





North Shields forty years on

Policy and change after the Community Development Project

REPORT

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Contents

Introduction	3
Policy	4
Inner city policy	4
Property-led regeneration	5
Involving the local community in regeneration partnerships: City Challenge	6
Single Regeneration Budget programmes	9
Neighbourhood Management	10
Recent developments	12
Conclusion	12
Statistical section: Census indicators tracking change, 1971 to 2011	14
References	17
Timeline: North Shields and North Tyneside Policies and Politics	19







Introduction

The North Tyneside CDP area in North Shields has seen a great deal of change since the 1970s. Regeneration and development schemes have had a significant impact here and across North Tyneside. This report looks at the history of regeneration in the North Shields/North Tyneside area after the CDP. It provides an account of the development, implementation and impact of regeneration policies. It draws on archive documents including reports and maps and five in-depth interviews with key actors, past and present, conducted in 2014-15 for *Imagine North East*. The report concludes with a statistical section, tracking some key indicators of change in the area over the past 40 years, 1971 to 2011. We have also created a timeline (p. 19), which shows a selection of area-based policies in North Shields & North Tyneside, alongside the significant events and the changing local, regional and national political landscape.

North Tyneside CDP (1972-78) was one of 12 areas that were part of a British anti-poverty initiative in the 1970s. Further details of the CDP can be found in a separate report for the *Imagine* project (Armstrong and Banks, 2016) and an article (Armstrong and Banks, 2017), both of which have references to the original reports produced by North Tyneside CDP in the 1970s. As shown in Figure 1, the original CDP area comprised part of North Shields, with a population of 16,950 in 1971 (see ps 14-16 for details of the boundary of the area and the demographic statistics).

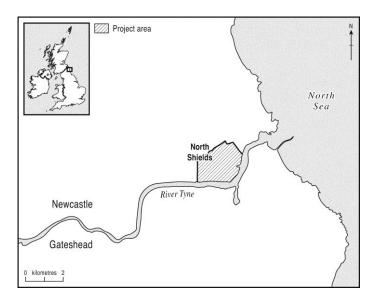


Figure 1: Map showing North Tyneside CDP area







Policy

The CDP area (and, indeed the wider area) has seen a great deal of change since the 1970s. Here, we give an account of some of the main changes, with particular reference to the principal area-based policy interventions that followed the CDP.

Inner city policy

At the end of the CDP era, the Labour Government's White Paper, *Policy for the Inner Cities* (Department of the Environment, 1977) focused attention and resources on the problems of 'inner city' areas. Building on that, the 1978 Inner Urban Areas Act established a new 'Urban Programme', led by the Department of the Environment (Lawless, 1981; Department of the Environment, 1986). North Tyneside was designated a Programme Authority under the programme, while the larger urban areas of Newcastle and Gateshead were accorded higher priority—and greater resources—as Partnership Authorities.

As a Programme Authority, North Tyneside received additional government funding of £2m to £3m each year to implement an agreed list of economic, environmental and social projects. The focus was on a designated 'inner area', which included the former CDP area. The objectives were refined over time, but the essential elements changed little. The objectives set out in the Draft Action Statement for 1992/3 (North Tyneside Council, 1992a, p3), towards the end of the programme, were:

- To continue to strengthen and diversify the local economy by encouraging enterprise;
- To mitigate the effects of unemployment and poverty by improving job prospects, motivation and skills;
- To improve the appearance and attractiveness of the urban area through environmental activity;
- To improve the quality of life for residents and users of the inner area by improving local facilities for recreation, sport and art, developing education and health provision and alleviating the effects of crime.

Economic regeneration activity accounted for half the funding. Economic development projects carried out with this funding included the provision of factory units for small businesses and enterprise support (Robinson, Wren and Goddard, 1987, p 41). Social projects include funding support for community facilities such as the North Shields People's Centre (a community resource centre) and for community and family support projects at the Cedarwood Centre.







The Urban Programme in North Tyneside continued until the mid-1990s. The approach was, arguably, rather piecemeal. A relatively small amount of money was spread thinly across many small-scale projects (North Tyneside Council, 1992a). And, following the return of the Conservatives to government in 1979, it had diminishing significance, overshadowed by bigger property-led interventions.

There was limited consultation about the annual Strategy. The Inner Urban Area Programme strategy document setting out which activities were to be supported was sent out for comment each year to local agencies and the main voluntary sector organisations. One of our interviewees, a local authority officer, commented that *'there wasn't really a very structured approach to regeneration or the community, as such, in those days'* in North Tyneside.

