

LEITH

The third survey area is within Leith, Edinburgh's dock district. Like Corstorphine and Stockbridge, Leith has not always been part of the city of Edinburgh, but unlike the previous two villages, Leith was a town in its own right, with its own Burgh Council, Town Hall and magistrates, and only became part of Edinburgh in 1920 - very much against the wishes of Leithers. This separate identity is still manifest today.

What follows is a brief introduction to the complex and fascinating history of Leith - enough to whet your appetite perhaps.

ANCIENT LEITH

It is thought that Roman armies marched to Inveresk and Cramond through the Leith area (c.80 A.D.), but the first documented recording of Leith is in the foundation charter of Holyrood Abbey in 1128, and in 1143, when it was granted to the Holyrood monks by David I, under the name of Inverlet. He also gave the Holyrood Canons the fisheries associated with the port during the next few years.

Throughout its history, Leith has been vulnerable to raids and arson attacks on its ships , and the first recording of this is in 1313, at the hands of Edward II. He also camped in Leith the following year on his way to defeat at Bannockburn. The significance of Leith as a vital port to the town of Edinburgh is acknowledged in 1329, when Robert the Bruce included Leith in his charter to Edinburgh. The seafaring tradition of the area was firmly established in 1380 with the institution of the Mariners' Incorporation, in what was later to become Trinity House.

In 1382, the Logan family became Barons of Restalrig (an association which included Leith). A long running dispute between Edinburgh and the port then ensued. While Logan could develop the port to accommodate national and international trade, only Edinburgh, as a royal burgh, could conduct the trade, and so the revenue went to the city rather than the port. Herin lies the root of the antipathy between Leith and Edinburgh which has not entirely disappeared even after seventy years.

The oldest part of Leith is the port area, and the trade dependant on the shipping is reflected in the old street names : the Shore , Broad Wynd , Water Street, Tolbooth Street and Burgess Street reflect the functions of the area in times of strife and trade with the city of Edinburgh.

In 1398, Logan of Restalrig granted Edinburgh the first right to any property connected with Leith Harbour. This bond, since described by Wallace ('85) as "exclusively ruinous and enslaving" , was further cemented in 1414, when the city bought The Shore from Logan, firmly establishing Edinburgh's dominant influence over the port.

KINGS AND QUEENS

In 1427, the Scottish Parliament was established. In 1428, James I ordered the enlargement of the port. This project included the building of King's Wark, which at various times was an arsenal, a naval yard and a royal palace. He also granted Edinburgh a charter to collect tolls from boats entering the port of Leith.

In 1437 Edinburgh became the royal capital of Scotland. As such, it could impose taxes on anything bought or sold outside the city over a very wide area. In 1482, James III granted Edinburgh customs rights at Leith, and in 1483 Edinburgh citizens were forbidden to have Leith business partners ; no Leith trader could become a Burgess. Burgess Street was therefore the street where the Edinburgh Burgesses carried out their trade within Leith. Edinburgh's desperate need for Leith's port facilities is reflected in this catalogue of legislation suppressing Leith's chances of flourishing in its own right.

The first mention of the Church of Saint Mary is made in 1480, but it is not entirely clear how and when the association of the Madonna and Child with the port was originally made. They are incorporated with a ship in the Arms of Leith, and Our Lady is also the patron saint of Leith Docks.

Shipbuilding began in Leith in 1502 and was to sustain the town economically for several centuries. However, still vulnerable to attack, Leith was burned by Hertford's troops in 1544 and 1547, leading to French and Dutch troops arriving in Leith to help the Scots. The French fortified Leith, and in the years they were there, Lamb's House and Trinity House were built, adding prestige to the port. Lamb's House was situated near Burgess Close, near the port and warehouses.

Mary of Guise was Queen Regent at this time and as a reward to Leith for defending the Scottish crown, she promoted Leith to a Burgh of the Barony, and purchased the superiority of the town from Sir Robert Logan, for the benefit of the citizenry (1555). This was with the intention of eventually promoting the port to the same Royal Burgh status, as its neighbour, Edinburgh, but Mary died in 1560 after the siege of Leith, and the plan never came to fruition.

The siege of Leith was between Mary and her French Catholic troops, and Lord Grey, with his Protestant army. During 1560, St. Mary's church chancel and the preceptory of St. Anthony were destroyed. On Mary's defeat and death, the French left Leith, and the port was left under English occupation. Evidence of the French visit is still to be found in Leith, recently highlighted in the redevelopment of Timberbush.

In 1561, Mary Queen of Scots landed in Leith. She was in fact not the first Queen to disembark at "Queen's Landing", but it is this particular landing which is the most famous. She opted to grant Edinburgh the superiority of Leith in 1567, and in 1570, Leith acted as a base for blockading supplies to Edinburgh Castle, which was holding out in favour of Mary Queen of Scots.

LEITH DEVELOPS

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries marked a less turbulent period in the history of Leith, as the port steadily grew in size and reputation, and parish boundaries were settled. Four corporations of Leithers were devised by the Edinburgh Presbytery in 1593 - Mariners, Maltmen, Traders and Traffickers. A hospital was founded in the Kirkgate in 1614, and in 1619 the monopoly of soap making was granted to Leith. In 1636, a Royal Charter finally established Leith within its new boundaries as a Burgh of Barony and Edinburgh's superiority over all of Leith was reaffirmed. Edinburgh acquired North Leith from the Earl of Roxburgh in 1639.

The Links hosted several important events in this period. In 1639 the National Covenant was signed on Leith Links, followed in 1643 by the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant on the Links also. On a less official note, Charles I played golf on the Links in 1640, lending credibility and subsequent popularity to the new sport. The Links hosted huts for the plague victims in 1645, and only one third of Leith's population survived the plague.

In 1650, Cromwell's troops occupied Leith after the Battle of Dunbar, using the mounds in the Links as battlements. General Monk built the Citadel - great walled fortifications for the port - on the site of St. Nicholas' church in 1656. Only one gate of the Citadel survives today, but the masonry from its ruins are to be found in many Victorian stone-built Leith buildings.

Leith prospered in the late seventeenth century with new industry such as glass making and sugar refining becoming established. Many fine buildings were erected (The Old Ship Hotel, the Vaults) and the port assumed a solid respectable, trading character, quite distinct from Edinburgh's.

THE MARITIME YEARS

The maritime tradition of Leith was most firmly established in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The first dry dock was built in 1720, at the west entrance of the harbour to avail of the deep water entrance. This was followed by a stone pier in 1730, situated at the east side of the channel in order to eliminate the bar. An act of Parliament in 1753 ordered that the harbour be enlarged and deepened. Freight and passenger cargoes sailed to and from the port and in 1777, the Custom House Quay was built. Several substantial buildings reflecting the increasing prosperity of the town were erected (Leith Fort, The Exchange Building, Leith Assembly Rooms and the Custom House), and Leith Street, at the top of Leith Walk was started in 1775, indicating the importance of Leith to the northward developing Edinburgh. The Leith Banking Company was established in 1793, complete with its own pound notes. It opened for public business in 1806 in Bernard Street.

The foundation stone for the first wet dock was laid in 1801 and its opening in 1804 coincided with the construction of Great Junction Street, connecting Ferry Road and Leith Walk. Further docks opened throughout the century and in 1822, George IV landed at King's Landing to a tremendous reception from Leithers. To greet the first visiting English King for 140 years, was a tartan clad Walter Scott. Adding to Leithers enjoyment of the event was the knowledge that Leith had beaten nearby Trinity in the battle to have the King disembark at its facilities.

VICTORIAN LEITH

In 1826, the Leith Dock Commission was formed and put in control of the port area, ending the five hundred year old administration of the docks by the superior Edinburgh, finally allowing Leith to conduct its own foreign trading. In 1827 the "Leith Act" was passed in Parliament, allowing magistrates to reside in Leith. Leith Municipal Buildings were built in the same year, at the corner of Constitution Street and Queen Charlotte Street. Finally in 1833, Leith became a Parliamentary Burgh with the right to have a Town Council, thus becoming politically independent of Edinburgh. Leith thus entered her Golden Era.

In 1836, the General Steam Navigation Company was formed at Leith and the Dock Commission was remodelled. Four years later the Leith Chamber of Commerce was instituted. Shipbuilding continued to flourish, bringing with it the associated trades of ship-repairing, rope-making and sail-making. Public wells were opened (1846), historic buildings restored, a hospital built and a new Martello tower erected (1850). Wet and Dry docks continued to open and in 1855 Leith Nautical College was established. New churches were built and public institutional buildings were soon dotted around Leith (Corn Exchange, Post Office). As visable display of its 'separateness' from Edinburgh, the elegant town at the top of the now well established Leith Walk, Leith acquired its own statue of Robert Burns (Constitution Street) and Queen Victoria (1907).

In 1880, the Leith Improvement Act was passed and an Improvement scheme put into action. Under this scheme, a large part of Leith, the area between the Shore and the Kirkgate, was demolished and spacious new tenements were built (like Henderson Street). While this improved housing conditions per se, to meet the cost of the redevelopment, the price of the new flats was beyond the reach of most of the Leithers who had been displaced by the redevelopment. Consequently, these people had to crowd into the already overcrowded old tenements which constituted the problem that the scheme had aimed to redress.

In 1903, the impressive Leith Central Station opened at the foot of Leith Walk, and by 1905, electric tramcars were in operation through the town and up to Edinburgh. At the start of this century, steamships cruised to Bass Rock, Aberdour and Queensferry, but also as far away as Holland and Belgium for the keener travellers.

But as its golden era was Victorian, the twentieth century held few fortuitous changes for Leith. After the first world war, the boundaries of Edinburgh were under revision, and the burgh of Leith was experiencing difficulty in shouldering the financial burden of its independence. A plebiscite was held in Leith to gauge public opinion on the prospect of being reunited with Edinburgh. The result in Leith was overwhelmingly against the amalgamation, but in 1920, Leith reluctantly became Edinburgh's northern shore, against the wishes of Leithers. Leading the opposition to the Bill to amalgamate the two boroughs into one was Captain William Benn, the Liberal Member of Parliament for Leith, and father of the well known Labour radical, Tony Benn. He pointed out in a speech to the House of Commons on June 8th 1920 that it should not be assumed that , because one place was contiguous to another, the interests of the smaller community would be best served by joining both under one administration. Also, in contrast to Edinburgh, the whole breath and life of Leith was industrial - an important difference with the capital city, and one which should be remembered. The fortunes of Leith in this century would seem to indicate that this essential difference was forgotten and indeed neglected.

TWENTIETH CENTURY LEITH

The amalgamation of Leith and Edinburgh in 1920 has had detrimental effects on Leith throughout this century. As part of an otherwise prosperous city, Leith was unable to command the attention to its own particular needs and problems, once its ship-related industries fell into decline . Edinburgh as a whole did not host a significant unemployed population, but Leith increasingly did, virtually unnoticed. As "solutions" to city problems (both residential and industrial) located on the city periphery, Leith began to lose its population to Edinburgh. The slum clearance schemes throughout the century and particularly the redevelopment schemes of the 1950's and 1960's, relocated Leithers in the new Council estates of Craigmillar, Niddrie, and later, in Pilton and Wester Hailes.

Meanwhile the dockyards continued to suffer decline and eventual closure. ROBB'S shipyard, which finally closed in 1981 was seen by many Leithers as the last nail in the coffin of industrial Leith. While the sea still employs some Leithers, as an employer it is much less labour intensive than previously, and any benefits of the North Sea oil trade are evident in the use of vast tracts of Leith dockland (pipe coating etc) rather in reducing local dole queues.

By the 1960's Leith still suffered from chronic overcrowding, and the decision was taken to address this problem, but to try and retain much of the population within Leith. The result was the demolition of many entire streets, and their replacement with tall tower blocks.

The Kirkgate, the old heart of Leith, was demolished in 1961 and redeveloped. This is often cited as the most significant of the damaging planning decisions of the era. The form and texture of the Kirkgate were swept away and replaced with a new modern design. A small shopping arcade was built at the foot of Leith Walk, and was optimistically named "The New Kirkgate". Its axis runs at right angles to the old shopping centre of the original Kirkgate, and on the old site, residential tower blocks were erected. With the old Kirkgate, went the real heart of Leith - the focus of the town was gone and Leithers sense of place and identity was distorted by the new arrangement of their environment. Had the new development been along the same route as the old Kirkgate and its streets, lanes and wynds, at least the orientation and focus of Leith would have remained unchanged, albeit incorporating an altered urban texture.

