

Sostenga Case Study

Community-led urban regeneration on the Redbricks Estate, Hulme, Manchester

Adam of Abacus Access

Introduction

This case study outlines:

A brief history of the Hulme neighbourhood and the Redbricks housing estate.

The use and impact of Community Development ways of working in local regeneration

Hulme and the Redbricks estate

Hulme is a largely residential neighbourhood just south of Manchester city centre. The Bentley House housing estate (known locally as 'the Redbricks' estate) is a small area of Hulme, consisting of three parallel streets, with three-storey red brick street-length blocks of flats built in the 1940s.

In 1913 Hulme was the "... poorest and most neglected district of the city"¹. In the 1960s the biggest slum clearance programme in Europe took place in Hulme. With the exception of the Redbricks almost the whole area was bulldozed, and strong local communities were scattered.

In the 1970s system-built high-density blocks of flats were built for some 12,000 people, few of whom had lived in Hulme before. The new flats were poorly constructed and their design faults showed quickly. By the 1980s, families were being replaced by large numbers of single people. Vacant flats and lack of maintenance by Manchester City Council strongly affected the neighbourhood. Large numbers of people with illegal drug and alcohol addictions were moved in by the Council. The police virtually abandoned the area, and social tensions increased. Over time the neglect by the Council allowed the buildings, the environment and the social diversity of the area to deteriorate, until by the 1990s Hulme was seen as an unpleasant and a dangerous area to live and homes in the Redbricks became difficult to let. The empty flats created a space which enabled an alternative scene to develop in the area and Hulme became an important part of Manchester's developing music and artistic scene. Using community organising and



¹Russell, Charles E. B. (1913) Social Problems of the North. London: A. R. Mowbray

self help approaches many initiatives flourished such as community newsletters, radio, neighbourhood festivals, performances and campaigns.

The Hulme Study was a regeneration plan which attached as much value to social, economic and environmental factors as to physical redevelopment. It included tenants as part of its working groups and the Council's Hulme Committee. It was not implemented because of a lack of money.

By the early 1990s the general decay of Hulme prompted a City Challenge² regeneration programme, but residents were excluded from shaping the plans. The wholesale clearance and redevelopment of Hulme took place throughout the 1990s, leaving the Redbricks as an island of council housing surrounded by a mix of private rented, private owned and social housing.

In 2008 most of Manchester City Council's housing stock was sold, much of it to new not-for-profit social landlords. Since then the Redbricks has been owned and managed by the City South Manchester (CSM) Housing Trust³. The Trust has invested in the estate's physical fabric and environment, and their rehousing policies have meant that a more diverse range of people now lives on the estate.

Economic and social characteristics of the area

According to the government's 2010 Index of Multiple Deprivation, Manchester is among the four most⁴ deprived local authorities in England, with different areas experiencing different levels of deprivation. The change in housing has changed the social profile of Hulme, with more affluent people moving there to be close to the city or the universities, while those poorer people who have not been 'dispersed' to outlying areas continue to live in what are referred to as 'pockets of deprivation'.

The Redbricks is among the UK's worst 5% of areas of low income, unemployment and child poverty, and among the worst 1% for poor health and disability. There are significant health issues resulting from food poverty and the impact of the two major roads that border Hulme. The estate and other deprived areas of Hulme have improved their education, skills and training position in recent years, rising to a place in the UK's most deprived 30%. The Redbricks is among the worst 10% in England for crime, and Hulme has the worst physical and financial access in Manchester to housing and key local services. The area also has above-average relative levels of mental health problems and substance abuse (alcohol and various illegal drugs, from soft drugs such as cannabis, to hard drugs such as heroin).

Community activism

Some active members of the 1970s and 80s Hulme communities⁵ had moved to the Redbricks in the

²City Challenge allocated £37.5m each over five years to 31 Urban Programme authorities to achieve self-sustaining regeneration of their designated areas on the basis of two competitions. In the first round, 17 local authorities covering 15 areas were invited to compete for City Challenge status. For Round 2, starting in April 1993, all of the Urban Programme Authorities were invited to bid.

