of 'poor quality' housing, property value within an area can increase. This is a complex outcome, which can serve to reconnect areas with the property market, but can also lead to displacement (Clark, 2005; Slater, 2006). Higher property value is identified by Steven as having brought individuals of greater financial means into the area:

Steven: *"You know, the others they think they're snobby because they live up there and all that lot."*

The location to which Steven refers is located just within the outskirts of the regeneration area and consists of privately owned semi-detached properties of single-occupancy. He identifies himself as being fortunate in being able to move there himself but does identify the existence of a sense of superiority among his neighbours. Within the account of William, what is also highlighted is how the social effects of regeneration may extend beyond the specific borders of any given project:

William: *"But the people on the opposite side of the road used to call them the 'yuppies' on the other side of the road. And there was a lot of, you know, a lot of disenchantment there when them houses went up"*

In this excerpt, William is referring to the redeveloped area of Salford Quays, which borders the ward of Ordsall and Langworthy, in which Pendleton is located.

As discussed in **Chapter 1**, although the regeneration project of Pendleton identifies strict borders of the area, participants' own definition of the location varies. People have their own understanding and will, of course, interact across such officially defined borders. As a result, potential issues may arise, if the changes brought about by regeneration attract those of different social or economic backgrounds, such as in the current research scenario.

4.4 Super-ordinate theme: Understandings and definitions of place

Table 5: Structure of super-ordinate theme three

Super-ordinate theme	**Sub-ordinate theme**	**Contributors**	**Page and line reference**
Defining a place	Resources and landmarks	William, Doris, Emily, Sheila, Jim, Margaret, Rita, Steven	W-290, D-21, E-35, SH-315, W-294, JI-455, W-262, M-574, M-190, M-214, M-614, R-183, E-457, W-890.
	A gradual change in identity	Doris, William, Steven	D-21, W-588, W-556, W-659, ST-98, ST-411, D-20, D-23, ST-394.
	Sense of belonging	Steven, William, Doris	W-548, ST-414, ST-127, W-606, W-608, W-502, D-557, W-532, ST-479, ST-240, W-544.
	Self-identity	William, Jim, Steven, Emily, Sheila	SH-343, ST-210, W-364, W-20, W-693, ST-347, W-770, JI-96, E-492, E-506.
	The role of time	Joe, Doris, William, Steven, Rita	W-36, D-23, JO-274, W-429, R-149, ST-12, ST-31, ST-208.

The third and final super-ordinate theme relates to the participants' definition of the area in which they live. Within the findings, there are multiple examples of how, over time, residents' understandings of their local area have transformed. These changes are related to various factors, which are each explored below.

4.4.1 Resources and landmarks

The first sub-theme relating to altered understandings of Pendleton was the removal of physical resources and landmarks from the area. This factor was raised through the discussion of the changing physical landscape, as well as participants' experiences of well-being, specifically, their ability to meet daily life goals. The way in which the environment facilitated this process varied across participants depending on individual circumstances. What was highlighted by eight of the sample, was that as a result of the removal of such structures, their capacity to achieve these goals has become diminished:

William: *"When they disappeared I tended to shun the Precinct and shop up town in Manchester."*

Here, William describes the changing shopping environment, an issue referred to by six of the participants. As this has changed over time, members of the sample, including William, Doris and Rita, described how the area is now less equipped for them to meet their needs. In the quote above, William explains how as a result of these changes, he now feels it necessary to travel further to gather the resources he needs.

In outlining the super-ordinate theme of social and community relations in section **4.3**, the Gateway centre was identified as a positive addition to the area. Due to the multi-purpose nature of the building, this was also identified as a facilitative factor in residents seeking to meet daily life goals:

Emily: *"And having the doctors as well… The first thing I need to know is where's the doctors."*

In the excerpt above, Emily describes the doctor's surgery as being the most important resource that one needs to locate when moving into a new area. This valued resource is now located within the Pendleton Gateway, and as a result of this, the Gateway centre is identified as a beneficial addition to the area by five of the participants. This example serves to show how regeneration efforts have had a positive influence on residents' capacity to satisfy their needs and daily life goals.

4.4.2 A gradual change in identity

This sub-theme refers to several participants' perception of the identity of Pendleton changing as a result of multiple waves of regeneration. During the interviews, this topic of discussion arose as the result of two lines of questioning. First, as I probed further into participants' experiences of the removal of landmarks and resources from the area. And second, when asked to consider the main structural differences between Pendleton in the past and in the present. When asked to reflect in this manner, participants such as Doris would elaborate, stating that it is not just that the physical structure that had changed, but that Pendleton has now come to represent a completely new location:

Doris: *"Everything has changed... I wouldn't say I was in Pendleton if you just dropped me off here."*

In this excerpt, Doris describes how if her younger self were suddenly to be exposed to present-day Pendleton, for her it would be unrecognisable. William also refers to a change in identity for the area:

William: *"Well, as I say, seeing something like this going down here, which was an absolute landmark – that clock, that was quite unique. I'd say very sad. Now, that's just part of a freeway to get traffic in and out of Manchester as fast as possible."*

In this quote, William is referring to the market and art deco clock tower that was previously situated in the area. He describes this as being an 'absolute landmark,' referring to this structure as being a definitive feature of the local area. He also refers to his perception that such definitive landmarks have been removed and been replaced with major roads leading into the neighbouring city of Manchester. This sub-ordinate theme relates to that of 'resources and landmarks' and also that of 'sense of belonging', which is the next sub-ordinate theme to be outlined.

4.4.3 Sense of belonging

This sub-ordinate theme developed as I probed for further insight into what the changing physical landscape meant for participants. I wanted to explore not only the nature of the changes but how as a result of them, their life in the area may have been altered. In the previous section, Doris's words suggest that for her, the area she once knew as 'Pendleton' has become unrecognisable. William also shared insight into his own experience of this:

William: *"So, it disorientates you. Even though, as I say, you probably couldn't wait to get out of the area. Even when you come back, there's no points of reference there to link you to the place."*

William here describes the sense of disorientation that can be experienced when reflecting on the landmarks that had previously been present in the area. Within these words, there is a sense of him feeling lost in the area he has lived for the entirety of his life. He also proclaims how someone would likely have a desire to leave the area, which I interpret as a reduced emotional connection to the area. Steven is another participant who describes the disorientating experiences of

navigating an area he felt he knew well. He goes on to share his insight into the perspective of the younger people living in the area:

Steven: *" They have no memories of history or anything like that. Only what their Dad told them. And their Granddad told them… But I know the facts...Because that is the past now. You know, and you've got to realise the future's coming."*

Through his words, Steven expresses a sense that the area he once loved has been lost. He explains how younger generations how no real sense of how Pendleton once was. Time and the changes it has brought have taken the place from him.

4.4.4 Self-identity

The next sub-ordinate theme contributing to the super-ordinate theme of understandings and definitions of place is self-identity. This theme developed as participants were asked to consider their history in the area. As identified in **Chapter 3,** many of the participants have spent a significant portion of their lives living in the area that is now officially known as Pendleton. Within the words of five such participants, there was an apparent perception of a decline in regards to the local area. Many of these examples related to shopping facilities:

Sheila: *"I mean, there was Woolworth's there… we had men's clothing stores; there was all kind of things there. There's no men's clothes, there's no ladies clothes there now, you know. You know, it's just altered quite a lot."*

Not only are the shops declining, the area is now less desirable as a result. When exploring further, the majority simply described the lack of resources, but William went further to consider the underlying implication:

William: *"Well, if I interpret it with the psychology of the shopping chains, I'd say they've made their minds up what kinds of people are going to be shopping in the Precinct."*

In considering the motivating factors behind the changing landscape, he reflects on his social position. As explored in more depth in the analysis below, William speaks candidly of how he believes the area is perceived by those living elsewhere and this quote reflects this. These discussions serve to highlight how, for some, changes to the physical environment have led to self-reflection, with potential consequences for self-esteem.

4.4.5 The role of time

The final sub-ordinate theme raised in relation to changing understandings of the local area was 'the role of time'. A frequent aspect of the interview schedule was change, as I sought to explore the varying alterations to the physical landscape of Pendleton and life within the area. In seeking to articulate the perception of such changes, participants would frequently draw comparisons between the past and the present, in order to clarify the main differences:

Sheila: *"Well to me, I mean I didn't use to go in the pubs, but all the pubs are shut now. Like there used to be the Woolpack and on a… weekend you used to have people get up and sing and that. You know. You used to have (pause) an artist in there. I mean, the men would tell you that – think, I don't think there's a pub round here."*

In this excerpt, Sheila discusses the social activity available in the area, an issue explored as part of the second super-ordinate theme in section **4.3**. Her concern was that there are currently few resources available for people to socialise within the community. Her negative perception appears to stem from her drawing comparisons between the past and the present, leading to a perceived decline in

the social facilities in the area. Within Steven's account, there is a more positive example of how time may influence an individual's attitude towards change:

Steven: *"That's going back in time! Because trams used to be the norm and now they've come back."*

Here, Steven is referring to the extension of the Metrolink tram service into the local area. He describes the power of such changes, as they enable him to 'go back in time.' Previously discussed was how he felt the area he once loved has gone, but what this quote highlights is how structural changes may transport people back to a time they felt was lost. William's words also highlight the role of time in perceptions towards the process of regeneration itself:

William: *"Well, I get a glossy brochure through my door every few months showing all these smiling tenant round little garden plots and holding hoes and rakes and they seem to be part of few little chosen groups that they photograph to say "things are happening! Look at these rosy-faced tenants all enjoying themselves around these!... Yeah, I've seen it all before. I've seen it all before."*

William describes the efforts made by Pendleton Together to inform the residents of the progress being made in the regeneration of the area. Throughout our conversation, William was openly cynical about the ongoing project, and this attitude seems to stem from the previous experiences he has had with such initiatives.

4.5   Conclusion

In **Chapter 4**, I have sought to map the overall findings of the thesis. I have outlined the structure of each of the three identified super-ordinate themes, by identifying the various underlying sub-ordinate themes, as well as the specific participants that contributed to each. I have also provided evidence from the findings, in the form of line references and illustrative quotes, in order to increase the transparency of the analytical process that led to the development of the sub-ordinate and super-ordinate themes. As each topic is discussed, I have also outlined the interview context that led to their being raised by participants. Having laid out the structure of the findings and procedural elements of the methodology that led to their development, the thesis will now go on to three comprehensive chapters of analysis, throughout which I draw extensively on the hermeneutics of empathy and of suspicion.

Chapter 5 Feelings of control throughout the process of regeneration

5.1 Introduction

Having in **Chapter 4** laid out the overall structure of the findings, in the following three chapters, I engage in the hermeneutics of suspicion, drawing on my external, theoretical perspective, in the attempt to illuminate the potential hidden meaning of the words spoken by the participants (Davidsen, 2013; Ricouer, 1970). **Chapter 5** explores the first super-ordinate theme of 'feelings of control throughout the process of regeneration'. The chapter is divided into several sections, with each being devoted to the analysis of a single underlying sub-ordinate theme. Explored are participants' accounts of such issues, as well as their apparent relationship with well-being. Also considered are the participants' perceptions of the responsibility that the different entities of the Pendleton Together partnership have to address them. Also examined are the various challenges that those implementing the regeneration of Pendleton face in their attempts to maintain the satisfaction and well-being of residents.

5.2 Physical health concerns

With any regeneration project comes a level of disruption, which will vary depending on the scale and nature of a project. Throughout the implementation of such schemes, places can be seen to take on a new, temporary, and transitional identity. Within place theory, Augé (1995) puts forward the concept of non-place. This refers to what Augé regards as interchangeable, monotonous spaces of mobility. Commonly cited examples of such phenomena include hotels, airports, and trains, which are seen to potentially give rise to feelings of solitude, and a

sense of a loss of reality (Augé, 1996). Theorists have noted how a sense of dislocation and emptiness can give rise to ambiguity, with such locations not providing meaning, or holding an identity to the agents interacting within them (Augé, 1996). A factor identified as potentially contributing to this is the temporary nature of agents' occupation of such locations and due to the ongoing neighbourhood regeneration scheme, the area of Pendleton could be seen as having formed a new, temporary identity of its own. Serving as both a residential area, as well as a builder's worksite, the area comes to represent varying functions to different actors. In understanding this, I draw on the work of Costas (2013), who uses the metaphor of 'stickiness', noting how such spaces provide neither a sense of stability nor freedom, leading to a state of 'fixed instability.' With two main groups of people, the residents and the workforce, interacting with the place so differently, incompatibility and conflict will at some point inevitably arise.

With many participants, the perception of physical disruption brought about by the implementation of changes is the first factor to be implicated as having had detrimental consequences for their mental well-being. A recent research project conducted in the local area revealed the work associated with the regeneration of Pendleton to have the potential to be disruptive and stressful for residents (Sherriff et al., 2015), and all interviewed participants of the current project also acknowledged the presence of some level of disruption. The depictions of such disruption varied considerably, however, depending on the individual experiences of participants, and the degree to which they have directly experienced construction work. Participants whose homes have not been modified as part of the current regeneration project, such as Steven and Margaret for instance, reported few issues of this nature. Those whose homes have been modified as part of the project, however, tell a very different story:

Sheila: *"Well, it's like your dust and (pause) because you had a lot of dust – I have asthma and er (pause) like a bad heart, so (pause) You couldn't stay in with all that dust. Because they knock all your kitchen out. You know, so there's all that. And then there's asbestos they had to get out and that."*

One issue presented as an unpleasant consequence of block refurbishment was the level of dust that was produced by the process. Participants living in properties undergoing such work present it as a source of physical discomfort. Joe is a long-term resident of his block and now he has retired, he spends more time at home. The narrative that he presents identifies the ongoing refurbishment work being conducted within the block of flats in which he lives as a source of discomfort. Through this, he identifies his concerns about the potential consequences this may have for his and his co-residents' physical health:

Joe: *"Well, there was people who got health problems. I've got breathing – I've got asthmatic- I'm asthmatic, arthritic, et cetera. And various illnesses (pause) The whole area – I mean the whole dust. We were assured there would be dust monitors. We never saw one. That's something else they forgot."*

The primary health issue he wanted to highlight was his asthma, as well as his concerns about the potential consequences for his breathing and the exacerbation of his condition. He goes on to detail other conditions that he is living with: "I'm asthmatic, arthritic, et cetera. And various illnesses." Through his dialogue, Joe appears to be attempting to highlight the perceived severity of his health issues, as well as the seriousness of the issue regarding the dust. Through his discussion, Joe is seemingly drawing upon his health concerns to express dissatisfaction towards his circumstances, presenting them as a form of incontrovertible evidence of his hardship. In the discussion of his health, Joe displays signs of worry and from his perspective, the work that should be serving

to improve his living conditions seems to be having the opposite effect on his quality of life.

Physical health is identified as an important factor in well-being (WHO, 2012) and both acute and chronic health conditions have been shown to have detrimental consequences for this (Dolan, Peasgood & White, 2008). In his hierarchy of needs, Maslow (1970) identifies physiological and safety needs as being among the most fundamental to enable self-actualisation. The relationship between health and well-being is also seen to be reciprocal, with health influencing well-being and vice-versa. Good health has been shown to be correlated with higher life satisfaction (Diener & Lucas, 2000) and the ongoing regeneration of the area is perceived as exacerbating the health issues of participants, seemingly leading to anxieties about physical health.

A factor that appears to have had an exacerbating influence on Joe's attitudes is his perception that Keepmoat, the company implementing the structural changes involved with the regeneration of Pendleton, have failed to keep the promises they made before the initiation of the work in his property. He describes the assurance he feels he was given that the dust would be kept to a minimum through the use of dust monitoring equipment. He describes this as "something else they forgot" and this choice of language suggests a lack of trust has arisen as a consequence of his experiences. Throughout his dialogue, he portrays a notion of collective action, explaining how "we were assured there would be dust monitors. We never saw one." Through his use of the word 'we', Joe is assuming a role representative of a larger other, implying his words represent a perception of events that is wider than his own. Throughout our conversation, Joe repeatedly assumes this representative role, assuring me that he is not alone in his complaints and that his concerns are for more than himself. He outlines his view that such issues have affected a significant proportion of those living in his block,

and highlights the prevalence of some of the issues he sees as being faced by the residents.

From his descriptions, it may also be posited that the negative perception he appears to have developed, cannot be explained fully as being a direct result of his experiences, but also as a consequence of missed expectations, and a failure from those implementing structural changes to his home to honour prior assurances. Not only has his experience of the construction work inside his home been detrimental for him, but it has been so despite assurances being made to him that this would not be the case. Within his words lie notions of betrayal, with a sense that he and his co-residents have been misled. What such promises appear to have done is transfer responsibility for such issues to those parties overseeing the project. Any issues then arising are seemingly seen as a consequence of their actions, and his perceived helplessness about his health due to their betrayal of his trust. It is not simply that the work completed has been unsatisfactory, but that they are in some way to blame, and have a responsibility to resolve such issues and to take steps to prevent them from recurring. Joe's depictions go so far as to paint this responsibility as a legal one, which serves to highlight this point further:

Joe: *"People went to solicitors. I mean, you should be speaking to people like G at X. Because what he could tell you is (pause) would be a lot different from what I'm telling you, but it would still fit the framework because he's had different experiences. Very serious experiences."*

Here, he makes a point of highlighting how residents in his block sought out legal advice regarding the issue, suggesting it is his and some of his co-residents' belief that there is a genuine cause for grievance and how the experiences endured could even be litigious in nature. For him, it does not seem sufficient to highlight how he feels that assurances were not kept. He wants to emphasise the duty of care he feels the stakeholders have towards the residents. This could be interpreted as a group of disempowered individuals, with little control of their

circumstances. By drawing on their physical ill-health as a source of power, they could potentially be seen to be utilising this to gain legal support to regain some sense of control over a situation in which they may feel helpless.

From a critical realist perspective, this is seemingly indicative of the 'structure versus agency' conundrum (Stones, 2007), which McAnulla (2002) identifies as a central debate of multiple theoretical issues within the social sciences. This refers to the role of actors and their interaction with the structures surrounding them. Agents are seen by some as independent beings, with the potential to influence their actions and circumstances (Bilton et al., 1996) and their capacity to do so is regarded as being indicative of power (Giddens, 1984). However, it has been commented that self-determinism is flawed, as it is based on the 'problematic foundation' of total individualism (Cook & Jonikas, 2002, p. 92). Structures are the social, economic, political, or cultural frameworks within which agents operate, which will determine their degree of 'free will.' From a structural perspective, these systems can serve to both constrain and liberate the actions of those within. In essence, the debate surrounds the degree of control that individual agents have to shape their own circumstances and destiny. Within the provided excerpts, the narratives outline concerns for physical health, loss of control, and distrust. Participants raised concerns about their physical health, suggesting a lack of control and they express feelings of helplessness: their apparent level of agency is low. However, the notions of distrust serve to highlight the perceived responsibility of Pendleton Together. It is not simply that work is perceived to be being conducted in an unsatisfactory manner, it is their responsibility to resolve the situation. As I now engage in the hermeneutics of suspicion, I interpret raising concerns about health and hinting at legal responsibility as an attempt to alter the power dynamic of this relationship. By drawing on their negative experiences in terms of their health, and by highlighting their perceptions of the responsibilities of stakeholders, my interpretation is that they are seeking to gain influence over the structures that are determining their

circumstances. Their litigious efforts may be used to gain some leverage over such stakeholders, in attempts to improve their level of agency and ultimately the degree of power that they have over their situation.

By adopting an interpretative standpoint, however, it could be argued that any identified structure is created and defined according to multiple interpretations of reality (Archer et al., 1998). The structures and systems articulated by Joe may be very different from those of other residents and it is, therefore, vital to consider the perspective of others who have experienced similar circumstances. Emily, for example, is a relatively recent resident of Pendleton, having moved to the area in 2009, 19 years later than Joe. She initially moved into a house, and as part of the current phase of regeneration took up the opportunity to move into one of the newly renovated flats. As previously identified by Sheila, an issue closely associated with an increase in dust is the uncovering and required removal of asbestos. A building material once praised for its versatility, heat resistance, tensile strength, and insulating properties, the use of asbestos was banned in the UK in 1999 due to its toxic properties, and link with numerous chronic health conditions (Kazan-Allen, 2005). This is a concern that Emily seems desperate to highlight, as she herself has recently discovered the building material in her new property:

Emily: *"But a few months ago I was told that asbestos was also used in the tiles and maybe even the adhesive as well. So there could be an asbestos issue in that second bedroom. It's only an issue if the tiles are broken and damaged, which quite a few of them are. Because it releases the asbestos and I could be breathing that in."*

Emily's words seemingly indicate that what is making matters worse for her is that she now believes she is being exposed to the dangerous toxins contained, due to the tiles being cracked and broken. As a consequence of this discovery, Emily depicts the worries she has developed concerning her health, as this material has still to be removed from her home. In describing how she "could be

breathing that in", she hints at feelings of helplessness at being unable to remove the potentially harmful material. She reiterates this notion of powerlessness in her explanation of how she feels her concerns are being ignored by those she regards as being responsible for her safety and the resolving of such issues:

Emily: *"I've reported it to Pendleton and they sent a guy round and said: "Ooh, er – they won't do anything about the broken tiles." Well, that's not the issue – it's the asbestos! So, he took pictures and then I never hear anything of that. And then when I checked on my – online, on my rent account where you report repairs, it said: completed. So they'd just closed it off. So, I've opened up another repair for the same (pause) the same issue and I haven't heard nothing back yet."*

Emily repeatedly seeks to identify how despite her continued efforts, she cannot get anyone at her resident management company to acknowledge her concerns. As with Joe, her accounts present a sense of betrayal, as she identifies a perceived lack of support from such stakeholders as a factor contributing further frustration. The transitional identity of the area is eliciting narratives of disharmony between those interacting within it, with residents describing upset and ill-feeling towards those implementing the work in the area. From their descriptions, it seems apparent that to them the negative experiences that they have to endure are unnecessary, having arisen as a result of promises they feel have not been kept. Despite their apparent concerns about issues being faced, several participants reveal their frustration with those they see as having a duty of care to them. From their perspective, the resolution of these problems is in their hands, and yet to them, they appear uncaring and disinterested towards the well-being of residents. For Emily, this has seemingly led to exasperation in her pursuit of a resolution. As a consequence of both the issue and how it has been handled by Pendleton Together, it is now her belief that it is only a matter of time before she develops a severe chronic health condition, such as cancer:

Emily: *"It's all cancer-causing, no matter what dose it is. So, over time, if I stay in the lot for 30 years there is a good chance I will develop cancer from it. So that's – it's a bit of an issue with me at the moment."*

As he is a long-term resident of Pendleton, one could potentially raise the argument that Joe's negative perception towards those implementing the changes to his home could be the result of his past experiences. As previously stated, Pendleton has a long history of regeneration efforts and he is, therefore, interpreting such events through the eyes of someone who has lived through similar occurrences in the past, which may influence his interpretations. If these were also considered to be unpleasant, the animosity he displays towards stakeholders may, in fact, be the result of an opinion that has degraded over time, and may not be a direct consequence of the current phase of regeneration. In relation to Joe, however, Emily has lived in the area for a much shorter period and mentions no prior experience of neighbourhood regeneration. Despite this, however, the narrative she provides present similar themes to that of Joe, such as concerns about health, distrust, and helplessness.

A factor that must be taken into consideration, however, is the possible existence of selection bias within the sample. Adopting a critical stance towards these apparent findings, one may suggest that such a project may have been of greater attraction to those who felt they needed an outlet, to discuss the issues they were facing. Acknowledging this, however, one should note that such issues did not arise with all participants and were limited to those whose property underwent refurbishment as part of the ongoing regeneration of Pendleton, and Emily, who opted to move into one of the newly renovated properties. What their words highlight, however, is how residents regarded the physical disruption involved with this process as being severe.

5.3 Managing choice

In the previous section, I discussed how participants presented narratives that implicate the refurbishment of their properties as having led to worry about potential detrimental consequences for their physical health. This has seemingly contributed to ill-feeling towards the construction and resident management companies overseeing the regeneration of Pendleton, which are presented as having a duty of care towards residents and having failed to prevent such issues from occurring. Those implementing the scheme were aware of the potential for such issues, and steps were, in fact, taken in the attempt to minimise them (Sherriff et al., 2015). Following the award of funding for the regeneration of Pendleton in 2013, Pendleton Together engaged with residents to inform them of what the regeneration of their properties would involve and how they could stand to be affected. This was achieved through the sending of letters to each resident, an invitation to an open day, as well as reminder letters in the run-up to the beginning of the construction work. Interviews conducted with residents (Sherriff et al., 2015), however, found attendance at open days to be low, which could have led to reduced awareness. Residents also described dissatisfaction with the punctuality and reliability of contractors, which was seen to increase their sense of disruption.

