An analysis of the impact of Community Ownership of Local Assets; case studies from Tewkesbury District, Gloucestershire

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Executive Summary

The transfer of ownership of community assets from local authority to community control has increased in recent years. Such transfers raise key questions in relation to the impact on local communities and how such transitions can be best managed. This research was commissioned by Tewkesbury Borough Council to better understand community assets and their management in light of transfers of ownership from local authority to community control. In particular, it focuses on two key case studies of transferred assets in Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire: Brockworth Community Centre, and GL3 Community hub in Churchdown.

The first part of the project maps the local physical community assets for each parish using GIS mapping technology. These data are now part of a spatial database or GIS allowing interactive exploration of the locations of the assets and the production of a range of maps. This database is available for transfer to Tewkesbury Borough Council and to the local communities.

The second part of the project analyses a range of interviews conducted with key-stakeholders from the two transferred assets. This produces seven key findings that are important considerations in the process of asset transfer and their ongoing management:

Key finding 1: Community assets are broadly defined by community stakeholders as buildings, open spaces or amenities that can be accessed and are valued by the whole community

Key finding 2: The pace of asset transfer can be challenging for community groups, particularly around Legal issues.

Key finding 3: Communities require enough individuals with the capacity, capability and leadership to make the management of assets in the community effective

Key finding 4: Insecure and short term funding threatens the success of community assets and the search for funding often uses up limited resources

Key finding 5: Asset transfers are likely to raise important questions about what agencies should be responsible for maintaining community assets, and these debates may be a source of resistance

Key finding 6: Assets transferred to the community provide the potential for more responsive use of local assets

Key finding 7: Transferring assets to communities can increase their use and the sense of local ownership
1. Introduction to the research and report

This report summarises the work of a research project examining the transfer, management and impact of Local Authority assets that have been transferred to local community ownership. The research for this report took place between January 2015 and March 2016, and was conducted by a team from the University of Gloucestershire’s School of Natural and Social Sciences, in conjunction with the Community and Economic Development team at Tewkesbury Borough Council (TBC). The project uses two case study communities located in the district of Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire in order to illustrate how these transfers have taken place and the ways in which these assets are managed under community ownership.

One common response to the constrained financial climate in which local authorities are now operating has been the transfer of ownership of certain assets to local community control (see for example DSDNI, 2014; Hart, 2010). This transfer of assets from Local Authority management to local community management has become more frequent in recent years. Aiken et al (2012) claim that "as public sector bodies at local and national levels respond to current financial challenges, reviewing and rationalising their capital portfolios, the disposal of public assets has become a critical component of change in this field." These assets would typically comprise services or facilities that are used by community groups, for example community centres, playing fields and other similar facilities.

Transfer of assets into community ownership raises some important questions around how these assets are now managed, as well as the impacts of these changes on the local community. There is an increasing body of evidence discussing these issues, for instance Nichols et al (2015, p.85) ask a series of questions which they feel are important when considering issues of sustainability in the transfer and management of community assets:

‘Is asset transfer a short term political solution to the need to reduce public spending but not close politically sensitive facilities? Can it be economically sustainable, and if so will there have to be a continued relationship between the new organisations and the public or private sectors to meet capital costs? If this is the case how truly independent can these new organisations be?’

Although transfers may have been instigated with cost savings in mind, they also offered community groups the opportunity to run and develop services locally. This shift is in line with the localism agenda but also represents a transfer from statutory public service agency management to private/community management. Thus asset transfers constitute a significant change in the way that such assets are managed and as such have the potential to alter the way in which such assets are used by their communities. It is therefore a good
time to investigate the impact of these changes on local communities and, more broadly, how communities understand both the nature of community assets and any transfers that have taken place.

1.1 Aims and methods:
The project is based around two key aims, each representing a stage of research, as set out in Table 1. These two aspects to the research develop an evidence base that can be used to begin addressing key questions around the transfer and community ownership of local assets.

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<th>Table 1: Research Aims</th>
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<td><strong>Aim 1</strong></td>
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The remainder of this section describes the data collection and collation for each of these aims.

**Aim 1: Community asset mapping**
This first aim explores some of the key community assets in Churchdown and Brockworth, in the borough of Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire. These two districts within Tewkesbury borough were selected as key examples where significant local assets which had been transferred from local authority to community group control. In each case, a GIS map was produced detailing the key community assets in the two case study areas.