³<http://www.citysouthmanchester.co.uk/about-us>

⁴Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2010 Analysis for Manchester, Manchester City Council, May 2011, at http://www.manchester.gov.uk/download/16070/f1_index_of_multiple_deprivation_2010-manchester

⁵For more information about and photos of Hulme before the regenerations, see <http://www.exhulme.co.uk/>

1990s when the rest of Hulme was demolished. They were used to creating community in difficult circumstances with few resources and much idealism, aiming to improve the area's social inclusion, social justice, collective action and local empowerment. The Redbricks were still a hard to let area and was looking more neglected, the Council's policy of not putting families onto the estate led to even more vacant flats. The space created by these developments proved crucial in the development of community activism in this area.

The 1990s saw widespread grassroots environmental direct action and campaigning. Within this context 1997 saw the end of a major campaign to stop a second runway being built at Manchester Airport. Many of the campaign activists had gained experience of working collectively to develop shared aims and create community in adverse conditions. Many worked with local residents, who often had very different values, ideas and life experiences. A Redbricks resident who had been involved in the campaign⁶ encouraged other protestors to move to the estate. As a result, there was an influx of younger self-empowered residents, who were eager to create community initiatives and a strong sense of community. Their experience laid the foundations for much of the community work that followed.

Community Development purpose and values⁷

Communities can be defined geographically (for example the Redbricks estate) and/or by interest (for example the Leaf Street community gardeners) and/or by identity (for example older Redbricks estate residents).

The Community Development National Occupational Standards define the key purpose of community development as; "...a long-term value based process which aims to address imbalances in power and bring about change founded on social justice, equality and inclusion."

The Community Development process enables people to organise and work together to:

- Identify their own needs and aspirations

- Take action to influence the decisions which affect their lives

- Improve the quality of their own lives, of the communities in which they live, and of the societies of which they are a part.

The Community Development process is underpinned by a set of five key values:

- Equality and anti-discrimination

- Social justice

- Collective action

- Community empowerment

- Working and learning together

Community Development activities in the area

Background

⁶Life on the Battle Star, in Do or Die no.6, 1997, at http://www.eco-action.org/dod/no6/battle_star.htm

⁷Community development key purpose and values at <http://www.fcsl.org.uk/about-fcsl/community-development>

There have been some difficulties with relationships between the community and local agencies. Community-led activities in the Redbricks have often met with opposition from the City Council and one elected councillor. While local residents have played their part in these unproductive relationships, Councillors and staff have actively attacked and sabotaged many Redbricks community initiatives.

The relationship between residents and their new social landlord has often been characterised by mutual disregard, and sometimes by mutual antagonism. However, CSM have worked in partnership with local residents but this has not always worked well, partly because many CSM staff used to be employed by the Council Housing Department, and have continued to hold the attitudes of that organisation. Despite this, many are committed to community engagement, and some to Community Development approaches in their work. Residents have set up independent groups and forums, as well as participating in CSM's official structures. This partnership work has had a positive impact on the sustainability of CSM's improvement programme. It has enabled residents to decide what the budget for physical improvements should be spent on, and has channelled the money contractors pay for community benefit into meeting local needs. It has also raised money jointly for the estate.

In the late 1990s there was no Tenants' and Residents' Association for the Redbricks⁸. Some past members of an earlier Association worked with residents to start a new Tenants' and Residents' Association, providing a democratically accountable body and a forum for people to meet, share ideas and organise collectively.

A selection of local community projects and activities

The People's Kitchen⁹

The idea came from a trip organised by a resident to Barcelona, where there are similar projects. It provided a cheap and healthy weekly community meal, served in the neighbouring local public house. It was co-ordinated mainly by the trip organiser, who found cooks for each week's meal, and people with skills for other activities for bigger events. Despite their low cost, the meals raised a small surplus, which was donated to good causes nominated by the cooks. Special meals were put on to reduce social isolation and encourage participation in other local events and campaigns.

The project provided an informal space for residents to bring ideas and get support to make them happen and it was mainly self-funding. While it lasted the project was successful in engaging residents through the use of emails, posters, word of mouth and text messages. The project was sustained by the dedication, commitment and organisational skills of a small number of different local voluntary co-ordinators, supported by a lot of other people. The long-term co-ordinator recently moved off the estate. The closure of the public house heralded the end of the project, apart from occasional events at the Tenants' and Residents' Association office or as part of other events.