In the first phase of refurbishment work, an option made available to residents in order to reduce the disruption faced by this was temporary relocation to a hotel in Southport. One participant from the current study that was afforded this opportunity was Sheila:

Sheila: *"Yeah, I just said right – it should be nice. But it was like winter when we went. It was like (pause) the beginning of February. Well, it was the last week in January and I was there all February, like. So, it wasn't – the weather wasn't very good, like, you know... you just accepted because you can't stay in all that dust anyway (pause) Oh yeah. I had to leave here... I had to go out to Southport for 5 weeks because of my health."*

On hearing she would have to temporarily relocate, Sheila was very accepting of the news and she looked forward to what could be a pleasant trip to the seaside. However, she does hint at a sense of disillusionment on hearing the trip would take place during the winter months, which she presents as having reduced the desirability of the trip. In her descriptions of this experience, it also seems apparent that she felt she had a minimal level of choice in the matter, describing how "you *can't* stay in that dust" and "Oh yeah, I *had* to leave here." From this choice of words, it could suggest that Sheila may have seen the relocation as an inconvenience but intended to make the most of the situation, regarding it as an opportunity to visit a popular tourist destination. Due to issues around the timing and length of the trip, however, it did not satisfy these expectations. These words serve to further underline how the experience of living in a property undergoing refurbishment appears to have had consequences for feelings of autonomy.

Joe, whose struggles brought about by the construction work carried out in his property were outlined above, would on the surface also appear to be a prime candidate for such a provision. He describes how he was offered this same opportunity, but goes on to explain how he was less keen to do so and elected to stay within his property:

Joe: *"It's had an impact on my health. Yes, I mean (pause) I didn't go to Southport. I didn't want to go to Southport. I was decanted, so I stayed on the premises. Some went to Southport, some could have gone to Southport and didn't (pause) I believe others didn't want to go."*

In this excerpt, Joe acknowledges that having chosen to stay has had negative consequences for his health, but describes how at the time he had no desire to be relocated to Southport. He earlier described the promises made in regards to safety precautions, and one could infer that he regarded these as adequate to enable his staying in his property. He also highlights how several other residents in his block made the same decision. Another participant who opted to relocate to Southport was Jim:

Jim: *"The only commitment in the hotel was you had an hour for breakfast, an hour for dinner, an hour for tea. You know, you had to be there at the right time? And as long as you kept that, nobody was bothered... So, it was a very relaxed period and I enjoyed that... I know some people were very frustrated (pause) People who are more physically active, I think (pause) found it a bit restrictive."*

Although retired, Jim has maintained a voluntary position in the tenants' association of his block of flats. Of advancing age, his mobility has begun to deteriorate and he told me how he saw the trip to Southport as an opportunity to trial 'full' retirement. In the quote above, he identified the minimal activity taking place at the hotel, which he describes as being relaxing and reassuring that he was well-prepared for spending more time at home. Remaining sensitive to those around him, however, he does acknowledge that this experience was not to the satisfaction of everyone. In exploring the experiences and perceptions of residents, however, one must remain cautious of the criticisms raised towards various stakeholders, who have no voice of their own in this study.

In re-engaging with the hermeneutics of suspicion, I once again draw on well-being literature. Agency is regarded as having a significant influence on one's well-being (Bakan, 1966; Helgeson, 1994; Saragovi, Koestner, Di Dio, & Aube, 1997). Ryan and Deci's (2006) self-determination theory (SDT) identifies autonomy as one of the three fundamental human needs to enable positive well-being. According to this theory, holding freedom of choice is a basic human need,

required to enable adequate functioning and optimal well-being (Wichmann, 2011). Autonomy, in short, enables self-regulation (Ryan & Deci, 2006). Within SDT literature, a differentiation is made between autonomous, internally motivated behaviour, and controlled, externally motivated behaviour (Vansteenkiste, Zhou, Kim, & Kaplan, 2005). Within the excerpts presented of Joe, Sheila, and Jim, we can see examples of controlled behaviour, motivated by a sense of choice, obligation, or anticipated benefits. With a sense of restricted choice, residents are arguably facing a reduced potential for adequate functioning and optimal well-being. The central difficulty faced by the housing provider is that autonomy and choice are two separate constructs. Autonomy is not to act independent of external forces, but simply being satisfied with one's action (Chirkov, Ryan, Kim, & Kaplan, 2003). One may have many choices afforded to them and not feel free to make a decision or be limited to a single choice with which they are content (Ryan & Deci, 2006). What this highlights is the complexities faced by stakeholders in managing residents' choice. It is vital that steps are taken to maximise the options available to residents, and yet adopting such measures can never guarantee their sense of autonomy.

It would appear that Pendleton Together had taken steps to minimise the issues which have been identified as being problematic by participants such as Joe and Emily. What Sheila's discourse hints at, however, is that despite this, the options available can still be perceived to be restrictive. In the first instance, the prospect of staying in the property is presented as being untenable. Joe, on the other hand, had no interest in leaving his property. In each of these examples, the residents appear to have been offered a dichotomous choice. A potential consequence of this is reduced feelings of control as previously identified as being evident within certain participants. Stakeholders are, therefore, left with a significant obstacle to achieving a fully 'inclusive' relationship with the residents affected by the ongoing regeneration of the area. They are required to manage the choice of residents in a way that allows as much freedom and control as possible,

in a manner that suits the most significant proportion of the population as possible, while factoring in both cost, and the planned timescale of a large-scale, complex regeneration project. Difficulties arise for such stakeholders, as they are seen by residents as being in some way responsible for their well-being, and they are tasked with keeping the population content, a task that ultimately, may not be possible.

During the second phase of refurbishment, however, residents were offered a further alternative, being given the opportunity to be temporarily relocated within the local area, being housed in a property that had already undergone refurbishment. The intended benefit of this would likely be to remove people from properties undergoing work with the potential to cause distress and discomfort, without the added inconvenience of having to move out of the local area. However, having taken up this offer, Doris describes how for her, this was an unpleasant experience:

Doris: *"And when they were doing this one, I went to live on Holme Court, for (pause) 10 weeks. Well, you don't live on Holme Court, you exist there. And it was appalling. There was nothing on the floor (pause) No carpet on the floor, no nothing"*

Doris outlines how despite living in what was presented to her as a recently completed property, throughout her time there, she experienced what she considers to be poor living conditions. The image that she portrays is of impairment of her quality of life during this time, describing how a person "exists" as opposed to "lives" in this particular block of flats. On a number of occasions, she repeated her point about the lack of carpeting in the flat, which she seemingly saw as definitive evidence for her claim that the flat was not fit for inhabitation. She also alludes to the awareness that she was supposedly living in one of the completed properties, which seemingly served to raise questions in her mind about the quality of the work being put into the redevelopment of the area, as

well as concerns regarding her own property and the state that it may be left in on her return:

Doris: *"It was just a shambles and that was one of the done flats, so…"*

Having a positive outlook for the future is identified as being an important factor enabling resilience (Kirby & Fraser, 1997), and one could argue that Doris's experiences may inhibit this. By being placed in a situation that leads her to call the work being conducted on her own property into question, her ability to cope with disruption may be reduced. Expectations towards the future are also said to be important in trying to understand susceptibility to mental and physical health-related issues (Chang & Sanna, 2001; Hart, Vella & Mohr, 2008). They are also said to play a role in adopted coping strategies, tendency to seek social support, and the ability to emphasise the positive elements of one's life during periods of stress (Conversano et al., 2010). One could argue that although intended to minimise distress, Doris's experiences in temporary accommodation have still had an indirect influence on her well-being, through raised doubts about the eventual condition of her own property.

She goes on to explain how during her time in this temporary accommodation, things even took a further turn for the worse:

Doris: *"I suddenly turned round and thought: "Oh, the tides coming in!" because all this water was coming into the living room. Which there was no carpet down or anything, but… so I quickly shot up, picked my – you know the plugs that you've got the sockets in… The floor was soaking. I thought: what do I do about this now? So (pause) that's how I found out the intercom wasn't working."*

The flooding of the property seemingly raised concerns about her safety in the dwelling, as she describes having to unplug electrical sockets to avoid electrocution. She reiterates her perception of the poor condition of the floor and

describes how matters were made worse on her realisation that the intercom system was also broken. As a consequence of this, she would be unable to call for assistance. In being temporarily relocated within the area, Doris appears to have been given a choice not afforded to other residents. On the surface, as with Sheila's trip to Southport, the reality did not live up to Doris's expectations. Also, despite being removed from her property, like Joe who chose to remain, she was still left in conditions that appear to have given rise to worries about her health, as well as feelings of helplessness. An added issue for Doris, however, is where Joe's health concerns were raised in relation to ongoing work, her own were the result of living in what was described to her an already completed unit, which may give rise to questions about the condition of her own property on her return.

What many of the examples presented by participants seem to be highlighting is a perceived lack of control over their circumstances. Not only have concerns for physical health been presented as having detrimental consequences for well-being, but their reported lack of control over their situation, and feelings of betrayal are also highlighted as exacerbating factors. Even in instances where Pendleton Together offered opportunities to accommodate residents, these efforts are portrayed as affording little choice to those affected. Research into neighbourhood regeneration has previously highlighted concerns about the absence of control it may give rise to (Rogers et al., 2008) and this issue has seemingly arisen in the current research context, with several participants attesting to a reduced sense of control over their situation.

Issues of control are central to understandings of well-being and the accounts provided echo two key models of well-being. Ryan and Deci's (2006) SDT and Ryff's (1995) model of psychological well-being both identify autonomy as being central to well-being, with individuals required to maintain freedom of choice and a sense of control over their situation. Although this emphasises the importance of maximising residents' level of choice over their situation, the

current findings serve to highlight the complexities faced by stakeholders in seeking to achieve this. When dealing with a large population of diverse demographic characteristics, the preferences of how to handle disruption could prove equally varied. Even when presented with seemingly acceptable propositions, in actuality, the experiences could prove less desirable than first thought, an issue evident in the accounts of Sheila and Doris. Stakeholders are seemingly tasked with an impossible duty, in trying to make accommodations to satisfy the needs and wishes of all. For some individuals there was no desirable option. Joe, who expresses no interest in being relocated, chose to stay at home. This, however, seems to have led to concerns being raised about his health, with themes presented in his dialogue suggesting detrimental consequences for his attitudes towards those implementing the scheme. Being faced with such a vital task, what these accounts highlight is the importance of maintaining a dialogue with residents and to be responsive to their concerns. Each participant alludes to unexpected consequences of their choices, and these concerns need to be addressed to help maintain both their well-being, as well as a positive relationship between all involved parties.

5.4   What regeneration means for the area

Issues of control were also raised by participants as an issue on a wider scale, with some interviewees detailing how they feel they have had little say on what regeneration means and involves for their local area. What is presented as a pertinent issue for William is tenant involvement, something that he raised at multiple points throughout the duration of his interview. On initiation of the regeneration of Pendleton, those implementing the scheme outlined their ambition to ensure that the existing residents of the area were fully involved in the planning, development, implementation, and delivery of the project (Salford City

Partnership, 2009). William, however, dismisses such measures, regarding them to be little more than a shallow façade:

William: *"Especially when they're putting the glossy brochures that they want tenant feedback and tenants' involvement, which I think is a load of nonsense really, because I think they've made their minds up a lot of the time about what they're going to do and these reports have got to be seen to be written, not written to be seen."*

William presents a position that is dismissive of the approaches made for tenant feedback, and he appears distrusting of the Pendleton Together partnership implementing the regeneration scheme and he questions the sincerity of their pursuit of tenant involvement. For him, this is conducted to improve the image of the organisations involved, rather than out of genuine concern for the wishes of the local community. Unlike previously cited participants, however, this distrust does not appear to have arisen as a consequence of the ongoing, most recent phase of regeneration in the area, but of negative experiences he has had of such schemes in the past.

William: *"I've heard it all before! Yeah. I've heard it and seen it all before… I remember, tied into a lot of improvements from the start of the Thatcher era, was money will only be released if tenant involvement was linked with it as well"*

He goes on to highlight what he believes is the real reason tenant involvement is so crucial:

William: *"Well, you feel betrayed don't you? You feel you've been just part of a façade that's been set up just to get government funding, right. Tenant involvement, government funding, right, so that's achieved an end there. And then, when it goes through, well… as I say, it's just a public relations exercise. You know, just to tick the boxes to get government money…"*

From his perspective, such initiatives have the goal of gaining access to funding, rather than to deliver the changes that may be desired by existing residents of an area. From his account, it would seem that this has led to the

feeling that he has been used and a sense of betrayal towards those who he trusted to deliver the promised changes in previous regeneration initiatives during the late 1980s and early 1990s. He goes on to recall how the start of the local tenant management cooperative in 1992 was to seize control of the management of the area:

William: *"And when this tenant management cooperative started in 1992 You didn't get any funding for your area unless tenant involvement was involved, and we were asked, well, we got involved because we wanted to improve our estate. We'd left it to the professionals and we thought they were a waste of space. We were living there 24 hours a day, 7 days a week in these areas, and we thought we knew what the estates wanted and what the tenant wanted. "*

William has lived in Pendleton his entire life, and negative experiences in the past seem to have led him to the belief that the housing industry and related parties may not have the best wishes of the residents at heart. He presents the formation of the cooperative as an opportunity to gain control, describing how it was only the residents who knew what residents wanted and how they had a personal stake in seeing that such demands were being met:

William: *"So, to get the money, right, you put this manifesto forward – what you're going to do, what your hopes and dreams are and everything and you send it off to central government."*

He describes the initial actions of the tenant management cooperative as being very optimistic, referring to their "hopes and dreams." William's identification of mistrust in stakeholders as a motivating factor in him getting involved with a tenants' association is reflected in literature. Research has noted how the appropriation of space and adverse changes leading to dissatisfaction amongst residents can further stimulate community attachment, through the creation of a common threat to the interests of a community (Feldman & Stall, 1994).

Jim is of a similar age to William, but he moved to the area in 1998, after the experiences that William describes as having led to the formation of his cooperative in 1992. Unlike William, on the whole, Jim seems to hold generally positive feelings towards the changes to property brought about by the ongoing regeneration of the area:

Jim: *"It has been vastly improved... the first thing they did in most of the properties, was go in, knock out the windows, put in the new windows and for all but two blocks (coughs) excuse me – in the lounge cut a section out down to the floor and put in floor to ceiling Juliet balconies. Looks lovely."*

Despite this, however, he too questions the priorities of the local housing providers:

Jim: *"That senior liaison officer has since left Keepmoat. And I have a strong suspicion that one of the reasons she left... well, I wouldn't say that as being actually true – but my observation would be that one of the reasons she left was that that sense of being a small, caring, family firm had gone. And part of that was the loss of... any concern of residents, for instance. So, I think we lost out on that... Their main focus is on getting the job done (pause) and they'd be quite happy if we didn't exist. And that, I think, has created some tension. And that has been, I think, my (pause) sole, real disappointment."*

Although his dialogue suggests a generally positive perspective of the work being completed in the area, Jim presents feelings of doubt as to whether stakeholders have the best interests of the local residents at heart. Here, he describes a senior liaison officer leaving Keepmoat and in doing so, reveals his perception that the company is generally uncaring towards the experiences of residents. He also goes on to highlight a sense of precariousness, as he describes his "fears" that the initiation of a Private Finance Initiative (PFI) may threaten the lifelong security he felt came from living in a council-owned property:

Jim: *"If you're born and brought up in a council house, you've got security for life, it'll always be the same. You know, you'll get a council house, the children will live, and so on – and that sense of security (pause) I think there was to a degree, a fear that that might go."*

Jim goes on to tell me how, although reluctant at first, it was these negative perceptions that led him to join the tenants' association contained within the block of flats in which he lives:

Jim: *"It was a little while before I'd have anything to do with the local tenants association, but then I did relent and start to attend and eventually become the secretary of our tenants' association… to make the best of a bad job."*

Sheila is also a member of this tenants' association and she spoke of some of the changes the group was able to initiate:

Sheila: *"But we've done a lot of things in the… it was us that got the security going."*

From the accounts she provides, membership of a tenants' association seems to provide Sheila with a sense of control. Here, she outlines her perspective of how through the formation of the tenancy group, they were able to improve security, which many of the residents interviewed identified as a priority. She also goes onto to describe the control the group had over the precise nature of these changes:

Sheila: *"They wanted to cage us in and we said; "No! We don't want caging in! We just want main gates and security – better security... They were going to put a fence in, all the way round each block and we said no way! We just want main gates and padlock… pad gates, like you know, so you can get in and out."*

Reengaging in the hermeneutics of suspicion, this appears to be indicative of what many theorists would identify as social capital, which is seen to increase

the likelihood of community mobilisation, leading to greater involvement in the decision-making process (Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Manzo & Weinstein, 1987; Perkins et al., 2002). In the current scenario, this is seemingly apparent in the form of the tenants' associations and cooperatives, of which several participants are members. Through membership of these groups, residents allude to the increased opportunity to have their voices heard, as well as a heightened sense of control over their situation. Community participation can also ease the transition through the period of adaptation and the social support provided through memberships of such groups has also been seen to aid in this regard (MacKean & Abbott-Chapman, 2012). Membership of associations, including tenancy and resident groups, is said to be indicative of a participatory population, ready for mobilisation, which is argued to increase social capital (Warde et al., 2003). This can again be understood in terms of the structure versus agency continuum. Narratives presented by participants, such as William and Jim, have illuminated themes of distrust, as well as powerlessness over their circumstances. Such community mobilisation as demonstrated by the tenants' association of which Sheila, Joe, and Jim are members of show how such action can serve to enable a greater level of agency. Once seemingly constrained by the power structures around them, by mobilising as one, seemingly stronger entity, members of the community increase their sense of control over their circumstances, through greater leverage over those implementing the changes to their local area.

Social capital has become a heavily critiqued concept, but despite this, many of its assertions appear to be supported by the findings of the current research. One theory regards social capital as an asset for the individual, made up of social-structural resources (Coleman, 1994). The findings provide an example of this in the shape of tenants' associations, which afford members greater control of the process of regeneration than those without such group ties. One criticism of the concept put forward by Navarro (2002), however, is the absence of the consideration of power and politics, an issue that is raised by participants of the

current case study. Although seemingly an opportunity for an increase in levels of agency, such community groups are still subject to wider structures and changes on a policy level can prove disruptive of such efforts. Joe describes the previous community group before the changing of ownership of the housing stock across the city of Salford:

Joe: *"When that finally faded- fizzled out, we lost a great deal of cooperation within the area. You had a nucleus of 40 to 60 people – regular attenders. A proportion of whom, which would go to the security group and/or… or both the security. So, you had this interlinking, working, constant movement… I mean I'm exaggerating, but it was nonsense! And we tried to get these things drawn together. It was people action. It was people power if you like. Working together with the council and we had a very, very strong community. Now that went and community – nobody bothered going."*

When discussing community, Joe talks of community involvement. To him, community refers to when residents come together for mutual benefit. In the quote above he talks of the previous set-up when the housing stock was owned and managed entirely by the local authority. He describes his experiences of the community group during this period in a very favourable manner. He describes it as a 'nucleus': a central mind, which could intelligently and effectively guide community efforts. Since 2010, however, portions of the housing stock previously owned by Salford City Council have gradually been sold off and divided amongst multiple housing providers. Seemingly, as a consequence of this, Joe describes how he has seen this 'community' dissected. Membership numbers have now decreased, along with any influence he felt he once had over his living situation:

Joe: *"I take a couple of people now: one from Cherry Tree, which is Northern Counties, a neighbour here and myself. And until recently, I'd gone on my own. For years. To Community Committee, which is every two months. Two-monthly meeting, alternatively it's in Ordsall and Langworthy…. And Langworthy is a big ward. And there were 8 of these community committees across the city. And… they still exist, but they're trying to phase them out. And that'll be the last of the cooperation and coordination. But we've lost since then, since the forum went – that forum went, we lost a lot of the activity and the nucleus."*

In describing the changes the community organisation has experienced, he seems to suggest that he believes this disruption has been purposeful. Joe feels he has had particularly negative experiences throughout the regeneration scheme and now expresses distrust towards those implementing the project. His words also implicate this as having consequences for community mobilisation. He describes his perception of how despite previously pulling in one direction, the various tenants' associations in the area now appear to be at odds with one another. It is evident in his words that he feels a sense of competition between these associations, which to him have become more self-serving in their efforts. There is a definite sense of competition when he discusses the achievements of various groups, holding pride over achievements of his tenants' association in comparison to others, as well as resentment towards the achievements of others. He also appears to be disillusioned with the shift in power balance since the change in group dynamics:

Joe: *"Where Sheila is and Jim, who's another one… (lowered voice) who are the higher echelons. And they (pause) that community there… we had the old forum and we had the meetings… And it was proposed that it move round the different community rooms… It would attract people from that particular block to attend that meeting and get interested. And she's still alive, she's still chairman (pause) Madame chairman of the association (pause) threw a wobbler (pause) and threatened to resign. She wouldn't partake in anything if she was moved out of her community room and had walk down to Thorne Court! She would resign. And nobody would. Except if there was a party here and the freebies. Then they'd come. They'd never come to a meeting here. Too far out; we're out on a limb here. We're isolated – we're not part of them. We're not part of the community up there."*

Another participant of the current study is identified as being one of the 'higher echelons' by Joe. This individual, Jim, currently seems very happy with his tenants' association, and how things are working in practice. When discussing the

tenants' association, Jim describes how previous to living in the area, he had no interest in getting involved with such efforts:

Jim: *"When I'd been in housing, I always said I'd never have anything at all to do with tenants' groups. Because, you know, I managed a one-stop-shop in North Manchester – in Manchester and was sick and tired of the local ayatollah – the chair of the local tenants' association, coming in, having an argument usually at the desk, in the end getting their own way and going away. And I have a feeling that very often that individual went away feeling appeased and not interested in whatever they were fighting for. Which I thought was not very honest."*

Before retiring, Jim had worked as a housing officer in various areas across the country, most recently in Manchester. In the quote above, he describes his experiences of dealing with tenants' associations as part of his work. Through his description of his previous, negative experiences with such groups, there are some clear parallels between this and the current situation of Joe. They each use similar terminology and seem to hold resentment towards individual members who they perceive to hold power, which they utilise in self-interest. These excerpts seemingly serve to support the criticism of social capital put forward by Navarro (2002). The apparent rivalry and competition amongst tenants' groups, highlight the central role of power and politics between individuals in the nurturing of social capital. Another criticism of social capital is its adoption of the language of economics (Smith & Kulynych, 2002). The current research findings also seem to support this criticism, as the competition evident between tenancy associations could be seen as being symbolic of that of the free market, with individual entities striving for superiority. Membership of such community groups enables individuals to strive towards a common good for the collective, but in a state of competition with other such groups. Just as with capitalism, for every winner, there is a loser. Collective understanding of change is rooted in community involvement and social relations (Fried & Gleicher, 1961; Hummon, 1992). Sheila and Jim, members of the tenants' association that Joe regards as having a higher level of influence, have a

much more positive image of the changes. Joe, however, whose block has a much less active element of community involvement, has a much more negative opinion towards the regeneration. All parties acknowledge the disruption involved, yet Sheila and Jim seem much more accepting of this, seemingly holding the opinion that it will be worth it.