Therefore, in the space of a few short years, in its dramatic attempt to finally address the continued problem of overcrowding in Leith, the city Council had transformed the whole character of the burgh. Entire residential streets were replaced with one or two looming blocks, creating fresh, vacant space on the ground, where once had been a thriving vibrant community.

In the national atmosphere of inner city regeneration of the 1980's, Leith once more came under the spotlight of the planning agencies as a "problem area".

HISTORICAL SUMMARY :

1100 - 1300

1143 : First recorded mention of Leith, when it was granted under the name of Inverlet by David I to the Holyrood monks.

1143-47 : David I gives fisheries to Holyrood canons.

1300 - 1400

1313 : Edward II burned vessels in the harbour.

1314 : Edward II camped here on the way to Bannockburn.

1329 : Robert the Bruce included Leith in his charter to Edinburgh.

1380 : Mariners' Incorporation instituted. This became Trinity House in 1555.

1382 : Logan family became Barons of Restalrig.

1385 : French Troops in Leith to help the Scots.

1398 /1414 Edinburgh bought the Shore from Logan of Restalrig.

1400 - 1500

1424 : James I and his Queen, Jane Beaufort, landed in Leith.

1428 :James I ordered enlargement of the port, including the building of King's Wark, near the Shore.

1428 :James I granted to Edinburgh a charter to uplift tolls from boats entering the port of Leith.

1435 :Preceptory of St. Anthony founded by Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig. It was off the Kirkgate.

1437 : Edinburgh becomes royal capital.

1449 : Mary, bride to be of James II lands at Queen's Landing.

1469 : Princess Margaret of Denmark, bride of James III lands at Queen's Landing.

1480 : First mention of the Church of Saint Mary.

1481 : Town sacked by Edward IV

1482 : James III granted to Edinburgh certain customs from the harbour at Leith.

1483 : Edinburgh citizens forbidden to have Leith business partners.

1485 : Church of St. Mary, later called South Leith Church, built in the Kirkgate.

1486 / 1493 : Erection of Abbot Bellenden's bridge, linking north and south Leith.

1500 - 1600

1502 : Shipbuilding began.

1537 : Madeleine, wife of James III, lands at Queen's Landing.

1544 / 1547 : Leith burned by Hertford's troops.

1548 : French and Dutch troops help the Scots.

1549 : French fortify Leith.

1550 : Lamb's House built.

1551 : First recorded hanging in irons on the sands.

1555 : Trinity House built in Kirkgate.
Leith erected to a Burgh of Barony.
Old Mariner's Hospital erected.

1556 : Mary of Guise bought South Leith.

1559 : John Knox landed from exile at Leith.

1560 : Siege of Leith.
Two mounds in Leith Links, used as gun emplacements still visible.
Death of Mary of Guise - The French depart, leaving Leith under English occupation.
Preceptory of St. Anthony's ruined.
St. Mary's church chancel destroyed.
Grammar School of Leith established.

1561 : Mary Queen of Scots landed.

1565 : Tolbooth and Town Hall built.

1567 : Edinburgh granted superiority over Leith.

1570 : Leith made a base for blockading supplies to Edinburgh Castle which was holding out in favour of Mary.

1584 : Port made principal fish market.

1584 : Preceptory of St. Anthony annexed by the Crown.

1589 : James VI sailed to Norway for his bride, Anne of Denmark, and landed at Leith in 1590.

- 1592 : Body of murdered "Bonnie Earl o' Moray" lay uncovered for months in South . Leith Church.
- 1593 : Golf Course on Leith Links.
- 1593 : Edinburgh Presbytery divided Leithers into four Incorporations, Mariners, Maltmen, Traders, Traffickers, each to pay one quarter of second minister's stipend at South Leith Church.
- 1594 : Bothwell's third plot against James VI, the raid of Leith.

1600 - 1700

- 1606 : North Leith erected into a parish.
- 1609 : Restalrig parish transferred to South Leith.
- 1614 : King James Hospital, Kirkgate, founded.
- 1618 : Visit of John Taylor, the Water Poet.
- 1619 : Monopoly of soap-making granted to Leith for 21 years.
- 1620 : Beacons erected on rocks for shipping safety.
- 1636 : Royal Charter gave Edinburgh superiority over Leith which was erected into a Burgh of Barony.
- 1638 : National Covenant signed on Leith Links.
- 1639 : Edinburgh acquired North Leith from Earl of Roxburgh.
- 1640 : Charles I golfed on Leith Links.
- 1643 : Solemn League and Covenant signed on Leith Links.
- 1645 : Leith Links crowded with huts for plague victims, less than one third of the population surviving.
- 1650 : Leith occupied by Cromwell's troops after the Battle of Dunbar.
- 1656 : General Monk built Citadel on the site of St. Nicholas' Church. It had largely disappeared by 1779 and now only the gate remains.
- 1663 : Glass making begun in Leith.
- 1669 : Leith very opulent and a great fleet commonly lay at anchor.
- 1670 : Major Thomas Weir hanged at the Gallow Lee.
- 1676 : Old Ship Hotel built.
- 1677 : Sugar Refinery at Leith.
- 1678 : Tablet of Association of Porters above entry to the Old Sugar House - removed when Tolbooth Wynd was abolished.
- 1682 : The Vaults rebuilt.
- 1685 : Windmill tower built.

1700 - 1800

- 1707 : Union of Scotland and England.
- 1709 : Royal Company of Archers shot for Silver Arrow on Leith Links.
- 1720 : First dry dock built.
- 1726 : Organisation of Carters - stone preserved in South Leith churchyard.
- 1730 ; Stone pier erected, of poor construction.
- 1753 : Act of Parliament to enlarge and deepen the harbours.
- 1766 : "There are a number of large sea-boats that ply.....from Leith to Kinghorn." They carried passengers and freight including cattle.
- 1768 : Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers built Golf House on Leith Links, and laid out a bowling green adjacent.
- 1775 : Leith Street begun.
- 1777 : Council improved Harbour and Custom House Quay erected.
- 1779 : Leith Fort built (now demolished).
- 1779 : The warship "Bonhomme Richard" commanded by J.P.Jones threatens Leith.
- 1788 : Exchange Building, Constitution Street erected.
- 1789 : Reflector light on pier head.
- 1793 : Leith Banking Company established.
- 1795 : Royal Leith Volunteers established.
- 1799 : Rennie's report on the harbour.

1800 - 1900

- 1801 : Foundation stone laid for wet docks.
- 1802 : Edinburgh and Leith Shipping Company founded.
- 1804 : Great Junction Street started.
- 1805 : Five Leith vessels for whale fisheries.
- 1806 : East Old Dock opened.
Leith High School built and Grammar School moved into this new building.
Bank of Leith opened in Bernard Street.
- 1809 : Martello Tower built.
- 1812 : Custom House built in Commercial Street, designed by Robert Reid.
- 1814 : North Leith Parish church built to the design of Robert Burn.
- 1816 : Trinity House demolished and rebuilt, to replace 1555 house.

1817 : Leith West Dock built.

1818 : Tolbooth demolished and rebuilt between 1819 and 1822.

1822 : End of hanging in irons on the Sands.
Preceptory of St. Anthony entirely removed.

1822 : George IV landed in Leith at King's Landing.

1826 : Leith Dock Commission formed.

1827 : Leith Town Council formed.
Leith Town Hall built.

1833: Leith became a Parliamentary Burgh with the right to have a Town Council, . thus becoming independent of Edinburgh.

1836 : General Steam Navigation Company formed at Leith.
Dock Commission remodelled.

1840 : Leith Chamber of Commerce instituted.

1846 : Public wells erected.

1848 : South Leith Church restored.

1850 : Martello Tower built.
Leith Hospital built.

1852 : Victoria Dock opened.

1853 : Roman Catholic Church of Our Lady, Star of the Sea, built.

1855 : Leith Nautical College established.

1862 : Watt's Hospital opened near the Links.
Corn Exchange opened.

1863 : St.James' Chapel rebuilt on a new site.

1869 : Albert Dock opened.

1876 : Post Office built.

1880's : Leith Improvement Scheme implemented, tearing down some of the worst . slums in Leith.

1881 : Edinburgh Dock opened.

1888 : Old Ship Hotel rebuilt.

1896 : Leith High School demolished to make way for New Leith Academy building.

1898 : Statue of Robert Burns erected at the north end of Constitution Street, designed by G.W. Stevenson.

1900 onwards

1902 : New Dock opened.

1903 : Leith Central Station opened.

1904 : Imperial Dock opened.

1905 : Electric Tramcars opened.

1907 : Statue of Queen Victoria erected at the foot of Leith Walk,
designed by John Rhind.

1920 : Act to amalgamate Leith with Edinburgh.

THE LEITH PROJECT

This is a brief account of the aims and progress of The Leith Project :

The population of Leith had dropped from 80 000 in 1931 to 47 300 in 1978, unemployment was high, dwellings were often still substandard and importantly, morale in Leith was low. The LEITH LOCAL PLAN, issued by the District Council in 1983 aimed to assist in the social and economic regeneration of Leith by :

1. Providing land for sufficient new houses to meet housing demand.
2. Safeguarding existing industry and encouraging employment growth.
3. Providing for the anticipated land requirements of council development.
4. Improving the appearance of Leith.

This plan was finally incorporated in the larger scheme known as THE LEITH PROJECT. Under the combined guidance and finance of the SDA, Lothian Regional Council and Edinburgh District Council, private investment was encouraged towards Leith, and particularly the Shore area - the prime site of rejuvenation. While industrial units were built in more southerly parts of Leith, the Shore was focused on for residential and leisure investment, its former industrial tradition abandoned, except where it provided "kitsch" elements for this dockside development.

"Leith sur la mer" was encouraged, the Shore was cleaned up, recobbled, anchors and rope featured as urban furniture, old warehouses were renovated and fancy restaurants flourished. Public opinion in Leith itself had to be courted. While there was little displacement of original Leithers in the development of new residential sites on the Shore, neither did Leithers find themselves enjoying these new homes. The incomers were "Outsiders" - even if they came from Edinburgh. Demolition was no longer the order of the day for this huge redevelopment project, but old buildings of historical or architectural merit, were renovated and refurbished into chic, trendy flats, encouraging young couples to Leith, rather than young families.

Many small businesses were attracted to Leith, either to the offices beneath the new flats, or to the 170 small industrial units being built in the area. Leith became attractive to house buyers and investors alike - it began to buzz.....with Outsiders.

The Leith Project ran from May 1981 to 1986, and then the Initiative was taken over by the Leith Enterprise Trust. The project did succeed in turning around the local economy of Leith, in diversifying away from dependence on a small number of firms to a broader base of small businesses, in both the service and manufacturing sectors. Over 200 new companies set up or moved into Leith, and an estimated 2000 jobs were created through the project. Recently, the Scottish Office announced that it will be moving 1500 staff to new offices at Queen's Quay in 1995 - part of the new development by Forth Properties on the very northern shore of Leith. Construction has started on the first phase of this very ambitious project - Victoria Quay.

Questions remain about the extent of how the Leith Project and its successors have benefited Leithers. The heart of Leith was never the Shore, and this seems to be the central focus of the redevelopment. For Leithers, the hub of activity is now the foot of Leith walk and Great Junction Street. Leithers tend to shop in Leith - incomers do not find what they require in Leith, and so shop elsewhere. Hopefully the development of the Central Station site at the foot of Leith Walk and Easter Road will help redress this imbalance. Scotmid has opened an impressive

45 000 square feet supermarket, and a unique leisure facility - "Leith Waterworld" - opened recently. The local Housing Association (see below) did secure sites on the Shore and throughout Leith for development as rental properties for Leithers. This has maintained a certain spatial order in the residential mix of the new housing on the Shore.

The buoyant atmosphere of the heady days of the Leith Project may have passed, but in its wake it has left an optimistic sense of hope in Leith. The towers, vandalism and drug abuse still remain in Leith, and the new development seems to have relocated the slums of Leith, and not just tidied them away.

PORT OF LEITH HOUSING ASSOCIATION LTD.