Community Development lessons

The project was developed from a community member's idea, working with other local people to make it happen. It met a local need for a talking and organising space, and a place for informal and relaxed social gatherings. This led to greater community engagement and accountability, both in other existing

⁸For more information, see <http://www.redbricks.org/home/groups/tara/>

⁹For more information, see <http://www.redbricks.org/home/groups/pk/>

projects and also in generating ideas for new projects and pieces of work based on meeting local people's needs. It enabled participants to learn new cooking skills together, and to support each other in using those skills.

The ending of the project with the closure of the venue showed a lack of a forward plan to cope with the possible loss of premises, the importance of venues in or next to communities, and finding new people to share the administration and support the project needed to continue.

The Bentley Exchange¹⁰

A couple of local people originally set up a number of tables in a sheltered public area of the estate, where residents could bring items they didn't need and take for free what they needed. They then set it up permanently and found other volunteers to clean it up on a regular basis; tidying up the stalls, sorting items and throwing away broken things. The idea came from residents offering for free things they no longer needed but did not want to throw away on the estate-wide email list.

Tables were donated by residents, who also made an attractive wooden sign and spread word about the project. Volunteers co-ordinated it, kept it tidy and organised and recycled anything that was left over. It originally ran every day, but it became monthly after it had to move due to the conversational noise levels bothering neighbours, and the amount of volunteering hours needed to run it.

The project did not need funding. Currently a few residents set it out and clear it up each month, while another resident prints posters for free at work and puts them up around the estate. There have been problems recruiting enough volunteers and co-ordinators.

Community Development lessons

The Exchange shows how local people can improve the quality of life of the communities in which they live, and at the same time contribute to conserving resources and energy. It took on community-generated ideas and developed them with other local people into an ongoing community project, which is used and valued by the wider population of the estate. It also showed the problems of being over reliant on one co-ordinator for many years, with other people not developing the skills to take over and no long-term thinking about how to bring in and support new volunteers.

Bentley Barrows

Some residents wanted to make organic food more easily accessible to local people. The idea was developed into a weekly cost-price organic fruit and vegetable stall. The volunteers borrowed a barrow, and every Saturday drove to an organic vegetable co-operative where they bought the produce they thought most likely to be wanted by local people. They then set up the stall for the advertised hours in the same place every week. At first they bought basic fruit and vegetables they could be confident of selling. As time went on, they bought a wider range of produce, based on feedback from residents.

The project was initially funded by the volunteers themselves. As people bought produce, a reserve was built up which went to refund the original money and pay for the next order. Any food left over from the stall was sold on or bought by the volunteers. The project continued until the original group of volunteers ran out of energy, after which it stopped.

¹⁰For more information, see <http://www.redbricks.org/home/groups/bentleyexchange/>

Community Development lessons

This is another local project which has improved the quality of life of the local community. It also demonstrated the importance of informal spaces for community interaction.

The life of the project reinforces the need to recruit, support and train new activists, and also that some pieces of work may have a 'natural' lifespan.

The Leaf Street community garden¹¹

Local people came up with designs for a community garden, which were shown to other interested residents at a consultation event, from which they were developed further. Manchester City Council agreed that a large area of flat grass on the estate could become a community garden, but only if an absolute majority of all residents agreed. A door-to-door campaign explained the project to local residents and obtained an absolute majority in favour of the proposals. The project was set up and run by local volunteers. Different parts of the process were steered by different individuals – for example getting permission to use the space on the estate and getting the resources and equipment to start creating the garden.

There was only enough initial funding to buy a few fruit trees and some basic materials. Some additional money was raised through the People's Kitchen, and small additional amounts of money were raised and donated. An agreement was also achieved with the social landlord not to use herbicides to treat weeds on the estate. At a later stage a successful funding bid was submitted to employ a co-ordinator to do Community Development work and encourage participation, supervised by a residents' steering group. This proved not to be successful, due to the jobholder's inexperience. A local resident was paid social security benefits for a year to garden, organise events and get local residents involved. The Green Zone (see below) gave more recent funding for an outside worker to run some training sessions, and acted as a link to a charity that offered money for new tools.

The project has gone through cycles of activity and social events. More recently it has relied on individuals rather than a group, and the use of different plants requiring less maintenance. There have been work days on different themes, community meals, harvest festivals, music, and parties.

Community Development lessons

This project has involved local people in organising and working together to identify their own needs and aspirations. The whole community was involved in action to influence the local authority to support the creation of the garden, which has had a big impact on the quality of life for many of the local residents.