Two recent University of Gloucestershire graduates were appointed as the project’s GIS (Geographic Information System) research assistants in order to supplement the work of Tewkesbury Borough Council in developing a system for classifying and mapping local assets for the case study communities of Brockworth and Churchdown. This work included researching local information sources to identify assets and constructing maps using GIS (Geographic Information System) mapping technology. The information collected on community assets included their location, the organisational website and the handover date for transferred assets. Due to the close proximity of the two case study locations a single map was produced, which can be seen in Figure 4.

The maps generated from this exercise, along with some additional demographic data for the two areas, is displayed in Section 3 of this report.
Aim 2: Case Studies of local assets

The second aim uses two qualitative place-based case studies of assets transfer into community ownership, one based at Brockworth Community Project, and the other based at Churchdown GL3 Community Hub. These case studies explore in more detail the opinions and perceptions of key stakeholders around the nature and impact of transferred assets. In order to compile these case studies the research team used interviews and questionnaires to collect information from 5 key stakeholders between June and September 2015. These key stakeholders represent a range of those with some level of responsibility for the management and running of each site, and who have detailed knowledge of the process of transfer. The face-to-face interviews were with five key stakeholders across the two projects (for information on these see appendix A), and a list of the questions were prepared in advance (see appendix B). The data from the interviews was subsequently analysed and organised into four key themes set out in table 2, following:

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<th>Table 2: Key themes for the case studies</th>
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<td>Theme A</td>
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Section 4 of this report details the findings of these case studies, broken down by the four key themes in table 2. The first theme examines the interviewee’s different understandings community assets, and what counts as a community asset in their local area. The second theme explores the perspectives on the asset transfer process in both Brockworth Community Project and Churchdown GL3 Community Hub. The third and fourth themes explore perspectives on how transferred assets can be effectively managed and the impact of transferring assets to local community management.
2. Statistical data and GIS community asset mapping

A key part of the analysis of the community assets is the community contexts in which they are located. This relates to the range of social and economic circumstances that create demand for the assets and the capacity to maintain and manage the assets. The report therefore examines the demographic profile of each case study parish in this section. First there is a discussion of the demographic profile of the locations. The researchers gathered data on the local community assets both from Tewkesbury Borough Council and by site visits. The location of all these physical assets have therefore been mapped and are now available in the form of a Geographical Information System (GIS) which can be made available to TBC. The data is present in a map.

2.1 Brief description of each parish

In order to provide some context to the parishes that comprise the case studies, some secondary demographic data was sought. Figure 1 illustrates the demographic profile of Brockworth Parish. This chart is based on estimates for the middle of 2013. This profile shows that the demographic peaks are at and below 6 years, with a drop-off into the late teens and early twenties. The profile rises again in the late twenties and the, with slightly lower levels in the mid 30s and mid 40s, begins to decline from the late 50s onwards. A profile like this indicates a relatively high proportion of young children and families reside in this area and therefore demand for community facilities that suit that demographic will be high, for example toddlers’ play areas, green space and facilities for youth activities.

![Age profile data from 2013 mid-year Brockworth Parish level population estimates.](image_url)[Note: age 91 includes all 90+ yeargroups]. Source: Inform, Gloucestershire Research & Intelligence.
A similar profile is presented in Figure 2 for Churchdown. This shows a relatively consistent level from birth to mid-teens. The cohort is lower in the early twenties, but then picking up slowly from the early thirties to a high late 40s and early 50s, before a decline into the older age categories. This would indicate a need for assets that can be accessed by children and young people, but with a greater emphasis on older children. Then a higher proportion of the population in the 46-52 age groups. Higher proportions at this age and older would indicate a greater demand for assets that can provide positive community health benefits, this may be parks for walking, community centres,
Figure 3 shows the profile for the whole of Tewkesbury Borough and is provided for comparison. This shows a flatter overall profile, but a lower mid-teens and much lower late teens - early twenties cohorts. The cohorts then rise to the mid-forties before declining, with a peak in the mid-sixties, towards the 91+ age cohort. This suggests a more uniform set of demands across the borough, but the evidence from Figures 1 and 2 shows that this can vary from one parish to the next.