5.5   Crime and safety concerns

The next sub-ordinate theme relating to feelings of control is crime and safety concerns, which are implicated as having had consequences for well-being. This is a common concern raised in the narratives presented by residents and is a component of well-being identified by Maslow (1954) in the second tier of his hierarchy of needs. Before progressing closer to self-actualisation, an individual needs to feel safe and secure in their exploration of the world in which they live. Several participants identify a crime problem as being present in the local area:

Jim: *"Like some parts of Manchester, Salford always had a bad name… for trouble. And most cities have an area where trouble seems to ferment and then sort of…explode. And this was Salford's area. It was a problem area."*

The perception of the prevalence of crime in the area amongst participants seems to be high, which along with the ongoing refurbishment of properties, raises themes of concern and worry for personal well-being and safety. A specific issue highlighted is that of substance use, which is seemingly quite prevalent in the area based on the accounts of numerous participants:

Margaret: *"Because there is bad sides of it: the drugs and everything else, but (pause) Salford. Yeah, there is. That's why they're trying to do it up, aren't they? The shootings and the drug dealings that go on and stuff. You just have to lead your kids in the right way. And if there was more for them in the area, then they'd be better kids, wouldn't they?"*

This claim is supported by public health statistics, which highlight the severity of drug addiction in the ward in which the area is located (Peck & Tocque, 2010; Salford City Council, 2016). Although participants do not implicate the ongoing regeneration of the area as contributing to levels of crime in the area, Margaret's words here identify the perception of a potential causal factor for such issues, which regeneration has arguably failed to address. One may regard this as an overstatement of the role of regeneration, which although it may seek to improve local living conditions, would be limited in its powers to directly address drug use. If, as identified by Margaret, the lack of activity for younger individuals is responsible for them turning to drug use, it would take a significant amount of time for the benefits of dealing with such issues to become visible. This highlights the importance of managing the expectations of residents. Doris, however, provides an example of where she believes her housing provider could do more to address her concerns about safety:

Doris: *"I've got one underneath that smokes cannabis; It knocks my heart sick. And last night (pause) next door. Well, he's a nice lad and I think he's been caught up with these two ones who came just before you came up with him. And I said, are you visiting because he was outside and they hadn't let him in. you know, you have to press to get in? You see, these are safety things."*

Here, Doris describes some of the crime and safety issues she feels are present within her block. Again, the issue centres around substance use, but the larger concern for her is seemingly the people that this brings into the building. She describes how this problem is evident in the flat across the hall from her, and she tells me about a recent incident where there were individuals unknown to her, idling outside of her door. Such experiences have seemingly led her to fear for her safety and she describes the frustration she has with the management of the property:

Doris: *"Nobody buzzed me and said suchabody's downstairs, which they're supposed to do. This is the idea of having buzzers. I mean, I knew you were coming and I expected you so that's why I opened the door, but normally I peep through and shout who is it?"*

For her, the security system is not used properly. People are to be granted permission to enter by residents, but in her eyes, this does not seem to be happening. It should also be noted that I, the interviewer, was also able to get into the building to conduct the interview, without the interviewee knowing I had arrived. From this excerpt and from my own experience of visiting the property, Doris seems to be afraid and reluctant to open her front door. She goes on to tell me about an experience she had whilst temporarily living in a property in the area that may have some way contributed to this anxiety:

Doris: *"I had someone on Lime Court when I was on Lime Court and.. oh she said: "I'll just come in." and I said, "no don't! You can't come in!" (pause) So she said: I'll just come in! I said: Oh no, I said. God forgive me! I've got a Doberman, he'll attack you! And she shot out. I haven't got a dog because we're not allowed dogs, but it's the first thing that come into my… I mean, I was really frightened of her. And this is what I mean; it's so easy for people to get onto the block, they're just letting them on, you see."*

Doris describes the fears she has and the lengths she feels she needs to go to defend herself from what she perceives to be threats to her safety, which hints at a lack of control over her circumstances. In her descriptions of such issues, she again implicates her housing provider as being in some way responsible. She identifies a duty of care she feels they have for her and seems to see the resolution to such problems as being in the hands of those managing her property. Her words hint at a sense of betrayal, which appears to be contributing to the sense of helplessness she seems to have towards her situation.

Rita too has experienced crime within her place of residence, in the previous block of flats in which she lived:

Rita: *"People was having fights and stuff like that and we had… knives through my letter-box and I was frightened and all things like that. Getting – somebody was getting battered in the car-park… it is frightening when you're living on your own."*

As part of the current regeneration project underway in Pendleton, Rita's previous block of flats has been demolished and residents wishing to stay local have been relocated in the area. In **Chapter 1**, I outlined how an advisory panel was developed for the PhD project, comprising of local authority members. One of these was a housing officer, who was heavily involved in the design and early implementation of the current regeneration project underway in Pendleton. In one conversation, he revealed the severity of the issues faced within this particular block of flats that Rita here refers to. Many of the properties were reported to be being utilised by criminals, to store illegal contraband, including illicit drugs and firearms. Here, Rita describes some of the frequent experiences while living in this particular block and expresses the fear she experienced on a regular basis during this period. At this point in the interview, I asked her to give further details regarding these experiences:

Rita: *"Really bad! If you're living on your own and there are things like that happening through your letterbox and they're knocking – the police are knocking on the door and you don't – you can't answer it. You get told that you're a grass and all this lot, but I just didn't answer it. I just… You know what I mean? Stayed in my bedroom… and didn't answer my door to any (pause) I'm here on my own! So, it was frightening."*

Rita's words give an insight into the thought processes experienced by those who perceive the area as being unsafe and the impact this may have on one's willingness to leave their property. During my conversation with William, he outlined a different perspective on the potential causes of such risks within the community:

William: *"So, that sense of community (pause) she probably knew the people on her own landing, and a few of the locals that had moved into the tower block with her, but people who'd been brought in as neighbours, she didn't know them. They were completely anonymous."*

It is his view that the replacement of terraced streets with tower blocks, as well as the removal of the local pubs, has had negative consequences for social interaction in the area, and may have contributed to a sense of anonymity. This is the next factor implicated as potentially having contributed to local concerns about community safety:

William: *"And if you're allowed to be anonymous in a community, I think that leads to big problems because them people can get away with things that they wouldn't have got away with in the old-fashioned neighbourhoods. You'd get people pulling children up saying "I know your father!" or "I know your Mother, and wait till I have a word with her!" You can't do that now because nobody knows each other on that sort of level. So, that anonymity allows a lot of mischief to arise. You know, because people don't interact as much if you know what I mean."*

In raising this point, William appears to be attempting to highlight the significance of how he now feels less safe when navigating around the area. A causal factor he identifies as contributing to this is anonymity, which he sees to have affected the community in two main ways: anonymity of the geography, and of the community. In terms of geography, he frequently discusses how he believes the local area has become a 'freeway', serving to aid the flow of traffic coming in and out of the centre of Manchester. As a consequence of the changes to the roads travelling through the area, its geography has been transformed and now contains many, what the participant considers 'anonymous' underpasses and overpasses:

William: *"Well, you don't feel as safe doing them sort of things, do you? In anonymous areas, like you did when there was shops there. And loads of people around, surrounding you. You feel a lot safer walking in areas where you knew there was loads of pedestrians doing shopping. You know? There's different psychology in an area when there's shopping in there, rather than just anonymous houses."*

Doris is another long-term resident who seems to share these concerns:

Doris: *"I will not go under those underpasses. No way! Well, I get a taxi to Church from here because I won't go under because there's been so many people… attacked! A friend of mine – she's dead now, God rest her, but she was attacked under there… and it's just totally different."*

Doris describes her perception of how travel within the area has become more difficult, as the underpasses that are intended help residents navigate the area are regarded as unsafe and, therefore, have the opposite effect. She believes these fears are justified and gives an example of a friend who was attacked in one such underpass. As with William, Doris also hints at how this is a change is less desirable in relation to how things once were. In doing so, Doris directly addresses her thoughts on the psychological benefits that came from the presence of others. Steven also describes his feelings that the area is not safe:

Steven: *"Well, it's not safe for a lot of people to go out. You know. How many years ago you could go anywhere. But now at night time, the old people, it's just clunk! Clunk! Clunk! At night (sounds of locks on doors). Right? And they don't go out."*

Steven describes how from his perspective, many members of the community no longer feel safe leaving their homes, opting to lock themselves indoors. These accounts highlight themes of worry about crime and safety within the interviewed population. As with their worries about physical health, participants also allude to a sense of helplessness over their situation. Again, this may be considered an overstatement of the role of regeneration, but it does provide insight into the

perception of residents and provides a potential explanation to the talk of betrayal that arose in relation to various elements of the regeneration process. However, one change brought about by regeneration that several of the interviewees identify as having aided in this regard in the installing of gates around the grounds of the contained tower blocks:

Sheila: *"Well, I live in a very good area now because we've got security – the gates, so people can't get in when – when they're not broken, that is! (laughs)"*

Here, Sheila highlights her perception of the benefits of this step, describing how she now lives in a 'good' area. She does, however, allude to an awareness of some issues around the functionality of these. Jim's dialogue echoes this sentiment, with him describing the sense of relief that comes over him once through the gates:

Jim: *"But just the sense of, you've come home and as soon as you came through the gate (pause) remember, it's a 5 block garden – you felt perfectly secure. And like you could just sigh. A Sigh of relief – you were home, safe. And that was good – and that was really helpful."*

What this shows is that although possibly considered an overstatement of the role of regeneration, in the current scenario, changes brought about by such a project appear to have led to some improvements in community safety. In terms of feelings of safety, the findings seem to support those of Whitely & Prince (2006), who found community safety to be by far the most important factor in participants' ability to cope with mental health conditions throughout the experience of neighbourhood regeneration.

5.6   Conclusion

In **Chapter 5**, I have covered the analysis of the first super-ordinate theme relating to mental well-being: feelings of control. Conversations with participants revealed themes of worry in relation to two main concerns: physical health and safety from crime. Worries about health were raised as a consequence of living in a home undergoing refurbishment, relating predominantly to levels of dust and hazardous toxins. Participants presented notions of a lack of control over their situation, leading to a sense of betrayal, as they identified feelings of distrust towards stakeholders. Their words raise questions about where their responsibility begins and ends, which seemingly results from an apparent perception of a duty of care towards residents. Many participants identified safety as an essential factor in their life. It has been posited how the presence of a strong community place attachment can lead to a decreased fear of crime (Brown et al., 2004). In this case, several participants spoke of how the breakdown of community and an increased sense of anonymity has hampered feelings of safety. Accounts provided suggest this has been exacerbated further by the perceived anonymity of the landscape, with busy social spaces being replaced with 'anonymous' underpasses and overpasses brought in to accommodate the busier road network. One change that some see to improve this is the fitting of community gates and participants speak openly about the sense of security that comes with them.

Discussions also served to highlight the complexities faced by stakeholders in managing the expectations of residents, as well as their level of choice. When dealing with a large population of diverse demographic characteristics, the preferences of how to handle disruption could prove equally varied and those implementing projects are faced with a difficult task. They must seek to maximise the choice afforded to residents in the attempt to provide them greater levels of control while being constrained by budget and time constraints relating to ongoing construction work. Due to the nature of autonomy, I question the possibility of

identifying a perfect solution for such issues. One apparent factor that can seemingly increase residents' sense of control, however, is membership of a tenancy association, which appears to give individuals a sense of ownership over changes implemented as part of regeneration, as a result of increased social capital.

Chapter 6 Social and community relations

6.1   Introduction

Having in **Chapter 5** considered the sub-ordinate themes pertaining to power and control, **Chapter 6** provides the analysis of issues surrounding the second super-ordinate theme: social and community relations. Discussed first are the well-being issues associated with high-rise accommodation, as well as an exploration of the role and capability of stakeholders to address such issues within pre-existing places of inhabitation. Also explored is how the relocation of residents, the removal of social spaces, and changing population demographics have the potential to be disruptive of social ties, which may have further potential consequences for well-being. The chapter also identifies some examples of good practice, which appear to have played a positive role in addressing social isolation and loneliness in the current research context.

6.2   High-rise living

Another, more indirect, consequence of the regeneration of the area raised in the conversations shared with the participants appears to be social isolation. Regeneration projects are implemented with a focus on sustainability, and debates surrounding the concept no longer consider it as solely an environmental concern, but also consider both economic and social dimensions (Dempsey, Bramley, Power, & Brown, 2009). This tripartite definition has been likened to a three-legged stool, with each being identified as being crucial for the successful sustainable regeneration of an area (Jones & Evans, 2008). In discussing such issues with participants, the increase in isolation in the area was linked directly to

the physical neighbourhood, specifically, the replacement of terraced streets with multi-storey tower blocks in the slum clearance of the 1960s:

William: *"…people were just stacked on top of each other instead of being in terraced streets, which separates people, to start with. You don't tend to see people a lot, other than coming into the tower blocks and getting in the lifts. You don't interact with people as much as when they're living on the ground floor in terraced streets. So, it makes you quite anonymous living in tower blocks compared with terraced streets. I'd have preferred the older streets to have been done up to a decent standard."*

Here, William describes what he sees as a crucial difference between these modes of living and how living in a tower block separates people from one another. For him, this is seen to inhibit people's ability to interact with each other, diminishing the social interaction within the 'neighbourhood.' From his perspective, the change in living situation appears to have led to a sense of anonymity and isolation within the local community. His descriptions hint at a perception of a lack of understanding from those responsible, for the potentially disruptive consequences for social relations. The words of Doris, another long-term resident of Pendleton, appear to echo this sentiment, as she considers the potential causes of the disturbance of community that she has perceived in the area:

Doris: *"It could be because we were moved out of two ups, two downs into these flats… totally different way of living. And you moved away from the neighbours that you'd known – you moved away from a lot of the neighbours you'd known because the size of the family decided where they lived."*

Doris too highlights her experiences of an altered way of life brought about by the change in living circumstances. She presents a view that relocation disrupted the 'neighbourhoods' due to decisions being made based on logistical factors, such as family size. Taking this approach may have appeared to make practical sense, but based on these accounts, did seemingly have some

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unintended consequences. Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1954) highlights the human motivation for group membership, belonging, and the ability to form relationships with others. Ryan and Deci (2000) talk of relatedness, and the need for 'connectedness' to others. Ryff (1995) also describes the need for positive relations with others. With this apparent consensus among well-being theorists on the role of social relations in well-being, this serves to highlight further the importance that regeneration projects adopt a holistic view of 'sustainable' regeneration.

In the extracts above, William and Doris refer to a previous occurrence of regeneration in the area, which took place in the 1960s. What their accounts highlight, however, is some of the potential issues faced by individuals living in high-rise accommodation. With a large proportion of Pendleton's current housing stock being high-rise flats, a large proportion of the population is potentially in need of support. There is a substantial body of research literature highlighting the potential consequences faced by individuals living in high-rise buildings. In his review of such literature, Gifford (2007) concludes that living within such properties can influence residents' experiences of issues including satisfaction, social behaviour, children, mental health, suicide, and fear of crime. Such research does highlight the role of moderating factors, such as residential socioeconomic status, neighbourhood quality, age, gender, and ability to choose one's housing form. Irrespective of these, however, Gifford asserts that the research conducted in the area does seem to suggest high-rise living is less satisfactory than other forms of housing. Families with young children being dissatisfied with living in such accommodation is well documented (Gittus, 1976; van Vlier, 1983), due to the lack of available space and play facilities. Residents in high-rises report poorer social relationships, both with those within and outside of their building (Korte & Huismans, 1983). Proximity is highlighted as a strong predictor of friendship, and people within tower blocks have shown a tendency to interact more with members of the same floor (Bochner, Duncan, Kennedy, & Orr, 1976).

Consequently, although they may have several friends close-by, they will be living among a large number of strangers. Fear of strangers can then lead to fear of crime (Gifford, 2007), something prevalent in the interview extracts presented in **Chapter 5**. They have also been shown to reduce helping behaviour, with the structure of such buildings contributing to a sense of anonymity (Bickman, 1973).

It should be emphasised that the relocation of inhabitants, such as William and Doris, to tower blocks has not occurred as part of the current, ongoing regeneration of the area, but rather during a much earlier phase of regeneration that occurred during the 1960s. When first introduced to the area high-rises were relatively new, with the first examples being introduced to the UK in the 1950s (Power, 1993), which means it was unlikely that information about their unwanted consequences was available to the town planners of the period. Urban regeneration is the large-scale process of adapting an existing environment (Jones & Evans, 2008), so although the potential consequences of high-rise living are now well documented, such difficulties cannot be readily attributed to the current phase of regeneration. However, the housing stock of the central area of Pendleton predominantly takes the form of high-rise accommodation. If the structural changes implemented as part of previous regeneration efforts have raised issues of social isolation, the argument may be raised that further initiatives should seek to address such unintended consequences.

The replacement of terraced streets with tower blocks is also implicated as having contributed to a perceived decline in a sense of community:

William: *"It was a sense of anonymity. They were complete strangers. I'm talking about people who were neighbours to her in a tower block and she didn't even know them. So, that sense of community… she probably knew the people on her own landing, and a few of the locals that had moved into the tower block with her, but people who'd been brought in as neighbours, she didn't know them."*

Here, William recalls his early experiences in the tower block in which he lived as a child with his mother. These changes appear to have led to a sense of anonymity and reduced social interaction, which for several participants have seemingly led to a gradual breakdown of community.

Steven does not live in a tower block, but he too holds a similar opinion of high-rise living:

Steven: *"You think of those people who live in them flats. Say the 18th floor, right? When they come out all they've got is them doors. About 4 doors on each landing. And you might not even know who are in there, or anything. The only people they talk to is the people in the lift. It's true that. When they come down, they come to downstairs and they come out. So they're segregated up there. You know what I mean?"*

Despite not living in a tower block, Steven does know several people that do and he expresses a sense of sympathy for anyone living in such circumstances. In explaining his concerns, he also identifies issues of isolation brought about by living in such accommodation. To demonstrate how he feels those living inside are separated from one another, he draws on the concept of segregation, which too may be seen as a barrier to the development of community.

Such issues associated with high-rise living are now well established within the literature (Gifford, 2007; Gittus, 1976; Korte & Huismans, 1983; van Vliet, 1983), but it must be acknowledged that refurbishment, the manner in which such properties have been affected by the current phase of regeneration, is only able to improve a home in its current form. Physical changes to the structure of a building of this nature may lead to improvements in aesthetics and energy efficiency, but it could be argued that to expect regeneration to improve social relations within a block goes beyond the capability of such projects. Short of demolition and re-building such property, issues surrounding community relations may be expected to remain.

In the excerpts above, the words of Steven, William, and Doris highlight some of the potential negative consequences of living within a high-rise tower block. Sheila too lives in this form of housing, but from the account she provides, she seems to have more readily adjusted to this mode of living:

Sheila: *"But we're all friendly; we have our own community room for if there's any bigger dos. Like, we had one for – I think it was a 50th. The Queen's 50th. We had a garden party outside and we all joined in and all made sandwiches and things like that."*

From the narratives provided, a facilitative factor in this successful adjustment appears to be structural changes made to the existing property, as part of previous regeneration initiatives in the area. She goes on to identify her perception of the direct influence that the inclusion of such resources had on the sense of community within her block of flats:

Sheila: *"You see now they've got the benches and the gardens and that… Well, I don't think people, like (pause) they never went out. So people never thought – knew who was who or anything, all along the blocks sort of thing, really. You might just say hello in the lift and that would be it sort of thing, you know."*

In the quote above, Sheila makes reference to how the inclusion of such facilities can enable people to interact within a block of flats. Such benefits are also referred to by Rita and Doris but, as explored in the next sub-ordinate theme, the extent to which these resources may enable interaction is mediated by additional factors.

6.3   The perils of relocation

The account of Sheila appears to highlight the potential for regeneration initiatives to address social and community issues faced by high-rise living, but the

experiences of Doris and Rita suggest that the influence of such resources is more nuanced:

Rita: *"Well, the communal garden's not the same… When you sit outside, you just (pause) nobody comes out anymore. It's (pause) there's no interacting on the block no more."*

In **Chapter 5**, the prevalence of crime in Rita's previous block of flats was discussed, highlighting the severity of her experiences. As part of the current regeneration of the Pendleton, her previous building was demolished and she has been moved into another block within the area. Despite the removal of these threats to safety from her life, she identifies life in her new home as being less pleasurable to that of her previous dwelling:

Rita: *"We used to interact. You know like, coming in for a brew and stuff like that. We'll go outside and we'll sit outside for a bit. You know what I mean? You don't get that now. It's all changed."*

The negative attitude she portrays appears to largely stem from a reduced ability to interact and socialise with others:

Rita: *"Like I said; I don't like being on my own sometimes. Like some, you know I like somebody to talk to. And sometimes I really feel like I'm on my own now… because all my friends have gone too far out (pause) It's (pause) I just feel lonely."*

A remarkable realisation for me, the researcher, was that despite the serious threats to her safety experienced in her previous home, she described life in the building as being more enjoyable:

Rita: *"Where we were, you used to get on with everybody."*

Following the demolition of her previous property, she and her co-residents have been relocated throughout the area. She describes how she believes her friends have been moved "too far out", suggesting the distance now between them makes it difficult to maintain regular contact. Through her choice of language, this is portrayed as having had consequences for her social activity and she describes how periods of isolation have led to feelings of loneliness. Lack of social interaction has seemingly had a significant impact on Rita, and when discussing her future hopes for life in the area, she describes the desire she has to form new relationships. While doing so, she once again hints at a sense of regret she feels towards no longer engaging in the same level of social activity that she once did:

Rita: *"I hope to get more (pause) more friends (pause) interacting with the people that's on my block. You know, more to talk to; a bit more than I am doing (pause) Because it's not nice (pause) In my old block, I used to let on to everybody."*

The issue of relocation was also raised by Doris, as she was detailing some of her past experiences of regeneration in Pendleton:

Doris: *"I think it's going from good neighbours to people that you don't know. People – we knew people there."*

In this excerpt, Doris is referring to the initial addition of high-rise accommodation to the area during the 1960s and the relocation of residents that took place as part of this process. Her thoughts echo those of Rita, and despite occurring over 50 years ago, the same issues implicated alongside the relocation of residents are still present. Questions, therefore, arise as to whether the appropriate lessons are being learned from the identified limitations of previous regeneration efforts. What these accounts also highlight is potential for structural changes to high-rise property to facilitate social interactions within high-rise properties. It is only Sheila, however, who directly identifies such changes as leading to such benefits.

The words of Doris and Rita, although identifying the use of such resources for social purposes, highlight the role of additional mediating factors. Specifically, the relocation of residents, and the examples that Rita provides show the potential severity of these consequences, with them being implicated alongside isolation, loneliness, and low mood.

6.4   Removal of social spaces

Another factor identified as having contributed to isolation in the area is the removal of locations associated with community and social activity:

Sheila: *"Well, I think it had an impact on quite a few people around here – the picture house and the pubs going like. Well, especially the men, you know… because really now, there's only the Legion on Langworthy Road. Yeah."*

Sheila describes her perception of the impact of the removal of such landmarks as the picture houses and pubs and several participants raise questions as to where people can now go to engage in these activities. The new supermarket is described by a number of participants as no alternative to the previous resources available, particularly for elderly people, whom Steven describes as not coping well with change. He goes on to provide further examples of previous landmarks that he associates with leisure activity:

Steven: *"Chimney Pot Park that was another one. Yeah, you know the bowling green – that's gone! You know what I mean? There was a tennis court – that's gone. I mean, on a summer's night you could go there. A nice and warm night and have a game of bowling and go for a pint. You know, it's… but none of that's here now. It's all gone... (pauses to think) 40-odd years ago. 40-odd years ago. But there's nothing like that now. There's nothing. Nothing around here anyway. It's sad. Very sad."*

As with Steven, some of the resources previously available in Chimney Pot Park were alluded to by Rita. On her identifying this I asked her if she would be willing to demonstrate the previous layout of the location:

Fig. 3: Rita's map indicating the location of a previous centre for leisure activities and socialising
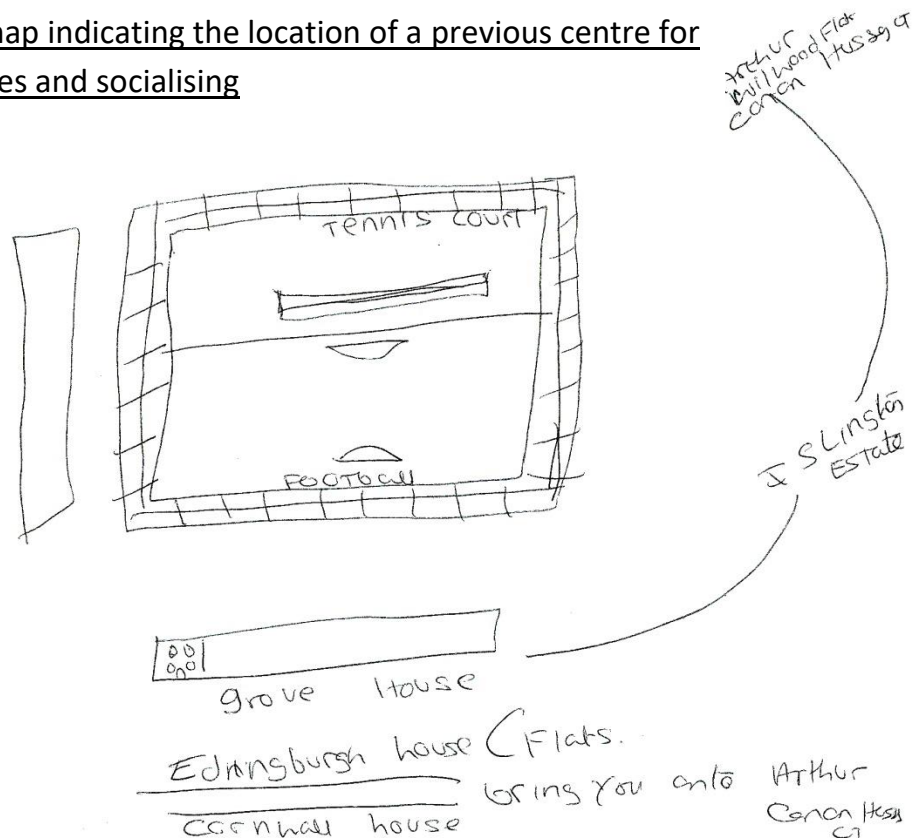
Steven expresses regret and sadness at the removal of these, in words that suggest a sense of loss, with him making the case that there is nothing available in the area that has filled the gap left by them. As previously noted, sustainable regeneration is often likened to a three-legged stool, with the three equally important pillars of economics, environment, and community (Jones & Evans, 2008). The redevelopment of Salford Quays, a high profile regeneration project only several miles from Pendleton, although widely considered successful in economic and environmental terms, has displayed indications of tension in its attempts to create a sustainable community (Raco & Henderson, 2005). It has been said that adequate attention has not been paid to the needs of the

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residential community, which has led to a one-dimensional population of young professionals. Namely, a lack of services relating to education, training, healthcare, and community have minimised the area's ability to meet the long-term needs of residents (Raco & Henderson, 2005). This proximal case study, coupled with the findings of the current research, highlight both the necessity and complexity for regeneration projects to accurately address the complex, ever-changing needs of a population as they change over time. This is not to say that decline is the result of regeneration initiatives, but rather, to highlight the importance that regeneration seeks to facilitate an area's capacity to meet the functional needs of its contained residents.