Property-led regeneration

The initial Urban Programme spread resources quite thinly, across a range of themes and it was based on a variety of conceptions of the nature of inner city problems and solutions. Subsequently, under the Conservative Government, urban policy became more focused. Policy was primarily concerned with economic development, with a strong emphasis on 'property-led regeneration' by the private sector.

Following the return of the Conservative Government in 1979, the Urban Programme was retained but was increasingly re-oriented towards economic development projects and capital schemes. Various new initiatives were launched, including Enterprise Zones, various property development subsidies, Task Forces and Garden Festivals (Atkinson and Moon, 1994). But the most important new initiative was Urban Development Corporations, which emerged as the Government's favoured mechanism for urban regeneration. The first two UDCs, in London Docklands and Merseyside, were set up in 1981 and five more were designated in 1987, including Tyne and Wear Development Corporation.

UDCs had considerable resources and powers and each was directed by a government-appointed board with substantial representation from local business. The idea was that they would 'get things done', without the requirement of much local consultation (Byrne, 1999). The remit was essentially to make unused and derelict land and buildings attractive to developers, and to encourage all kinds of development and promote a consequent uplift in land values. Like other UDCs, the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation was, as one of our interviewees put it, 'a quick fix organisation ... they had a short life time and ... went for some very high profile, what I would call, quick wins'.

The Tyne and Wear Development Corporation (TWDC) encompassed riverside land in Newcastle, North and South Tyneside and Sunderland. In North Tyneside, in the 'Royal







Quays'-- a part of the former CDP area—its impact could certainly be described as transformational.

TWDC chose the Royal Quays area as one of its 'flagship' sites and it was, in fact, TWDC's biggest project. The Corporation started purchasing this dockland area from the Port of Tyne Authority in 1988. Covering 200 acres, it is centred on the Albert Edward Dock (opened in the 1880s) and extends up to the edge of the Meadow Well Estate. The area was renamed the Royal Quays and marketed as 'the largest single development site in Britain outside London' (Robinson, Lawrence and Shaw, 1993).

By the time TWDC was wound up in 1998, much of Royal Quays had been successfully reclaimed and redeveloped. £225m investment had brought 1000 new homes for sale or rent, the Wet 'n' Wild Waterpark, Twinings Tea packaging plant, 'factory outlet' shopping, two public parks and a marina (Tyne and Wear Development Corporation, 1998a, pp 14-15). This largely derelict and contaminated area had proved attractive to developers as a self-contained new development, quite separate from the Meadow Well estate to the north.

UDCs were not required to engage in community consultation, but TWDC did so. Although a classic quango, the Corporation said it wanted to involve local residents and ensure that they would benefit from new developments.

In North Tyneside, TWDC's relationship with the local authority was not particularly easy. North Tyneside Council opposed the retail element of the Royal Quays scheme and put forward an alternative plan, focusing on industrial and marine-related development. The Corporation rejected that. But the Corporation's links with local communities near Royal Quays worked reasonably well. A local Monitoring Panel was set up, with TWDC support, and that enabled not only two-way communication but also secured some benefits to local people, through local recruitment and training schemes, for example. But it has to be stressed that community relationships were a secondary issue: UDCs had substantial powers, were top-down agencies, and were keen to achieve successful physical development in a relatively short time-span. Moreover, a regeneration area such as Royal Quays had few existing residents; the existing communities were actually outside the boundary of the Corporation's designated area.

Involving the local community in regeneration partnerships: City Challenge

The Urban Development Corporations were generally successful in bringing land and buildings back into use and did create attractive riverside developments. But they could be of little benefit to existing local communities (House of Commons Employment Committee, 1988), and in some cities they actually served to displace existing communities by promoting gentrification. And in going for 'quick wins' UDCs may not fully take into account







longer term issues; one of our interviewees, for example, feels that TWDC used up riverside land that should have been retained to accommodate maritime-based manufacturing opportunities.

Partly in response to the acknowledged limitations of property-led regeneration, government developed a new policy initiative called City Challenge (De Groot, 1992). This initiative was intended to be more comprehensive—'holistic'—and would be based on partnership, which included the local authorities, the private sector and local communities. In particular, there was a strong commitment to securing community participation and benefit (Department of the Environment, 1994; Duffy and Hutchinson, 1997; Hill, 2000).