2.2 GIS mapping of assets
The project was provided with a list of known community assets by TBC. This data was tabulated and additional information was gathered into a small database that has been attached to spatial data forming a GIS so that the assets can be mapped. One map from this dataset has been present in this report in a Figure 4. The map illustrates the categories of physical assets and their locations. These data can be explored in more detail in an interactive way by examining it in the GIS. This also provides for the addition of data about additional assets as they become available and the possibility of adjusting the categories or adding additional detail to the database in future.

2.3 Reflection on the data for Aim 1:
The generation of the data on location and categories of the physical community assets was a time consuming activity. The move to community managed physical assets means that there a lack of coordination of information about these assets. Some of the assets are actively promoted by their management in order to engage community members, while others are meeting particular local community demands and do not need to promote their location and access. As a result the project team had to actually visit asset sites physically recording their location with a GPS handset in order that these data could be entered into the spatial database. This now represents a potentially useful resource for stakeholders with responsibility for local strategic partnerships. As a result of this project the spatial database now exists and can be provided to TBC or the local communities in order that they can be used and any additional data added. If necessary the team can provide advice on how the database could be managed or made more widely accessible.
Figure 4 Map of Types of Local Community Assets in Brockworth and Churchdown
3. Case studies of local assets

This section of the report explores material from interviews with key stakeholders involved in the transfer and ongoing management of community assets in two case study areas in Tewksbury: Brockworth and Churchdown. The information from these interviews is organised along four key themes: How local assets are understood by their communities; The transfer of assets to local communities; The ongoing management of transferred assets; The benefits of community asset management. In each case, there are key findings that illustrate the concerns and observations of the key stakeholders.

3.1 Theme A: How local assets are understood by their communities

This first theme examines some of the ways in which the key stakeholders perceived a community asset. In particular, what those assets might be, the role they might have in their local community and how these assets might add something greater to their area over and above their value as a simple space or service.

When asked how they would define a community asset, stakeholders initially focussed on examples of physical buildings or spaces. This understanding is in line with the list of community assets nominated by parish councils or community groups which English district and unitary councils are obliged to maintain under the requirements of the Localism Act 2011. Within the parameters of this legislation the value of a particular community asset is identified by the community members themselves. Therefore, when an asset is identified for sale or change of ownership the Act provides interested community groups with the time to develop a bid to purchase the asset when it comes available (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011). Subsequently, Stakeholders in Brockworth identified the following list of community assets which they felt were of strong value to the health and vibrancy of their local community:

Examples of buildings given in the two case study areas

- Community centre
- Sports centre
- Children’s centre
- Church
- Doctor’s surgery
- Bank
- Schools
- Pub
- Post Office
Shops
There were also the following examples of open spaces:
- Playing fields
- Park
- Cricket pitch
- Landscaped area alongside a brook

Examples of physical amenities with a fixed location in the two case study areas
- Play equipment
- Noticeboards
- Public seating

What these examples have in common (with the possible exception of facilities focussed on children) is that they are all used, or have the potential to be used, by the whole community, and this was a point emphasised by stakeholders in both locations. This understanding of assets as physical spaces and places is in line with previous research on the community ownership and management of assets (Aiken et al, 2008; 2011) and also with the broad definition used in the localism act, 2011 which describes assets as building as a piece of land that can be listed as having some community value. This was reflected in the responses from our key stakeholders, who suggested that it was important that the community felt that an asset should be of use to the whole community, as the following quotes illustrate:

“Something whole community can use and feel welcome using.” [Brockworth]

“A community asset is something valued by the community, eg library, village pub, green open space.” [Brockworth]

“Anything that only benefits a small section of the community is not a community asset.” [Churchdown]

Community ownership in itself was not identified as a necessary prerequisite for something being a community asset:

“Not that important who owns it.” [Brockworth]

One interesting finding in Brockworth was that the smooth transition of control of an asset meant that many community users were not aware that a transfer in ownership had taken place and that in effect ‘they’ as part of the community now owned it.