The gradual removal of social spaces in Pendleton has also been implicated as having contributed to a perception of a declining community. The local community was described explicitly as being tied to physical locations, both past and present. One element of the landscape that was frequently mentioned in this regard was the pubs that had previously existed:

Steven: *"And there was a pub called the Duchess Arms and I'll never forget that. This is going back years and years. And they used to, my Mam and Dad, went in there, it was their local. My Dad, we go in the Vault, because no women was allowed in the vault then. And my Mam would go in the snug for a chat. And they'd give me a few bob to go on the.. you know, you can't do that now. You wouldn't leave your kid on their own, you know what I mean? And I used to go on the fair and every year they'd have a trip out from the Duchess Arms for the kids. For a pantomime near Christmas."*

Multiple participants highlighted the significance of this loss, despite whether or not they themselves frequented such locations. Here, Steven tells a personal tale of one of the pubs that previously stood in the area. In his description, he highlights how they were used for a wider range of activities than local drinking culture. It was a communal retreat for men, women, and children. The particular example provided also shows how further social activity was

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enabled by the attendance at pubs and how trips would be organised for the children of local families. As well as expressing regret for having lost these local landmarks, William goes on to further explain why the loss of these is so significant:

William: *"Well, I think cultural-wise, I mean the pub was at the centre of the community; it was the local. It was called the local for a good reason; it was where all the local people actually drank in that area. So, to lose 15 pubs in that small area there (pause) that's just over half a mile, it's a massive change to people's lives."*

Highlighting the role they had in the formation of community, he identifies the scale of the impact he believes the removal of 15 such spaces must have had on local community relations. The notion of pubs forming the social centre of a community is well documented in the literature (Clarke et al., 2000; Sandiford & Divers, 2014). Community can be described as an optimistic sense of sociability and comradery (Sandiford & Seymour, 2007) and the Association of Licensed Multiple Retailers (2008) highlight the potential benefits that pubs can offer to this by providing a social space-maintaining centre within the community. Pubs are also often seen as hospitable places, even for strangers and those marginalised within a community (Sandiford & Divers, 2011). The English pub has a long history and findings from a study conducted in Birmingham showed how many felt a decline in pubs was contributing to a sense of loss of community (Orford et al., 2009). Although certain changes may not have been directly brought about by regeneration efforts, these accounts do provide a useful cautionary tale. Highlighted is how the removal of physical structures can have unexpected consequences with resources and landmarks serving to provide more than their designed function. These words may also indicate a need of the community, that could potentially have been addressed in the design of the ongoing regeneration of the area.

A positive change identified by several participants as being brought about by regeneration is the new Gateway centre. In terms of public service provision, the centre is a 'one-stop-shop' for the needs of a community. The Gateway centre provides adult and children's library services, council services, social events and activities, health services including a GP surgery, as well as general information and advice (Salford City Council, 2018). Margaret's positive attitudes towards this facility seem to arise from its containment of Time Bank, a local community group where members donate time in the form of favours:

Margaret: *"They do stuff like the Time Bank, which I've now come across (pause) in November this year. That's been really good for me, because I was at a point of (pause) really depressed and it got me more out and confident and meeting more people. "*

Through membership of the group, one individual may choose to help another by painting somebody's living room. By doing this, they can bank 'time' which can be redeemed in the form of a favour from another group member, be it gardening, cooking, or some other domestic activity. Here, Margaret highlights the significant positive impact that she sees membership of this community group as having had in terms of her mental well-being. Through reaching out to others through membership of this group, she seems to have found a whole new energy and willingness to reach out to other people and form further social connections. To her, the Time Bank seemingly represents hope, with her describing it as providing a "light at the end of the tunnel." The metaphor that she presents is of an increased capacity to work through what may appear to be a 'dark' period in her life. Through our discussion, Emily too seems to hold very positive feelings towards the Time Bank:

Emily: *"Like I go to time bank on Monday and I'll do my Thursday. That's two days. sometimes I'll go to cooking on Wednesday. And I'm about to set up a craft club as well, at time bank. So those things: I wouldn't have dreamt of doing them when I first moved here"*

Emily describes the Time Bank as a positive element of the local area and questions whether her positive experiences of friendship and community would be possible without the existence of the group. Her daily and weekly routines have, in her eyes, been improved through membership of the group. She describes herself as being busier than ever before, having frequent opportunities to engage with the community and socialise with other people. She goes on to talk about the benefits she regards this group as having for the older members of the local community:

Emily: *"Because a lot of people, as they get older, they don't get involved. You know, they don't interact with the outside world."*

Previously discussed was the vulnerability that several participants identify the older population as facing in terms of isolation and loneliness, but the accounts provided by Emily and a number of other participants seemingly highlight the benefits that membership of such a group can have. It has been described as a public health priority to identify strategies to promote well-being in older age (Fancourt & Steptoe, 2018; WHO, 2015). The results of a ten-year longitudinal study have highlighted the potential benefits of community group membership, showing how education, art classes, church or religious groups may support well-being in older age (Holt-Lunstad, Smith, & Layton, 2010). Community facilities have also been shown to have mild benefits for coping with mental health conditions (Whitely & Prince, 2005).

The three models of Ryan and Deci (2001), Maslow (1954), and Ryff (1995), all acknowledge the role of community in positive well-being, making reference to

relatedness, belonging, and positive relations with others, respectively. Such benefits for mental well-being are thought to arise as group membership provides a source of security, social companionship, emotional bonding, intellectual stimulation, collective goal attainment, and benefits for self-esteem (MacKean & Abbott-Chapman, 2012). Groups are seen to not only provide a setting for social activity but also to shape our notions of self (Haslam et al., 2009). Group membership can be of emotional significance, providing a sense of social identity and a sense that we belong (Tajfel, 1972). Members of the group to which we feel we belong are not merely others, but are one of us, serving to enrich our lives.

The Time Bank is a positive example of this process in action and serves to highlight the benefits of the organisation and of the availability of spaces to house such activity. Another example from the current context is tenants' associations. Sheila describes how one motivating factor of the initiation of the tenancy association of her block was the lack of social activity in the area:

Sheila: *"Well, I was hoping to get people involved with things and (pause) like, get the community together. When you're in a flat, you don't see many people very often. But when you've got like – I more or less know who lives in the block sort of thing and if I don't see them I think, oh I wonder what's happened there. And I'll knock on the door or whatever, you see. Especially if they're older people, you know."*

It is thought that an area with strong community attachments will lead to greater social cohesion, with individuals more likely to support one another (Brown et al., 2004). Sheila's account of the tenants' association neatly demonstrates this, as she describes the benefits that come from membership of this group and how they can help each other with various needs. Neighbouring is seen to enable social support and the forming of an emotional attachment to one's neighbours (Unger & Wandersman, 1985), something the current case study would appear to support. Sheila has a desire to look out for her neighbours' well-being, which further demonstrates the vital role of the tenants' association in

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providing a sense of community after the perceived disruption of that which previously existed.

Place attachment is not only regarded as an individual phenomenon but also as having a collective, community element known as community place attachment (Mihaylov & Perkins, 2014). Previous research has shown how regeneration projects can lead to decreased feelings of community spirit (Blackman et al., 2001). Such community attachment can be especially significant for people with minimal individual resources, as it grants them a greater level of social support. A potential negative of such groups, however, is that this can lead to in-group/out-group conflict. This is arguably present in the current scenario, in the form of the competition seemingly present between differing tenants' associations, which was discussed in **Chapter 5**.

6.5   Changing demographics

The next sub-ordinate theme that falls under the super-ordinate theme of social and community relations relates to the changing demographics of the area. The identified divide in the community appears to surround wealth and social-class:

Steven: *"…but where I live now, I don't think – because we've got nice gardens, it's all open-planned and I used to work in a prison and I get pensioned and I've got a conservatory that goes all the way round the back. And I've got a lovely view of the hills, you know what I mean. But down here they haven't. Because we're on a hill, you know what I mean. But I – and I like it there. The neighbours… not up to standard, but the people that I really want to know, I know. You know, the others they think they're snobby because they live up there and all that lot. I could never be like that. I've let onto neighbours in the garden, as I say, it's open-plan, I've been mowing the lawn and somebody's walked past and I said: "good morning!" Well, they look up, or start talking to the dog. And I felt saying; "eh, you miserable…" you know? But no, I don't do. But, when I come down here (pause) it's different."*

Due to his favourable pension, Steven has been able to move to one of the more affluent districts of the central area of Pendleton. These take the form of two-storey properties, which are located at the outskirts of the central shopping area. So although within the borders of the ongoing regeneration of the area, his property is privately owned, and therefore, not directly impacted by the project. He takes great pride in his home, which he regards as the reward for his hard work. However, although describing the preference he has for the aesthetic quality of the area he lives, Steven identifies more negative feelings towards the other residents of the area. He identifies a divide between the residents of this area and those of the central 'Precinct' area. Making reference to their 'snobbiness' it suggests that these individuals consider themselves as being above the other residents of the area, or at least, this is the perception of Steven. Another example of such issues is raised by William, in the form of Salford Quays:

William: *"And I don't know if you've seen it recently in one of the national and local papers that the people on the Quays side are objecting to swearing. And I thought, where're these people who are (pause) all of these profanities, where are they coming from? Are they coming from the opposite side of the road? Or are they coming from their own locals? I thought, well it's not from their own locals; it can't be, can it? Are they coming from the opposite side of the road and swearing at the locals?"*

In this extract, William is referring to the border between the electoral ward in which Pendleton is situated and that of Salford Quays. He speaks of conflict that seems to have arisen between the old residents of the area and the new, more affluent people now living in and around Salford Quays. He elaborates on this point, describing the change in the image of the Quays area. In his youth, this was known as the docks, and he states how you 'wouldn't be seen dead' in the area, whereas now it has become the habitat of the more affluent members of society:

William: *"Now, that is an area where you wouldn't have been seen dead 40 years ago, around the docks. Right? That was a real slum area. But, because it's got water, and anywhere with water sticks 20 grand on the price of the house. If you've got a little canal, or a little river there at the bottom of your garden, you can stick quite a few grand on the cost of the property. And it was the place to live. But the people on the opposite side of the road used to call them the 'yuppies' on the other side of the road. And there was a lot of, you know, a lot of disenchantment there when them houses went up."*

In describing the change of demographics, he ties this directly to the regeneration of the area. He seems to hold these changes responsible for the changing demographics and speaks of the disapproval of the existing residents of these changes. What this highlights is how although regeneration efforts may be limited to a specific location, their influence can extend beyond its designated geographical borders. One issue highlighted around regeneration projects, is that they can develop new inhabitants and social demographics can change, which can have detrimental consequences for community cohesion (Corcoran, 2002). Discussed earlier in the chapter was the example of Salford Quays: a proximal example of regeneration. It has been said that a lack of attention being paid to the long-term needs of the residential community has seemingly led to difficulties in trying to create a sustainable sense of community (Raco & Henderson, 2005). The findings of the current research echo this sentiment, with several participants providing examples of conflict within the wider community, specifically, on the borders of regenerated areas of the city. Corcoron (2002) describes how more affluent residents can be perceived as pushing out those of lesser means, leading to narratives of 'colonisation'. He goes on to describe how these newer residents do not feel part of the community, but also do not feel the need to engage. As suggested by the findings of the current study, this may lead to a more fragile sense of community, as the neighbourhood becomes more fragmented.

6.6   Conclusion

In **Chapter 6**, I have provided the analysis of the sub-ordinate themes relating to the super-ordinate theme of social and community relations. From the perspective of those interviewed, various elements of the regeneration process have seemingly contributed to issues of social isolation and loneliness. The first factor identified in this regard was living within a high-rise block of flats. Such problems associated with this mode of living are well documented in the literature (Gifford, 2007; Korte & Huismans, 1983; van Vliet, 1983) and one could argue that those implementing initiatives are limited in their powers to address problems when working with pre-existing properties. Within the accounts of participants, however, lie some positive examples of minor structural changes, which I argue appear to address such problems. By creating social spaces, including gardens, benches, and community rooms, changes may facilitate the formation of social networks within properties of a physical structure that have previously shown to be inhibitory of such relations.

Another positive factor identified in the accounts of participants is group membership. Benefits that community group membership can have for mental well-being is documented in literature (Fancourt & Steptoe, 2018; WHO, 2011), being shown to provide such benefits as a source of security, social companionship, emotional bonding, intellectual stimulation, collective goal attainment, and benefits for self-esteem (MacKean & Abbott-Chapman, 2012), something the narratives provided in the current findings serve to further highlight.

Chapter 7 Understandings and definitions of place

7.1 Introduction

In **Chapter 7**, I explore the analysis relating to the third super-ordinate theme of 'understandings and definitions of place.' In doing so, I explore participants' experiences of place attachment (PA) throughout the process of neighbourhood regeneration. I draw on a phenomenological definition of place as: "any environmental locus in and through which individual or group actions, experiences, intentions, and meanings are drawn together spatially" (Seamon, 2013, p. 11). As such, the analysis seeks to explore the experience of 'person in place.' I also consider the underlying processes that can be both sustaining and detrimental to the person-place relationship. Individual experiences of this relationship will vary (Hummon, 1992). As such, for the current research, I draw on the various sub-processes identified by Seamon (2014), including place definition, place dependence, place bonding, place interaction, and place identity. By doing so, my intent is to untangle the web of factors contributing to individual experiences of PA, and how these may stand to be influenced by changes to the physical environment.

The chapter first covers the area's apparent ability to meet the functional needs of residents. From here, the chapter goes on to consider the more symbolic elements of the area and of the people-place relationship. Explored is the notion that the removal of such structures may have influenced the place definition of the area. With the interrelation between place and identity being identified within literature (Proshansky, 1978; Proshanky & Kaminoff, 1982; Williams & Roggenbuck, 1989; Williams & Vaske, 2003), the chapter then goes on to consider the potential implications such changes in place definition may have for the self-identity and well-being of its residents. The chapter concludes with the

consideration of the role of time in PA, and in residents' perception of the ongoing regeneration of the area.

7.2   Resources and landmarks

In **Chapter 6**, I discussed how several participants expressed regret towards the removal of physical structures associated with social activity, which was deemed by participants such as William and Steven, to have had consequences for the sense of community in Pendleton. Although regeneration may not be directly responsible for a number of these changes, what these accounts highlight is how the removal of resources may have implications beyond the designed function of such structures. One of the positive changes brought about as a result of the regeneration of the area is the addition of the Gateway Centre, which appears to have facilitated residents' capacity for social interaction. These cases can be understood in relation to the concept of place dependence, which describes how well a place meets the needs of its residents through its contained resources, as well as its available activities (Kyle et al., 2004; Pretty, Chipuer & Bramston, 2003). Individuals can become dependent on such resources and can be liable to suffer if they are removed. These are considered important as they serve to meet the functional needs of residents. They also enable individuals to meet life goals, and to gain enjoyment from life (Lai et al., 2013; Lee et al., 2007; Lopez-Mosquera & Sanchez, 2011). Such literature, coupled with the findings of the current study already discussed, serve to underscore the role of the residential environment in enabling eudaimonic well-being, as individuals strive for self-actualisation.

Another example from the current findings is a perceived decline of the local shopping environment, with several participants describing how it is now less able to meet their various needs. Some do identify themselves as initially having held positive attitudes towards the shopping precinct when it was first introduced

to the area in 1971, citing the convenience that it enabled, containing a variety of different stores under a single roof. As time has progressed, however, these same individuals seem to perceive this resource as being less desirable than when it was first introduced:

Sheila: *"Well, when it first opened, it was great. Because you thought, oh, you've got all these shops together! You know, and you've not got to wander about, sort of thing, yeah... Well, it's changed quite a bit because there's quite a few that's pound shops and that and you don't need all them pound shops, you know. I mean, there was Woolworth's there, we had... we had men's clothing stores; there was all kind of things there. There's no men's clothes, there's no ladies clothes there now, you know. You know, it's just altered quite a lot...."*

Sheila regards the contained resources as being less desirable as they once were. Although not directly related to the changes brought about by neighbourhood regeneration, this does appear to show how a changing environment can lead residents to develop more negative feelings towards the area in which they live. This serves to highlight how changes brought about by regeneration, no matter their apparent significance, should be given serious thought. Based on the descriptions provided by residents, it would appear that as a consequence of these changes, the contained resources are now less able to meet the needs of those living in the area. The argument could also be raised that regeneration efforts in the area should be looking to address such issues and to satisfy the needs and requirements of the existing population. William, however, describes how his perception of the local shopping precinct has led him to travel out of the area in order to meet these needs, now travelling to Manchester, a location that he regards as being more able to satisfy them:

William: *"I don't go shopping in the Precinct very much now. I think when the likes of Marks and Spencer's disappeared, I thought, you know, I'll go elsewhere. I think that was when it started to run down, the precinct."*

Jim also appears to recognise a decline in the facilities of the local shopping environment. He also describes his feelings of how the shopping precinct cannot adequately meet his needs:

Jim: *"But (pause) I could not buy clothing here. There is.. .well, was – I don't know whether there still is. There was quite a large clothing shop for men, in Eccles. So, that would be my nearest. But over the last few years, my friend and I have gone down to Cornwall on holiday, once a year. And I do know there's a brilliant shop in… Camborn.. which is further south than Truro… where this came from (gestures to the shirt he is wearing). And every year, when I've gone, I've even bought a pair of trousers and two shirts."*

ML: *"To keep your wardrobe updated."*

Jim: *"Yes. that's right! So, I mean… it's a concern when you can't get anything off the peg locally."*

As a result of this perceived decline, some residents describe how they now feel it necessary to travel further in order to meet their needs. The discussions about the declining shopping facilities were raised when participants were asked about any negative changes they may identify as being brought about by regeneration efforts. As with other previously discussed issues, however, in considering the performed analysis, we as researchers must remain aware of the potential overstatement of the role of regeneration in such changes. It remains highly unlikely that such changes to the shopping environment are solely the result of specific regeneration plans. Market forces cannot be ruled out, and a steady decline in UK inner-city shopping centres since the mid-1970s has been observed, typified by increasing vacancies, the loss of 'anchor' resources, decreasing numbers of patrons, as well as deteriorating physical environments (Whysall, 2011) each of which are hinted at by participants of the current study. One must be mindful of the context in which these issues are being discussed. We must remain cautious of such accounts, as it may be possible the interview scenario could be viewed by a participant, as an opportunity to gain control over their

situation. In **Chapter 5**, the issue of powerlessness was discussed, and like with residents seeking legal advice, such a research project could be seen as an opportunity to have their voice heard, which may lead to the 'overselling' of the significance of such issues.

A factor that can be more directly linked to neighbourhood regeneration is resources for children, including play and childcare facilities. Margaret identifies her grandchildren as her primary concern in life, and her perspective of the local area seems almost exclusively related to its ability to meet their needs. The resources that provide such support are therefore crucial. Consequently, a noteworthy change to the area that she identifies is the removal of a local playground:

Margaret: *"The park! (laughs) Clarendon Park! ...Yeah! For me, yeah. Yeah. And then they said they're going to do it up – yeah. The kids will be 21 by time. She's 3 and 6 and 10 now. The park, yeah... is the main."*

She describes how this was a resource of great importance for her and her family and how they made use of this on a nearly daily basis, forming the main area of leisure activity of her younger grandchildren after school. From the account provided by Margaret, it would appear that to her, the space has been wasted and has not been put to good use since the removal of the playground. Without these resources, the area ceases to facilitate her in her pursuit of life goals, which serves to threaten her well-being. She also expresses frustration at the slow nature of the process and questions whether the area will be restored in time for her grandchildren to benefit from it. She also describes how the lack of similar resources in the area has forced her to adapt her property:

Margaret: *"It was… you'd have to go to Peel Park and there's nothing there for them to do, so… there's no point in going to Peel Park because it's thingy(undergoing construction). And the baths' one, it was closed… I'm gutted. Because we used to use it a lot after school. Because I've only just had my fence built, so it was difficult to keep [name of child] from getting in the garden – next door's garden and it – you know, you'd rather not be having them play out if you know what I mean. So, you'd take them to the park where they could burn the energy off. But like I said, there's nothing."*

Margaret describes how the removal of the park meant that the children were forced to play in and around her home. She portrays this as having led to some inter-personal issues with her neighbours, which she identifies as having contributed to her stress levels. In order to minimise this issue, she tells me how she has sought to adapt her garden through the building of a better quality fence. She is quite explicit in detailing the ill-feeling she identifies as feeling towards those she sees as being responsible for the removal of the playground. This is also seemingly further exacerbated by their hesitation in replacing what she portrays as a vital resource:

Margaret: *"I was upset. And annoyed. And angry. Because obviously, it should be for the children. And they say "yeah, we're going to do it up and make it thingy" well, then they should be doing it sooner, rather than later. Because, like I said, N enquired 6 years or so ago, and then said "yeah, we're going to be doing this" and all those years along the line, we're still waiting for it. So it's like, you know, if you're going to do something… and say you're going to do it, then do it sooner, rather than later."*

For Margaret, promises she feels were made to her have not been kept, which again hints at similar notions of reduced control and power that were discussed in **Chapter 5**. This is a recurring topic across the interviews of several residents, such as Emily, Joe, and Margaret, in that issues identified as being important to them, are not always dealt with in a manner that they feel is acceptable when raised with those overseeing the implementation of regeneration activities. As a result, problems remain unaddressed, and this appears to have led to the development of

negative feelings towards stakeholders. In order to be considered 'sustainable' a regenerated neighbourhood must meet the varied needs of all. Places have been described as being important in the extent to which they satisfy the needs of their residents (Stokols & Shumaker, 1981). The extent to which an area meets these will determine the judgement of its quality. Planning is, therefore, required to be sensitive to the needs and concerns of residents and to be responsive to them as they change over time.

One positive change identified by participants was the building of the new Pendleton Gateway centre, which appears to have had a positive effect on residents' place dependence. A product of the most recent redevelopment of the area, this is regarded by many as a positive change and would appear to be considered one of the main benefits that have arisen from the initiative. In **Chapter 6** it was discussed how this new resource facilitates social interaction through its housing of community groups. Being multi-purpose in nature, this resource also enables further benefits:

Margaret: *"The GP's and that are really good as well…The GP we have, they used to be based in Clarendon Health Centre on Churchill Way. And they moved to here and it's – it is a lot… I think it's the same really. But the staff and the doctors are really good. You know… you do get to see them when you want to and... They moved here when the library built – I'm not sure how many years it's been there now. I've been with the same doctor 15 years, so I'm not sure – they just moved over. But it's not as if it was like a distance because it's stone's throws away, isn't it? To walk... Yeah. That is an improvement."*

Here, Margaret describes how the centre is convenient for addressing residents' healthcare needs. In **Chapter 1**, I provided public health statistics that identify the City of Salford as having some of the highest levels of long-term illness in the nation (Peck & Tocque, 2010; Salford City Council, 2014). Such conditions shorten life expectancy and damage quality of life, and the levels of such conditions in the electoral ward of Langworthy is above both the Salford and

national averages and as a result, life expectancy for both men and women is several years below the national average. With this in mind, the value of the resource is plain to see, and this is also apparent in the words of those interviewed:

Rita: *"I'm glad the doctors is there now, 'cause it used to be in a different place. And now the doctors is there, you just … if you're doing some work on the computer, you can stop working and go up to there and then come back down and finish what you was doing. So, it's a good area. It's a good place."*

Like Margaret, Rita regards the Gateway centre as a significant positive change brought about by the most recent regeneration initiative. She describes how its new premises are more conveniently located, and due to the multiple services contained within, its convenience is increased further. A particular highlight identified by Rita is the contained computers, which are free to use by members of the public. Emily is another participant who identifies the Gateway as a positive element of the area. She highlights the contained doctor's surgery as a very important resource to her, and like Rita, also describes the benefits of free-to-use computers within the facility. Not only are they described as a convenient resource, but they are also seen to remove the financial burden of having to purchase a personal computer:

Emily: *"The fact you can go in and use the computers for free. You know, getting your own computer, that's a costly thing, you know."*

Participants describe the convenience that this brings, in providing some crucial services. Place intensification describes the improvements and weakening of place that are brought about through place-making (Gieryn, 2002) and the loss or gaining of resources is seen to guide a person's interpretation of change, and whether it is for better or for worse. In the current scenario, the Gateway Centre would appear to serve to strengthen this bond. The changing shopping

environment and lack of resources for children would be regarded as negative changes.