City Challenge was announced by the government in 1991 and set up as a competitive process; selected urban local authorities were invited to bid for City Challenge resources. There were two bidding rounds and ultimately 31 individual City Challenge programmes were established. North Tyneside Council was successful in bidding for a second round City Challenge programme, beginning in 1993 (North Tyneside Council, 1992b). The programme would receive government funding of £7.5m a year for five years to support a range of initiatives to be managed by a new local partnership-based organisation which included resident representatives. It would run alongside the TWDC's activity in Royal Quays—the two regeneration programmes were thought of as complementary (Tyne and Wear Development Corporation, 1998b, p21).

The North Tyneside City Challenge scheme covered an extensive area, with a population of about 36,000. It included Meadow Well, Howdon, Wallsend, North Shields and also major sites for economic development in the so-called A19 Corridor. The area was adjacent to, but excluded, TWDC's Royal Quays; it included all the former CDP area apart from Royal Quays.

The vision was 'to improve life for the people of North Tyneside by boosting the local economy, bringing new jobs and widening horizons and opportunities for residents, to make North Tyneside a place where people want to live and work and businesses want to invest'.

Economic development was identified as the basis for long term regeneration—and the City Challenge Partnership was chaired by a private sector representative, the Managing Director of Silverlink Property Developments. A major element in the City Challenge Action Plan was encouraging inward investment to create employment opportunities, together with training opportunities for local people. Investment in infrastructure at the Silverlink Business Park was a key priority—and it did subsequently prove attractive to companies investing in new operations, further encouraged by being granted Enterprise Zone status in 1996 (along with what became Cobalt Business Park).







City Challenge also funded some substantial community-based projects, including the provision of new facilities and a range of local community development initiatives. One of the most significant projects was the development of Meadow Well Community Centre (the Meadows)—seen as a symbolic replacement for the original community building (Collingwood Youth and Community Centre) burnt down in the disturbances of 1991. Other new facilities included the Riverside Early Years Training Centre at Smith's Park, Howdon Community Centre and Howdon Clinic, The Parks Sport and Leisure Centre, the Wallsend Carers Centre, and the Youth and Community wing of Norham Community Technology College. City Challenge also saw the development of local training projects for unemployed people, CCTV to reduce crime, health and educational initiatives. In central North Shields, overlooking the Fish Quay, Wimpey Homes' redevelopment of Union Square was a notable 'flagship project', bringing new life to an historic area with potential for gentrification (North Tyneside City Challenge, 1996).

City Challenge came just a few months after the serious 'disturbances' (or 'riots') in September 1991 which had started on the Meadow Well estate (and subsequently spread to the West End of Newcastle). The disturbances were sparked off by the deaths of two young men ('joy-riders') from the estate who had been pursued by the police; that led to confrontations between young people and the police, arson and some looting. Those events, still remembered and still affecting perceptions of the area, underlined the need for a wide-ranging process of regeneration (Campbell, 1993).

The severity of problems on the estate had already been recognised before the riots and a multi-agency arrangement, the 'Meadow Well Initiative', had been set up earlier in 1991. The Council, central government, TWDC, the police and local residents took part in that. Consultations through the Initiative led to a successful bid for government funding from the Government's Estates Action programme, which funded a programme of demolition, refurbishment and tenure diversification.

City Challenge was better placed than the local authority to forge relationships with the local community owing to its local presence and connections, its 'community development' approach and its perceived separation from the local authority. In the early 1990s, the community had a poor perception of the Council. One of our interviewees commented that:

'there was a lack of respect for the Council's role in things and I think it was easier for people from City Challenge to talk to the community than it was for Council people. Because the Council had a history, I think, of not being believed because they didn't deliver, or didn't listen properly'.







Single Regeneration Budget programmes

While the government's City Challenge programme was still underway, a successor scheme was being developed, the Single Regeneration Budget. The Government had decided not to continue with City Challenge after two rounds, but instead to establish a more flexible programme that could offer differing levels of support of varying duration. But SRB had many similarities with City Challenge: it was awarded through a competitive bidding process; it was based on partnership and community participation; and it was meant to tackle problems in a co-ordinated and holistic way.

In 1995, a major Single Regeneration Budget scheme for Meadow Well was approved, in order to continue and complete the work that had begun in 1992 under the earlier Estate Action scheme. The objectives of the SRB programme (North East Civic Trust, 2001, p3) were to:

- Improve housing through physical improvement, greater choice and better management and maintenance;
- Tackle crime and improve community safety;
- Protect and improve the environment and infrastructure and promote good design.