A stakeholder in Churchdown emphasised the importance of community assets being fit for purpose (in terms of being able to serve the whole community). In Churchdown the building that was acquired was run down and significant amounts of funding and volunteer time were needed to make it fit for purpose.
**Key finding 1:** Community assets are broadly defined by community stakeholders as buildings, open spaces or amenities that can be accessed and are valued by the whole community

### 3.2 Theme B: the transfer of assets to local communities

Key issues in this theme involve the experience of the processes of transferring assets to local and community control. Stakeholders in both case study areas expressed some dissatisfaction with the pace of asset transfers. For example, in Brockworth it was suggested that the library transfer might have been better handled in stages, by transferring the community library provision prior to the management of the building. This was because the community may be better able to take on and run the library service than managing a building in Churchdown, one stakeholder suggested that the process felt rushed as the local authority was keen to transfer the asset as quickly as possible, while by contrast in Brockworth there were frustrating delays associated with legal challenges to the library transfer.

The cost and time taken for meeting the legal aspects of arranging the asset transfers was also found to be challenging for both case study areas. Churchdown stakeholders discussed the high cost of legal fees as a significant barrier while in Brockworth the legal challenges to the transfer of library services meant delays to the transfer.

**Key finding 2:** The pace of asset transfer can be challenging for community groups, particularly around Legal issues.

### 3.3 Theme C: The ongoing management of transferred assets

Theme C explores the experience of community groups of managing local assets once the transfer has taken place. In particular, interviewees discussed ongoing challenges with finding suitable skills in local communities, acquiring ongoing funding, and the need to address in some of the wider debates around the responsibilities of respective tiers of local government in providing services and facilities in the community and how this might cause local resistance to asset transfers.

One of the key issues identified in effectively managing local assets was the need to have community volunteers and participants with the skillsets and commitment to not only be able to make a case for and support asset transfer, but importantly who are also able to take on these assets and manage them effectively on an ongoing basis.

“One [issue] has been establishing and maintaining a management team of trustees of sufficient size and experience to provide a broad range of management support and capacity.” [Brockworth]
For asset transfers to be effective, the community needs volunteers who can commit their skills and time to the scheme. They also need buy-in from those who live locally and are therefore more likely to be in a position to guide services that meet the needs of that community. As a stakeholder in Churchdown pointed out, these people can themselves be seen as ‘assets’ to their local community.

As well as a need for participants with local knowledge, our interviewees also discussed the importance of a local availability of people possessing adequate financial and business planning. For ongoing successful management of local assets, there is a need for people with clear business experience who can make sound financial decisions on all area what they are prepared to pay for when negotiating with principal authorities.

It is not just the availability of people with suitable skills to help manage the assets, but also the depth of that skills base. Where skilled volunteers are available in the local community, it is important for the sustainability of community projects that there are a sufficient number so that assets are not over-reliant on one person or a few people. This raises issues about whether communities without this ‘critical mass’ of skills are less likely to gain benefit from asset transfers. Potentially, it is the communities who already have individuals with the capacity, capability and leadership to move communities forward that will gain further from the opportunity to manage transferred assets. Is it the case that only communities already well endowed with individuals with these capabilities can take advantage of the new asset transfer landscape?

Key finding 3: Communities require enough individuals with the capacity, capability and leadership to make the management of assets in the community effective.

Another area of discussion during our interviews with stakeholders at both case study areas was the ongoing difficulty of securing funding. Both organisations received funding on a 12 month basis, which meant long-term financial insecurity and the burden of work on a yearly basis in applying for continuation of funding. Similarly, the time it took to identify new funding sources was a drain on the limited time and resources available.

“You cannot budget/run an organisation on a 12 month basis.” [Churchdown]

Financial stability was felt to be key to the success of both projects but this was difficult to achieve in the current funding climate. Stakeholders in both communities emphasised the importance of funding continuing and for it to be consistent and over a longer term rather than yearly. For Churchdown an ongoing grant from the parish council allowed for a degree of financial planning in service provision, while in Brockworth it was suggested that it would be better to get a small amount of funding on a longer term basis than a larger amount on a renewable yearly basis.
**Key finding 4: Insecure and short term funding threatens the success of community assets and the search for funding often uses up limited resources**

Another finding which came out of the interviews with key stakeholders was the way in which the transfer and subsequent management of assets empowered citizens to take more of an interest in debates around the ownership of local assets. This is an interesting reflection and part of an ongoing debate in the responsibilities (including statutory responsibilities) of principal authorities in a time of austerity. The asset transfers in both Brockworth and Churchdown meant that the parish councils were in the position of funding and supporting an asset that was previously under the control of the local authority. In Brockworth, there was resistance to the transfer in the form of legal challenges and also from some parish councillors who objected to the parish council providing financial support to the new library service. Brockworth parish council also received criticism from other quarters for not providing enough funding to the library service to support local service provision in the community. It is clear that parish councils may vary in their capacity, capability and collective will to support and facilitate asset transfers.