What these accounts highlight is how participants have varying opinions of Pendleton, which appear to be mediated by the area's ability to facilitate them in their pursuit of daily life goals. This seems to vary according to their personal circumstances, needs, and desires. As a residential neighbourhood, an area should meet the various needs that those inhabiting it require as part of their daily life. Such needs will vary from person to person, depending on individual circumstances and preferences. Over time, changes to the physical landscape, brought about by different phases of regeneration, alongside other factors such as economic decline and market forces, have seemingly hindered the area's ability to meet these needs. This is an issue, as those living in an area become dependent on the existence of resources to enable everyday functioning to continue undisrupted. As residents adjust to these changes, the place dependence they once had may gradually decrease, a phenomenon that has seemingly led some to question what it is that leads them to stay in the area. William, for example, identifies important resources that were unique to him among the participants:

William: *"Well the important things for me are that Central Library and the Local History Library… I suppose if you took those two libraries out… (pause) well, there wouldn't be much reason for me to be residing in the area."*

Removal of these valued landmarks appears to make the area seem less desirable to him, as he is now required to travel out of the area to meet these needs. This finding arguably highlights the importance that planners have a comprehensive understanding of the needs of the existing population. Should a local resource be removed, the replacement of the services it provided is vital. The addition of the Gateway Centre to the area is a positive example of how, if designed effectively,

regeneration efforts can further contribute to an area's ability to meet such functional needs.

7.3   A gradual change of identity

A theme that arose from interviews surrounded the apparent gradual change of identity for the local area that has occurred as a result of different waves of regeneration. In the previous section, it was discussed how the removal of certain physical structures appears to have inhibited the area's ability to meet the needs of some of its residents. What these findings also serve to highlight is the differing value that individual residents place upon such structures. Certain structures are of such significance to residents, they are considered to be defining landmarks of Pendleton:

William: *"Now, that was a massive meeting place: Everybody (pause) everybody in Salford went on that market. It was an absolute (pause) well, it was so important. The number of stalls on there… there must have been over a hundred stalls and there were taking up every (pause) I think it was three times a week…"*

William presents the previous market as a location of great importance, as he describes it as a significant attraction to the area, explaining how people would travel long distances in order to access the resource. He also highlights his opinion regarding the aesthetic quality of the market: the uniqueness of the clock tower and the importance of the landmark to the identity of the area. Through his discussion, he expresses regret towards the removal of this and hints at how, for him, the identity of the area has been transformed.

A further factor identified as having contributed to this transformation of identity is the changing road system of the area:

William: *"Right, so you've got a big freeway there. You've got another big freeway been done up here, Trinity Way. Trinity way, there. You've got Albion Way, which is another freeway getting traffic in. You've got Regent Road here – another freeway. So, the M602 ends there, getting traffic in from Liverpool when it comes, there onto Regent Road, right – fast freeway. And you've literally got all the traffic moving down here. So, literally, you're surrounded. It's an island! Hanky Park and Cross Lane down there is an island surrounded by freeways."*

William describes his perception of how through the loss of defining landmarks and the increase of traffic flowing through the area, the identity of Pendleton has seemingly been transformed. What he feels was once regarded as an attractive destination of its own, where people would travel to in order to experience, is now seen as having become a form of 'freeway.' This idea is alluded to throughout the interview and it appears to be of great significance to the participant, who expresses anger in this regard.

As discussed earlier, however, one must remain wary of the overstatement of the role of regeneration in such changes, and market forces and increased traffic on the road cannot be dismissed. Such overstatement is identified as a common feature of narratives and the idea that one event naturally causes another. Such examples are often presented as a form of persuasiveness, through the use of coherence and logic. By proposing a version of events that appears logical, this can be used to infer truth (Riessman, 2003). Regardless of the contributing factors, however, from the account that William provides, he seemingly holds the area in reasonably low esteem. The narrative he presents suggests that his attachment to the area is based upon a relationship with a Salford of the past. His perception of the area's changing identity also seems to lead to feelings of entrapment, as he describes how, to him, the area has become an island, trapped between the traffic flowing in and out of the centre of Manchester. In order to demonstrate the symbolic island that he regards the area

as having become, he drew a simple map to highlight how the changing transport links have transformed the area:

Fig. 4: William's map showing the addition of several main roads around the outskirts of the local area.
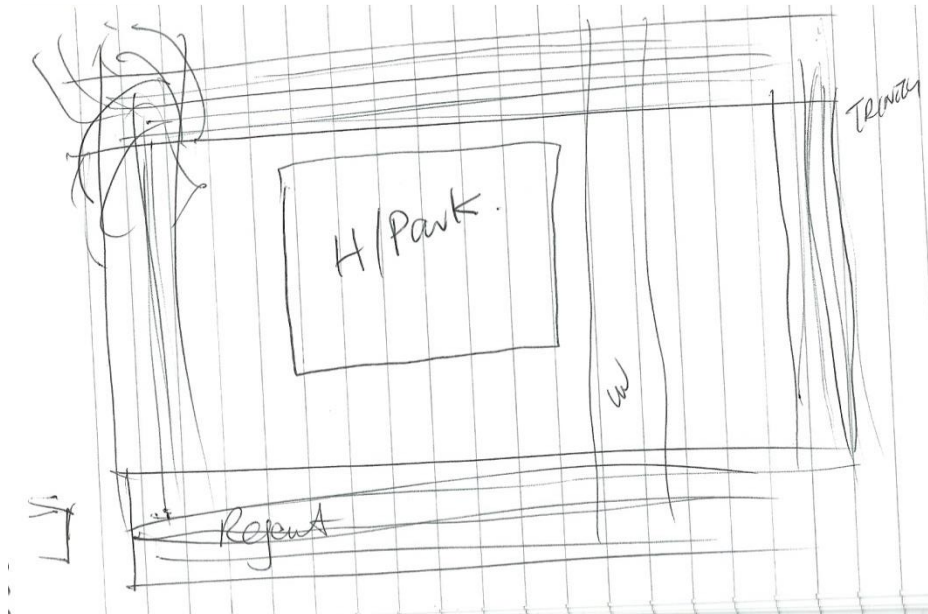
The area was previously made up of terraced streets that housed shops and social activity. It appears that from the perspective of William, this change has not worked for the benefit of local residents, but rather for the traffic flowing in and out of the centre of Manchester. As with William, for Steven, a gradual transformation of the area over time has seemingly led to the formation of an entirely new location. He refers to the past favourably and displays nostalgia for how things once were. He describes the pleasure he gets in talking to old people, hearing the stories about what he identifies as the 'old' Salford:

Steven: *"You know, because I still think the world of the old Salford…I love old people. I love the old people. I love listening to the stories of when they went back years and years. I mean I can go back so far, but they can go further."*

He elaborates to describe how through talking to the older members of the community, he is taken back and reminded of how things once were, and he describes the great pleasure he gets by reminiscing in this way. Again, in doing so, he draws comparisons between the past and the present, describing his view of how the area is of an entirely different significance to its older and younger residents:

Steven: *"You know, it's just, it's sad that (pause) You ask somebody now with a young kid, with a young lad (pause) say 18,19,20 and you say, "have you got a landmark here?" They won't have a landmark. He'll probably say a pub, or something like that, but they have no memories of history, or anything like that. Only what their Dad told them. And their Granddad told them. You know, so they're living – they're trying to picture what it was years ago, but they get a vivid imagination. But I know the facts. You know?"*

In doing so, he identifies the perception of a divide between the 'old' Salford and the new, suggesting that for him, the area has become a different place and he expresses regret at losing the place he once loved. Doris too appears to share similar feelings towards the changes brought to the local area:

Doris: *"But you see, over the years everything has changed; it's gone rapidly downhill. And I just don't – I wouldn't say I was in Pendleton if you just dropped me off here… So I'm afraid Pendleton is just non-existent for me anymore."*

In this extract, she presents a perception of the profound changes that the area has experienced, which she presents in a negative light. Like Steven and William, she relates this to the removal of landmarks and resources:

Doris: *"The schools have closed; you don't see children. You know, you used to hear the kids on their way to school. There's a school at the back, an infant school, but – infant and juniors, and a secondary school over here that's closed down… Cross Lane Market, that was in Pendleton (pause) has gone."*

The narrative she provides presents this as a gradual decline that has seemingly left the Pendleton she once knew and loved unrecognisable. It has been described how poor design or policy implementation can damage a place's identity, with differing experiences serving to strengthen or weaken attachment bonds (Seamon, 2012). The versions of events told by numerous participants would indicate this change as being for the worse. For them, the area has lost the resources and landmarks that made it what it once was. Structural changes to the landscape have seemingly transformed the area from being a desirable destination to becoming a 'freeway' of sorts. Although seeming to hold regret at the loss of the 'old Salford', Steven does seem accepting of change:

Steven: *"No, because that is the past now. You know, and you've got to realise the future's coming. And like your family growing up. It's like every generation. I always say, that you're put on this Earth, right? Your mother brings you up, right, you court, you get married, you have kiddies, you look after the kiddies till they get so age, (pause) they marry and they look after you then. Then you die. And you just (pause) you know what I mean? It's just a routine sort of thing. But, er (pause) landmarks and all that lot, I've got my memories and nobody will ever take that away from me."*

Although expressing regret at the changing environment and experience of living in Pendleton, Steven demonstrates a level of reluctant acceptance of such changes, identifying them as a natural part of life. Despite his regrets, he seems to take solace in the knowledge that his memories are his own, he can take pleasure in reminiscing and no change to the physical environment can take them away from him.

Applying the hermeneutics of suspicion to my interpretation of the narratives presented by Doris, Steven, and William, I draw upon a concept that certain theorists would refer to as place definition: a socially constructed idea, describing the factors that come together to form a place's identity (Schneider, 1986). This is seen to involve physical elements and social activities becoming intertwined with a place, which forms the meaning attributed to a place by those

who use it (Shamsuddin & Ujang, 2008). Physical changes to the environment are thus believed to influence an individual's understanding of a place (Relph, 1976), and this is apparent in the accounts provided above.

Adopting the stance of critical realism, objects are seen as the basic building blocks of reality, each with its own powers and liabilities (Sayer, 1992). Some objects of relevance to the current study are the buildings which over time have inhabited the local area of Pendleton. The findings highlight the power these have in shaping the residents' understanding of the world, serving to 'define' the local area. The removal of this and other such defining landmarks has therefore seemingly led to a redefinition of the area in which they live. This also appears to have been influenced by the presence of new objects, here, the main roads leading through the area and into the centre of Manchester. Such changes to its physical structure have given the place a new identity, no longer a desirable location of its own, but rather a travel link, serving the flow of traffic in and out of Manchester city centre. The way the area is used has also been altered, which for some participants has formed a split between the 'old Salford' and the new Salford.

From a critical realist perspective, however, it is acknowledged that as agents, individuals are predisposed by past experience, which influences understanding and interpretation of the social world (Anthias, 2002). Applying this perspective to the current scenario, it shows how a location can hold multiple meanings to different residents. One could argue that it is not that the area has ceased to exist, but that its meaning has been transformed in the eyes of the longer-term residents. Pendleton could now be seen to represent two separate, yet co-existing places. For some, Pendleton has seemingly been transformed into a completely new location, which may serve to threaten individuals' sense of belonging. It must be noted, however, that although the current project is focused on the latest wave of refurbishment, it is impossible to separate individual

interpretations of this from their views and experiences of other ways the neighbourhood has changed, either through masterplanning or as a result of market forces and socioeconomic decline.

7.4   Sense of belonging

Over time, not only has the physical landscape of Pendleton changed, but also the ways in which residents interact with the area:

Steven: *"All go. Yeah, all rush, rush, rush, rush, rush. There's no like, erm… you used to talk, years ago you used to stop and talk to somebody and you'd be there for about half an hour. But now it's: "how are ya?" and "I've gotta go…" You know, it's all rush, rush, rush. As though people haven't got time for each other now. You know, just let on and that's it. Not "how are you? How's the kids?…" or anything like that. It's just… it's just gone! Just gone completely."*

In **Chapter 6** it was discussed how the removal of certain physical structures is implicated by residents as having had consequences for the sense of community in Pendleton. As a further consequence, Steven here describes how the experience of life in the area has been altered by the ways in which people interact with the environment and those around them. Here, Steven describes how he feels nobody seems to have time for each other anymore. For him, everybody is now looking out for themselves and interaction within the area is now less enjoyable. Another element of the area that has seemingly changed is the experience of shopping. When William was asked about social activities he has enjoyed in the area over time, he immediately brings up the example of shopping, which he describes as once being a very enjoyable part of his life:

William: *"Well, as I say, Broad Street with them shops, I mean, that was a fantastic shopping experience that. And Cross Lane as well. Broad Street and Cross Lane was, in a lot of people's memories of shopping…"*

He also reminisces about how the shopping areas were for more than acquiring the resources that you need, providing the example of promenading and gives examples from his youth of how you would dress up to meet and impress potential suitors. He identifies this as a social activity that is no longer possible due to changes to the environment, stating how people need to travel elsewhere:

William: *"…and this is where you used to do your promenading as well, as a young girl and a young lad. When you're looking for girls. You know, you'd be walking along there in your finery and it was an area just to walk up and down. You know, like you promenade now. I think all the young lads and girls go to the Trafford Centre, don't they?"*

However, his dialogue describes how what once was a very personal and social activity has become a cold, functional, almost militaristic campaign, from which he gets very little enjoyment, which he links explicitly to the changing of the local landscape:

William: *"When I used to shop in the Salford Precinct, I planned it like a military campaign. I knew what I wanted: there's my list of stuff. In. out. As fast as I can and get out of the place. It was literally like a military campaign and that's how I planned my shopping. So, it wasn't an enjoyable thing; it was just a drudge. Whereas it was a lot more enjoyable in the old-fashioned shops. You'd have big boulevards down Broad Street and you'd be looking in all the shop windows. You know, you'd have all kinds of different shops. You know, very varied. It was a very varied thing, shopping. Now, I don't regard it as enjoyable at all, shopping. Not for me."*

William goes as far as to compare the experience to a military campaign and how there is no enjoyment in what was once a social activity. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) describe metaphors as a device of 'poetic imagination.' Not only a characteristic of language, they also view these as instrumental in thought and action. They describe how they provide structure to perception, forming a conceptual system that plays a central role in defining everyday realities. As

communication is based on this same conceptual system, William's use of this militaristic metaphor could be seen to serve as evidence of his internal perception of this activity.

One must ask, however, whether some of these issues are direct consequences of the changes in place, or whether changes in individuals may also have a role to play, specifically, their time of life and experience of growing older. This is not to diminish the role of regeneration, however, as effective planning should enable an area to meet the needs of all residents throughout their lifespan. If a regeneration project is to become truly 'sustainable' a long-term view should be adopted. The consequences of not doing so are seemingly evident in the case study of Salford Quays, which was discussed in **Chapter 6**. It has been commented how the Quays is now made up of a one-dimensional population of young professionals, due to a lack of services relating to education, training, healthcare, and community, which have hampered the area's ability to meet the long-term needs of residents (Raco & Henderson, 2005).

As the physical landscape has transformed, not only has the way residents interact within it changed, but also the way in which they navigate the area. William discusses the significance of the removal of landmarks by providing examples from his area of personal interest, cartography. These are seen as being crucial in enabling one to effectively navigate an area:

William: *"Well, as I say, I'm interested in demography (sic) for a start and in Stone Age times, you'd name certain things that you could traverse around the area. You'd look for a landmark like a peak, or a hill, or a dale, or a river, So, these would be points of reference to move around the area."*

Steven shares a similar perspective on this issue. As well as this, he goes on to detail how they were also once used to navigate the area. The example

provided highlights the scale of the pub culture once present in Salford, which is now, for the participant, missing:

Steven: *"I mean, years ago, if you was in a car and you tried to say – how can I put it? I wanted to go to Eccles, they used to direct you by pubs. It wasn't roads. "Go down to the Wellington, turn right and you come to the Axe and Cleaver. Turn left there and you come to the Swan and that's the road, there." You know what I mean, but now even all the pubs have gone, haven't they?"*

The changing layout of the roads in the area to accommodate the newer properties has also influenced how he navigates the area:

Steven: *"I went down and you used to go along Liverpool Street, down Amersham Street onto Ailsbury Close where my Mother lived. But that's all gone because they're all modernised houses. And my mam's houses are still up – you can see them from Liverpool Street. But I couldn't get to it. I thought: how'd you get to it?" So, I went round a couple of roads and I actually went on this road and it led to my mother's house."*

Here, Steven refers to the previous route he would take to his Mother's house. Liverpool Street and Amersham street were major thoroughfares through the area and are still present today. Ailsbury Close, however, is now considered derelict and is no longer directly accessible to the public. He discusses how the loss of landmarks leads to the removal of points of reference for 'knowing' the area. He goes on to describe the disorientation and uncertainty he feels are caused by the removal of such landmarks, which serves to threaten the sense of comfort and safety once provided by them:

William: *"When you remove all them and you're put back in that same area, you feel shipwrecked. "Where am I? I'm not in the middle of Pendleton here, am I? I don't remember that building there. That wasn't there 40 years ago. Where's the old church? And where's the old cinema gone? And where that old centre there gone?" So, it disorientates you."*

Steven has vivid memories of how the local area used to look remarkably different. This is demonstrated in his map, which shows before and after: the rows and rows of terraced streets present before, the more 'open-plan' nature of the area surrounding the Broadwalk as it is now:

Fig. 5: Steven's map showing the layout of the area before & after the clearing the terraced streets.
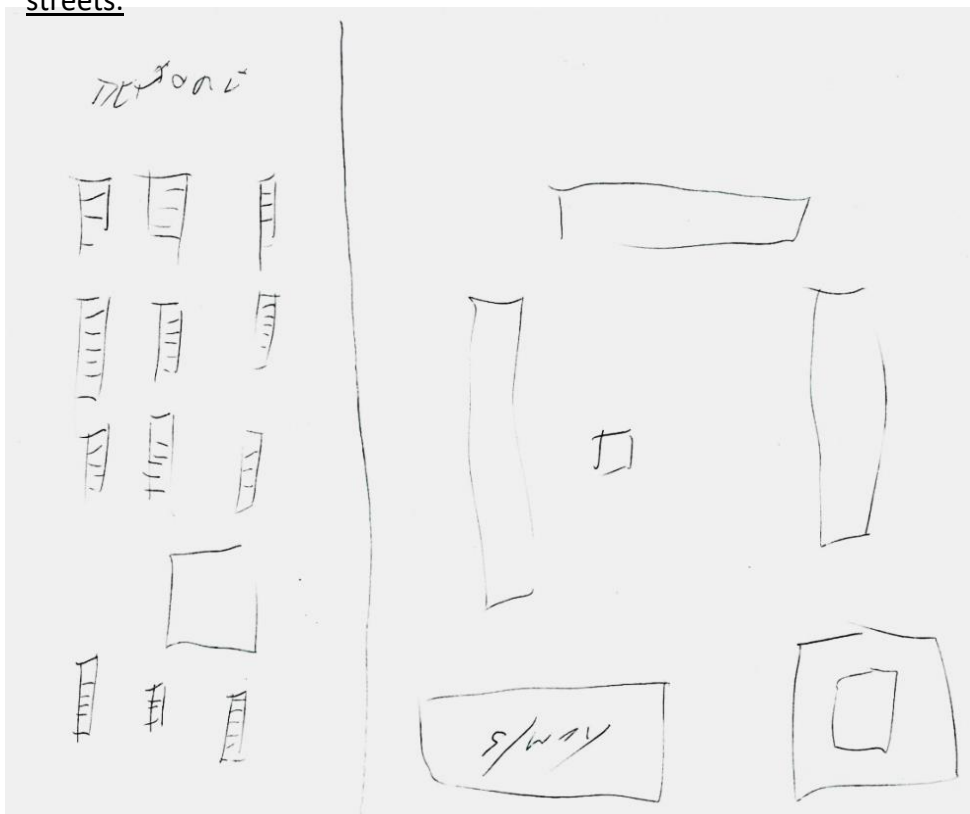
Place interaction describes how one's understanding of place is influenced by how people traverse and use the environment (Oldenburg, 1999; Seamon & Nordin, 1980). Based on the accounts provided by participants, this has been altered as a result of regeneration. Over time, as the physical landscape of Pendleton has gone through a gradual transformation, the roads have changed to accommodate these changes. Residents describe how they now navigate the area differently as a result, and how visiting places means taking different routes. This

has also seemingly been influenced further by the removal of landmarks. Steven compares this to orienteering and how landmarks can be used as reference points, in order to facilitate navigation of a terrain. One example provided by William is that of the old pubs. Many participants regard pubs as once being a big part of Salford's culture and many of these have been removed over time (See: Smith, 1981). Routine interactions are seen to result in the development of PA and loss of these is said to have the potential to lead to the disruption of such relationships (Brown & Perkins, 1992). The accounts provided by those interviewed are arguably indicative of this, showing how residents, such as William and Steven, have experienced a sense of dislocation and disorientation, as a result of the changing physical landscape of the area.

An appropriate concept to draw on at this point is that of place-ballet, and the interactions of the individual routines of multiple people, occurring in a single location (Seamon, 2012). Such interaction is seen to be central to the development of interpersonal relationships, place identity and ultimately, PA (Oldenburg, 1999; Seamon & Nordin, 1980). Environmental changes can disrupt the daily routines of local inhabitants (Devine-Wright, 2009; Perkins et al., 2009) and the examples provided above serve as indicators of the influence that changes brought about by regeneration can have on this phenomenon. The residents now use the area differently, both in terms of activity and navigation. Their narratives speak of a shopping experience that has become less personal, and the locations where this achieved is now much more regarded as a resource than as an area of leisure. This is described in terms of its influence on social interaction and a loss of a sense of community. PA is described as being sustained through place-ballet in a cyclical process (Seamon, 2012). These routines strengthen PA, which in turn contributes to how a place is used. They each serve to strengthen one another. Through changes brought about by regeneration, this cycle has seemingly been disrupted, leading to a decline in attachment with the area. An event disrupting routine

interactions can cause conflict between residents and also alter perceptions of a place (Seamon, 2012).

Discussed earlier was how physical objects hold the power to influence an individual's understanding of their environment. Based on the accounts provided, as the physical environment has changed, so has the way in which people interact with the local area. Critical realism identifies objects as being not only of physical nature, and they can also take the form of people, attitudes, relationships, or organisations and can be human, social, or material in form, complex or simple, structured, or unstructured (Aveh, 2013). As suggested by PA theory, people's relationships with places are both complex and diverse. One person's shopping centre is another's centre for social activity. As the physical objects within a place change, so too do the relationships and people that interact with it.

These findings seem to recognise the potential sequential effects that can occur from the most seemingly insignificant physical change to the environment. This is crucial, as people need a satisfying place to live. Displacement, be it actual, or symbolic, can seemingly serve to sever these ties. Familiarity can be threatened by the changing environment, which based on the accounts of participants can lead to an apparent change of identity for an area. Place identity, the extraction of a sense of self based on the places which one occupies, is then subject to transformation (Fullilove, 1996). Milligan (2003) describes how the place identity process is regulated by the interactional past and interactional potential. The interactional past refers to past experiences and memories associated with a place, evidenced in the current case study through a nostalgic yearning for a seemingly golden, by-gone age. Interactional potential refers to futures experienced through imagination, an anticipated future based on expectations, which is evident is participants' discussion of the perceived direction in that they believe the area in which they live is heading.