It has enabled awareness of environmental issues to be raised locally and, as importantly, with the local council with the discussions and action about the use of herbicides.

The workload and leadership have been shared, and a wide group of local people has worked on different aspects of the project. There has been some shared learning, and the project has found creative ways to use the unemployment and benefit rules to the mutual advantage of both the community and a local unemployed person. The work has enabled the development of local skills in fund-raising, project

¹¹For more information, see <http://www.redbricks.org/home/groups/leafst/>

management and networking. There have been lessons from the project in the need for clear and effective supervision and support of paid Community Development workers, and how essential group-work skills are for community activities to be sustained in the long-term.

The Underground Cinema

The Underground Cinema grew out of a lot of people on the estate making their own films, combined with a wish to use film screenings as an informal way to build community and bring people together. There were initial informal talks between people who might share these ideas. Then people were involved who could access free furniture and different films, who could source ethical refreshments, and who had fire safety equipment. This project was literally underground - a group of residents used sledge hammers to clear a staircase from a previously locked door into an unused basement under their flats where they set up the cinema. They acquired projectors for different film formats, and used a notice-board to advertise what films were being shown and when. The project showed several films a week, with separate afternoons and evenings for adults, children and families. It was sustained by two residents bringing in others as the work expanded.

Although great care was taken to ensure the safety of audiences, the location was not capable of meeting official public health and safety requirements. It was promoted by word of mouth, and screenings were advertised on a board on the street which did not openly advertise the location. The founding volunteers paid for the projectors out of their own pockets, to be paid back through donations of 50 pence per person collected at each film showing, and money made from selling vegan ice-creams and organic beer. Furniture and equipment were bought very cheaply at a community furniture recycling centre. Manchester City Council eventually closed down the project on safety grounds, after a local resident told them about its existence.

Community Development lessons

This is an interesting example of a community project which was developed and run entirely outside formal local economic and power structures. It depended on a group of local people recognising and using the community's own power and resources to provide a local resource for the use of local people.

In doing so, it met two of the main aims of Community Development, in that it was based on local people's own identification of their needs and aspirations, and it improved the quality of the lives of the community in which they live and of which they are a part.

It was probably predictable that a local project of this nature would have a limited lifespan. However, while it ran it enabled both its co-ordinators and its participants to gain experience of community solidarity, shared learning, community cohesion and creative management. There was a sense of shared local ownership of the project, together with a sense of shared achievement.

Redbricks Intranet Collective¹²

Redbricks Intranet Collective was developed alongside an email list in which residents ask each other for

¹²<http://redbricks.clearerchannel.org>

help, to borrow something, make announcements or start discussions. The original idea came from an informal group of residents, some of whom had technical skills, others community-building ideas. One of them, an IT technician, had a personal internet connection with more capacity than he needed. Together with other volunteers the group began setting up ad-hoc connections in other flats.

Initially one individual funded the leased line, with the money to be reimbursed by user subscriptions. However, an ineffective subscription collection system meant the project costs were not covered, and debts to internet service providers were allowed to build up. Later developments have included the core group submitting a funding application. They developed a good relationship with CSM Housing Trust and key Internet agencies in Manchester. Eventually, despite a reduction in the price charged to users, the project became self-financing.

A new group has taken over the project and increased the number of users through better organisation. Financial sustainability was created and debts paid off. The complete 2012 rewiring and some new equipment was funded by CSM Housing Trust, with ownership retained by the community group. Throughout the project's history some computers have been donated. It is sustained by the commitment of volunteers, with periodic changes and renewals in group membership.

Community Development lessons

This project started with a relatively restricted set of core aims, which it has stuck to as it has developed. It also has more money-raising elements than some of the others in this case study. There is a cost (albeit significantly lower than any commercial alternative) to being a participant. This raises an ongoing issue for Community Development: whether services provided by and through the community ought to be free at the point of access, or whether sustainability requires charges when appropriate. However it is clear that for residents without much money or a good credit history it provided access to internet services in their homes which was important to improving their lives. This also raises issues about equality of access for all members of a community to projects and services.

The project has worked from a local base to bring in greater resources and opportunities for estate residents. It has been aware of the need for effective organisation, local accountability and trust and a sustainable future, and worked to achieve them.