**Key finding 5: Asset transfers are likely to raise important questions about what agencies should be responsible for maintaining community assets, and these debates may be a source of resistance**

### 3.4 Theme D: The benefits of community asset management

Although there were some clear concerns over the transfer ongoing management of assets, as the previous section highlight, there were also some very positive points identified, particularly the opportunities and benefits in managing assets in way that is more responsive to local community needs. There were also reported benefits to having assets managed at a community level, including increases in a sense of ownership and in the day to day use of those assets.

At both case study areas, interviewees reported that they felt transferred assets were more responsive to local need. In particular, they felt it offered increased flexibility for delivering services in ways that were tailored to the community. They also reported that they were able to offer a wider range of services than were originally being offered in the projects, and were able to keep a closer eye on the services that were on offer. For instance, a stakeholder in Churchdown argued that certain assets, such as toilets and green spaces needed close maintenance and because of this are now better managed at a local/parish level. These changes have the potential to have a positive impact on the community.

**Key finding 6: Assets transferred to the community provide the potential for more responsive use of local assets**
Another benefit reported at both communities was an increase in the number of people using the facilities after the asset transfers had taken place, which provides a tangible way of measuring the impact. In addition, it was also reported that there was a wider range of activities and services at both facilities. Consequently, the interviewees felt this made the assets better able to meet the diverse needs of their respective local communities.

One possible reason for the increase in use was a growing sense of ownership for the assets after they had been transferred over to local control.

“There is now a real sense of ownership and an emotional attachment to the project that would not have developed if we had not made the asset transfer.” [Brockworth]

“I think it has shown people that actually if they take more ownership and involvement in local assets, they can influence (control even) the development of services locally. It has also made a great contribution to community cohesion as many people have made friends and contacts with people outside of their normal social circle.” [Brockworth]

In Brockworth an increase in community cohesion was noted while stakeholders in Churchdown emphasised the increased potential for intergenerational contact. It is interesting to note, however, that they also reported that community users were not always aware of the change in ownership, and this research project will be extended to collect further data from local communities to develop the evidence base on these points.

*Key finding 7: Transferring assets to communities can increase their use and the sense of local ownership*
4. Summary and Conclusion

The transfer of ownership of community assets from local authority to community control raise key questions in relation to the impact on local communities. This research, commissioned by Tewkesbury Borough Council, aims to better understand the transfer and ongoing management of community assets.

One area where this project has been able to contribute is a collation of data about the existing community assets in the case study parishes. The spatial database that was created as part of this project is now available and could be added to, for example by gathering equivalent data for other parishes in Tewkesbury or additional data about the existing asset entries. Once incorporated into the spatial database, this data can be explored in far more detail and shared with the communities in a range of ways.

Through case studies in the parishes of Churchdown and Brockworth in Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, the research also establishes four significant areas of interest for engaging with discussions on the transfer and management of assets, with key findings related to each. These are summarised below.

A: how local assets are understood by their communities
Definitions of local assets were generally quite wide, encompassing a range of different spaces and amenities. One of the key defining factors for our key stakeholders was the concept of use: that these assets were providing a service that the whole community could access.

Key finding 1: Community assets are broadly defined by community stakeholders as buildings, open spaces or amenities that can be accessed and are valued by the whole community

B: the transfer of assets to local communities
The process of asset transfer is often complicated, and can require significant resources in local communities in order for them to be successful.

Key finding 2: The pace of asset transfer can be challenging for community groups, particularly around Legal issues.

C: The ongoing management of transferred assets
As with the process of transferring assets, maintaining assets once transferred to local communities requires a pool of people who are both able and willing to contribute to the ongoing management. Furthermore, the transfer of assets into local ownership are also
likely to raise a range of other issues that require time and management, including the requirement for searching and applying for funding and addressing wider questions of responsibility.