7.5 Self-identity

The next sub-ordinate theme related to the super-ordinate theme of understandings and definitions of place is self-identity. This analysis serves to further demonstrate the interrelationship between the environment and an individual's sense of self. One participant who contributes to this sub-ordinate theme is William, who despite presenting unquestionably negative views towards the area in which he lives, is keen to highlight his long history in the area:

William: *"And so, I've always lived in this post-code for 69 and a half years. I'm 70 this year, so I've never really moved out of the area. My post-code is M5. M5 and M6 is more or less the post-code for the Pendleton area."*

William emphasises this history repeatedly and goes as far as to explain how his parents lived locally prior to his birth. In his discussion, he identifies very closely with the area and when looking back at his history in the area, the participant speaks of a golden age. Specifically, he describes the 1960's as 'his' era and clearly has very positive memories of the time:

William: *"The 60's? Well, the '60s was my era. My era was, as I say, the Beatle's era. I was.. let's see, how old was I? (mumbles: 1956) I was 16… 15, when the released 'Love Me Do.' Right? In 1962, so as I say, that era was totally different to what it is now. I wouldn't have missed the 60's; it was a fantastic era."*

Many of the participants identify strongly with the area, seeing it as forming part of their identity. This can have issues in terms of mental well-being, as despite this sense of identity, some participants give the impression of holding quite a low opinion of the area in which they live:

Steven: *"Nobody moves into Salford says you've moved up the social chain. We've moved from a rougher area and we've moved into Salford and we've gone up the chain. We don't seem to be in the chain. We seem to be bottom of the chain and the only way you're going to improve is moving out of Salford and upwards. You don't move into Salford as an improvement in your life."*

Self-esteem is the fourth tier of Maslow's hierarchy (1954), highlighting the role of self-respect and positive attitudes towards oneself in well-being and it has been shown that a threat to self-concept can lead to psychological distress (Thoits, 1999). Rogers describes how self-esteem is determined by the 'congruence' of our self-image and ideal-self. The more these two constructs overlap, the greater the congruence and a person's sense of self-worth is seen to improve (Rogers, 1959). For William, although the physical changes since the slum clearance of the 1960s appear to have been highly significant, he describes his perception of the demographics of the area as not having been influenced to the same degree. In his discussion of this, he hints at the idea of escape, and such notions of entrapment appear at several points in his dialogue. He sees social mobility as verging on impossible for residents of the area and as previously mentioned, highlights the changing shopping environment as being indicative of the way that things are going. He regards Salford as being very low in society and in many ways disconnected from the rest of the social ladder. Steven offers the static house prices in the area as leading to the entrapment of residents, who lack the means and opportunities to leave the area to improve their lives. Despite having little ties to the area, he feels he cannot move away. This appears to emerge as a result of his perception of a class difference between himself and those living in the more affluent surrounding areas:

William: *"Because I don't think I'd fit in with the locals. I think, if I went up the social scale right, I don't think I could fit in with people who have either moved up the social scale through their achievements, or luck – they might have won the Lottery and moved out of the area. So, I don't think a person who's won the lottery in Hanky Park, right, and has moved into Alderley Edge will be accepted. I don't think the locals would accept them. I think they'd tolerate them; I don't think they'd accept them. And by the same guideline, I don't think I'd feel comfortable if I moved into Alderley Edge and mixed with the locals there"*

Place identity is described as a sub-structure of PA (Williams & Roggenbuck, 1989), occurring when living somewhere becomes instrumental in one's life, leading to a symbolic connection between a person and a place (Williams & Vaske, 2003). The narratives presented by participants of the current study suggest that this is also present within the population of Pendleton. Place identity is seen to be enabled through spatial memories and a geographical framework of activity, which lead to a place forming a part of an individual's personal identity (Fried, 1982; Proshansky, 1978; Proshansky et al., 1979; Proshansky et al., 1983; Proshansky & Kaminoff, 1982). Physical surroundings are associated with memories, values, emotions, attitudes and routine, and shape a person's identity (Bonaiuto et al., 1996; Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983). Identity is also linked with self-worth (Leary & Tangey, 2012). Previous research has shown how place identity can lead to negative attitudes towards place change and can be understood as a personal threat to the self (Devine-Wright & Howes, 2010). Research has shown this to lead to a sense of alienation (Dominy, 1993; Dominy, 1995) and this is seemingly apparent in Steven, who describes how the place he lives now is very different to the one he knew and loved.

This process can also be understood in terms of identity process theory (IPT) (Breakwell, 2001), which states that self-identity should be conceptualised in relation to its dimensions of content, value, and affect. This structure is maintained by a process of assimilation and accommodation (the implementation

of new information into the structure of one's identity, and the application of meaning and value of its content), as well as a continual process of evaluation (Vignoles et al., 2002). According to Breakwell's theory (1992, 2001), these processes are governed by four principles: continuity across time and situation; distinctiveness from others; feelings of confidence and control over one's life; and self-esteem. Other theorists, such as Vignoles et al. (2002) also identify two additional principles: belonging, or the desire for feelings of closeness; and meaning, or the need for a sense of purpose in one's life. Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) have applied Breakwell's (1992) model of IPT to the concept of PA. Their findings revealed how individuals with an attachment to their residential environment used place to enable distinctiveness from those of surrounding areas; their perception of the area's prestige to maintain positive self-esteem; their history in the area to enable a sense of continuity of the self; and the environment's ability to facilitate everyday life to enable a sense of control. In the current research findings, William's desire to highlight his long history in the area may also be considered indicative of a desire for continuity of the self.

A central tenet of IPT is that if the processes involved come into conflict with these principles, one's identity becomes threatened, which leads to an individual adopting strategies for coping with this threat (Jaspal & Breakwell, 2014). These strategies are seen to encompass any action, physical or mental, which is performed with the intent to remove or modify the presence of a threat to the self-concept (Breakwell, 1986). Such strategies are seen to function on three main levels: intrapsychic, including denial and reconceptualisation; interpersonal, such as self-isolation; and intergroup, such as social mobilisation (Jaspal & Sitaridou, 2013).

In the current context, reconceptualisation is arguably evident in the accounts of Steven, William, and Doris, who appear to be presenting a split between the "old" and "new" Salford. In negotiating changes in the physical

structure and how people interact within the area, such individuals identify the formation of a new location, different from the one that they know and love. In **Chapter 5**, it was discussed how the membership of a tenants' association appears to enable a sense of control for residents experiencing neighbourhood regeneration. This is arguably an example of an intergroup coping strategy, as holding membership of such groups can also seemingly have benefits in terms of identity, providing individuals with a meaningful role in the community:

Jim: *"…probably a good 15 years ago that the council decided that the PFI was going to run, and they asked for volunteers to sit on a steering group… of local residents; which I applied for, and I was appointed to it and in fact became the chair of it and remained the chair… of the steering group, throughout the process… So I just felt, what with that and my experience in housing and the fact that… I was medically retired, so I'd a lot of time on my hands, that I could afford to do that… "*

Here, Jim describes his professional history in the housing industry. By doing so, he seems to be positioning himself as being knowledgeable in this field. His choice of words suggests that membership of his tenants' association provides him with a way of putting his knowledge and expertise to good use, for the benefit of himself and of his community. His contribution of expertise to the association could be interpreted as a means of enabling a sense of positive self-esteem. Emily describes similar experiences through membership of the local community group, Time Bank:

Emily: *"Yeah, because it gives me, you know, a purpose really. You know, I know I keep mentioning time bank, but within time bank people want to know. They want to know about you and they want to know what skills you've got. You know, it makes you feel better when you can show something to somebody that they don't know."*

Her membership of the group seemingly has a positive impact on her self-identity, as she identifies it as providing her with a sense of purpose. An advantage of this group is that it gives her an opportunity to put her skills to good use. This

has several benefits. Firstly, it enables her to show off her skills to others, something she describes as making her feel good about herself. It also enables her to feel good about helping others, which is identified as a pathway to a positive outlook (Mind, 2015). As well as the Time Bank, Emily has also joined the tenants' association of the block in which she lives. She links this directly to the Time Bank and identifies this membership as also giving her a sense of purpose and she reiterates how by making someone else's life better, you can be having the same impact on your own:

Emily: *"Like I said with the time bank, I've also joined the White Beam house association – erm, White Beam association as well, where we do a lot of things there. Got a lot of projects coming up. It gives you a purpose. If you can make someone else's life better that makes yours better.*

Self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000) identifies competence and the belief in one's ability to do things well as a core component of well-being. Membership of the Time Bank can be seen to be aiding in this regard, as indicated by Emily's description of how it feels good to show off her skills to others. She also talks about how her membership in the group also gives her a sense of purpose, another factor seen to facilitate a higher level of psychological well-being (Ryff, 1995). From the school of positive psychology, Seligman identifies several pathways to well-being. Two of these are recognition in one's own ability and giving back. Through the Time Bank, Emily is given the opportunity to 'show off her skills' something that makes her 'feel good.' This is indicative of her following Seligman's pathway, as she recognises her high level of ability. Through membership she is also 'giving back', showing gratitude for her ability to do the things she can do well. By helping others, one can feel better about oneself and Emily attests to this herself, describing how "if you can make someone else's life better, that makes yours better."

In the eyes of participants, such as Doris, William, and Steven, the changing physical structure of Pendleton has led to an altered perception of the area's identity. This is problematic, as many of these same participants identify the area in which they may have lived for many years, as in some way contributing to their self-identity. This can be described as place identity, which identifies the role of place in self-identity. This also details how the changing perception of such a place, can lead to an alteration in self-image, and this is also present in the dialogue of several participants, whose words place themselves in a lower class of society in relation to the inhabitants of other areas of Greater Manchester. Membership of tenants' associations and community groups, however, has been shown to provide potential pathways to restoring a sense of pride in the community, enabling greater social interaction, as well as a sense of purpose.

7.6 The role of time

This chapter has thus far provided analysis of participants' perceptions of the changing identity of the local area, as well as how residents interact within it. Many participants describe the area as having declined during their time living there and display a sense of nostalgia and longing for the past. What this analysis also serves to highlight is the role of time in PA, which is the final sub-ordinate theme contributing to the super-ordinate theme of understandings and definitions of place. Duration of inhabitation is considered a critical element of PA and as such, length of residence is often considered in its measurement (Kaltenborn, 2009; Moore & Graefe, 1994). Early models determined that this factor alone was the sole determinant of the strength of this bond (Riger & Lavrakas, 1981), but the reasons for this have not been fully examined (Smaldone, 2006). It is thought that this comes through the development of different place meanings over time, like those identified by participants of the current study (Brandenburg & Carroll, 1995;

Cantril, 1998; Gustafson, 2001). PA connects the past and the present and another theme that arose from the performed analysis was the role of the past in participants' making sense of current events. Pendleton is an area that has undergone extensive redevelopment over the past 50 or so years, in the shape of multiple projects of varying scales. One thing apparent in the accounts of William is that his previous experiences of regeneration seem to frame his perceptions of the more recent work being completed in the area:

William: *"…there was four or five towers blocks pulled down within a few hundred yards of this library in recent years. So, some of these properties, they were only 40 years plus old, and yet they've been pulled down! Which is quite incredible. You know, to be building them in the early '70s and demolishing them, what? 45 years later? It's quite amazing that, really…I think there must be something to do with the quality of the properties to start with. I don't think they're built with the idea that they'll be lasting 90 to 100 years. I think they have a shelf-life of about 45-55 years and demolish them and just replace them. Which seems crazy really; why not build real good quality properties to begin with?"*

The main criticism that William has of previous projects is what he regards as the short-termism of the completed work. His interpretation of events seemingly leads the participant to bring the quality of the completed work into question, leading to negative attitudes towards the work that is currently underway:

William: *"…I've seen it all before. More often than not, they've already made their minds up what they're going to do, and just consulting with the tenants is something that is just being seen to be done. You know, they said: "well, they wouldn't have got that money anyway if we wouldn't have said there's going to be tenant involvement, but we're not giving the tenants that much power. We've just let them have their say to get that government money."*

He provides examples that he feels support his beliefs, as well as to evidence his apparent foresight on how things work. His description seemingly

implies he is distrusting of the parties involved and believes they have no real interest in satisfying the wishes of those affected. This is once again related to the issue of tenant involvement. The negative experiences of this in the past that he provides appear to be influencing his perception of those entities implementing the current regeneration project, as he speaks of being sold a story that has been miss-sold once before. This mistrust has seemingly led to a sense of uncertainty about the potential outcomes of the ongoing project, and pessimism around whether it will be as successful as is being suggested. His accounts also paint him as someone who holds doubts about the positive news stories surrounding the ongoing work. William's accounts serve to highlight how the past can be drawn upon to make sense of current events. In this case, it appears to be leading to ill-feelings towards the ongoing regeneration of the area, and of the stakeholders implementing the project.

Just as the past is seemingly drawn upon to make sense of ongoing events, participants describe how they can be transported to the past through memories associated with landmarks in the area. This was an important theme that emerged in the interview with Steven:

Steven: *"And if I mention (pause) Hodge Lane, because they had the old wash house. And many old people now remember the old wash house. That was a landmark. People used to come from miles to go to the wash house."*

Steven appears to miss such landmarks, as they reminded him of times gone by and of his fond memories of the past. One such landmark was the old wash house, which the participant describes as a significant draw to the area. Although designed for a particular purpose, he describes how the landmark held an entirely different significance for him:

Steven: *"Because I was gutted. Because the wash house was our goal posts (laughs). Because I lived in a cul-de-sac and at the top was the wash house wall and we used to play cricket and football. And outside the wash house, they had the hot pipes underneath. And there was a grid and it was always red hot. And if you put water on it, it would (makes noise of evaporating water). You know, so it might have been raining when we was kids, we all sat round the grid. Because your bums was warm – you was soaked on the top but it was (pause) happy memories."*

In describing the landmark, he is immediately taken back to what is a very vivid memory from his childhood. The participant clearly holds very fond memories of the past and provides many examples of such relating to physical landmarks, which have since been removed. A common criticism of neighbourhood regeneration is that projects can involve the removal of historic buildings (Denecke & Shaw, 1988). Different buildings will hold different symbolic meanings to different people. Drawing an example from the current case study, the old wash house helps demonstrate this. To many, this was a simple resource: a facility for washing one's clothing. To others, it was a centre of the community and bustling social activity. To Steven, it was simply a goal-post for him and his friends who would play football outside of the premises. This is not to diminish the significance of this building to him, as he describes very fondly the memories that are attached to this now removed structure. Such emotional ties with the environment have been described as place bonding, or place affect (Tuan, 1977). These are formed as individuals develop feelings towards where they live, which contributes further meaning and significance to its existence (Tuan, 1977). Removal of such places to which the participant is attached has weakened the emotional ties he holds with his environment.

Although past experiences would appear to be having detrimental consequences for perceptions of the ongoing work, Steven's account also suggests that the past can also have some positive influence. He draws on his past experiences of the area to make sense of changes, in a way that could be

perceived as aiding with adaptation. He frequently presents negative opinions towards the changes that have over time transformed the area and displays a longing for the past. One of the changes, however, has seemingly been met with a much more positive response:

Steven: *"And I sent them to her; I got them blown up and pictures and she phoned me back and says "where's this?!" I said that is Eccles New (pause) She says: "you're joking?!" She said, "that's going back in time!" Because trams used to be the norm and now they've come back. You know what I mean? Oh, they're more modern but it's exactly the same thing."*

Here, he is describing the extension of the MetroLink tramline from Manchester into the area. He speaks very fondly of this change, with his narrative presenting it as a form of gateway to the past. He describes how it reminds him of the Salford of old, and of a time he believes has passed. Over time, an individual will develop different place meanings of a single location, as it goes through changes (Brandenburg & Carroll, 1995; Cantiril, 1998; Gustafson, 2001). Lengthier inhabitation means more experiences and thus, more memories. Fried (2000) explains how this process may prevent an individual from considering future alternatives. This notion is evident in some participants, who exhibit quite an intense yearning for the past and a sense of nostalgia. William talks about a general decline and has very little attachment to the present. His attachment appears to be based on the past. Steven talks as though the past is lost, describing an old and a new Salford.

PA is seen to connect both the present with the past and also the present to the future. From discussion with participants, multiple instances occurred of participants drawing on the past to make sense of current events and there are both positive and negative examples of the role of this in adaptation to place change. Participants Joe and William draw on previous experiences of regeneration in the area, in a way that seems to be aiding their ability to make

sense of the current project. They also appear distrusting of the powers that be, and pessimistic towards the future.

In the words of Steven, there is also a more positive example of how the past may be drawn upon in adaptation to the changing environment. This finding is in-line with the thinking of Ryan & Ogilvie (2001), who assert that time may, in fact, serve to facilitate the process of adaptation, and aid in the development of new PAs. This may be enabled by nostalgia–triggering events, through which the present becomes associated with the past, enabling the recognition of the role of the new environment in their life. This can be related to the concept of place release, where events have a positive effect on an individual's life (Jacobs, 1961). Here, life has been improved due to changes in the environment, bringing a person closer to self-actualisation (Mehta, 2007). A lack of such experiences can negatively affect this bind, as this may lead to a sense of mundanity. Also, unexpected negative events can have the opposite effect, leading to damaged PA (Seamon, 2012). The previous removal of places that housed social activity meant there was less for people to do in the area. Based on the words of the majority of participants, a perceived decline in the shopping experience appears to have led to a reduced sense of enjoyment from this activity. Such changes have had a negative impact on people's lives, demonstrating adverse place release. Some residents, however, have been able to adapt. A major benefit in this regard has seemingly been the membership of tenants' associations. These beneficial effects do vary amongst participants, however, and others who have been less able to adapt to the changing environment have seemingly become less strongly attached to the area in which they live. For those who are attached to the area through its contained resources, the inability to meet these needs may eventually lead to the damaging of this person-place bond.

What these accounts seem to demonstrate is the importance of a temporal element to both PA and how residents may form attitudes towards the

regeneration of an area. Time is seemingly a constant that serves to maintain the relationship between people and places, as their physical landscape is transformed. The place may not be seen as it once was, but landmarks remain, which serve to transport residents to times gone by.

7.7   Conclusion

Throughout **Chapter 7**, I have provided analysis surrounding the third super-ordinate theme of 'understandings and definitions of place'. This involved the exploration of residents' notions of place and their experiences of place attachment in the context of neighbourhood regeneration. I argue that the accounts provided by participants illuminate the potential for physical changes to the environment brought about by regeneration to lead to an area developing a new identity within the eyes of its contained residents. Participants also seek to highlight how the removal of definitive landmarks, resources, as well as social spaces have influenced the way in which they interact with the local area, contributing to a sense of dislocation. I am critical in my discussing of these findings, however, questioning how readily such changes can be directly attributed to the process of neighbourhood regeneration. The role of market forces cannot be ignored, which the literature highlights as having influenced several of the factors that those interviews related to the regeneration of the area. I have also discussed the apparent role of time in both residents' attachment to place and their interpretations of the environment as it undergoes physical changes. The place may not be seen as it once was, but landmarks remain, which serve to transport residents to times gone by, via memories of the past. This can be negative, leading to a sense of nostalgia and a yearning for the past. It can also be positive, however, enabling them to make sense of ongoing changes in relation to the environment of the past.

Chapter 8 Discussion

8.1 Introduction

A significant discussion point throughout the body of this PhD thesis is the role of place attachment (PA) in understanding the relationship that individuals hold with the place in which they live. The current project sought to explore this in the context of neighbourhood regeneration: an urban-environmental phenomenon that can lead to significant changes to the physical landscape of residential areas. From a public health perspective, such initiatives are often regarded as a vehicle to improve the living conditions and well-being of residents. The research context for the current project was Pendleton, an urban area of Salford, a city in the North West of England. With available PHE statistics illustrating the area to have some of the worst levels of deprivation in the country (Peck & Tocque, 2010; Salford City Council, 2016) the area would seem a prime candidate for neighbourhood regeneration. Despite continued regeneration efforts over the past 50 or so years, however, such public health issues have remained. The overarching aim of the project was to explore the role that neighbourhood regeneration plays in addressing complex issues of well-being.

This final chapter is structured around responding to the four leading research objectives set out on initiation of the project, which are as follows:

- To explore whether individuals' understanding of place is influenced by the process of neighbourhood regeneration;

- To investigate how place attachment is drawn upon throughout the regeneration period;

- To explore issues of mental well-being directly related to the process of regeneration;

- To inform the relevant stakeholders of the potential implications of neighbourhood regeneration in regards to mental well-being.

These will each be reflected upon, based on the reviewing of the main research findings covered in the analysis and their implications for the broader context. The initial focus of the chapter is the examination of the contributions made by the research findings to the theoretical literature surrounding the concepts of place and PA, specifically, within the context of neighbourhood regeneration, which represents research questions one and two. To support individuals experiencing neighbourhood regeneration, a more thoroughly developed understanding of the people-place relationship is first required. The processes involved in participants making sense of their changing environment will be examined in relation to previously developed theories and concepts, to consider the extent to which these can be used to understand the complex influence of regeneration on the experience of residents.

Once the complex interrelationships between people, place, and regeneration have been explored, it becomes possible to address the third research objective: to explore experiences of mental well-being directly related to the process of regeneration. Examined first is the existing theoretical and research support for the use of neighbourhood regeneration to benefit mental well-being. Through the critique of this background literature, its limitations will be identified and discussed. Examined next is the contributions that the current study has made to this knowledge-base, through the exploration of such issues in a single regeneration case study. These developments have been facilitated through the methodological approach adopted for the project, and this process is broken down alongside the relaying of the main research findings.

Having reviewed the theoretical contributions of the thesis in regards to mental well-being, it then becomes possible to readdress the final, overarching

objective of the project: to inform the relevant stakeholders of the potential implications of neighbourhood regeneration for residents. By outlining the newly developed understanding of the influences that regeneration may exert, and viewing the main issues raised in the accounts of participants, the discussion will go on to revisit the government's existing regeneration guidance, identifying the limitations and oversights within this. The chapter then offers some final concluding thoughts on the potential role for regeneration in addressing public health issues, along with a consideration of the limitations of the conducted research, and a discussion of future research avenues.

8.2 Research Objective 1

The first objective of the PhD was to explore whether residents' understandings of the place in which they live are influenced by the process of neighbourhood regeneration. For the current research, I conceptualised 'place' as a centre of meaning. From this perspective, the person-place relationship is regarded as having common elements, while remaining an individual experience (Garner et al., 2012). PA is, therefore, considered multi-faceted, with individuals capable of identifying with an area in multiple ways and on varying levels (Hummon, 1992). In doing so, I employed Seamon's (2013) phenomenological definition of place as being: "any environmental locus in and through which individual or group actions, experiences, intentions, and meanings are drawn together spatially" (Seamon, 2013, p. 11). The analysis, therefore, drew on the five sub-processes of PA identified by Seamon (2014) of place definition, place dependence, place bonding, place interaction, and place identity. By taking such an approach, the analysis was able to examine the varying ways in which residents of Pendleton understand the place in which they live, and how this may have been altered over time. The findings pertaining to this issue are explored below.

8.2.1 Multiple definitions of a single reality

What was apparent in the accounts of those interviewed was a perceived change of identity of the area, as a result of multiple waves of regeneration. This can be understood in relation to the concept of place definition: a socially constructed concept describing the factors of the environment that contribute to individuals' understanding of a location, providing it with a form of identity (Schneider, 1986). Involving physical and social elements becoming intertwined with place, this is seen to shape the meaning that a location holds for individuals (Shamsuddin & Ujang, 2008). This is thought to be damaged by poor design, policy implementation, or a destructive event, occurrences that can alter people's experiences, which if positive may strengthen attachment bonds, and weaken them if undesirable (Seamon, 2012).

This study has gone further than previous research efforts through the utilisation of IPA, which seeks to explore the lived experience of individuals, illuminating the understanding they hold of the world around them (Smith et al., 2009). This approach has enabled the closer examination of those specific events and factors associated with regeneration that hold the potential to contribute to the altering understandings residents may hold of Pendleton. It has been commented on how the bulk of previous research into the phenomenon has been positivist in nature and phenomenological approaches have been less considered (Low & Altman, 1992). Quantitative methods can be useful in exploring the complex interrelationships between variables, but analysis focuses on surface-level data (Biggerstaff & Thompson, 2018). Such methods, therefore, fall short of examining the underlying processes leading to such measured outcomes. The findings of the current study have addressed this need directly and have given further nuanced insight into the varying ways in which regeneration and the

physical changes it may bring to an environment can alter the ways in which residents relate to it.