With Edinburgh District Council, The Port of Leith Housing Association is the major supplier of public rented accommodation in the Leith area. This is a brief account of its business in Leith :

Set up in 1975, the original emphasis of this Housing Association was tenemental rehabilitation in Leith. With funds from the Housing Corporation, the Association would buy tenemental properties (primarily from the District Council). The renovated properties were then leased out to the people on the Association's list of those in "housing need". As the stock of tenements in need of rehabilitation has been depleted, the emphasis has shifted in recent years to infill sites within Leith (brownfield sites). New-build projects on these sites fill in the "gaps" on many Leith streets.

The housing which is built is generally mixed-use, ie. some family units, single-persons flats and bedsits. The Housing Association operates primarily within the geographical confines of Leith, but has occasional projects and sites throughout the city of Edinburgh since the 1988 legislation relaxed these confines . These other sites have tended to come under the association's care rather by accident than by design, and the association still sees itself as a "Leith" concern.

The original objective of the Housing Association was to improve the housing quality and living conditions of Leithers, and this continues to be the principal tenet of the Association's ethos. As far as the Association's list of tenants reflects this ethos, it is still primarily composed of Leithers. Originally, it was totally made up of people from Leith, but so successful has the Association and their schemes been in Leith, that the area now enjoys a much improved reputation, and people from outside Leith now request to be housed there. In many cases these "outsiders" are actually Leithers who were displaced to peripheral estates in the years of Leith's redevelopment in the 1960's. The Association allocates its housing on a needs-priority basis now, rather than particularly following a Leith-priority allocation policy, and finds itself with a mix of priority tenants, including many Leithers in acute housing need.

With respect to The Leith Project, and the gentrification of Leith, these have been concerned primarily with providing properties for the selling market, still leaving a shortage of rental properties in this relatively low-income area. The Association has developed several key sites on the Shore. Alongside the private developments, of single-person flats and small units. there have been no problems between the tenants of these flats and the residents of the private flats to date. The Association is pleased that it has been in a position to redress the balance of public / private occupiers, in this, the trendiest part of Leith.

The turnover rate of the Housing Association properties in Leith is generally low. It is only really through new schemes that the waiting list can be cut back substantially. Demand for rental properties in Leith continues to outstrip supply. While the population of Leith, the city and of Scotland as a whole may indeed be declining, the number of actual households is increasing, as is the demand for single-person properties. The Association is mindful to retain its mixed-use design in its schemes, and feels it is important to continue to provide good housing for Leith's renting families also.

The Association is moving geographically eastwards in its developments (towards Musselburgh) and sees a role for itself functioning for several years to come. The shift in Scottish Homes' policy away from Housing Associations' charge of housing towards self-initiated developments among communities with housing needs, may mean that Housing Associations such as Port of Leith , may find their activities restricted to the management of their existing properties, rather than the development of new sites.

Finally, 39 of the Association's "secured" tenants exercised their "Right to Buy", but since January 1989, all new tenants are "assured" tenants, and do not have the same right to purchase the property they live in. This means that the Housing Association's stock of low rental accommodation should continue to be allocated to those with

a real need for low rental housing. Most of the sales to date took place in the first year of the legislation's being in force, and as financial factors operating on the open housing market evolve to deter many first-time buyers (interest rates etc), the rate of sales in Port of Leith Housing Association have abated.

AREA PROFILES

THE VAULTS

The Vaults is the oldest building in Scotland to remain in continuous commercial use. Part of the underground vaults were constructed in the 11th or 12th century when they were used to store wine for the Abbey of Holyrood which shipped its wine into the Port of Leith. In 1785, the building as it exists today was completed and has only changed internally since then. The tradition of use by the importers of wines and spirits into Leith has continued to the present.

In 1850, the building was owned by W. & J. Jenkinson, "Wine and Spirit Merchants, Bottlers and Aerated Water Manufacturers". It changed hands later that century, and in 1911, Robert Mackay Smith, another wines and spirits merchant died, and the building, with its yards, cellars and outbuildings, was sold to the London based brewer, Whitbread and Company Ltd, for the sum of £250.

In 1937, Whitbread sold the building to J. & G. Thomson and Company for £2500. Many people in Leith still recall these owners as the last "real" merchants in the Vaults, or indeed on the Shore. In 1961, the council ordered a "Grant of Servitude" on J. & G. Thomson, "binding and obliging" them *not* to build any further buildings on the site, signifying an early concern with retaining the original character of the building.

In 1971, the company sold the building to Bass Ltd, another national brewing company, who paid £15 200 for the Vaults building itself. Between then and 1983, the building was used for commercial use only, until being sold to The Vaults (Leith) Ltd for £47 500 in 1983.

The Vaults company was the original developer of the building. At the Register of Sasines it is recorded that they had a Standard Security with the Scottish Development Agency (SDA) for £100 000, and in 1984, a ranking agreement was drawn up between the company, the SDA and The Royal Bank of Scotland, illustrating the back-up required at this time, when such redevelopment in Leith was considered a risky venture. The renovation and refurbishment of the Vaults became the flagship of the SDA's involvement in the Leith Project. The building was reorganised internally to accommodate eighteen one or two bedroom flats, and a handful of commercial concerns which continue the building's association with wines and spirits.

Reflecting Leith's historic links with France, "Wines from Paris" operates from the basement of the building as a wholesale specialist retailer of french wines, while the Scotch Malt Whiskey Society has its headquarters on the first floor of the building. "The Vintners Room" is an upmarket restaurant and wine bar which occupies the remaining space in the building - a room which was formerly the Old Sale Room of the Vintners Guild, with genuine 1632 Italian plasterwork and an original auctioneer's alcove.

Although the plans for the redevelopment of the building were well received and interest in the Vaults was keen, The Vaults (Leith) Ltd went into liquidation in late 1985, and the property, partially renovated was bought by Ainslie Developments Ltd for £141 288. Ainslie only owned the building for over a month, but sold the rooms to the Scotch Malt Whiskey Society for £30000, and then sold the remaining property (including eleven flats) to James Potter Developments Ltd for £144 500.

Potter completed the refurbishment of the building according to the original plans, and sold his first completed flat just two months after starting work. As a builder who has worked almost exclusively in renovation of old stone properties, he was critical of the design specifications for the refurbishment of the Vaults - particularly the thin construction of the new internal wall divides. However original timber beams were retained, an industrial hoist was restored and mounted in a stairway for interest value, and the residents I spoke to were happy with the character of the building and the quality of its restoration.

Potter employed Dixon Lamont (an estate agent, now out of business) to sell the flats, which were aimed at the upper end of the buying market. C.&J.Brown, a prestigious Edinburgh interior design and furnishing business were appointed to furnish and decorate the Show Flat, again targeting the flats at the more affluent buyer.

The Vaults is featured in the television advertisement for the Scottish liqueur "Drambuie", depicting the speedy dispatch of a bottle of the liqueur from the company's traditional stone-built authentic Scottish headquarters, beside the Water of Leith (the Vaults), when in actual fact the company's actual headquarters *are* in Leith, but in the much less scenic bottom end of Easter Road, beside an industrial estate. Perhaps this tells us something about the reality of Leith underlying the pretty veneer of the rejuvenated Shore?

NEW BELL'S COURT

This is a new-build development on Maritime Street, adjacent to Maritime Court and its large car park . For well over a century the original buildings on this site were a PrintersWorks, owned by William Nimmo & Company, a well established Leith business. In 1988, Waverley Taylor paid £200 000 to Barratt for land and buildings on the west side of Maritime Street, and in 1989, the partners of Waverley Taylor developers began to buy the remaining parts of the site, some of which entered from Constitution Street. They paid £68 000 and £127 000 for lots on the site, cleared the entire site, and built a courtyard of modern brick and harl flats which complement Maritime Court well. The balcony features, the red and green detailing, and the courtyard design all lend a "Continental" feeling to the development, while the more structural aspects of the building are grounded firmly in scottish tradition. The SDA contributed £133 000 towards the cost of developing this site. At the end of 1989, Waverley Taylor sold the new development of forty flats to Quality Street for £1540 000. Quality Street were keen to establish a presence in the private rented sector in Leith, as it was an area with an increasing and affluent population . Most other new rented properties in Leith have been built by Housing Associations, and offer subsidized rents to people on lower incomes who have been on waiting lists. New Bell's Court now fills a gap in the private rental market in Leith, appealing to higher-income tenants. Two properties in the development were sold as commercial concerns, and Waverley Taylor sold a small car park to the rear of the flats to L.&R.Leisure Plc for £10 000.

Waverley Estates placed "Admiral House" on the commercial market in 1991, offering 10 000 sq/ft of "superb refurbished offices" in seven office suites. This "house" is actually two of the original Maritime Street buildings which have been converted into offices. Now numbered 29 and 30 Maritime Street, the offices are beside the newbuild New Bell's Court. The main building is a red sandstone five-storeyed Victorian block, which ajoins the smaller three storeyed building dating back to 1740. This older building has a distinctive facing of irregular shaped and placed stones, low set sash windows and small doors, which contrasts with the elegant classical red sandstone facade of the main building, and again with the more modern appearance of New Bell's Court.

** QUALITY STREET

Quality Street is the UK's brand leader in the private sector residential rented market, operating throughout Britain, but concentrated in London, Bristol, Manchester and the central belt and north-east of Scotland. The company employs 85 people in its five offices across the country, and manages 2870 properties, of which it owns 1816. The company occupies a niche market whose "potential is enormous", and hopes to benefit from the current economic and property recession. One venture for the near future is in partnership with the Cumbernauld Development Corporation, to create "Craigmarloch" - a new model village to house 2500 people in central Scotland.

The company is the brainchild of Paul Mugnaioni, the Chairman and Managing Director, who was Director of Housing at Glasgow District Council from 1982, and who established Quality Street in 1987 in partnership with Nationwide Anglia Building Society. The company offers a wide range of accomodationwithin the private rented sector - designer furnished executive flats for companies and their key workers - unfurnished flats and houses - furnished accomodation in "holiday" locations for rental for conferences etc - sheltered housing and Quality Street also leases properties to local authorities to househomeless families, offering an optional management service. The "cherry on the top" of the property portfolio "to take the concept of furnished rented homes to still newer horizons" is the commissioning of three exclusive new ranges for the Executive, Market and Local Authority Leasing homes.

MARITIME HOUSE

This building, on the northern side of the Shore was formerly several "laigh" houses, a few shops, cellars, lofts and stables all in " the great tenement building built by Robert Milne on the Shore of Leith " (Sasines) In 1920, the two shops , which cost £775, were a Jewellers and a Seamen's Outfitters, and in 1923 the building passed into the hands of the National Sailors and Firemens Union of Great Britain and Ireland for £750. It was used by the National Union of Seamen for various purposes between then and 1983, and sold within the Union a few times, to Trusts and Trustees, but was generally known in Leith as "The Seamen's Mission".

In 1983, Ladhope Developments Ltd bought the building for£125 000, and a small piece of ground to the rear for use as a private car park cost £4750 from the SDA. The building was converted into 24 flats at a cost of £400 000 , which went on the market in the spring of 1985.

**** Glassedin deleted this next section :

Ladhope sold several of the flats before reneiging on their Standatd Security, which was with the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company. Thereafter, the remaining flats were sold by Ladhope for the Trust Company.

Glassedin Securities bought and sold flat 8/10 on the 17th December, and bought the basement floor "for no consideration" in April 1987. It also bought three of the other flats for approximately £75 000 in the autumn of 1986, and sold them back to Ladhope in June 1991 for £100 000. The bottom floor presently has two suites of offices, one occupied by a firm of Architects, and the other is presently available for letting.

**** Added by Glassedin :

A change of use from residential to offices was granted in July 1986 for the whole of the ground floor. Glassedin Securities Ltd bought half the ground floor with the other half being bought by Fred Small, a local chartered accountant. The ground floor remains as offices to this day, although the two suites have changed hands again, indicating their and Leith's attractiveness as an office location.

THE COOPERAGE

This is the renovated stone built bonded warehouse on the western bank of the Water of Leith, formerly known as "Commercial Wharf". In 1973, the Forth Ports Authority sold the building to Mount Blair Holdings Ltd for £5000. In 1979, Mount Blair sold it to Second Hailes Building Company Ltd for £7000. The building remained in disrepair up until 1982, when a development partnership called STAMP & McNALLY bought the building for £7000 for conversion into flats. The building was refurbished and redeveloped into 34 one and two bedroomed flats, which went on the market in the spring of 1985 priced at just less than £30000, depending on the position of the flat. Of all the buildings which have been redeveloped along the Shore, the Cooperage commands most attention by virtue of its prime position and its attractive appearance. The red barrels placed at the front vestibule, the retention of the hoist and other original features all combine to give the building its present distinctive character.