Altogether, the regeneration of the estate involved investment of £66m, including £15m from SRB and £1.1m from City Challenge, £9.6m from Housing Association grants, £11.5m from North Tyneside Council and £14m investment by Wimpey and Bellway. Around 750 houses were demolished, bringing the number of Council houses down to 1,100. Some tenure diversification was achieved, with the construction of 280 owner-occupied properties. The estate layout was remodelled.

Without doubt, Meadow Well was changed and improvements were widely welcomed and acknowledged, not least by local people (North East Civic Trust, 2001). But the estate continued to struggle to overcome its reputation (Dean and Hastings, 2000).

Other parts of the borough also became the focus of regeneration activity. The City Challenge Partnership completed their programme in 1998/9, but the organisation was retained and its remit was widened, because it had proved its competence in both community engagement and programme delivery. It was renamed North Tyneside Challenge and was given the task of managing regeneration across the borough, including major SRB schemes covering North Shields town centre (1995 to 2000) and Longbenton (1997 to 2004). The Council subsequently brought regeneration back into its own structures and the Challenge organisation was finally dissolved in 2005.







The 'New Labour' Government from 1997 to 2010 embraced the ideas about partnership, community involvement and empowerment that had developed during the 1990s. 'Regeneration' became a widely-used concept, linked to a policy agenda that focused on 'social inclusion' and neighbourhood renewal' (Social Exclusion Unit, 1998; Imrie and Raco, 2003). Many new initiatives were developed, including 'Neighbourhood Management'.

Neighbourhood Management

The Government's Neighbourhood Management Pathfinder programme was launched in 2001. Thirty-five Pathfinder schemes were set up in two phases, each to run for a period of seven years, with funding of up to £800,000 a year. Government then introduced the Safer and Stronger Communities Fund, with the 'Neighbourhood Element' of the Fund allocated to support further Neighbourhood Management schemes. In 2005, North Tyneside Strategic Partnership (NTSP) was awarded £1.6m from this Neighbourhood Element funding for a Neighbourhood Management Pilot scheme in the Riverside and Chirton wards (within the former CDP area). The scheme commenced in April 2006 and ended in 2009/10.

A key aim of the concept and practice of Neighbourhood Management is to create structures and processes which enable citizens and communities to help shape public services and ensure that they are delivered effectively. It is about partnership, joining-up services, enhancing the power of the service user and opening up opportunities for community involvement. Neighbourhood Management is seen as a way of helping to 'close the gap' between deprived and more affluent areas. It is also about strengthening the community leadership role of councillors. Neighbourhood Management is interpreted in different ways, according to local needs and the local context (SQW Consulting, 2008), but it generally aims to decentralise and devolve services to bring them closer to communities and to improve accountability.

The North Tyneside scheme was designed to encompass three severely deprived 'Super Output Areas' (small areas used for Government statistical purposes) within Riverside and Chirton wards (with some modification to take account of natural community identities and boundaries). The area, with a population of just over 3,800, included at least seven distinct geographical communities: East Howdon, Percy Main, South Meadow Well, North Meadow Well, Royal Quays (north west), Triangle/Vicarage Street, West North Shields (Borough Road to Dock Road).

The scheme was overseen by a board comprising six ward councillors, one representative from each of the seven constituent communities, and two young people's representatives. A small team was appointed to run the scheme, comprising a neighbourhood manager, project development worker and project assistant/admin worker. The team was based at a Council building in Avon Avenue, North Meadow Well.







Government funding of £1.6m over four years was awarded to pay for management, overheads and for additional services and projects for the area.

The scheme had some successes in establishing community needs and responding to them. There were community consultations, including surveys, meetings, a newsletter and staff 'walkabouts' to meet people around the area. The team liaised with local agencies to get rubbish cleared, for example, and get agencies to respond quickly to local problems. Neighbourhood Management paid for additional Police Community Support Officers and Neighbourhood Wardens. There was also a Community Chest, providing grants to local organisations.

The mid-term evaluation (Robinson and Clarke, 2008) pointed to some organisational issues, particularly some tensions within the board, the problem of determining a shared vision, and difficulties concerning the representativeness of community board members. The officer team was small and overstretched, and was not well-supported by the Council. It was also based in a building that the Council had vacated and that was not open to the public.