The Green Zone

In 2010 Redbricks community activism was at a low point by comparison with the late 1990s. Residents' groups were struggling, with fewer people doing more work and no new projects being started. Against this background, senior CSM Housing Trust managers started attending Tenants' and Residents' Association 'Greening the Redbricks' sustainability sub-group meetings¹³ in their own time, because of their personal commitment; a fruitful working partnership was developed.

Residents won a competition with match funding from CSM to set up a year-long project called the Green Zone¹⁴. The project addressed the government's community engagement policies and local biodiversity issues. An £80,000 grant was used to employ two part-time community development

¹³For more information see <http://www.redbricks.org/home/groups/gtr/>

¹⁴For more information, see <http://www.redbricks.org/home/groups/greenzone/>

co-ordinators to do community development work and develop environmental improvements. It was steered by residents assisted by a CSM regeneration manager, with representatives from the funder and a voluntary sector organisation. CSM Housing Trust provided day-to-day management, held the funds and employed the workers.

The project aimed to:

- Make the estate a place of which residents could feel prouder, and that their involvement made a real difference
- Increase levels of community activism and the strength of community groups
- Engage people through horticulture and sharing skills
- Make some physical improvements¹⁵ such as new children's play equipment and a 'green screen' to lessen the impact of the neighbouring major roads on residents

The Green Zone was limited not only by the short time-scale but also by limited community capacity and tensions in relations between the local community and with local public bodies. Despite some improvements since the project started, many groups still have too few members and skills. Estate residents need support to develop their Community Development and group-work skills. There was insufficient project management by CSM which led to the project workers not getting the support and training they needed. Greening the Redbricks successfully won external Community Development support for residents to develop their skills. However this support was unsuccessful and finished early, partly because of residents' other commitments and workloads, but also due to the Community Development organisation providing the support being unable to do so.

Despite these setbacks the Green Zone project achieved more than it set out to do, including:

- It established a community website, complementing the email list started in the late 1990s¹⁶ (see 'Redbricks Intranet Collective' above)
- It enabled a £143,000 transformation of Hulme Street, steered by a resident group working with CSM, which will be finished in 2013
- Bicycle maintenance sessions¹⁷ were run, resulting in a volunteer group providing monthly 'come and fix your bike with our help' weekends¹⁸
- Green spaces on the estate will get a maintenance plan, with more areas improved
- Funding applications have been submitted to continue work that could not be completed within the project, including:
 - Completing a community composting scheme
 - Planting more fruit trees
 - Setting up sewing workshops to repair and make clothes from the Bentley Exchange

¹⁵For more details, see <http://greenzonetoolkit.wordpress.com/overview/environmental-improvements/>

¹⁶Website case study at <http://greenzonetoolkit.wordpress.com/communication-case-study-redbricks-org/>

¹⁷Bike workshops case study at <http://greenzonetoolkit.wordpress.com/community-development-training/bike-workshops/>

¹⁸For more information, see <http://www.redbricks.org/home/groups/bentley-bike-club/>

Individuals' quality of life has been improved with money saved through the Bentley Exchange, fresh produce from Leaf Street community garden, improved community safety, the community intranet and informal neighbourly support

Reduced isolation and improved mental health, through involvement in gardening and other activities providing a sense of purpose and support

Changed environmental behaviour through free energy-saving light bulbs, increased cycle usage, waste saved from landfill through the Bentley Exchange, high recycling rates and increased sustainable consumption.

However, some CSM workers are ex-Council workers who still impose services on tenants rather than developing and delivering services with tenants. Others do not understand Community Development, and fail to engage local residents in decisions about regeneration work and its outcomes. This culture continues to impact on relations with CSM and what residents are able to achieve. For example, despite an agreement that CSM would consult named residents in each area before work was started on the estate's green spaces, CSM has repeatedly done work unilaterally until resident outrage and conflict has put a stop to it.

Community Development lessons

The Green Zone project was an attempt to get time and focus to bring more residents into community activism. Part of the Green Zone programme was to widen local fund-raising and project management skills, and to share other relevant skills by residents offering peer training and support. Local volunteers have become better skilled in identifying suitable strategies to make the most of partnership possibilities, and identifying the necessary compromises.