TIMBERBUSH

It is rather more difficult to draw up an accurate and precise picture of the history and development of the site of timberbush, because it is an area rather than a site, and the present configuration of this area is quite altered from the original.

Timberbush also reflects the historical "auld alliance" between Leith and France - the "bush" is derived from the french "debouche" (market), and the area was once the site of timber importation from France to Scotland. The warehouse which has now been converted was originally used for storing dry goods, and the British Linen Company owned it in 1812. For much of the nineteenth century it was owned by a Leith businessman, Peter Waddell, who left it to several Edinburgh and Leith hospitals when he died in 1910. They sold it to a firm of engineers and ship repairers, who sold it in 1922 to Peter Saddler, a Stevedore (person who loads and unloads ships) and Contractor. In 1983, Peter Saddler & Company Ltd sold part of the warehouse to Mills and Moulton for £14000, and in 1987, Mills and Moulton sold to Ashview Ltd for £65000. Months later, in January 1988, Ashview sold to Wydark Ltd for £120000, and in December of 1988 Waverley Taylor (Timberbush) bought this part of the warehouse for £140000. The Kennedy Partnership bought the rest of the warehouse, and the two companies worked together to refurbish the building in a style sympathetic to its original character. Around this time, the company bought the land in the centre of the site from Barratt Scotland for £240000, Barratt had bought it from Lothian Region Council earlier in the year.

The Warehouse :

Waverley Properties (as Waverley Taylor became) converted their part of the warehouse into sixteen flats, large spacious apartments retaining many of the building's original features :

" Thick stone walls, beams and columns will be retained where possible to strengthen the character and natural appeal of this building "

The top floor three bedroomed flats, with a floorspace of 1700 ft, commanded prices over £100000.

The Kennedy Partnership also retained all the exposed timber and stone walls in the building. The company did have to deal with extensive woodworm and dry rot, and the entire roof required replacing. The Partnership (architectural and development) occupies two floors of the building and leases the remaining space to a firm of Quantity Surveyors and an Advertising agency.

Courtyard New-build

Built by Miller Construction, the new Timberbush buildings are similar to New Bell's Court in design, but with stone facing and low stone walls surrounding small gardens to the front of the blocks. There are the same small balcony features, but in Timberbush, there is more of a courtyard feel to the new buildings, which face onto a brick paved car parking area, which looks lovely when there are no cars parked on it. The developers made a conscious decision to

plant trees in the car park, as the usual shrub alternative would have been lost from view when cars are actually parked. There are 48 new flats and a townhouse in this part of the development, and prices started at £47 000 for a two bedroomed flat.

MARITIME COURT

This was the first building to be refurbished in the Leith Project - with the support of the SDA, Barrat Urban Renewal (Scotland) Ltd converted this large red brick bonded warehouse into 48 one and two bedroomed flats.

The warehouse was owned by William Lawson, a wine merchant, until 1940, when his trustees sold it to Hill Thomson & Company Ltd for £400. It remained in use until Hill Thomson sold it to Barratt in 1984 for £100000. The property included the main warehouse building, lofts, vaults, an open court, offices, stores, tenement flats, a yard, buildings and cellars etc. While Barratt developed the building itself, the SDA landscaped the front courtyard into a car park with walls, cobbles, wrought iron chains and cast iron bollards.

In 1988, Barratt sold most of the remaining site to Waverley Properties for £200 000 - Waverley developed the land as part of its New Bell's Court newbuild development.

COMELY BANK , STOCKBRIDGE

The study area anticipated to reveal a near-saturation level of gentrification is in Stockbridge. The chosen streets are at the western, Comely bank end of this electoral ward, and the nearest shopping and banking facilities for residents in our survey street are in the commercial thoroughfare of Raeburn Place, in the heart of Stockbridge.

Stockbridge, like Corstorphine, was once a village lying outside the royal burgh of the city of Edinburgh. It is not an ancient settlement, indeed, in an 1642 account of villages situated along the Water of Leith, there is no mention of Stockbridge, although in a census taken in 1742, the population of the village is cited as 524.

Stockbridge has been called "Edinburgh's New Town Village" (Cant, 1986) because as "recently" as 1760, it still consisted of a few mansions in substantial gardens and little more than peasants' dwellings. It lacked the vital key to its growth and development - a bridge linking the village to the exciting New Town of Edinburgh, which was being built across the river. There was a wooden pedestrian toll bridge, but vehicular traffic had to cross a ford further downstream. When the river was high, this was an impossible journey. This situation was remedied in 1785/86, when a stone bridge was finally built.

Incidentally there is very little explanation offered for the naming of the village, other than "stock" being derived from the original wooden bridge .

The village, lying immediately adjacent to the sophisticated New Town soon came to reflect some of its elegance. It became a place renowned for the characters and personalities who chose to live there, or who were born there. The mansions were occupied by people such as James Leslie and Henry Raeburn.

James Leslie owned Deanhaugh House which was eventually demolished in 1880 to build the tenements of Leslie Place. His widow, Ann, married the famous portrait painter, Henry Raeburn, and set up home at St. Bernard's mansion. Raeburn bought the freehold of a local piece of land and began selling plots in 1813. He named the street after his wife. Ann Street, with its distinctive front gardens, and variety of architectural styles (from the very grand in the centre, to the very small and quaint at the street ends) is now one of the most sought after addresses in all of Edinburgh.

The less pretty and more uniformly styled, yet distinctive Danube Street , which was built alongside Ann Street, housed Edinburgh's most famous brothel until it was finally closed down by the Council in 1978. By all accounts it was a very well run establishment as long as it was under the management of Mrs. Dora Noyce, although after her death it "went downhill". With the brothel closed, Danube Street re-established itself at the upper end of the Stockbridge housing market and now it ranks as a very desirable residential address.

As part of this same development, St. Bernard's' Crescent was designed, although only one side of the Crescent was ever built. Today it is popular location for professional offices, and a favourite haunt of Traffic Wardens. The Stockbridge association with Saint Bernard is rooted in the ancient tale of this saint who visited Scotland, and finding no welcome in the Royal courts, the holy man settled in a cave near the village. Whether true or not, Stockbridge has made the most of the association.

Between the river and the New Town to the south, once lay the leafy plantations of Drumsheugh - the seat of the Earl of Moray. The Earl feued this land for development in elegant crescents and circuses , but some of the gardens remain intact in Stockbridge. In the gardens are two wells - St. George's and St. Bernard's. The former is smaller and less well known than the more popular St. Bernard's well, which was first discovered in 1760. The sulphuretted spring's water was sparkling, clear and fresh, and attracted many partakers throughout the year. A small charge was levied for use of the spring, and it was part of the water's "treatment" that the drinker should take a five minute walk after drinking at the well. By the late nineteenth century, the well was in a state of disrepair and was restored to its original ornate Italianate glory by William Nelson, of the publishing family, and donated to the city in 1888.

Throughout the last century, many Edinburgh businessmen took on ostentatious philanthropic roles ; one such man was Mr. John Learmonth. A coach builder by trade, he made his fortune in Edinburgh and was Lord Provost of the city in the mid nineteenth century. He paid for the construction of the impressive Dean Bridge, designed by Telford and opened in 1832. He had bought the ancient patrimonial estate of Dean from Sir. John Nisbet, and hoped that the bridge would open the land to development, in the same way that the Moray estate had extended the New Town once the Earl of Moray feued his land. However "building fever" was spent and Learmonth had to wait thirty years before Dean feus were taken up. Eton Terrace was built in 1849 and "Comely Bank" gradually built up between Queensferry Road and Stockbridge, with most of the streets of large tenemented flats being named after Learmonth. Towards the end of the century, Dean Park Street and Cheyne Street were built.

It is a little known fact that a small coalfield running through Stockbridge. It is mentioned in the Old Statistical Account for Stockbridge in 1790. It runs through Ann Street, Dean Park Street and Raeburn Street, and Dean Terrace was originally known as Mineral Street. James Leslie listed coal among his business interests.

Although Deanhaugh House and St. Bernard's were the only two mansions of note in Stockbridge, other houses are noted for their interesting or famous residents. Malta House in particular hosted both tragic and fraudulent characters. Proud of its reputation for bohemian and artistic residents, Stockbridge boasted several unusual clubs in the nineteenth century. For example the "Six Foot Club" was open only to athletes of this height and over (presumably males).

Some of the characters who lived in, and brought fame to Stockbridge were David Roberts (artist), Sir James Young Simpson, Robert Scott Lauder (RSA) Prof. John Wilson, Robert Chambers, Thomas Carlyle and George Mickle Kemp, the architect. In the 1820s, the influence of the New Town elegance was evident in the design of Saxe Coburg Place, with its gardens, railings and elegant facades.

In 1823, Henderson Row was built and construction of Edinburgh Academy in the street was started. The school opened in 1824 as the first classical opposition to the Edinburgh High School, and attracted the sons of Stockbridge's notable residents. An Institution for the Education of Deaf and Dumb Children was built in Henderson Row. The Institution amalgamated with the Playfair designed Donaldson's Hospital in 1939 (now the School for the Deaf), and the original school was sold to Edinburgh Academy in 1977. The building gained widespread recognition as the set of the "Marcia Blaine School for Girls" in "The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie", starring Maggie Smith.

One of the most interesting residential areas of Stockbridge is the "Colonies". The rows of cottages were built by the Edinburgh Builders co-Operative as homes for their skilled craftsmen. Under the guidance of the pioneer, Colville, the streets were gradually built between 1861 and 1911, in a picturesque location alongside the Water of Leith, beside the gardens of Inverleith. These flats offered an alternative to tenemental accommodation for Edinburgh working-class people, and have remained a popular type of residential property since. Until the 1970's, they were largely lived in by the original occupiers, their families or people of a similar income and background. From the mid seventies onwards they became popular with Edinburgh's earlier breed of "Yuppies". The terraces were seen as quaint, and the general location of Stockbridge, being so near to the New Town, was convenient to car owning working couples. The flat interiors were often badly in need of repair, and so qualified for new council refurbishment and improvement grants. The flats became most popular with first-time buyers, who invested much time and energy into redecoration and renovation. Consequently, the prices of the properties spiralled, and attracted more buyers from both outside Stockbridge and outside Edinburgh. The flats now attract prices from £50 000 to £80 000.

The Water of Leith itself once dried up in a hot Victorian summer. With the mills, cannon and leather wastes, the river bed stank, and as a result, one of the first Victorian systems in Britain was installed from Dean Terrace to the paving at the Colonies. The waterway has been cleaned up in recent years, under a scheme run by the Manpower Services Commission. An attractive urban river historical walkway now stretches from along the riverside to Leith, a public amenity for the citizens of Edinburgh.

There has been relatively little change to the urban fabric of Stockbridge since it was "finished" at the start of this century. Any remaining open spaces are owned privately for recreational purposes and the area is bounded to the north by the playing fields and grounds of some of Edinburgh's private schools.

The use of property has changed in certain parts of Stockbridge, with the introduction of professional offices, specialist and antique shops. Several large developments have taken place on the southern boundary of the ward. A 25 000sq.ft. SAFEWAY was opened in 1987, near the 1974 Fettes Police Station. South of the Council's allotments on the Inverleith side of Stockbridge, Christian Salvesen have their UK Headquarters - a large modern low-rise building, which itself has been refurbished in 1992.

Perhaps the most significant change of use in property in the Stockbridge area is the evolution of the popular mews flats at the Comely bank side of the ward. This accommodation was originally home for the Coachmen of the gentry living in the large elegant houses of Comely Bank and Stockbridge. The buildings, to the rear of the houses comprised stables, space for the coaches and rooms for the coachmen. The stables and coach-houses gradually became garages as the car became popular this century, and then the rooms, ripe for renovation were organised into flats above the garage space. The narrow cobbled streets with unusual building frontages and small windows were, like the Colonies, deemed quaint, and as their popularity grew, so did their prices rise. One special feature of mews flats is that no two are the same. Some incorporate garages, others are spread over two levels and some only occupy the upper storey. As parking space is such a precious commodity so near to the town centre, some individual garages remain in private ownership - usually owned by local residents or local businesses.