Neighbourhood Management evidently has much potential; it is certainly relevant to attempts to imagine and realise community futures. In North Tyneside, however, it proved difficult to secure 'buy-in' from key elements in the Council, and hard to change ingrained aspects of the culture of service providers.

There were difficulties in ensuring effective consultation and good governance—difficulties that were highlighted in the evaluation of the preceding SRB scheme (North East Civic Trust, 2001). An interviewee said that there were agencies and individuals with self-interested agendas; 'there's such a long history of it all being about personality and politics, rather than about poverty or people'. An interviewee talked about 'favoured organisations', favoured by politicians; intransigent local service providers; and 'antagonism' shown to the Neighbourhood Management scheme. There were conflicts between local organisations, not least over grants from the Community Chest. In addition, one of our interviewees said that the community were 'wary' of just 'another [project].

The scheme ended after three years, having achieved some successes in terms of making services better and more responsive. One of our interviewees said that it 'ramped up the satisfaction with both council services and the police in satisfaction surveys' Several organisations received additional funding. But there is little to show in terms of a lasting legacy.







Recent developments

Over the past few years, regeneration has continued but without the benefit of large-scale government-funded programmes (Wilks-Heeg, 2015).

At the same time as the Neighbourhood Management initiative, efforts were made to develop Neighbourhood Agreements based on negotiated standards of local service provision, but they fell out of favour apparently largely as a result of a political change at the Council. A system of four Area Plans was introduced instead, aimed at improving services and conditions in the different parts of the borough.

At borough level, the somewhat complex arrangements of Local Area Agreements, comprehensive Area Assessments and the Sustainable Community Strategy that had developed in the later years of the Labour Government were replaced by a simpler approach, less target-driven and centred on a brief 'Our North Tyneside Plan'. That Plan sets out aspirations, how they are to be achieved and what the outcomes should be.

Regeneration has been focused on securing economic development. In relation to North Shields, a Retail Centres Strategy was approved in 2010 but was overtaken by events with the rapid increase in empty properties in older town centres. The Council is currently considering the best way forward for North Shields town centre as the original strategy is out of date. Elsewhere in the borough, new Enterprise Zones were designated in 2012 to stimulate industrial development at the former Swan Hunter shipyard and at the Port of Tyne. Over the past ten years much attention has been given to coastal regeneration, especially at Whitley Bay.

Over the past decade the establishment of Elected Mayors (from 2002) has added a new element to the relationship between the Council and the local community. According to interviewees, the Mayors have been keen to be seen to engage with local communities; the current Mayor, for example, has regular local 'listening events' (North Tyneside Council, 2015). The Council also holds 'community conversations', commissions an annual survey of residents and has a residents' panel.

Conclusion

Without doubt, much has happened to the former North Tyneside CDP area over the past forty years. The Royal Quays area has been totally transformed into a site of consumption rather than production. It is clearly post-industrial—and of its time. Elsewhere there has been considerable change, including the removal of unwanted housing stock and tenure diversification. There are still, however, areas of very considerable deprivation. The estates







may be calmer and safer, but communities continue to be marginalised. And North Tyneside as a whole has changed, developing a new service sector economy around the A19 corridor.

Looking back at the history of regeneration in the CDP area it is striking just how much intervention took place, especially during the 1990s when there was the Development Corporation, City Challenge, SRB and even the remnants of the Urban Programme. Each of these policy programmes did different things; they may be almost forgotten but each has left its mark. Unlike some areas, where it can be difficult to see what has changed, here—if one knows something of the history-- change is certainly evident, not least in relation to the physical condition of the area.

Community involvement in shaping this change has varied considerably. Programmes such as City Challenge and SRB have had community input, but often through organisations and probably without reaching those 'hard to reach'. The Neighbourhood Management scheme stands out as a serious attempt at community engagement, but its scope and impact were inevitably limited. Unlike the radical edge of the CDP which sought to influence the big structural forces, Neighbourhood Management tried to change local services—but even that proved difficult, perhaps demonstrating that a community's 'imagined futures' can be frustratingly difficult to realise.







Statistical section: Census indicators tracking change, 1971 to 2011

The CDP area as a whole has undergone very substantial change over the past 40 years. The area has experienced deindustrialisation, and also a significant shift in the composition of the population as a result of demolition, new development, and broader socio-economic change. That, however, is the overall picture; some parts of the area have changed a lot, others rather less.