**Key finding 3: Communities require enough individuals with the capacity, capability and leadership to make the management of assets in the community effective**

**Key finding 4: Insecure and short term funding threatens the success of community assets and the search for funding often uses up limited resources**

**Key finding 5: Asset transfers are likely to raise important questions about what agencies should be responsible for maintaining community assets, and these debates may be a source of resistance**

**D: The benefits of community asset management;**

Although there were some difficulties with the process of asset transfer, our respondents also reported some significant benefits to having assets managed at community level, in particular the opportunity to be more responsive to local needs and the ability to build a sense of ownership and associated participation.

**Key finding 6: Assets transferred to the community provide the potential for more responsive use of local assets**

**Key finding 7: Transferring assets to communities can increase their use and the sense of local ownership**

### 4.1 Practical outcomes and implications from researching community asset management

The research has produced a range of practical elements for supporting community asset transfers. In terms of issues that policymakers need to be aware of when planning asset transfers, it is clear from this research that the process of community asset transfer can be difficult. For asset transfers to be possible and successful, communities need a ‘critical mass’ of skilled volunteers with the capacity, capability and leadership to facilitate such transfers and run assets once in community hands. Community groups need support in the transfer process particularly around legal issues and in making sure they have enough time to take on the time and enough skills in the roles required, some of which might be quite new to them. This is particularly the case where there are skill and competency shortages that need to be addressed.

There are also issues to consider in terms of social justice. Areas that have a greater need for community assets are also more likely to have a greater need for the skills and competencies that make those asset transfer successful. They may also have lower levels of
social networks that can facilitate management of a community asset and maintenance. In these cases, there should be a particular consideration given to the levels of support made available when transferring assets into community control.

The transfer of community assets raises important debates over the roles and responsibilities of tiers of local government and whether such assets can be ‘better’ managed at a local level. Challenges for community groups include negotiating the pace of transfer, responding to legal challenges to the transfer process and insecure or short term funding. Once transferred, local ownership provides opportunities for community groups to deliver a wider range of services and increase the community’s use of and sense of ownership of these assets. It is clear, however, that successful asset transfers offer responsive opportunities for local communities and an increase in a sense of community ownership which may also reflect an increase in use.

There’s no perfect model for asset transfer, however there are common challenges. Different groups may face these in different ways as there may be different skillsets available or demands in evidence in each local community. What is clear is that support based on local need is important for ensuring that asset transfer in the first place, in the short and longer term. Being prepared for these challenges will help to ensure sustainability. Further research is planned to develop the evidence base on how community users of local assets make use of transferred assets, and more broadly how these assets fit into ideas of community ownership and management post-transfer.
References


Appendices

Appendix A: List of stakeholders interviewed during project

The anonymity of the contributing stakeholders has been maintained in this report as agreed during the research process. Interested parties who would like to access the contact details of contributors in order to discuss their comments further can contact the relevant funding bodies stated at the beginning of this report.
Appendix B: Interview schedule

Interview schedule for key local stakeholders in Brockworth and Churchdown

Can you tell me more about the Brockworth Community Project/Churchdown GL3 Community Hub/ What does it do/what services does it provide?

Can you tell me about your role in relation to the Brockworth Community project/Churchdown GL3 Community Hub? How does this fit with your other roles?

Can you briefly tell me a bit more about background to the community asset transfers from your perspective?

Can you give me your perspective on the process of community asset transfer in relation to the Brockworth Community Project/GL3 Community Hub?

Have any specific issues come up in relation to the community ownership of the project?

Have any specific issues come up in relation to the community management of the project?

Have any specific issues come up in relation to community engagement with the project?

How would you say the asset transfer has impacted on your local community? Can you think of any examples?

How would you say the asset transfer has impacted on service provision within the community? Can you think of any examples?

How can agencies such as parish councils or TBC best support the asset transfer process and the community management of assets?

Do you have any thoughts on how the asset transfer process might have been improved?

Are there any other issues you would like to mention in relation to the asset transfers?

How would you define a community asset?

What would you say are the community assets within Brockworth/Churchdown? Can you tell me more about these if you haven’t already? (Not just transferred assets-prompt for discussion of spaces, buildings, facilities etc)

How does the project seek the views of service users?

Is there anything else you would like to mention in relation to the impact of community asset management and ownership in Brockworth/Churchdown or Tewkesbury as a whole?