India Place, opposite St.Stephen's Street, was once the location of Stockbridge's fire and police stations, and one of its busiest residential streets. The tenements were of poorer quality than those in the east of the district, and in the 1970s the buildings were demolished and new award-winning council housing was built . These constitute the majority of Stockbridge's council housing. There are 241 sheltered housing places in the ward (1989) - 22.4% are provided by Edinburgh District Council in its Bedford Court - Street scheme, built in 1986. Adjacent to this scheme is Stockbridge House. This was built in 1978 with £250 000 raised by local people (from 1967 to 1975) and serves as a community centre for the neighbourhood's elderly residents. Cheyne Street itself is still standing due to the efforts of the Cheyne Street Action Group fighting proposals to redevelop the entire Raeburn Place area. As it is, the area is a pleasant mixture of community tenemented, modern sheltered and converted news housing.

In 1989 Stockbridge elected its first Community Council. There are over twenty Street Associations for the New Town /Dean / Stockbridge area reflecting the level of community spirit, neighbourhood cohesion and local interest in the district. The "Stockbridge Independent" is the local newsletter, financed by local business advertising and in circulation since 1987. The "Colonies Newslite" was more of a Community newsletter, and ran from 1979 to 1984. It included a local history section, Gardeners' corner, a Kiddie's page, local fete details and minutes of the Residents' Association meetings and accounts. It also informed residents of the Colonies of the staged development adjacent to the Colonies, at the west end of Glenogle road. Consequently, residents knew what designs to expect, what voice they had in objection, who the developers and financiers were, and how well the sales were going. when the proprietor of KELLY'S local shop expressed a wish to change the shop into a pub, the idea went before the Residents Association, who then voted to put the proposal to a vote of the entire Colonies community. Unfortunately, the newsletter is no longer in circulation.

It is clear then, that smaller communities exist within the area of Stockbridge, and each neighbourhood has its own type of housing and resident. While these are still changing, the overall impression from Stockbridge is still one of being the "New Town's village", with its own distinctive character.

REPORT TO INTERVIEWEES

When you were kind enough to take the time to talk to me for the research project "Gender Divisions and Gentrification", I promised to send you a summary report of the research findings when the project came to its conclusions. Well, strictly speaking, the research project has come to a close i.e. the money has run out, but because of the quality and quantity of our findings, the full and exhaustive analysis will take several months yet. However, I have drawn up this brief report of some of the preliminary and more interesting findings, which I hope will give you an idea of the scope of the project. I have not provided references for some of the pieces of information contained in this report, but if you would like further details, references, sources etc...just let me know.

THE PROJECT

The Economic and Social Research Council funded the project over a period of twenty months from September 1990 to May 1992, the working title being "Gender Divisions and Gentrification". Dr. Liz Bondi, the project leader obtained the funding for the project and appointed me, Nuala Gormley as Research Associate.

In the initial application, Dr. Bondi outlined the broad aim of the project as " to contribute to understandings of the relationship between changes in the position of women in society, and changes in the urban landscape". The study was intended to be exploratory in nature, both of the subject and of the research methods.

Theoretical background

That urban landscapes carry gender connotations is now well established in certain academic fields. Most of the existing literature has been concerned with the separation of private and public domains which is gender-inflected, and which have influenced the urban landscape since at least the mid-nineteenth century. There have been two main threads of interpretation concerned with this topic : -

1. The first has concentrated on the overwhelmingly male composition of professions such as planning and architecture. It is argued that this has resulted in a built environment that is hostile, or at minimum insensitive to women's needs.
2. The second interpretation attempts to acknowledge the interweaving of various interests, including 1, but also factors such as class and race, and views the built environment as the (often unintended) outcome of broader social processes.

Both interpretations have their strengths and weaknesses in understanding the built environment in the late twentieth century. Some important changes have occurred in the past few decades which will influence interpretation. Firstly, albeit in small numbers, women have entered professions such as architecture and planning, and the growth in owner-occupation and the decline of public sector housing has had complex and wide-ranging effects. Because of the relatively weak economic position of the majority of women, market-led production is unlikely to be particularly sensitive to their interests.

However, among the most influential clients - affluent middle-class groups - women have become more prominent as house purchasers. There have been changing gender practices in society at large, and one which is interesting in this contexts the importance of women in the process of urban change which we now call "gentrification" (see note below) . Gentrification is interpreted as a strategy adopted by professional women (whether single or in two-career households), attempting to combine roles as wage-earners and home-makers - or for other reasons, seeking an alternative to the family orientation of suburban life.

This research project seeks to explore the gender connotations of contemporary urban change, focusing on the local scale of particular areas. The basic aim is to examine whether gentrification is expressive of a shift in gender practices among sections of the urban middle class.

To do this , we selected three local areas in Edinburgh, including two where some expression of gentrification is evident, and one which is suburban in character.

At this stage we are concentrating on the "consumption" side of housing, and particularly on those able to exercise choice through the housing market, although our samples for both Leith and Bughtlin included Housing Association transactions. On the basis of existing research, we expected to find a much larger proportion of nuclear family households in the suburban area than in either of the other two, where we would expect more in the way of alternative living arrangements and attitudes to be in evidence.

"Gentrification" - This is one of these handy labels that has come to cover a multitude of realities, and with this study, we shall actually be adding to the redefining of it. Broadly speaking, and in its simplest manifestation, it is a process whereby the social and physical character of a neighbourhood is changed by the infiltration of professional/higher income groups seeking central city locations. The conversion of mews properties is one example, and the rocketing house prices of Clapham and Islington in London in the 1980's is evidence of another. Generally, when an area goes "up-market", pretties itself up, opens its first delicatessen selling cheese that nobody local has ever heard of, has posher cars parked in the street than before and when local working class people cannot afford to buy property in their local area - these are all good clues for identifying a gentrified area.

Changing Places : The study areas

Although a provincial rather than a global city, Edinburgh has a number of characteristics that make areas within it strong candidates for gentrification. Gentrification is associated principally with cities where large numbers of people are employed in white-collar service sector jobs. In Britain, London is the prime example. Although Edinburgh is dwarfed by London in terms of the total volume of service sector jobs, its employment structure is remarkably similar, with the large percentage employed in information services (finance, insurance, real estate and public services) being particularly significant. Although the claim to be "the second biggest financial centre in Europe" is rather contrived, and in fact is quite untrue, within British cities, Edinburgh is the only one that comes within five percentage points of London in either services in general, or information services in particular.

Edinburgh owes its substantial professional and administrative middle class to its historic role as a capital city, and as a centre a learning and culture. It is also worth noting that the percentage growth in information services from 1971 to 1981 exceeded that of London. Thus, given the socio-economic characteristics of its working population, (figure 1??)Edinburgh is likely to have a plentiful supply of potential consumers of gentrified property.

The urban fabric of Edinburgh is also well suited to gentrification. It is exceptional among British cities in retaining a residential core, which in central Edinburgh is also unusually well preserved. The medieval origins of the city remain in evidence, and large tracts of both Georgian and Victorian buildings have remained intact. Another major contribution to the city's "gentrification potential" is the Port of Leith, which, following the devastating decline of dockyard and related industries, provides extensive opportunities for conversion and new buildings on waterfront sites.

Some parts of inner Edinburgh are best characterised as long term high status areas : The New Town, for example, has never suffered a mass exodus by the middle classes - although certain individual streets have experienced a decline in status for limited periods. Other areas, like certain closes off the Royal Mile, have been renovated and rehabilitated largely by local government and housing associations. Because of this, the wholesale transfer from working-class to middle-class occupancy has at least been impeded. In contrast to these types of area, we have selected two areas that have undergone or are undergoing a marked change in social composition and a substantial improvement in the physical condition of the built environment. Both represent different guises of the gentrification process, and at different stages.

STOCKBRIDGE - a representative of "mature gentrification", where largely Victorian housing has been upgraded by individual owner occupiers.

LEITH - a representative of "gentrification in process", where developers have built on gap sites or have converted industrial buildings for owner occupation, a process which was not entirely spontaneous, but encouraged by "The Leith Project".

In contrast to these gentrified areas, we also selected a modern suburb on the western periphery of the city. This was to have something to compare attitudes in the gentrified areas to, and as a measure of attitude in one of the most significant urban processes in Britain this century.

BUGHTLIN - a representative of a suburban area that has been "competing" with gentrified areas for home buyers in the 1980's, whether on the open market or through the sale of Housing Association properties to tenants.

All of these areas have been visibly transformed in the 1970's and 1980's. By the mid-1980's, properties in all three areas commanded broadly similar prices, so buyers at this time would have considered the other areas on price rationale. We were interested in "who bought where and why".

The area outlines below give a general impression of the nature of our sample areas. This is the type of information that we would provide at a seminar on our research given to a non-Edinburgh audience. I have appended a more detailed area profile for your particular area, with some of the more detailed background information I collected.

STOCKBRIDGE: From red lights to flower boxes

The earliest example in Edinburgh of a process similar to what Ruth Glass (a sociologist working in urban studies) observed in London in 1964, when she coined the term "gentrification" appears to have occurred in the Stockbridge area. Adjacent to the New Town and lying on the potential picturesque Water of Leith, this area was ideal for middle-class "pioneers". Their first target was an St.Stephen Street, a Georgian street of both shops and flats, and soon after, "The Colonies" became popular with incomers to Stockbridge. This was an area of terraced artisan dwellings quite unlike their tenemental neighbours, which were built between 1861 and 1911. By the mid-1960's many were in a rundown condition and still lacked standard amenities. At this point, middle-class professionals began to purchase the houses from their largely working-class owners, and to refurbish them with the benefit of local authority improvement grants. Prices began to rise considerably with spin-off effects for tenement flats in other parts of Stockbridge. Much of the housing stock in the area consists of Victorian tenements originally built for Edinburgh's expanding middle classes. In addition, there are some mews flats in buildings originally owned by affluent Victorian households living in large, elegant houses in Stockbridge and nearby Comely Bank. These consisted of stables, coaches and living accommodation for coachmen. Some of the stables were converted into garages, and as the area grew in popularity, other parts, and even the garages, were converted into well-appointed flats. The narrow cobbled street with unusual building frontages provided imagery most amenable to gentrification. Upgrading was undertaken by individual owner-occupiers : through the 1970's and 1980's countless flats were described by selling agents as "full of potential", "in need of renovation" and so on.

The area acquired and still retains a slightly bohemian and trendy reputation. it is home to a community theatre, its own annual festival, a small award-winning council estate and some relics of the numerous watermills that once flourished along the Water of Leith. In addition, the existence until 1978 of a thriving brothel on Danube street is very much part of the area's credentials. It was tolerated by neighbours in the street because it was "so very well run, you see" (local resident), by the well known "Madame" Mrs. Dora Noyce. In terms of its constructed heritage therefore, Stockbridge has associations with the expression of sexuality outside a private family domain, and with women flouting moral norms. The 1981 Census shows Stockbridge to be a predominantly middle-class ward with a relatively low rate of unemployment. By the mid-1980's, the area was almost fully gentrified. The area contains some properties that now command such high prices that they are likely to be within the price range only of the more affluent. However, there are also many modestly priced one and two bedroomed flats likely to be attractive to first time buyers. As the area has become a "safe bet" in terms of property investment, any sense of urban pioneering has largely given way to the security of a "prettified" and thoroughly domesticated urban landscape. Retail outlets add to this imagery : the many small and cosy specialist shops selling hand knits, exotic paraphernalia, "twee" interior design and brass fixtures etc..all suggesting that home-making is a high value activity, both economically and socially. Thus, the environment has acquired some conventionally feminine attributes, which perhaps enable the association with recent and "respectable" prostitution to be celebrated from a "safe" and detached position.

LEITH: From industrial wasteland to industrial heritage

Edinburgh's port since at least the fourteenth century and incorporated into the city in 1920, Leith continues to assert an independent identity. Leith flourished in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries on the strength of its port and related industries. Many fine Victorian buildings continue to testify to the past affluence of its merchants and industrialists. During the twentieth century, however, Leith's industrial fortunes have experienced an accelerating decline, culminating in the closure of the last major shipyard in 1981. Although the population fell steadily through the century, overcrowding remained a problem until the 1960's. Many of the working class tenements built in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were chronically neglected by the landlord owners.

Some were demolished to make way for Council flats, others have been rehabilitated with the assistance of local authority repair grants. Some still remain in a derelict state.