We have analysed data from the Census of Population in relation to the original CDP area, over the period 1971 to 2011. This CDP area encompassed the Meadow Well estate, Percy Main, East Howdon, the western fringes of the town of North Shields and a substantial area of docklands to the south of Howdon Road (the area now known as Royal Quays). The boundaries of that area are: to the north, Wallsend Road through to Albion Road West; to the south, the River Tyne; to the east, Borough Road; and to the west, the A19. The CDP team worked beyond these boundaries, but that was the core area defined at the start and it forms a useful focus for our analysis. Statistical tables created from the Census and details of the methodology used can be found in a separate document on the web, www.durham.ac.uk/socialjustice/imagine

Table 1: North Tyneside CDP area Census statistics, 1971 and 2011

	1971	2011
Population	15,950	12, 350
Born outside the UK (%)	0.9	5.0
Employment (economically active) (% of working age)	48.8	72.9
Employed in manufacturing (%)	54.1	8.5
Unemployment (% of economically active)	10.3	14.6
Access to a car, households (%)	17.0	49.9
Dwelling with hot water, inside WC or bath (%)	66.4	No data
Social rented housing including from Council (%)	42.1	40.1
Privately owned housing (%)	23.9	37.5
Private rented housing (%)	34.1	20.8







Population. Census statistics show that the North Shields CDP area has seen some population decline (a fall of 3,600, or 22.5%). The demolition of 750 Council houses on the Meadow Well estate in the mid-1990s will have contributed to that, together with a shift to smaller households. On the other hand, the development of new housing in the Royal Quays area on former docklands has added to the CDP area's population. The Royal Quays accounts for over 700 households, representing 11.6% of the CDP area's population in 2011.

Diversity and ethnicity. The area has seen a small increase in diversity in terms of the birthplaces of the population. In 1971, 0.9% of residents had been born outside the UK compared to 5% in 2011. In 2011, at least half of those born outside the UK were born in the rest of the EU. These figures are similar to the position for the borough of North Tyneside as a whole.

Housing tenure. There has been little change in the proportion of houses in the social rented sector. In 1971, 42.1% of houses were rented from the Council or housing associations, and the proportion was still 40.1% in 2011. Although the sector is declining nationally and locally (down to only 21.6% of houses in the borough by 2011), it remains very important in the former CDP area: Meadow Well has seen relatively little right to buy purchasing of Council houses. The private rented sector has declined since 1971, while the big shift has been the growth of owner occupation, boosted by the development of new owner occupied housing at Royal Quays.

Housing conditions. In 1971, two thirds of houses had all three basic amenities (hot water, inside WC and bath) - a relatively high proportion, reflecting the high proportion of social housing. Today, of course, those amenities are taken for granted; very few households are without them, so they are no longer even counted in the Census.

Economic activity. Economically, the area has seen improvement. There has been a substantial increase in economic activity rates, not least because of rising female employment, although unemployment is relatively high. Access to a car, a useful indicator of income, has risen from 17.0% in 1971 to 49.9% in 2011.

Employment. Deindustrialisation is a major and striking feature of the area (even more than in the Benwell CDP area). In 1971, more than half (54.1%) of people in employment worked in manufacturing industry, including shipbuilding and repair. That was well above the figure for the borough of North Tyneside as a whole (36.1%), probably reflecting the proximity of the area to industrial estates. By 2011, only 8.5% living in the former CDP area worked in manufacturing (about the same as in the borough as a whole).

Figures for the socio-economic grouping of households (based on 'head of household' or 'reference person') are not comparable over time because categories and definitions have







changed. However, the data do show that the area's socio-economic profile has been changing. In 1971, 48.9% of the CDP area's households were classed as unskilled or semiskilled manual workers—a much higher proportion than for the borough as a whole (20.4%). In 2011, 39.6% of households in the CDP area were classed as having 'routine or semiroutine occupations' (the nearest equivalent to semi-skilled and unskilled). But the gap with the borough had narrowed: that 39.6% compares with 29.4% for North Tyneside as a whole. In other words, the CDP area had become more like the rest of North Tyneside and less of a distinct 'working class enclave

Income. The Census does not ask about income, but does ask about car ownership, which is often used as an indicator of household income. There has been a very substantial increase in the proportion of household with access to a car: up from 17.0% in 1971 to 49.9% in 2011. The area has shared in the national increase in car ownership and the newcomers in the Royal Quays will have helped raise the figure. But it is notable that car ownership has grown far more than in Benwell (from the same starting position in 1971), indicating an improvement in the relative position of the former North Tyneside CDP area.







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