The Green Zone project was evaluated in a number of ways. A paper-based and online questionnaire was used, which followed up an initial survey; There was qualitative feedback through individual interviews, mobile interviews in the street; a steering group and workers evaluation meeting, and a post-project visioning exercise that was then compared with same visioning exercise before the project. There was an observational assessment of attitudes to physical and community changes resulting from the project, including the number and sustainability of new projects and the development and effectiveness of existing groups and projects.

A major lesson was that a year is too short for an effective Community Development project with a wide range of expected outcomes. Experienced workers, clear governance structures and realistic expectations are all key. Effective management, support and training for workers and steering group members, including CSM staff, is necessary, together with non-financial recompense for unpaid steering group members. Steering group members need early training in communication skills and trust building exercises. It is helpful to have estate-level knowledge in the steering group, but workers can be constrained by pre-existing social relationships with other residents. Finally, it is essential to plan for long-term sustainability in every aspect of a major Community Development project.

One-off campaigning and social events

A number of campaigning and social events have been organised, all enthusiastically supported by local people. These have included:

A 'Reclaim the Night' march in response to a spate of muggings.

Night-time vigils and patrols to help people feel safer and guard against muggers

Community celebrations, held on festivals such as Christmas and Halloween, and on community anniversaries such as the estate's 60th Birthday, or to encourage community involvement such as harvest events on Leaf Street¹⁹.

Residents have been involved in local campaigns:

To save a local school from being closed

To save green spaces in Hulme, such as an area in front of the neighbouring pub, or to create parks from waste-ground,

To save a children's play area next to the estate from development and road-building

For small mixed workspaces

For meaningful local democracy and influence over decision-makers.

Residents have also been active in wider official Hulme regeneration agencies, and in a local alliance of residents from all of Hulme. Residents continue to be actively involved in wider community networks, and in social and environmental issues in Manchester and beyond.

Continuing barriers, and some solutions

Through the early informal Community Development processes outlined in this case study, where there was neglect and a lack of hope, a more stable and mutually supportive community with a greater stake in their area has grown in its place. This is the most important success of this case study and makes the Redbricks stand out from comparable inner-city housing estates, though this increased desirability has in turn led to longer waiting lists for those most in need of social housing. In addition to the regeneration of the surrounding neighbourhood of Hulme, the sense of community on the Redbricks has supported both some residents to have families, which has led to an improved mix of ages on the estate, and an improved mix of social, ethnic and cultural groups.

Throughout Hulme's recent history, community activism based on the values of Community Development has been used to address serious local social problems. Residents who moved to Hulme in the late 1990s brought with them strongly-held values, reflecting Community Development values and principles. They encouraged local community activists, supported a high level of community activity, and transformed the physical environment, creating a sense of community. Despite its particular history that makes the Redbricks estate different from many others, there are many examples of Community Development practice in this case study that are replicable elsewhere, including examples of working 'from the bottom up', identifying what can be achieved, the challenges that may arise, and some of the lessons learned.

It is worth highlighting that the 'normalisation' of relations with the local community was enabled by the new social landlord's partnership approach. Whilst this was the key that has enabled many changes and successes through a diversification of approaches, it also hindered or prevented some autonomously organised community initiatives. One outstanding achievement of this 'normalisation' was the Green

¹⁹More information on setting up a community garden, at <http://greenzonetoolkit.wordpress.com/community-gardening/setting-up-a-community-garden/>

Zone which was a formal Community Development value-based project drawing together the hopes of local people and providing opportunities. Residents have also invested time putting pressure on CSM, partly through working together, partly through direct confrontation – a difficult balance and tricky tension to work with, that has sometimes created community conflict.

A greater awareness of Community Development values and methods has recently supported on-going community projects, combined with a great deal of time devoted by community activists. Community Development approaches to local work have aided residents to identify a series of shared local needs and visions, and to demand (at the very least) genuine community engagement by decision-makers from CSM. Moreover, 2012 is seeing a process of consolidation of local changes and projects. However, local active people have identified a need to celebrate achievements and channel energies into wider engagement, encouraging real Community Development and addressing the present shortcomings around community inclusion and wider engagement.

Ultimately, this case study shows that through ongoing informal Community Development approaches to campaigning, local action and building community resources and capacity residents have often been able to find ways of addressing local needs themselves without recourse to unresponsive official bodies. The recent more formal Community Development has complemented these approaches, and was built on a necessary foundation of long-term informal Community Development.