The gentrification of Leith began in the early 1980's. The Leith Project, under the combined guidance and finance of The Scottish Development Agency, Lothian Regional Council and Edinburgh District Council, supported private investment through environmental improvements and grants to small businesses. This provided the context for developers who saw the potential for lucrative residential development projects. These include conversions of former industrial buildings and newly built complexes on or close to the waterfront. Gentrifiers moving into Leith generally buy flats in one of the new developments or upgraded tenements. There is a little scope for individuals to buy up and rehabilitate run down flats, but most of those remaining are rather small and lack the potential offered by the more spacious counterparts in Stockbridge. It is also worth noting that many recent purchasers in the Leith area have been Leithers, availing of the "Right to Buy" legislation, buying the Council owned properties they have occupied for many years.

The gentrification of Leith is at present a partial and gradual process. It is confined to a relatively small area close to the mouth of the Water of Leith, and even within this, there remain many derelict buildings and vacant plots. While the current state of the housing market is not conducive to rapid development, the slowdown came to Edinburgh rather later than to the south of England and has not yet been more of a slowdown. Public funds continue to be available for local economic incentives but only on a small scale. Whether Leith will ever support the saturation gentrification evident in Stockbridge is an open question. At least two factors suggest not :

1. Despite the decline of the docks, the area continues to support industrial land uses that inevitably generate negative externalities.
2. The presence of some very unattractive large scale high rise Council flats limits the scope for creating the kind of "total" picturesque environment that is evident in Stockbridge.

The 1981 census predates the social changes evident in Leith and the social composition of the relevant ward reveals the area's solidly working class character (fig??). The limited nature of any economic revival is indicated by local authority estimates of unemployment, which continue to be well above the city average.

Visual references to Leith's maritime past abound in the gentrified areas. These references focus principally upon the history of men's work and evoke masculine images of working class life. In the absence of explicit images of women's role, what is carried implicitly are notions of women as prostitutes (an inevitable association with the life of a port) or as the wives, sisters and mothers of working men. In addition, despite the appearance of some restaurants, bars and shops typical of the gentrification process along the waterfront, the imagery generated by service provision in Leith is quite distinct from that of Stockbridge. The "grand plan" typical of 1960's redevelopments, and carrying implicitly masculine connotations is evident not only in the public sector housing but also in Leith's main shopping area, which is not along the waterfront. Even away from the shopping centre, the shops and pubs of Leith generally convey a much more "macho" image than their counterparts in Stockbridge.

Thus, the current re-creation of Leith does little to disrupt conventional views of gender divisions. The continued presence of a substantial working class population living in Council flats, sheltered housing or Housing Association lets, reinforces this continuity. It also ensures that, despite the dominance of commercially-led gentrification, Leith continues to support an image of urban pioneering - scenes of gentrification are more suggestive of conquest than domestication.

BUGHTLIN: From green fields to family suburb

Bughtlin is a relatively new suburb in the Parkgrove ward on the western periphery of Edinburgh. It was built between 1973 and 1987 on what had been part of the city's Green Belt. Much of the construction was undertaken by major developers (including Wimpey) and many properties came onto the market in the usual way. However, some parts of Bughtlin were developed by Housing Associations, and properties became available either for rent, or for purchase under low-cost home-ownership schemes. The bulk of the housing in Bughtlin consists of short rows of terraced houses, modest semi-detached houses or small blocks of six or eight flats - all set in carefully landscaped surroundings. Overall, it is not an elite suburb but one oriented towards those in the middle or lower ranges of the housing market. This is in keeping with the rest of the ward, which consists predominantly of post-1960 private estates. Data from the 1981 census indicates a social composition biased towards the lower-middle class. (fig ???)

Although lying on the very edge of the built-up area, Bughtlin is not a remote suburb. It is only five miles from the city centre, and, although designed with car owning households in mind, has a regular and reasonably reliable bus service. It is also very well placed for access to the city bypass, the airport and the M8 to Glasgow. Despite its own history as an incursion into the Green Belt, further development beyond Bughtlin is unlikely in the foreseeable future.

This is not an area with the kind of territorial demarcations typical of older and more elite suburbs. Nevertheless, the suburban character of the area is inescapable, signalled principally by the complete absence of any non-residential land uses except for a weak commercial centre dominated by one supermarket and a small office block (a monotone streetscape in comparison to Stockbridge), and strongly suggested by the lack of any material evidence of an urban past. An association with modern conventional familial lifestyles is, therefore unavoidable, and we would expect this to be reflected in the composition of house buyers.

HOUSE PRICE DATA

The Sasines Register at Meadowbank House holds records of every property transaction that has taken place in Scotland since 1617, and from this vast data source we drew our house price information. For groups of selected streets, the bulk of transactions involving the sale of residential properties in the period January 1985 to December 1990 were at prices in the range £15 000 to £40 000. We collected data for **** transactions in all, and analysed them using the **** package.

By the way, if ever you are tempted to think that your present job is a bit on the boring side, try spending a while at the Sasines and you'll KNOW what real boredom is !

House Price

First of all, let's look at what people actually paid for their houses in our sample areas. The table below illustrates a synopsis of the main house price data that we have analysed so far, covering the period from 1985 to 1990, and removing

any non-average cases that might have biased the result. This table is basically comparing similar-sized properties in the three areas that fell within roughly the same price band in 1985.

	Bug'	cases	%	Stock'	cases	%	Leith	cases	%	<i>Halifax</i>
1985	29500	61	100	27800	84	100	20800	51	100	100
1986	29500	76	100	26200	74	94	25900	80	124	104
1987	24600	131	84	31200	68	113	22400	41	108	109
1988	31200	106	106	35300	71	127	25100	97	120	121
1989	37700	97	128	42000	55	151	26300	88	126	142
1990	37800	71	128	42900	75	154	29200	56	140	157
		542			427			413		

KEY:

1985.....sample year

Bug'.....Bughtlin

Stock'.....Stockbridge

Leith.....Leith

cases.....The numbers of transaction cases included in the sample taken to produce the average house price.

%.....Taking the 1985 price level as a base line of 100%, the prices for each other year are then compared against it, giving a percentage above or below 100%.

Halifax.....This is the index produced by the Halifax Building Society every month, based on house prices in Scotland as a whole. Again using 1985 as the 100% base line, the percentages for other years are calculated, and our area averages can be compared with the national average.

MAIN POINTS

Bughtlin : Although remaining steady through 1985 and 1986, house prices in Bughtlin dipped in 1987, to rise again in 1988, and to perform well in 1989 and 1990, although never quite performing as well as the national average, and generally showing a slower rate of growth than our other sample areas. We should bear in mind that we are not comparing Bughtlin to other "like" areas in Edinburgh, but to two areas that we fully expect to experience substantial house price growth due to the nature of change taking place there. It is likely that Bughtlin has performed as well if not better than other suburban areas in Edinburgh, benefiting particularly from its position, aspect and maturity. There was no significant difference in the prices that Wimpey paid to repurchase properties from buyers going onto other larger Wimpey houses, and the mainstream second hand sales - the prices paid by non-Wimpey purchasers.

An important factor in the Bughtlin data, is the significance of the property "released" onto the local housing market by Link and Lowlands Housing Associations. Tenants were given the opportunity to buy the homes they had been renting in 1987, and many availed of this opportunity. (Hardly surprising, as this was top quality, spacious modern accommodation in mature landscaped grounds sitting right on the city's Green Belt - at a discount !) The influence of these properties when the *first* came on the market was to deflate the area's overall average, whereas when these properties *next* enter the market, they will be at prices on a par with the private developments in the area. To take these sale out of the above table reconfigurates the table like this :

BUGHTLIN	average price	no. of cases	price index
1985	£29 500	61	100
1986	£29 500	75	100
1987	£28 300	79	96
1988	£33 000	94	112
1989	£39 700	86	135
1990	£39 700	65	135
		460	

This reconfiguration illustrates that the housing market in Bughtlin is displaying growth rates on a par with our other areas.

Stockbridge : Like Bughtlin, Stockbridge experienced a dip in house price growth, but slightly earlier, in 1986. Prices recovered well and went on to display growth rates that epitomise the relative property boom that Edinburgh did experience in the late 1980's, particularly in 1989 and 1990. So, Stockbridge is a very "safe buy" in this price range, and

although the house prices have a healthy growth rate, there is only limited opportunity remaining for any substantial investment gains to be made in the area. So while you "can't go wrong" if you buy here, you have to pay out a bit more in the first place, and since the area is almost totally gentrified, you won't be unexpectedly surprised by dramatic change in the growth rate.

Leith : Leith presents us with a more complicated pattern of growth, which is further evidence that the area is in a state of flux. From the table above, it is clear that Leith has demonstrated a resilience to the house price dip that all three areas experienced, managing to stay well above the 100% 1985 rate, dipping to just 108% in 1987, and performing best out of the three areas in 1986. From 1987 to 1990, Leith experienced a very healthy growth rate, not as high at the national average or Stockbridge, but nonetheless good. Prices in Leith are generally lower than in the other two sample areas throughout the years surveyed. It should be remembered that Leith's performance in these years is a dramatic improvement on its entire housing history since the second world war. Apart from Leithers, very few people ever considered buying property in Leith, and the 1980's represents the largest influx of non-Leithers to the area since its golden Victorian era.

The Leith data begs some further analysis, which I have tabulated below. Like Bughtlin, there were several sales of property included in the table above which involved Housing Associations or Edinburgh District Council. The remaining properties fall roughly into two categories -

1. Original tenemental properties
2. Redevelopments

<u>LEITH</u>		<u>Tene'</u>		<u>Redev'</u>		
<u>Year</u>	<u>Price</u>	<u>case</u>	<u>index</u>	<u>Price</u>	<u>case</u>	<u>index</u>
1985	17600	31	100	29700	16	100
1986	20200	34	115	30600	45	103
1987	22000	36	125	29900	4	101
1988	24200	51	138	30800	30	104
1989	28000	48	159	35000	25	118
1990	29900	32	170	40200	11	136
		232			128	

KEY :

Tene'.....Tenement Flats

Redev'.....Redeveloped Flats

This analysis of the data collected on Leith house sales from 1985 to 1990 clearly shows that there are two different rates of growth in the two categories mentioned earlier. Again, using the 1985 rate of 100% as a growth index, we can see that while the redevelopment properties do experience a good rate of growth, only dipping slightly in 1987, it is nowhere near the spectacular growth rate experienced by tenemental flats in Leith. This rate outperforms all of our sample areas, and even the national average. It is the only growth index that seems totally resilient to the price dip of 1986/1987.

The redevelopment flats - which included those sold in The Vaults, Maritime Court and Maritime House, but which could represent other refurbished property in Leith also - The Cooperage, King's Landing etc.- have experienced house price inflation at a different rate to the tenemental properties, but there are several factors influencing this. For a start, the redeveloped properties have been built or refurbished at considerable cost, and *enter the market* at higher prices than other properties in Leith, aimed at and attracting a different type of buyer than the older properties, which most often are of a much lower standard of refurbishment. Between 1985 and 1986 for example, flats in Maritime Court entered the market at an average price of £31 300, and flats in The Vaults entered at £28 000, at a time when tenements were barely averaging £20 000. The two different types of property obviously represent very different components of the Leith housing market.

BUYERS :

The next stage of our analysis was to investigate whether different groups of people were buying in our three sample areas. The initial crude analysis has included all the cases noted at the Sasines, whether it has full price details or not - so if the numbers look a wee bit different than on previous tables not to worry - we were concentrating on the buyers rather than on the prices this time.

PATTERNS OF BUYER GROUPS IN SAMPLE AREAS :

	<u>Bught'</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Stock'</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Leith</u>	<u>%</u>
Couples	338	62	83	19	123	29

Lone M	99	18	185	42	165	39
Lone W	102	19	157	30	115	27
Others	3	0.5	13	3	18	4
	542		438		421	

KEY :

Bught'.....Bughtlin

Stock'.....Stockbridge

Leith.....Leith

Couples.....Where two people (usually married) buy a property with joint ownership - includes gay couples.

Lone M.....Where a single man has purchased a property in his name alone.

Lone W.....Where a single woman has purchased a property in her name alone.

Others.....Cases such as inherited property being shared among several members of a family.

A clear pattern emerges about which areas appeal to these groups of buyers. It is worth bearing in mind that although our property price band used in the research was fairly similar in each of the three areas, in one area this might buy a five apartment flat in need of renovation, while in another it would only cover the cost of a studio flat with one apartment in a posh redevelopment.....so while the amount of money paid out by all our buyers might be similar, the type of property they end up with is variable. And, at the root of our research, the question.....which areas appeal to whom.....and why?

