School of Social Work and Social Policy

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Aspirations and experiments: a long view of the role of 'community' in social welfare provision in the west of Scotland.

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This thesis is the result of the author's original research. It has been composed by the author and has not been previously submitted for examination which has led to the award of a degree.

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Abstract

Communities and their potential contribution to social welfare and public sector reform are a key focus for current policy in Scotland and the UK more generally. This study addresses the extent to which such a focus is new and considers what historical perspectives might bring to the understanding of this agenda.

The study develops three new historical accounts of community contribution to social welfare drawn from a period of two centuries in the west of Scotland. Accounts of such activities, particularly in disadvantaged communities, are still limited and the study adds to the literature in this area. Using archival and documentary sources, supplemented with interviews, it develops accounts of the St John's Experiment, Kinning Park Co-operative Women's Guild and Paisley Community Development Project. The accounts also provided the basis for engagement with present-day community organisations.

While all three accounts are context-specific and instructive individually as products of different historical contexts, social philosophies and strategies for change, they are also of interest for the similarities in the practice models adopted, the issues addressed and the extent of impact. They highlight long-held aspirations for the role that communities might play in relation to social welfare which are often not fully realised. Obstacles to impact are found in those very levels of aspiration, assumptions about the resource requirements and the extent to which power and control remain external to the communities concerned.

The study concludes that the current 'turn' to community at a time of transition and transformation within social welfare can be seen to have clear parallels in the past. There are practical lessons that might be learned and the value of the three historical accounts may also be found at the level of imagination: in their ability to support a narrative of hope and stimulate ideas about alternatives to the present.

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Maps, Photographs and Tables

Permission from Steve Mason to reproduce photograph of the CDP Action Team is gratefully acknowledged.

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Chapter One. Introduction

This is a study about the role that communities, primarily of place, play in social welfare. It is a historical study which develops three accounts of community-based initiatives drawn from a period of two centuries. It is also a study which focuses on disadvantaged communities, those communities that are not often found in the historical record, and as such fits into ideas of history from below and public history. It is a study with a focus on the west of Scotland.

Community is a concept that can both fascinate and frustrate. It is the subject of enduring interest, public debate and policy interventions generating an ever expanding literature and yet it defies definition in all but the most general sense. When Hillery (1955: 117) attempted to find areas of shared agreement between some ninety four definitions of community, he found it in the idea that community refers to 'persons in social interaction within a geographical area who have one or more additional common ties'. For Delanty (2003: 130) community is constructed by social action and represents 'a set of practices that constitute belonging'. Somerville (2016: 17) in a definition of this highly ambiguous and contested concept suggests 'its value lies in its core meaning as social attachments, bonds, ties or obligations beyond the family'. Crow and Allan (1994: 193) highlight the 'longevity of a term that has received so much conceptual abuse' and conclude that community:

> …is a term of social organisation which mediates between the personal and the institutional, between household and familial issues which many feel they have a degree of control over, and the large-scale social and economic structures which are dominated by events and processes outside ordinary people's influence.

It is in the elements of community as belonging, as bonds and obligations beyond the family and as some form of intermediary between the household or familial and the wider social and economic structures that a relationship to ideas of social welfare can be found. Different definitions of social welfare will give rise to different roles for such bonds and obligations. If social welfare is concerned with assistance to those in need then such bonds and obligations might have a role to play in meeting those needs. They may be the sole source of support available to the individual or family or supplementary to a range of other sources provided by a statutory, voluntary or commercial system. Such bonds and obligations might also give rise to mutual aid and also collective self-help to provide insurance in the case of individual need. If the definition of social welfare includes the idea of social services provided by the state, definitions of community as an intermediary between the family and that state opens other possibilities for community as representing the recipients of those services, as an advocate for service innovation and improvement. This opens the possibility for community organisations to enter a range of different partnerships with statutory sector providers. This may include in times of economic stringency being called upon to deliver services that the state is no longer willing or able to deliver. A broader definition of social welfare as being concerned with the well-being of an entire society would further suggests such bonds and obligations may play a range of different roles in contributing to such a project.

As a key agency of social welfare social work has an ongoing relationship with ideas of community, albeit with many of the same caveats. Despite the fact that '…its translation into practice continues to prove problematic', Stepney and Popple (2008: 69) argue:

> The concept of community has always occupied an important place in the development of British social work as well as contemporary theory and practice.

> Although… the term may be considered contested and contradictory, there is no doubt that in relation to social work, community has enjoyed a position of some significance (ibid: 6).

Early formulations of social work identify community work as one of its three constituent elements (Younghusband 1959: 179), the other two being casework and group work. Consultation with and involvement of 'the community' was seen to be key to the delivery of effective services (Seebohm Report 1968, Cmnd 3703) and, in the Scottish context, *Social Work in the Community* (1966) set out a broad vision of 'a unified profession providing a service "for all citizens" that would play a major role in renewing communities and transforming Scottish society' (Brodie *et al.* 2008: 710). This was accompanied in many areas by an organisational commitment to community development and community-based services. The importance of locating the individual and family within the context of their community and attention to the structural issues faced by many of the communities which were the focus of social work intervention became the hallmarks of ideas of radical social work. Despite the impact of more recent moves to more individualised and managerial approaches these ideas are still evident in the work around human rights and ecological approaches as well as ideas of critical and critical realist social work practice (Ferguson 2008, Forde and Lynch 2015).