One factor in the current research context that was identified as having influenced the nature of the people-place relationship is the removal of landmarks once seen as being definitive of the location, as well as changing road and transport systems, which influence how participants such as William and Steven navigate the area. Also identified as a further consequence of this perceived change in place definition is how this appears to have been interpreted by some as a threat to self-identity. William describes his local area as being low down on the social chain, serving to add a financial dimension to the notions of entrapment present in the words of several participants. They identify stagnating house prices in the area and talk of it being below those of surrounding areas of Greater Manchester. The decreased familiarity with the surroundings described by residents appears to have led to a sense of disorientation and displacement, which has been seen to have consequences for navigation, as well as contributing to reduced feelings of belonging. Some of those interviewed even go so far to declare that they no longer recognise the place they once lived in, due to the removal of defining landmarks and the changes in the way residents interact with and within the area. These findings contribute further knowledge to the complexities of the people-place relationship, by detailing the lived experiences of residents experiencing a specific regeneration project. Although the factors have been previously associated with notions of place and PA, how they stand to be influenced by neighbourhood regeneration has not been explored in depth. What these findings show is that by changing the physical structure of a location, its residents may experience a sense of dislocation, previously more associated with physical displacement from a place of attachment. Although they have not left the area, it appears as though symbolically, the 'place' has been removed from them.

These experiences appear to have led participants to draw comparisons between the area as it was in the past and how it is perceived currently. As a result of this, the area is now presented as being less favourable, with participants expressing regret, nostalgia and a longing for the past. This sentimentality towards the area can be understood in terms of place bonding (Seamon, 2014; Tuan, 1977), which has arguably been undermined by the changing physical environment. From the viewpoint of several participants, such as Doris, Steven, William, and Sheila, the area's changing identity has led to the formation of a new location, totally different from that which existed previously, a split in time between the old and new Salford. These findings highlight how a single physical location can hold different meanings to different residents. It could be argued that it is not that the area has ceased to exist, but that its meaning has been transformed in the eyes of the longer-term residents. Pendleton could now be seen to represent two separate, yet co-existing places.

Within the literature, the application of PA theory to regeneration remains at its infancy. What the current findings have shown, however, is the potential benefits of PA theory in understanding neighbourhood regeneration. By drawing on the existing PA knowledge-base, it becomes possible to conceptualise the experiences of those living in an area undergoing regeneration on a rich and deeper level. The relationships that people hold with the places in which they inhabit are highly complex and can be of great psychological significance. By exploring the lived-experience of residents, it becomes possible to look beyond the material surface of the environment and to understand the varying ways in which physical structures hold significance beyond their designed function. Through greater understanding comes a greater potential for regeneration initiatives to accurately address the needs and ambitions of those living in an area undergoing such an intervention.

8.3   Research Objective 2

The analysis surrounding residents' perceptions of the changing physical environment and its implications for the meaning they apply to place also highlight the role of time in PA. This analysis serves to address the second research objective of the study, which was to investigate how PA is drawn upon throughout the regeneration period.

8.3.1 The role of time

In addressing the first research question of the study, I discussed how many participants appear to identify a perceived change in the identity of the place in which they live. Length of association and past experiences have previously been attributed to the strengthening of such underlying processes of PA as place dependence (Stokols & Shumaker, 1981); place identity (Korpela, 1989; Proshansky, 1978); insideness (Relph, 1976); rootedness (Tuan, 1977); and community attachment (Gerson et al., 1977; Hummon, 1992; Lalli, 1992; Taylor et al., 1985). Although quantitative research has been reported to have revealed a role of time in the development and maintenance of PA, it has been noted how such studies have provided little insight into how and why it is involved (Smaldone, 2006). An original contribution to knowledge of the PhD is to have developed a greater understanding of this process, once more through the utilisation of IPA. Again, by examining the lived experiences of long-term residents of Pendleton, analysis is able to delve beyond the surface of the relationship between time and PA. Where quantitative methods may serve to measure the interrelationships between factors associated with this process, they fall short of examining the intricate nature of the subtle processes that underlie them.

In the current research context, further developed understanding of the role of time in PA has been facilitated through the utilisation of IPA, which has shed light on the individual experiences of longer-term residents of the area making sense of their changing environment. One such example within the current findings is how participants, such as Doris and William, describe the area as having declined during their time living there and display a sense of nostalgia and longing for the past. Here, PA appears to be connecting the past and the present, seemingly serving to influence residents' making sense of current events. A central factor apparently contributing to this is the removal of landmarks seen by many as previously being definitive of the local area. A common criticism of regeneration schemes is they often involve the removal of historic landmarks (Denecke & Shaw, 1988) and this is apparent within the current context. The analysis has also served to show how the value assigned to such landmarks goes beyond their physical structure, with accounts portraying them as symbolic gateways to the past. The statements provided highlight how these structures had significant, often vivid memories attached to them. Herein lies the problem, as their removal appears triggering of nostalgia and a yearning for the past, which is articulated most emotively by Steven. This then leads residents to draw comparisons between the past and the present, leading to negative perceptions towards the changes occurring as part of the ongoing regeneration of the area.

There are, however, some more positive examples, showing how past experiences can make people more accepting of changes to the area in which they live. The leading case in the current findings is the extension of the MetroLink tram system into the area. What this appears to have done for Steven, is remind him of his positive memories of the tram system that was present in the area during his youth. Here, the introduction of the modern system makes the location appear more similar to how it was previously, leading to a more positive perception of change. This seemingly represents an example of effective place-making in the current regeneration scenario. Here, nostalgia appears to have had a positive

influence on PA, which raises potential avenues for exploration moving forward. Through the inclusion of landmarks and architecture that reminds people of how a place once was, the positive emotions held for the past appear to have been become passed onto the modern-day version of the location. These may serve as a bridge, maintaining PA into the future. The key seems to be striking the right balance between seeking to modernise an area, without losing too much of what made it what it once was.

It has been said how, as agents, individuals are predisposed by past experience, which influences their understanding and interpretation of the social world (Anthias, 2002). This manifests in many of the participants of the current study as nostalgia, which serves to link time and space. We can make sense of this by drawing on Ahmed's (2015) use of Ricoeur's (1984) work on time and narrative and Bakhtin's (1981) use of the chronotope: a configuration of time and space within discourse. Nostalgia too can be understood as a form of chronotope, as it holds the potential to link 'lost' place and 'lost' time (Boym, 2001). In the current scenario, nostalgia appears to be being drawn on by participants, to make sense of their changing environment. As experience is gained, personal circumstances change, and the physical environment slowly transforms, time serves as a constant, binding them all together. This continuous thread enables them to draw comparisons between the past and the present. This chronotope, however, is dictated by human memory and all of its limitations. From the perspective of critical realism, agents do not have direct access to present reality, nor do they to past 'realities.' When thinking back to past experiences of the area, participants are almost presenting it as being perfect. Ahmed (2015) describes the concept of community as romantic and utopian, involving the idealisation of a by-gone age and notes how it is often considered lost through modernity. Anderson (1991) describes this phenomenon as the 'imagined community' and theorists go so far as to question whether such a utopia ever existed (van Wynsberghe & Ronaye 1999).

Being involves 'being-in-place' (Casey, 2009, p. 178) and it has been argued that to adopt a phenomenological position enables the production of a reductive rendition of the wholeness of the people-place relationship (Malpas, 1999; Seamon, 2012). Place has been described as offering a means to articulate the experience of the 'lifeworld,' the taken-for-granted nature of existence (Finlay, 2011; Graumann, 2012; Seamon, 1979). Adopting a phenomenologist perspective, Seamon (2014) has described PA as the phenomenology of people experiencing place. He conceptualises this as a complex process through which meaning is applied to a place. One way this can be understood is in relation to what he terms 'lived dialectics' (Seamon, 2014, p. 13). These can be thought of as lived opposites: positions that enable an individual to reshape their understanding of place by enabling a self-reflective awareness of the people-place relationship (Seamon, 1979). Such examples include the dialectic of insideness and outsideness (Harries, 1997; Relph, 1976) and that of dwelling versus journey (Bollnow, 2011). Turning to the current findings, I argue that time can also be seen to serve as a form of lived dialectic. Reflecting on place as it is experienced in the present, individuals can be seen to be drawing comparisons with the past, the perception of which stands to be influenced by the 'chronotope' of nostalgia.

Not only does time appear to have influenced residents' perceptions of the area, but it also appears to have a role in their understanding of the regeneration project. Pendleton is an area that has undergone extensive redevelopment over the past 50 or so years, having been the setting of multiple projects of varying scales. Within the accounts of participants, previous experiences of regeneration seem to frame their perceptions of the more recent work in the area. Opinions of short-termism directed towards past projects seemingly lead participants such as William to bring the quality of the work involved in the current project into question.

8.4   Research Objective 3

The third research objective represents the primary aim of the current research project, which was 'to explore issues of mental well-being directly related to the process of regeneration.' From the public health perspective, regeneration initiatives seek to improve the living conditions and life chances of those living in an area. Regeneration projects endeavour to address this through the replacement of housing of deficient quality (Acheson et al., 1998; Department for Communities and Local Government, 2010). In doing so, the intent is to address residential health inequalities across districts. For the research, a broad, eudaimonic understanding of well-being was adopted, conceptualising it as the drive towards human potential. The ways in which the current findings have further contributed to the knowledge base surrounding regeneration and well-being are explored below.

8.4.1 Regeneration's complex relationship with well-being

The link between neighbourhood regeneration and mental health outcomes has not been well established, with research findings remaining mixed (Blackman et al., 2001; Huxley et al., 2004; Jorgeneel-Grimen et al., 2016; White et al., 2016). The mixed research findings available could be seen to throw the supposed benefits of neighbourhood regeneration into question. However, this is just one explanation. While it may be possible to dispute such claims, what has unquestionably been highlighted further is the complex nature of the people-place relationship, a complexity well-documented within academic literature (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001; Scannel & Gifford, 2010). I argue that to fully understand regeneration's potential implications for mental well-being, it is essential to

consider this relationship in the most comprehensive manner possible. The current research has addressed this directly, through the utilisation of IPA.

By utilising these tools, a greater understanding of residents' experiences of such programmes has been developed. This is vital, as despite the extensive neighbourhood regeneration conducted within Pendleton over the past 50 or so years, local area statistics reveal the area to continue to have some of the worst levels of deprivation in the country (Salford City Council, 2014). To explore this issue with a higher level of scrutiny was crucial, in order to further unpick the complexity of the people-place relationship in the context of neighbourhood regeneration. Outlined below are the main findings of the current research, along with explanations of how a fresh approach to research has facilitated this new insight.

8.4.2 The benefits of a phenomenological approach

The findings of the thesis have served to highlight the benefits of utilising IPA in understanding experiences of the urban-environmental phenomenon that is neighbourhood regeneration. The adoption of IPA has enabled the breaking down of the processes of PA and mental well-being throughout experiences of neighbourhood regeneration. Due to its highly idiographic nature, IPA analysis is considered to be more rigorous than other qualitative approaches (Smith & Osborn, 2003), enabling the development of a more in-depth understanding of the interpretations and perceptions individuals hold of their world. Phenomenology is the study of experience, and in the current context has been identified as being ideal for unpicking the highly complex web of factors involved with the interpretative process of existing residents. Through the utilisation of this analytic strategy, a greater understanding of the underlying, generative mechanisms

contributing to individual understandings of neighbourhood regeneration has been developed.

The first example of this is the uncovering of how perceptions of physical disruption caused by the implementation of material changes to property have been identified as having the potential to have detrimental consequences for mental well-being. The main issue raised in this regard relates to residents' concerns about the dust created by construction work, as well as the uncovering of harmful substances, such as asbestos. From the accounts provided by participants, these experiences appear to have led to a sense of worry about their physical health, an element that Maslow (1970) identifies as being crucial for well-being. This concern is also seemingly exacerbated further in some participants due to their existing physical health conditions, such as asthma. In drawing attention to the severity of these health issues, participants such as Joe appear to be attempting to provide irrefutable evidence of their hardship caused by neighbourhood regeneration.

What in-depth analysis has revealed, however, is a more nuanced understanding of how regeneration activities may assert their influence on the well-being of residents. It is not only the physical disruption resulting from the implementation of structural changes that appears to have implications for well-being, but also how such concerns are handled by those overseeing the regeneration of the area. Responses deemed to be inadequate by residents appear to have led to a perceived lack of control over their circumstances, a critical component of well-being identified by self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 2008) and the theory of psychological well-being (Ryff, 1995). Feelings that promises have not been kept and that repeated calls for help have been ignored have seemingly led to negative attitudes, as well as a perceived inevitability of exacerbated physical health. What these accounts serve to highlight is that it is not just the experience of disruption that has been unpleasant, but that missed

expectations on the part of those implementing the project have seemingly made matters worse. The findings highlight that the concession that regeneration will lead to disruption is insufficient, as several of the participants have not been adequately supported through this experience, which has led to ill-feeling towards stakeholders.

Based on the increased understanding of the interpretative process of residents, opportunities arise to better understand residents' perception towards the process of regeneration. The findings surrounding worries for physical health, for example, show the importance of stakeholders' apparent responsiveness to calls for help and support in affording residents a greater sense of control over their circumstances. Issues of control were also raised concerning wider elements of the regeneration process. The accounts of several participants appeared to suggest they felt they have had little say in what the project would mean for the area and as a result, demonstrated feelings of being used and their trust betrayed. Issues of control are arguably critical to the relationship between regeneration and mental well-being, with multiple theorists identifying the characteristic as being crucial for positive well-being (Maslow, 1954; Ryan & Deci, 2000; Ryff, 1995). This can be related to the psychological concept of the locus of control, and whether an individual believes it is internal or external factors that have control over their circumstances (Bollini et al., 2004; Roddenberry & Renk, 2010).

What these findings show is that even if changes are being made in the attempt to benefit well-being, the experience of this process could potentially have the opposite effect due to inadequate support measures being in place. Residents also demonstrate a desire to have a level of control over what regeneration means for their neighbourhood, and to have their voice respected. This task is complex, however, with decision-makers being tasked with meeting the diverse expectations of a large population. Friction appears to arise when

individuals engage with the process of resident involvement, but are ultimately disappointed with the decisions that are taken.

Another issue presented as having had consequences for mental well-being is social isolation, which has been implicated in relation to residence within high-rise tower blocks; the temporary and permanent relocation of residents; and the removal of landmarks and locations associated with social activity. Each of these factors is seen to have in some way made social interaction more difficult and is presented as having had consequences for the area's sense of community. Again, however, through the application of IPA analysis, the opportunity has arisen to identify structural changes that, within the current regeneration context, appear to have the potential to moderate this impact. The potential negative consequences of high-rise living are well-established within the literature (see: Gifford, 2007) and regeneration projects are arguably limited in their power to address this issue. Within the findings of the current study, however, lies the indication that these properties can be adapted in order to address such issues. Certain tower blocks contain community rooms within them and residents of these properties speak very highly of the opportunities these can provide for social activity. What these findings highlight is that structural changes to existing properties can achieve social benefits. The findings also serve to demonstrate the significance of the task of relocation, and how if not handled carefully, this can serve to disturb interpersonal relationships that are long-standing and may have a significant role to play in the well-being of individuals.

Another beneficial factor for social interaction identified within the findings is the formation of community groups, which also appear to have afforded a sense of purpose and control to members. As previously noted, sustainable regeneration is frequently likened to a three-legged stool, with the three equally important pillars of economics, environment, and community (Jones & Evans, 2008). The findings of the current study show the difficulty for regeneration projects to

accurately address the complex needs of a population as they change over time. Within the current findings, the removal of social spaces is identified as being problematic as structures that address the same needs appear to not have been provided. A more positive example of this within the current scenario, however, is the Gateway Centre. Although not its primary function, this building is home to the Time Bank community group, which is described as a significant part of the social lives of six of the interviewed sample.

What the discussed findings have also highlighted is a level of variance in the manner in which regeneration may stand to influence the mental well-being of residents. Coupled with the inconsistent findings of previous research in the area, this raises questions about why some residents appear to cope well with the disruption caused, while others do not. This can be described as resilience: a resource called upon during times of stress, requiring an individual to cope (Tucker et al., 2012). A greater understanding of its role in the current context has been enabled through the utilisation of IPA. As seen to be drawn upon when experiencing stressors, to fully understand resilience, we first require a picture of the nature of the stress that a person is experiencing. As outlined in the paragraphs above, the utilisation of IPA has enabled this, and as a result, greater insight has been gained into the experiences of issues relating to mental well-being.

In considering resilience in the current context, what the findings have highlighted is how residents appear to relish control of some form. Due to the decisions made by stakeholders and an apparent lack of transparency in this process, some residents have arguably been made to feel like strangers in their home. One factor identified as having the potential to be beneficial in the current scenario is membership of a tenants' association, which has been shown to afford residents a sense of control, as well as a sense of ownership of changes to the environment. In a way, they are no longer passive recipients of regeneration, but

rather, active participants in the process. Consequently, residents within this category exhibit few issues relating to control. Another factor that has been presented as a positive in this regard is the membership of community groups. Based on the accounts provided by participants, this has enabled greater social interaction, and some describe how this has provided them with a sense of purpose. Resilience is said to be facilitated by holding a meaningful role within society (Kirby & Fraser, 1997). This has seemingly been enabled by the membership of such groups, which afford opportunities for individuals to make use of their knowledge and skills, for the benefit of themselves and other members of their community. I argue that these findings point to a larger issue: the importance of collaboration and co-production. For some, the regeneration of Pendleton has employed tokenistic 'involvement' and has seemingly failed to provide residents a sense of control over the changes being implemented in the area in which they live.

8.4.3 Where responsibilities begin and end

In illuminating a more complex understanding of how regeneration activities stand to influence the mental well-being of residents, questions arise as to where the responsibility to tackle such issues lies. Through the continued in-depth examination of the accounts of residents enabled by IPA, another emerging discussion point is how even in instances when the regeneration process is not itself implicated as having led to problems, a level of responsibility on the part of those overseeing the project to resolve them is still identified by residents. The main issue this relates to is fears about safety, and perceptions of crime in the area. This could arguably be regarded as an overstatement of the role of regeneration, but if its purpose is to improve well-being and public health, this seemingly brings this perspective into question. The difficulty faced by

stakeholders is that they are limited in their capacity to directly address crime, which is ultimately a responsibility of the police.

By engaging with IPA, a greater understanding of the generative mechanisms of such perceptions some, perhaps unexpected, potential to address these issues become apparent. One factor identified is the lack of activity available to the youth in the area, which strategic planning could have sought to tackle. Another example is the perception that security systems are not being managed correctly. So, although they may be limited in their powers to address drug use directly, it is within the capacity of the property management company to take steps to minimise the threat this presents to residents. Regeneration may indeed have the potential to lead to benefits for community safety, but this is only possible if improvements are used correctly. What this shows is how the role of regeneration does not cease when construction work comes to a close but continues into the management of the newly modified properties.

8.5   Research Objective 4

What the findings have demonstrated thus far, is how through the adoption of IPA, a greater understanding of the experiences of residents can be developed. This has directly addressed the fourth and final, overarching objective of the study: 'to inform the relevant stakeholders of the potential implications of neighbourhood regeneration in regards to mental well-being.' On initiation of this research project, relationships were developed with the local authority's public health team, as well as Pendleton Together: the consortium of companies overseeing the regeneration of Pendleton. On completion of the thesis, the main findings generated from the analysis will be presented to each of these relevant parties. By providing an in-depth account of residents living in the area, this dissemination will focus on the more tangible factors associated with well-being.

By highlighting both good practices, as well as those factors that may be seen to have contributed to more negative outcomes, at the very minimum, what the findings on mental well-being provides them with is feedback on which to reflect moving forward. The analysis surrounding residents' experiences of mental well-being also enables reflection on the appropriateness of existing government guidance on the delivery of such initiatives, as well as the supposed purpose of neighbourhood regeneration. These issues are discussed below.

8.5.1 Revisiting government guidance

In **Chapter 1**, I outlined details of the Estate Regeneration National Strategy: the most recent national regeneration policy (Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government, 2016). The document covers issues such as resident engagement and protection; the role of the local authority; finance and delivery; how to facilitate better social outcomes; alternate approaches; partner engagement; and also includes a good practice guide. 'Resident engagement and protection' describes how residents should be afforded opportunities to be involved in the decision-making process, and identifies them as crucial partners in any regeneration scheme. Research previously conducted in the same regeneration context as the present study appeared to show overall satisfaction with the communication process (Sherrif et al., 2015). The current research findings, however, have highlighted problems with this process, with participants such as Joe, Emily, and Doris questioning the responsiveness of those overseeing the regeneration of Pendleton. Where the findings have arguably gone further than the existing guidance is to emphasise that engagement alone is not sufficient to ensure positive perceptions of the regeneration process. The findings suggest an apparent inability to communicate the positive outcomes being delivered by regeneration activities. Within the findings, William spoke of his view that resident engagement is little more than a cynical 'public relations' exercise, which serves to

highlight the disillusionment that several of the participants exhibit towards the ongoing regeneration of Pendleton.

The section of the report entitled 'meeting the needs for all' focuses solely on housing need. As a result, the report falls short of highlighting the critical responsibility of meeting the broader needs of a community. Housing is crucial for well-being, as identified by Maslow (1954), but the current findings also highlight the importance of the wider elements of the residential environment. The task here is great but is of the utmost importance for any project to succeed. The potential consequences of not doing so are visible in the current case study of Pendleton.

Not only do stakeholders and those implementing a regeneration project have to do so in a manner that meets the complex needs of all residents, but they are faced with the task of doing so over a long-term period. This provides further obstacles, as the needs of residents change over time. The current phase of regeneration ongoing in Pendleton was proposed as a 15-year project, which is a significant period in any person's life. This could mean that residents' input provided during the design phase of a project could become obsolete after, during, or even before the implementation of the proposed works. The potential for regeneration to alter the demographic make-up of the local population has also been shown to be an important factor for consideration. If redevelopment of an area leads to an increase in property value, this could lead to an increase in middle-class residents of greater financial means. Those implementing the scheme would then be faced with the demands that their differing needs require, without betraying those of the previous occupants, who may be of lesser financial means, and potentially require a greater level of government support.

8.5.2 The purpose and potential of neighbourhood regeneration

Through the development of a greater understanding of the complex relationship between neighbourhood regeneration and well-being, we can begin to re-examine the supposed purpose and goals of such initiatives. Past and current research findings have suggested such projects hold potential benefits for mental well-being, but one could argue that such potential would remain untapped should they not be designed, delivered, and maintained in an effective and strategically intelligent manner. Despite this suggested potential, however, there remain critics of the approach and it has been suggested that regardless of intent, or the nature of initiatives, rather than benefitting an existing population, neighbourhood regeneration may lead to change via population movement, leading to claims of gentrification (Slater, 2006; Tunstall, 2016; Uitermark & Bosker, 2014). The stability of neighbourhood status over time is also identified as a factor inhibiting the ability to determine the impact of such initiatives (Sampson,2009; Tunstall, 2016). Regeneration efforts in the UK date back as early as the 1850s, and yet the public health issues they seek to address remain present (Roberts & Sykes, 2008; Tarn, 1973).

The publication of the Estate Regeneration National Strategy (Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government, 2016) accompanies the newly arrived availability of funding. This raises opportunities to re-engage in a research-led approach to neighbourhood regeneration. Through newly developed understanding, researchers, policy-makers, and industry partners should continue forward in a strategically intelligent manner, looking to increase the positives associated with such projects, while minimising the potential disruption. We should not prematurely concede that neighbourhood regeneration is incapable of addressing public health issues, and should acknowledge that necessary understanding to achieve success is currently in its infancy. Research requires a rethink, and the current findings have served to highlight the potential of adopting

a phenomenological approach to such an endeavour. Continually updated policy should build upon freshly developed theory, to identify problematic contributory factors that policy-making can seek to address (Tunstall, 2016). Past research into the area has relied heavily on outcome measures (Blackman et al., 2001; Huxley et al., 2004; Jorgeneel-Grimen et al., 2010), which fail to examine the underlying mechanisms contributing to decline in sufficient depth. Increased comprehension of the dynamics of a neighbourhood is crucial for neighbourhood regeneration to become successful in achieving its intended outcomes, and the current research has served to contribute to this knowledge-base.

8.6 Conclusion

My findings highlight that policymakers and industry partners stand to benefit from the development a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of neighbourhood regeneration and the ways in which it stands to influence the lives of residents. The contributions made by the thesis identify the value in drawing on a broad range of interdisciplinary theory, in the attempt to conceptualise and understand such experiences. Furthermore, they illuminate the potential benefits of adopting a phenomenological approach in gaining a more thorough insight into the lived experiences of those living through such initiatives. I invite further research to further contribute to the documented understanding of the interrelationship between regeneration and mental well-being, which I argue currently remains at its infancy. Laid out below is a summary of the contribution to knowledge made by the research, alongside a consideration of its methodological limitations, and suggestions for future research avenues.