Bughtlin :

Bughtlin is very popular with couples, who may or may not have children. It is by far the most popular area of our three sample areas for couples and families (62%), and is roughly equally popular with single men and women (18% and 19% respectively).There were very few "others" transactions, probably because the area has only been developed recently, and few residents would be "passing on" property just yet.

Stockbridge :

Stockbridge is most popular with single people - both male and female. It attracts more single buyers than either of the other two sample areas, and of our three areas, it is least popular with couples. 3% of Stockbridge transactions were in the "others" category, most likely inherited property following the demise of elderly residents in the area.

Leith :

Leith seems to appeal to all our buyer groups quite strongly. This no doubt reflects the variety of property size and quality in the area, and it should be remembered that of the three areas, only Leith really has a significant population of "locals" wishing to live where they have been raised. Leith's buyers fall roughly equally into the three categories, making it popular with couples, but not as popular as Bughtlin. It is also popular with single buyers, more so than Bughtlin, but not as popular as Stockbridge.

Finally, in this very brief analysis of the Sasines data, we shall look briefly at how much our buyer groups pay for their properties. The data in the following table excludes Housing Association sales for Leith and Bughtlin.

	Bught'	cases	Stock'	cases	Leith	cases
Couples	36400	275	39400	83	27300	105
Lone M	28500	90	33600	185	27300	154
Lone W	28800	94	32200	153	25300	105
Average	33300	461	34800	432	26800	377

The data in the above table illustrates that couples generally paid more for their properties than the single buyers, well above the average in all three areas. This could well be because the "couple" may actually be a family, requiring a larger property. Also, there is a good chance that "couple" also denotes more than one income coming into the household, thus enabling the buyers to spend more on the initial property price. Interestingly, couples and single men in Leith alone seem to spend the same amount of money on their property purchase. Single men pay more than single women in Stockbridge and Leith, but single women tend to spend more in Bughtlin. Leith is consistently the cheapest area to buy in, and Stockbridge the most expensive.

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH :

This is the stage of the research that you helped us with - when, by talking to people who had made housing choices in our sample areas, we tried to understand the reasons behind the choice patterns that had emerged in our Sasines data analysis. The conversations I had (and enjoyed) with the informants (that's you) covered a broad spectrum of opinions, views and experiences, and no two interviews followed the same path. This was intentional in part, as we decided to allow

the informant to guide the direction of the conversation as far as possible, as long as I was sure that we were covering the main points. As hoped, the most valuable insights into housing choice and gender attitudes emerged spontaneously from you, rather than being dragged out by the teeth by me. In fact, so comprehensive and complex is the wealth of data collected that we decided to use a very new computer package to handle the bulky data base.....and then the problems began.

As I am sure that any of you who has had the joy of dealing with any computer system will be well aware....they are truly wonderful...until they begin to go wrong. Our decision to use an application called "Hypersoft" - an Apple Macintosh version of the Hypercard system, has in effect lengthened the work remit of the project by several months. This in itself isn't too bad, but as we are one of only a handful of people who have ever used this package to help analyse qualitative data, there is a lot of trial and error involved. The application will actually save time in the long run, and although we still analyse the material from the interviews ourselves, Hypersoft then organises and manages the material for us.

What this preamble of an excuse all means is that it will be a while yet before we have any substantial findings from the interviews, although we have a few preliminary themes which we can share with you now.

		Bughtlin	Stockbridge	Leith
Couple	with kids	3	1	2
Couple	without kids	2	2	4
Lone men	without kids	3	4	5
Lone women	without kids	5	7	3
Lone women	with kids	0	1	0
		13	15	14

No	Surname	Forename	I	Date	Sas	A	G	K	S	Own	HA	Let	PS
1		Margaret	*	26/4	646	S	f		S	*			
2		Ryan	*	30/4	443	B	m	*	M	*	*		
		Barbara	*	30/4	443	B	f	*	M				
3		Gordon	*	1/5	1022	L	m		M	*			a
		Elaine	*	1/5	1022	L	f		M	*			
4		Catriona	*	6/5	486	S	f		S	*			b
5		Norman	*	6/5	431	B	m		M	*			
		Irene	*	6/5	431	B	f		M	*			
6		James	*	7/5	564	S	m		M	*			
		Sarah	*	7/5	564	S	f		M	*			
7		Elizabeth	*	30/5	819	L	f	*	D	*			
8		Lawrence	*	1/6	149	B	m	*	M	*			
		Pamela	*	1/6	149	B	f	*	M	*			c
9		John	*	5/6	386	B	m	*	M	*			
		Ina	*	5/6	386	B	f	*	M	*	*		
10		Claire	*	10/6	818	L	f		sh	*			
		Terry	*	10/6	818	L	m		sh	*			d
11		Darren	*	13/6	1077	L	m	*	D	*			e
12		Anne	*	17/6	664	S	f		S	*			a
13		Lesley	*	18/6	666	S	f		D	*			
14		Heather	*	24/6	362	S	f	*	D			*	
15		Anna	*	24/6	309	B	f		S	*			
16		Craig	*	4/7	251	B	m		S	*			
17		Karen	*	30/6	242	B	f		S	*			
18		Dugald	*	2/7	737	S	m		Sh	*			
19		Kate	*	4/7	103	B	f		S	*			a
20		James	*	5/7	1087	L	m	*	D		*	*	
21		Catherine	*	9/7	693	S	f		S	*			
22		Alan	*	10/7	490	S	m	*	M	*			
		Norma	*	10/7	490	S	f	*	M	*			
23		Andy	*	22/7	688	S	m		S	*			
24		Andy	*	18/9	605	S	m		S	*			
25		Matthew	*	31/7	181	B	m	*	D	*			
26		Beatrice	*	20/8	956	L	f		S			*	
		Roderick		-	-	-	m		S	*			
27		David	*	19/9	2119	L	m	*	D	*			
28		Roanne	*	23/9	2012	L	f		S	*			

29	David	*	25/9	865	L	m	Sh	*		
	James	*	25/9	865	L	m	Sh	*		f
30	Kathleen	*	1/10	2064	L	f	M	*		f
	John	-	-	-	-	m	M			
31	Rona	*	3/10	614	S	f	S	*		a
32	Alison	*	11/10	2028	L	f	S	*		
33	John	*	11/10	2054	L	m	* M	*	*	
	Joan	*	11/10	2054	L	f	* M	*	*	
34	Tracy	*	12/12	2004	L	f	* M	*		a
	Jim	-	-	-	-	m	* M	*		
35	Duncan	*	6/11	936	L	m	S	*		
36	William	*	20/11	2500	L	m	S	*	*	
37	Jennifer	*	23/11	2496	B	f	S	*		
38	Susan	*	26/11	2524	B	f	M	*		
	Ian	*	26/11	2524	B	m	M	*		
39	Clive	*	26/11	2362	S	m	S	*		
40	Jan	*	11/12	943	L	f	S	*		
41	Donald	*	16/12	600	S	m	* M	*		g
	Mrs.	-	-	-	-	f	* M	*		g
42	Robert	*	9/1	938	L	m	S	*		

KEY :

No	Interview Number assigned to Interview
Surname	Surname of Interviewee at time of Interview
Forename	Forename or common name of Interview
I	* for the person actually interviewed
Date	Date of Interview
Sas	Sasines Number assigned to case
A	Area - S....Stockbridge B....Bughlin L....Leith
G	Gender - m....male f.....female
K	* for Interviewees with children
S	Status - M....Married S....Single D....Divorced Sh...Sharing as a Couple
Own	* for when the Interviewee owns their home
HA	* for when the Interviewee has/is involved with a Housing Association or District Council
Let	* for when the Interviewee is renting the property from a private landlord or Housing Association

PS :

- a. People who came along to Group Interviews
- b. Since married and moved house.
- c. Since had another baby.
- d. This couple had a lodger in their flat (male friend)
- e. Child does not live with father, but visits frequently
- f. Gay couple
- g. Now living in prestigious house bordering Sample area, having bought and stayed in flat in sample area temporarily - now renting flat out.

WHAT PROFESSIONALS IN THE EDINBURGH HOUSING MARKET HAD TO SAY :

In addition to interviewing people who lived in our sample areas, I spoke to planners, architects, ministers, M.P.'s, community representatives and estate agents who would lend an insight into the Edinburgh housing market, the place that our sample areas occupy within it, and the nature of the communities residing in our sample areas.

**END OF AWARD REPORT
(Edition 1 : March 1985)**

Economic and Social Research Council
Polaris House, North Star Avenue
Swindon 1UJ
Telephone 0793 413000
Fax 0793 413001
GTN 1434

Award Reference Number								
0	0	0	2	3	2	1	9	6

1 Award Holder(s)

Title	Initials	Surname	Date of Birth																								
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2 Full Official Address and Telephone Number

Department of Geography
University of Edinburgh
Edinburgh EH8 9XP

3 Title of Research

Gender Divisions and Gentrification

4 Aims and Methods of Research (restrict to this space only)

The aim of the research was to investigate the significance of gender as a factor in processes of gentrification, and to explore the interplay between changing gender divisions and urban change. Specific objectives were

- 1) to examine whether household composition, household divisions of labour and attitudes to gender roles varied between areas subject to gentrification and more traditional suburban areas;
- 2) to assess the influence of women's family and employment position on their housing careers; and
- 3) to investigate the gender symbolism of contemporary urban landscapes; and

The research also generated detailed evidence regarding

- 4) the interplay between gender, class and community; and
- 5) the gentrification of two local areas in a provincial British city.

The research was based on a comparison of three local areas in Edinburgh, one where gentrification began in the late 1960s, one where gentrification began in the early 1980s, and one modern suburb. The local case studies were developed using a combination of qualitative methods and descriptive quantitative analysis. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 56 members of 45 households; with 20 developers, estate agents and others involved in the production of housing; and with six community representatives. Data were also collected from the Register of Sasines and analysed alongside data from the Population Censuses.

5 Period of Award

01/09/90 - 29/02/92

6 Total Amount Expended

£27,506

The research project was exploratory in character, using three local case studies to gain insight into a widely cited but little examined association between gender divisions and urban change. The qualitative emphasis allowed aspects of the complexity of this interplay to be captured. The evidence generated supports, refutes or extends existing interpretations in several ways, the most significant of which are identified below.

Women as agents of gentrification

The research findings endorse the view that non-family households in general and women in particular are important agents of gentrification. Analysis of data collected from the Register of Sasines indicates a high proportion of lone women house purchasers in both of the areas affected by gentrification.

Attitudes to gender roles, household gender divisions and gentrification

The research findings refute the widespread assumption that attitudes to gender roles and household gender divisions of labour are any more 'traditional' in suburban areas than in areas subject to gentrification. The study shows how the relationship between gender practices and location is mediated by factors including the presence or absence of children, class differences and geographical origins.

Life-cycle patterns and housing careers

The research findings illuminate the interplay between life-cycle changes and housing careers of women house purchasers. For many women (single, married and divorced), house purchase in an area affected by gentrification was strongly associated with a 'child-free' stage in the life-cycle. In the suburban area households were much less likely to have future plans or aspirations to move elsewhere.

Gender imagery and urban landscapes

The gender connotations of urban landscapes have received very little attention. This project used visual observation, newspaper cuttings, and interviews with both consumers and producers of housing, to interpret the gendered nature of the landscapes studied. The metaphors of conquest and domestication proved valuable in the interpretation of urban landscapes.

The economics of gentrification

As examples of gentrification in a provincial British city, the local case studies contribute to understandings of the economics of the process. In particular, the critical significance of the state is demonstrated. The study also yielded evidence of local variations in house price inflation.

DISSEMINATION

Conference papers:

- 1) 'Making places: gender divisions and urban change', Urban Change and Conflict Conference, Lancaster, 9-13 September 1991.
 - 2) 'Sexing the City', Annual Conference of the Association of American Geographers, San Diego, 18-22 April 1992.
 - 3) 'Gender, power and urban space': offered for the Annual Conference of the Institute of British Geographers, 5-8 January 1993, Royal Holloway and Bedford New College.
- (Further conference papers are likely during 1993 and 1994)

Seminar and colloquia based on this research have been or will be presented at the following institutions:

- London School of Economics (October 1991)
- Edinburgh University (November 1991)
- Strathclyde University (February 1992)
- Sheffield University (March 1992)
- Clark University (April 1992)
- University of California - Berkeley (April 1992)
- Cambridge University (November 1992)

8 Changes to Original Award

Indicate whether there has been any change in the award holder(s), research staff or institution since the award commenced.

9 Research Staff

Name, status and period of appointment

Mrs Nuala Gormley, Research Associate, 01/09/90 - 29/02/92

10 Publications

Indicate all publications which have arisen from the research to date or are in preparation, with details of author, editor, publisher and date of publication. If there are no such publications at present, enter NIL. (If you need extra space please continue on paper the same size as this.)

Please see attached

11 Dissemination

Indicate if any other dissemination in the form of conferences etc has taken place during the period covered and any future plans for further dissemination you may have. If there are no such plans at present, enter NIL. (If you need extra space please continue on paper the same size as this.)

Please see attached

In the literature on gentrification, changes in the role of women have received frequent mention as possible explanatory factors (see, for example, Markusen, 1981; Beauregard, 1986; Bondi, 1991). However, as Smith (1987, p.156) has noted, the association between women and gentrification 'has remained a general affirmation with little documentation of actual trends'. Moreover, little attempt has been made to examine the relationship between cultural constructions of gender and processes of urban change (see Bondi, 1991). This project sought to provide empirical evidence through which to advance understandings of the role of women in gentrification, and of the interplay between gender and contemporary urban change. The project was exploratory in character, using case studies to gain insight into qualitative, and to a lesser extent quantitative, aspects of the processes in question.

The research was based on a comparison of three local areas in Edinburgh: one where gentrification began in the late 1960s (Stockbridge), one where gentrification began in the early 1980s (Leith), and one consisting of a modern suburb (Bughtlin). By the time the study was undertaken, Stockbridge was almost wholly gentrified (chiefly by individual owner-occupiers): nearly all property in the area was upgraded and in owner occupation. Leith remains very much an area in transition. Developers have built on gap sites or converted former industrial buildings for owner-occupation, and many tenements have been upgraded. But alongside these, derelict property remains, in addition to which there remains a substantial working class population living in public sector accommodation. The suburb of Bughtlin was built on a greenfield site between 1973 and 1987. It included property built for sale by a large-scale developer and property built for rental by a housing association. Much of the latter has since been sold under the 'right to buy' legislation. Within each area, groups of adjacent streets were selected (containing between 350 and 500 households) for which property prices in the mid-1980s were similar. Thus, households buying in one area could, in theory, have chosen to buy in either of the other two.

This report begins by outlining demographic evidence concerning the role of women in gentrification and moves on to consider issues relating to the social construction of gender divisions. Gender imagery is also briefly discussed. The project also yielded important evidence, subsidiary to the main purpose, regarding the economics of gentrification, which is summarised in the final section.

Demographic patterns: the role of women

The existing literature on gentrification suggests an association with alternatives to traditional nuclear family living, including single professionals, childless dual-career households, one-parent families and gay couples. This study broadly confirms this association, although analysis of the social composition of local areas cannot be completed until the Small Area Statistics from the 1991 Census become available. More specifically, the study provides evidence of the relative significance of couples, lone women and lone men among house purchasers in local areas (table 1). Couples dominate the purchasers in the suburban area,

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lone buyers dominate in the areas subject to gentrification, most especially in the area where gentrification started in the late 1960s. In all areas, especially the latter, the number of women purchasing property on their own is substantially higher than the estimates of about 10 per cent for the 1970s (see for example Pascall, 1986).

TABLE 1: HOUSE PURCHASERS BY TYPE, 1985-1990

	<u>Stockbridge</u>		<u>Leith</u>		<u>Bughtlin</u>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Couples	83	19%	123	30%	338	62%
Lone men	185	42%	165	40%	99	18%
Lone women	157	37%	115	27%	102	19%
Others	12	2%	13	3%	3	1%
Total	437		416		542	

(Source: Register of Sasines)

Social processes: constructions of gender

The existing literature on gentrification suggests that these demographic changes may be associated with changes in attitudes to gender roles and in gender divisions of labour within households. The interviews conducted for this study do not provide supporting evidence. First, household interviews in the suburban area did not reveal more 'conventional' attitudes to gender roles than in the other two areas. Secondly, the presence or absence of children emerged as the most important mediating factor in understandings of, and attitudes towards, gender roles. Thirdly, class differences within a broadly middle-class group of respondents, together with geographical origins also influence the articulation of attitudes to gender roles. Thus, the relationship between gender practices and urban location is mediated by non-locational factors.

Despite the absence of clear differences in attitudes to gender roles and in gender divisions of labour within households, the interviews did point to the existence of distinctive constructions of femininity and masculinity in the different study areas. These are associated with life-cycle patterns, class/status differences and attitudes to housing.

In Bughtlin, interviewees portrayed a relatively settled image of themselves and tended not to have plans to move elsewhere. This was true both for households with children and for those without. The house was regarded much more as a consumption good than an investment. The majority of respondents came from working class backgrounds and were first generation home owners. Their own

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occupations were mainly non-manual but did not include high status professions. As previously noted, most adopted pragmatic and egalitarian views of gender roles, with a strongly familial orientation. What can be detected here is a reworking of family-centred constructions of femininity and masculinity associated with suburban lifestyles, away from a strongly asymmetrical form towards a more symmetrical form within the framework of conventional family living. This applies to individuals who do not have children as well as those who do.

In Stockbridge, only two out of fifteen households interviewed included children. The interviewees portrayed themselves as highly mobile and as likely to move on to more elite residential areas (within or beyond the city). All were acutely aware of the investment potential of their homes. These interviewees tended to come from middle-class backgrounds. Non-manual occupations dominated and included elite professions such as law and accountancy, for both women and men. While the lone women purchasers in this group envisaged (re)marrying and having children, they also appeared to be asserting rather different constructions of femininity than those evident in the suburban area. For them, professional advancement, economic independence and child-free early adulthood are important aspects of their gender (and class) identity.

In Leith, class divisions are acute. There is some correspondence between class and tenure: the bulk of the working-class population live in public sector accommodation. However, there are also divisions among house purchasers. This group includes people of local, working-class origin, whose earnings are sufficient to enter owner occupation, and it includes middle-class incomers. The former buy flats in traditional tenements; the latter are more likely to buy flats in the newly built or redeveloped projects. In terms of constructions of gender, the former group have much in common with house purchasers in the suburban area, while the latter are closer to house purchasers in the other area affected by gentrification.

The interconnected class and gender differences identified above generate a contrast between residential forms dominated by lower middle-class and by service class groups. This contrast operates within the gentrified area of Leith as well as between the suburban area of Bughtlin and the gentrified area of Stockbridge. However, these class and gender differences are also influenced by location (suburban/inner-city). One important manifestation of this concerns the gender-inflected distinction between public and private space.

The suburb of Bughtlin effectively excludes the public domain entirely. Private spaces within homes spill over into gardens and grade into the communal spaces of roads, pavements and shared greens. The area is characterised by a good deal of contact between neighbours, much of it precipitated by children. This emphasizes the familial definition of gender divisions.

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In inner-city areas, public space cannot be excluded but the demarcation between public and private space does take different forms. In Stockbridge the distinction is sharp: with the exception of some secluded mews streets, private space is confined to the interior of peoples' homes. Beyond this, space is public and anonymous. Contact between neighbours is very limited. Here, women's advancement within both the housing market and the labour market operates by women entering into and succeeding within a formal (and implicitly masculine) public domain. As the demarcations between home and street indicate, it does not challenge conventional definitions of public and private space. Leith shares some aspects of the pattern observed in Stockbridge. The commercially developed residential complexes introduce a very sharp distinction: private space is highly privatised and subject to many security measures, implying that the public space beyond is alien and threatening. But elsewhere there is a lively street culture through which public space is transformed into communal, neighbourhood space that has more in common with the suburban area of Bughtlin.

Overall, this study illustrates the interconnections between class and gender in the creation of contemporary urban landscapes. For members of the service class, living in a gentrified area is expressive of shifts in the gender order, through which women are gaining greater access to a traditionally masculine public domain. This is occurring principally through the extension of a 'child-free' phase among urban middle-class women. Elsewhere, especially among groups entering owner-occupation for the first time, gender divisions are changing too, towards less polarised forms with more overlap between the roles of men and women. But in both cases, these shifts are occurring without major challenges to existing gender relations: in particular they operate within the framework of conventional family lifestyles and without challenging the character of public space as formal and anonymous.

Gender imagery

The three urban localities explored in this study carry widely differing gender connotations. Some of this is captured in the discussion of public and private space, but the gender imagery of the urban landscapes can be explored further through the metaphors of conquest and domestication.

The character of the suburban area carries powerful resonances of conventional, modern nuclear family living: it is a landscape to which the term 'domestic' can easily be attached. In this context, domesticity is closely associated with private space. The gentrified area of Stockbridge can also be characterised as 'a landscape of domestication' but in this instance it is public space that has been domesticated. The largely nineteenth century urban fabric of the area has been rehabilitated and where necessary converted for residential use. Stockbridge now appears as a patchwork of architectural set pieces, set off by flower-boxes and other accoutrements that mark its domestication.

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Retail outlets in the area add to the impression that home-making is a high value activity both socially and economically. In contrast to this, Leith can be characterised as 'a landscape of conquest', in which patches of vacant land, derelict buildings, the residuum of former industrial activities, and the concrete monstrosities that house the remaining local working classes, exist cheek by jowl with the upmarket residential complexes that grace much of the area's waterfront. From the point of view of

the incoming house buyers, the area resonates with ideas of the urban frontier and of urban pioneering. The metaphors of conquest and domestication carry gender and sexual connotations, which relate in complex ways to the social fabric of the areas.

The economics of gentrification

In addition to the findings concerning the significance of gender, the project has yielded some important evidence regarding economic aspects of the gentrification process.

First, 'spin-off' effects of redevelopment are clearly demonstrated. For the period 1985 to 1990, in the area affected by gentrification since the early 1980s, house price inflation was markedly greater for nineteenth century tenement flats than for flats in newly built or redeveloped complexes, and markedly above the Halifax index for Scotland as a whole. More generally, the study has produced evidence of local variations in house price inflation (table 2). These variations endorse the argument that home ownership is highly differentiated.

TABLE 2: LOCAL VARIATIONS IN HOUSE PRICE INFLATION (BASE YEAR=1985)

	<u>Stockbridge</u>		<u>Leith</u>		<u>Bughtlin</u>		<u>Halifax</u>		
			<u>redevelop</u>	<u>traditional</u>			<u>index</u>		
			<u>-ments</u>	<u>tenements</u>			(Scotland)		
		N	N	N	N	N			
1985	100%	(84)	100%	(16)	100%	(25)	100%	(61)	100%
1986	94%	(74)	103%	(48)	116%	(29)	100%	(76)	104%
1987	113%	(68)	101%	(4)	121%	(27)	84%	(131)	109%
1988	127%	(71)	104%	(31)	137%	(47)	106%	(106)	121%
1989	151%	(55)	118%	(21)	163%	(40)	128%	(97)	142%
1990	154%	(75)	136%	(11)	171%	(30)	128%	(71)	157%
		(427)		(128)		(198)		(542)	

Secondly, the case studies strongly support the view that the state is a crucial agent in the gentrification process. Other researchers have established the importance of local authority repair grants in the initiation of gentrification in Stockbridge (Kersley, 1974). In Leith, public sector projects designed to stimulate the local economy were of undoubted importance. In

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addition, some of the residential developments have benefitted from public sector subsidies. The uptake of office space by public sector agents is likely to prove crucial to developments currently under consideration.

Conclusions

This study has produced results of significance to understandings of contemporary urban change. It has demonstrated the importance of women as agents of gentrification and thus challenges the

dominant conception of the process in purely class terms. The study has also permitted exploration of the interconnections between cultural constructions of gender and urban change. The research findings refute the idea that attitudes to gender roles and household gender divisions of labour are any more 'traditional' in suburban areas than in inner-city areas affected by gentrification, but demonstrate how factors such as the presence or absence of children, class differences and geographical origins mediate in the relationship between gender practices and location. Through depth interviews with a relatively small number of households it has been possible to demonstrate the complex interplay between class and gender in relation to specific housing choices and urban environments. These are changing in both suburban and inner-city contexts. The case studies also demonstrate local variations in house price inflation and the importance of state agencies in the gentrification process.

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