8.6.1 Contribution to knowledge

For this research project, I utilised IPA analysis to explore the lived experience of long-term residents of an area undergoing neighbourhood regeneration. My analysis closely examined their relationship with the place in which they live, and how their understandings of this may have been altered as a result of current and historic regeneration efforts in the area. This approach has enabled the exploration of the significance of the physical structures contained within a place beyond their physical properties. Revealed is how as the result of changes to the environment, for several participants, Pendleton has undergone a form of symbolic redefinition, coming to represent multiple, co-existing locations. This has been shown to lead to a sense of disorientation, and a reduced feeling of belonging, more commonly associated with physical displacement from a place of attachment.

The findings also contribute further understanding of how the PA relationship may be drawn upon as regeneration asserts its influence on the physical environment. Further highlighted is the apparent role of time in this process. Where the current findings have gone further than existing literature, however, is to explore the underlying processes involved in the interplay between time and PA. This has again been enabled through the utilisation of IPA, as well as by drawing on theory and literature from a broad interdisciplinary base. In my analysis, I draw on the work of Ahmed (2015), Bakhtin (1981), Boym (2001), and Ricouer (1984), to identify how nostalgia can be understood as a form of chronotope, serving to link 'lost' place and time. I argue that time can be understood as a form of 'lived dialectic' (Seamon, 2014, p. 13), providing positions from which an individual can reshape their understandings of place. Participants reflect on place, drawing comparisons between the past and present, a process seemingly mediated by the 'chronotope' of nostalgia.

Within the existing knowledge-base, findings surrounding the use of regeneration as a vehicle for improved public health outcomes remain mixed. As part of the current study, I endeavoured to apply a greater depth of analysis to the exploration of the complex relationship between neighbourhood regeneration and mental well-being. The findings reveal how although intended to be beneficial, such initiatives can lead to adverse consequences for well-being. Issues relating to physical health concerns, control, autonomy, social isolation, and self-esteem were identified. Through rigorous analysis, it became possible to unpick the relationship between these outcomes and specific elements of the regeneration process. As a result of this increased understanding, it becomes possible to reflect on the potential limitations of the most recent government guidance on the delivery of regeneration: the Estate Regeneration National Strategy (Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government, 2016). Where the findings have arguably gone further than the existing guidance is to emphasise that resident engagement alone is not sufficient to ensure positive perceptions of the regeneration process. Those delivering regeneration should seek to demonstrate an awareness of the negative issues being faced by residents and to highlight how they have sought to address them. A further limitation lies in the section of the report entitled 'meeting the needs for all.' This issue here is that it focuses solely on housing need, which falls short of highlighting the critical responsibility to address the complex needs of a diverse population as they change over time.

8.6.2 Limitations

The first limitations to consider are those commonly associated with IPA, primarily, the relatively small sample size adopted for such research in comparison to other qualitative methodologies (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). The critical issue is the resulting lack of generalisability of any research findings gained from

such an approach. To counter this, however, it should be highlighted how IPA does not have the same goal of ecological validity that is held by many other methodologies. Conversely, a small, relatively homogenous sample is recruited, to enable the generation of rich, in-depth data, to instead explore the lived experience of interviewed participants. It is their individual accounts that should be present within the analysis, and not merely an aggregate of the collected data.

In remaining critical of the generated findings, I should also identify the difficulties faced during the recruitment stage of the project. My initial intent was to recruit individuals belonging to three, prior identified groups: residents that have experienced clearance from their home and have been re-housed within Pendleton; residents who have remained in their current dwelling and have experienced home, block, or estate improvement; and residents that have remained in their current dwelling and have experienced no home, block, or immediate estate improvement. What I seemed to face, however, was a community that was largely disengaged from the regeneration process. Many of the people I spoke to showed little interest in engaging with the research, understanding it as being part of that process.

Data were collected from semi-structured interviews, which I used to explore autobiographical accounts of life in the area. Generating the depth of recall required to enable fruitful IPA is reliant on human memory, along with all of its limitations. As outlined when introducing the sample, as well as within the findings and analysis chapters, many of those interviewed have a long history in Pendleton. One should remain wary that the accounts provided as part of interviews often involved discussing old memories, which could arguably represent an internalised version of events, as opposed to an objective account of events.

From the outset of the project, it was my intent to interview long-term residents of the area, to enable me to track altering perceptions of and

relationships with place across time. This approach, therefore, actively excluded more recent residents of the area and those who may have moved into Pendleton as part of the ongoing regeneration project. This is unfortunate, particularly with the analysis surrounding discussions of community cohesion within the neighbourhood. This analysis arguably only tells one side of this story and fails to capture the experience of those moving into a previously existing community.

Finally, I should consider my own personal limitations as a researcher. First, I should highlight that my research background lies predominantly in the use of quantitative methods and analysis. Consequently, I hold little experience in leading a large-scale, qualitative project, let alone one with the rigour associated with IPA. Making this transition from one methodology to another was not completely smooth and I found myself having to reconsider how I interpret many sources of information, including past literature, the words of participants, and the findings as they were gradually generated by my application of analysis. I found myself experiencing almost constant self-critique, as I began to draw conclusions from my work and the research that went before me. Despite these difficulties, however, I found this to be an incredibly rewarding experience. Not only has my confidence as a researcher developed further, but I feel that the depth of exploration that I can apply to this important area has increased significantly.

8.6.3 Future research

The first steps that future research should take is to address the limitations of the current project acknowledged in the previous section. Efforts could be repeated in the attempt to recruit participants for the three previously identified sub-groups. To do so would enable a further level of depth to the performed analysis. Each sub-sample will hold a greater level of homogeneity, enabling the analysis to provide an even deeper level of exploration of the sub-processes

involved in residents' interpretation of their experiences of regeneration. Different elements of the regeneration process could be scrutinised more rigorously, adding further understanding to the issues related to each individual element of the overall process.

Further research could also endeavour to recruit individuals who would be identified as being more recent inhabitants of the local area. The findings of the current project revealed issues concerning community relations, and to invite such individuals to take part in future research would enable a more holistic analysis of this specific issue. Solely focussing on the longer-term resident of Pendleton, arguably provides only one side of this debate and an opportunity should be provided for newer residents to have their voices heard.

The contributions made by the findings to regeneration literature also highlight scope for potential experimental research. This emerges from some of the more positive findings surrounding community relations within high-rise accommodation. I argue that environmental interventions, such as the retrofitting of community facilities to such property, could hold the potential to increase opportunities for residents to interact and foster a sense of community. Issues of social isolation faced by residents of such properties are well documented in the existing literature (Gifford, 2007). By taking the glimpses of potential apparent in the current findings and testing them experimentally, further understanding of how these issues may be addressed may be developed.

A further worthwhile approach would be action research. Carried out during the course of an activity, action research draws together action, reflection, theory, and practice, in order to improve a process (Brydon-Miller, Greenwood, & Maguire, 2003). Such an approach is most common in the area of educational research (Willis & Edwards, 2014), but it has also been applied to such areas as nursing (Hegney & Francis, 2015) and the built environment (Taggart, Koskella & Rooke, 2014). Reason and Bradbury (2001) describe action research as a

participatory, democratic process concerned with the development of practical knowledge. In the current area, the approach could be applied alongside specific elements of a regeneration project, in order to improve its implementation, as well as to provide a further avenue of communication between those delivering a project and those living under its influence.

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Appendix A   Ethical approval letter

University of
Salford
MANCHESTER

19 November 2015

Dear Michael,

RE: ETHICS APPLICATION HSCR 15-114 – 'The experience of place attachment and mental health in the context of neighbourhood regeneration'

Based on the information you provided, I am pleased to inform you that application HSCR15-114 has been approved.

If there are any changes to the project and/ or its methodology, please inform the Panel as soon as possible by contacting Health-ResearchEthics@salford.ac.uk

Yours sincerely,

Sue McAndrew
Chair of the Research Ethics Panel

Appendix B   Recruitment poster

Understanding Experiences of Neighbourhood Regeneration

What?

This research project aims to explore long-term residents' experiences of neighborhood regeneration. Of particular interest is how physical changes relate to perceptions of the area and of oneself.

Who?

I would like to talk to you if you are an adult (aged 18+) currently living in Pendleton, who has lived in the area for a period of five years or more.

Why?

The area in which we live is an important part of our lives and is connected to various elements of our well-being. Neighbourhood regeneration can bring about significant changes to the physical environment and the experiences and perceptions of existing residents should be taken into consideration.

What will it involve?

You may be asked to participate in either a group workshop, one-to-one interview, or both, depending on your preference. These will be arranged at a time and place that is convenient for you.

If you would like more information about the research project, please contact:

Michael Lomas: (0161-295-2334) m.lomas@salford.ac.uk

Prof. Philip Brown (Supervisor): p.brown@salford.ac.uk

Dr Eunice Ayodeji (Supervisor): e.ayodeji@salford.ac.uk

Appendix C   Participant information sheet

University of Salford MANCHESTER

An Exploration of People's Experiences of Place Attachment and Mental Health in the Context of Neighbourhood Regeneration

Researcher: Michael Lomas (m.lomas@salford.ac.uk)

Supervisors: Prof. Phil Brown (p.brown@salford.ac.uk)
Dr Eunice Ayodeji (e.ayodeji@salford.ac.uk)

Participant Information Sheet – One-to-one interview

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide to take part, however, it is important that understand the reasons the research is being carried out and what this will involve for you. Please take time to read the information below, which should address this. If anything is unclear, or should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to ask. Contact details for the research team are detailed above. Please take time to fully consider everything involved before deciding whether to take part.

The research aims to understand the experiences of individuals living in an area undergoing neighbourhood regeneration. You have been asked to take part in an interview with a researcher from the University of Salford.

Why is this research being carried out?
The purpose of the research project is to better understand the experiences of individuals living in an area undergoing neighbourhood regeneration. More specifically, this project is interested in the experiences of adults living in the Pendleton area of Salford.

My name is Michael Lomas and I am completing this research project as part of a PhD. My work on the project is under the supervision of Prof. Philip Brown and Dr Eunice Ayodeji at the University of Salford. The contact details for me and the project supervisors can be found at the top of the page.

Why have I been invited?
You have been asked to participate because you are an adult, who currently lives in the Pendleton area of Salford and have lived in the area for a period of at least five years before the initiation of the regeneration scheme. To date, there has been limited research that explores the influence of regeneration on the relationship people hold with place and the current research project seeks to contribute to this gap.

You have been asked to take part in an interview because you have identified that you have lived in the area of Pendleton for more than five years prior to the initiation of the regeneration project.

Do I have to take part?
This is for you to decide. It is the responsibility of the researcher to fully inform you of the nature of the study. Should you then feel happy to partake in the process, you will be asked to sign a consent form to indicate your willingness to participate. You are also free to withdraw from the process at any time, without giving reason.

What will happen to me if I take part?
If you want to participate in this research project, I would to like to invite you to take part in an interview. You will only be asked meet/talk with me once for the purpose of this project.

Should you wish to speak with me about the research project after the interview has finished, this can be done using the contact details at the top of the page. Anything we discuss outside of the interview will not be included in the final report without your permission.

The interview will be one-to-one with me and should last no longer than 45 minutes.

In the interview I am interested in exploring your experience of the regeneration of Pendleton. In particular, I am interested in information such as:

- What is life like for people living in Pendleton?
- Why do people living in Pendleton choose to stay in the area?
- What are its defining characteristics? What makes Pendleton, Pendleton?
- Since project has begun, what have been the most significant changes to life in Pendleton?
- How has your experience been of the implementation of the regeneration process thus far?
- What is your future outlook for life in Pendleton?

I will ask for your permission to record our conversation to ensure that the information you provide is accurately recorded. All personal information will be held in accordance with data protection laws. Any signed documentation will be stored in a locked filing cabinet at the University of Salford and all audio recordings will be kept on an encrypted memory drive. All participant information will be kept confidential and the final report will be written in a manner to ensure anonymity is ensured.

Expenses and payments?

Individuals participating in the interview stage of the data collection process will be compensated in the form of vouchers to the value of £10.

What will I have to do?
During the interview, I will be asking questions that focus on your experiences of living in Pendleton. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions. If you do not want to answer a question you do not have to. If you feel uncomfortable with any question or part of the discussion you can ask me to move on, or stop the interview. If at any point you want to withdraw from the research project you can do so without providing a reason.

Where will you talk to me?

The interview will take place at a location that is convenient for you. This will be somewhere quiet and comfortable, and somewhere where we won't be interrupted. This could be at your home, the University, or any other suitable location. It is also possible to

complete the interview over the phone. If you would prefer this, please contact the researcher to enable the necessary arrangements to be made.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There should be little or no risk to you in taking part in this research project. If you feel as though your participation is causing you feelings of discomfort, you are free to terminate the interview at any point and without providing an explanation. If you wish to take a break or arrange conduct the interview at a later date, this will be accommodated where possible. You are also free to contact the research team after the interview has taken place. They can be reached via the contact details listed above. You will also be provided details of specialist services who can offer support should you feel the need discuss any issues that may have arisen during the interview. This information is also presented at the bottom of this information sheet.

What are the benefits of taking part?

There is no guarantee that you will personally benefit from taking part in this study. However, the information that you provide will be used to develop a better understanding of the experiences of individuals living in an area undergoing neighbourhood regeneration. The anonymised findings of the research will be fed back to the local authority, to give them further details of the experiences of local inhabitants. A major aim of the research is to provide guidance for best policy and practice for future regeneration projects, both within and outside of the City of Salford.

What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should ask to speak to the researchers who will do their best to answer your questions. Contact details can be found at the top and bottom of this information sheet.

If you remain unhappy and wish to complain formally you can do so by contacting Anish Kurien (a.kurien@salford.ac.uk/ (0161) 295-5276) at the University of Salford.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

All of the information collected from you during this research will be kept secure and any identifying material such as names and addresses will be removed in order to ensure anonymity. The information you give will be treated in the strictest confidence and will <u>not</u> be shared with those involved in any services you receive. However, you should be aware that the researchers would have to pass on information to other professionals that raised serious concerns about risk to yourself or others, including serious child protection concerns.

Who will know about my involvement in the study?

As few people as possible will know about your participation in the research. The people that will know about your participation will be the members of the research team from the University of Salford.

What will happen if I don't carry on with the study?

If you withdraw from the study all the information and data collected from you will be destroyed and your name removed from all the study files.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

After the research is completed the results will be written up in a final report. As outlined, this report will be written in a manner that ensures all participants remain anonymous. If you would like an electronic copy of the research report please contact the researcher on the details provided at the top and bottom of the information sheet. Results of the research may be submitted for publication.

Who is organising or sponsoring the research?

This research project is being organised by myself under the careful supervision of Prof. Philip Brown and Dr Eunice Ayodeji, as part of a PhD at the University of Salford.

Finally, if you agree, thank you for taking part in this research. If you choose not to participate thank you for reading this information.

Further information: If you wish to discuss this further before making a decision you may speak to Michael Lomas at m.lomas@salford.ac.uk, Prof. Philip Brown at p.brown@salford.ac.uk, or Dr Eunice Ayodeji at e.ayodeji@salford.ac.uk.

Support Available: Should any topic discussed cause you any distress or concern, and you wish to discuss this further, the MIND infoline can offer you support. They can be contacted by phone (0300-123-3393). Further information on the services provided are also available online (www.mind.org.uk)

Appendix D   Participant consent form

Title of Project:

The experience of place attachment and mental health in the context of neighbourhood regeneration

Ethics Ref No:

Name of Researcher: Michael Lomas

	Yes	No
➢ I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study and what my contribution will be.	Yes	No

	Yes	No
➢ I have been given the opportunity to ask questions (face to face, via telephone and e-mail)	Yes	No

	Yes	No
➢ I agree to take part in the interview	Yes	No

	Yes	No
➢ I agree to the interview being tape recorded	Yes	No

	Yes	No
➢ I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the research at any time **without giving any reason**	Yes	No

	Yes	No
➢ I understand how the researcher will use my responses, who will see them and how the data will be stored.	Yes	No

	Yes	No
➢ **I agree to take part in the above study**	Yes	No

Name of participant   ………………………………………………………………

Signature   ………………………………………………………………….

Date   ……………………………….

Name of researcher taking consent   Michael Lomas
Researcher's email address   m.lomas@ salford.ac.uk

Appendix E   Semi-structured interview schedule

Provisional Question Route: One-to-One Interview

- **History in Pendleton**
- Everybody seems to refer to the area differently. How do you refer to the place that you live in?
- How did you come to live in the area? How long have you lived in the area? When and why did you first move here?
- When did you hear about the current regeneration project? What were your initial thoughts?
- What was life like for people living in (Place Name) at the time?
- Why do people living in the area choose to stay here?
- What were its defining characteristics? What makes (PLACE NAME), (PLACE NAME)?

- **How has (PLACE NAME) changed since the initiation of the regeneration process?**
- What have been the most significant changes to life in (PLACE NAME)? (Prompts: physical elements/place definition, place dependence, place bonding, place interaction, social aspects of place)
- Are there any specific events that led to the recognition of the change?
- What does the change involve?
- What was the expectedness of the change?
- How important is this change to you? What does it signify to you?
- What feelings do you hold regarding these changes?
- What steps have you taken to deal with these feelings?
- Now, what are the defining elements of the area?

- **What changes (if any) have you noticed in yourself since initiation of the regeneration process? How have the changes influence you as an individual?**
- What do you attribute these to?
- What was the expectedness of the change?
- How likely is it that these feelings would have occurred without the regeneration process?
- What have you done to deal with this? (Coping strategies)

- **Can you describe to me your experience the implementation of the regeneration process thus far?**
- What have been the more negative aspects?
- What are the positives about the process?
- Helpful elements/ support provided

- **What is your future outlook for life in (PLACE NAME)?**

Prompts:

What are your feelings towards that?

What does that signify to you?

What is that in comparison to prior to the regen?

Structural – take through the stages

Evaluative – exploration of feelings

Circular – asking to consider perspective of others

Comparative – how it might be different in different circumstances.

Explore structural changes, travel changes,

Appendix F   Working with a transcript to identify initial themes

Exploratory comments & coding	Transcript	Initial themes
	ML: Say you were correct in your assumptions that those buildings had gone past their shelf-life, what are your attitudes to now bringing them down?	
Seems to concede that improvements to the buildings are needed, but is dubious about the project.	W: Well, as I say, you can see the refurbishments going on with cladding of the buildings because of heat loss . I think, as I say, to be moving people out of the area to start with, I think was a bad idea. When you look at some of the refurbishments into some of these old, Victorian houses, you can get them up to quite a decent standard and maintain the neighbourhoods, which is crucial. But their philosophy was: clear the area, and build upwards. I think we had about 14 tower blocks in this area from 1962 onwards, so	Necessity of regeneration
Holds negative feelings to the clearing of the old neighbourhoods. He feels this was unnecessary and doing so has had negative consequences for the local community.	really, people were just stacked on top of each other instead of being in terraced streets, which separates people, to start with. You don't tend to see people a lot, other than coming into the tower blocks and getting in the lifts. You don't interact with people as much as when they're	Negative feelings towards relocation

Being moved from terraced streets to tower blocks led to a sense of anonymity, isolation, and reduce the level of social interaction in the neighbourhood.	living on the ground floor in terraced streets. So, it makes you quite anonymous living in tower blocks compared with terraced streets. I'd have preferred the older streets to have been done up to a decent standard. Some of the houses were poor, particularly around the Hanky Park area but they tended to lump all of the houses together regardless and just said: "clear the area." They've replaced quite a few of the maisonettes around here, which were built in the late 60s, early 70s and they were only just 40-odd years old. They were put up with the best intentions and then pulled down, what? 3 or 4 years ago and replaced with new properties. And I remember seeing a big advertisement just at the start of Churchill Way, saying in glowing terms about this architect from (pause) I think he was from Scotland somewhere, this big Pendleton scheme about these new properties and the "visions for the future." I thought, "well those visions have only lasted 45 years!" And they're selling you the same story again.	Limitations of high-rise accommodation
Negative attitudes to the work of the past and these appear to be shaping his perception of the work ongoing in the area. Talks of being sold a story that has been miss-sold once before.		Mistrust

Appendix G   Identification within themes within a single case

Overarching Theme	Emergent Theme	Line ref	Quote	Interpretation
	Local History/Heritage	128	Well, I've always been fascinated	Holds a strong interest in the history o
	Memories of past	383	The particular area where I live, B	Often talks of a golden age. A 'classic'
	Memories of past	598	The 60's? Well, the 60's was my e	Speaks of the 1960's as 'his' era and cle
	Nature of change	441	It's hard to quantify something lik	Talks about how many changes don't r
	Nature of change	623	As I say, you don't tend to pick up	Comments on how many of the new c
	Personal History	17	And so, I've always lived in this pc	Emphasis of long personal history in th
	Personal history	149	I think I've lived in libraries all my	One of their main activities is research
	Physical changes	48	. I think we had about 14 tower bl	Being moved from terraced streets to
	Physical changes	161	Well, obviously, as I say, I think th	Reminisces about the physical differer
	Physical changes	209	Every street had a corner shop. Pa	Another significant change appears to
	Physical changes	218	present day now, I think we've go	The participant describes the current s
	Physical changes	396	The most recent changes? Erm...	The participant sees very little differe
	Physical changes	551	Well, you don't feel as safe doing	Now seems to feel much less safe whe
The symbolic	physical changes	558	I'll draw you a little map and this	At this point in the interview, the part
forming	Understanding of area	771	Well the important things for me	Believes that without the libraries whe
of a new	Understanding of area	776	I suppose if you took those two li	Believes that without the libraries whe
location	Understanding of area	396	The most recent changes? Erm...	The participant sees very little differe
	Understanding of area	457	Well, as I say, I'm interested in de	Discusses the significance of landmark
	Understanding of area	471	Even when you come back, there'	Discusses how loss of landmarks leads
	Understanding of area	467	When you remove all them and y	Speaks of the disorientation and unce
	Understanding of area	476	That market went up, I think, very	Opinion of the market is incredibly po
	Understanding of area	506	Well, as I say, seeing something li	Once more highlights the significance
	Experience of life in area	208	Well, prior to the dates you're tal	Another significant change appears to
	Experience of life in area	425	Well, you go in some of these sup	Describes the enjoyment he once got
	Experience of life in area	482	But you'd get farmers coming fror	Speaks of his preference of the shopp
	Belonging	777	But, I still wouldn't feel comforta	feels he cannot move away. This
	Belonging	796	Well, just as I've stated, I'd feel u	Reiterates how he would feel uncomfc

Appendix H   Development of a super-ordinate theme

Super-ordinate theme one: Feeling of control

Super-ordinate theme	Sub-ordinate theme	Contributors	Excerpt page and line references
Feelings of control	Physical health concerns	Sheila, Joe, Emily, Doris, Jim	SH-204, JO-490, E-644 JO-488, JO-537, E-636, E-640, E-652, JI-44.
	Managing choice	Sheila, Joe, Doris, Jim	JI-251, SH-78, JI-290, D-341, SH-417, JO-471, JI-281, D-308, D-310, D-339.
	What regeneration means for the area	Sheila, William, Jim, Margaret, Steven	W-79, SH-33, JI-142, JO-334, W-79, W-77, W-439, W-374, W-393, JI-240, JI-223, JI-128, JI-117, SH-33, SH-34, JO-220, JO-235, JO-315, JI-108, ST-117.
	Crime and safety	Jim, Margaret, Doris, Rita, William, Steven, Sheila, Joe.	M-351, D-258, W-629, JI-175, JI-181, M-351, D-255, D-259, D-264, R-36, R-47, W-134, W-137, W-629, D-68, ST-102, SH-6, JI-187, JO-63.

Appendix I   Overview table of super-ordinate & sub-ordinate themes

Super-ordinate Theme	Contributors	Sub-ordinate themes
Feelings of control	Sheila, Joe, Emily, Doris, Jim	Physical health concerns
	Sheila, Joe, Doris, Jim	Managing choice
	Sheila, William, Jim, Margaret, Steven	What regeneration means for the area
	Jim, Margaret, Doris, Rita, William, Steven, Sheila, Joe	Crime and safety concerns
Social and community relations	William, Sheila, Steven, Doris, Jim, Joe, Rita, Emily	High-rise living
	Doris, Rita	The perils of relocation
	Sheila, Steven, William, Rita, Margaret, Emily	Removal of social spaces
	William, Steven, Joe	Changing demographics
Defining a place	William, Doris, Emily, Sheila, Jim, Margaret, Rita, Steven	Resources and landmarks
	Doris, William, Steven	Sense of belonging
	William, Jim, Steven, Emily, Sheila	Self-identity
	Joe, Doris, William, Steven, Rita	The role of time