The origins of this study are in my career-long engagement with ideas of community and community-based practice, much of this spent working in the west of Scotland. A key feature of this has been the periodic rediscovery of 'community' and the ambitions that this has entailed for the contribution that communities might make to social welfare. Over a career that has spanned area-based social work, locality-based community development, deinstitutionalisation, community care and the expansion of voluntary sector

provision, community planning, community health and social care partnerships, community, and the potential contribution that communities might play in relation to social welfare, have been constant themes. They are themes that reoccur in the current Scottish policy context with its focus on the development of strong and stable communities in which all are able to meet their potential and associated legislative and practice models of community empowerment, community planning and place-based approaches. The policy focus is on the need for transformational change in public services and perhaps also a distinctive Scottish approach to policy making in the area of social welfare. Communities are to be at the centre of this new national project and this is reflected in the provisions of the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015.

In all cases the aspirations for such 'turns' to community appear to be high. They might also be seen as essentially problematic given that there is only agreement on the most general characteristics of the entity which is to be the harbinger of change. Such limited definition leaves much as highly flexible and thus able to be enlisted in a range of projects from all points on the political spectrum. It also allows for claims of innovation and transformation which may not be entirely warranted.

A historical perspective or perspectives may be of assistance here. Present-focused, short-term policy cycles may fail to appreciate continuities in theory and practice. Placing current developments within a longer time frame can provide an opportunity to engage with ideas of continuity and change and produce useful insights to inform current developments. Considering the origins of the History and Policy initiative, Tosh (2014: 208) argues that:

> It brings to light unknown or underestimated alternatives to the received wisdom of the day, thereby enlarging awareness of policy options; and it demonstrates the

> fundamental continuities which are so often obscured by the 'rhetoric of newness' favoured by politicians.

The same might be said for policy makers and practitioners all of whom also have an interest in claiming originality for their work. Academics are equally not immune, but Tosh argues that the application of a historical perspective might go some way to illuminate continuities and discontinuities in approach.

Just as there are different approaches to community within the social science literature there are different approaches to the process of developing and writing history. The classic historical method with its focus on the primacy of primary sources, the grand narrative, the progress of history to the present and often supporting the national project has long been challenged by those excluded from its narratives. This has seen the development of new forms of social and publicly-engaged history – feminist history, history from below, 'public history' and co-produced history. They draw on different sources, are not the just the domain of professional historians and provide for multiple historical accounts or histories.

In relation to communities and their involvement in social welfare there is limited material to draw on. Despite being the source of much interest and debate, communities - particularly disadvantaged communities and their activities - are still not well represented in the historical literature. Their members often leave scant historical records and present particular challenges to those looking to develop historical accounts. While there is general acknowledgement of the contribution that communities have played in relation to social welfare, historical accounts of their activities are not as well-developed as those which engage with the more accessible material on the activities of local institutions and the state. As the very communities that are most often the focus of social policy interest and

interventions, and indeed of social work practice, they thus have limited historical perspectives to draw on as they look to respond to contemporary challenges. Equally those looking to develop practice in this area often have limited awareness of details and outcomes of previous interventions which might bring different understandings to their agenda.

This study seeks to add to the literature in this area. It sits within the broad general field of community research. In their 2011 survey of recent developments and themes in community research, Crow and Mah draw ten propositions for its future. They highlight the level of inter-disciplinarity involved in the field identifying some 23 different disciplines that contribute to the field and suggest that 'community research that is comparative has much to offer' and careful consideration of historical comparisons can be important in 'seeking to escape the 'presentism' (or lack of historical perspective) characterising much contemporary work' (ibid: 37).This study develops three historical accounts of attempts to stimulate community contribution to social welfare in the west of Scotland drawn from a period of two centuries.

It chooses to take a long view. The examples are drawn from a wide time frame to allow for the exploration of elements of continuity and change in social philosophy, expectations, practice and outcomes at different key periods in the development of social welfare provision. It is not, however, the intention to produce an overall narrative of the period but rather to consider three initiatives in detail with a view to exploring what if any patterns might be ascertained. While it is anticipated that the accounts might be of academic interest in their own right, as a practitioner the study is also informed by an interest in what wider relevance they may have for contemporary community organisations. The research design thus also involved an element of dialogue with current

community organisations drawing on the historical material to consider what relevance it might have to their work as they look to respond to current challenges.

The detail of this thesis is structured in the following way:

Chapter two provides an account of the sources and methods used to carry out the study over three key phases. It considers initial bearings including stakeholder expectations, the different iterations of the research question and the development of the research design including obtaining ethical approval for the study. It covers the initial literature review and the issues which informed the selection of the different areas for investigation. It provides an account of the framework and methods used to generate the data for the three historical accounts, exploring issues in relation to the use of secondary, documentary, archival and other sources including interviews. It considers the engagement carried out with community organisations and some of the limitations placed upon this by available time and resources. Phase three covers the development of a comparative analysis of the historical material, final work on the literature and in the archives, interpretation and theorisation. A final section considers the limitations of the study and how these might be addressed by further activities to develop impact from the study.

Chapter three further develops the review of the literature started in chapter two. It considers the focus on community within current Scottish social policy identifying key issues in relation ideas of a distinctive Scottish approach to policy making and key questions in relation to its transformational potential. It draws on the sociological and historical literature on community, the links between ideas of community and social welfare and the development of differing arrangements for social welfare. Examining historical accounts of the development of arrangement for social welfare over the period under consideration, it identifies two main traditions: one that traces the development of the welfare state in

terms of the gradual increase in state intervention in social welfare and the second 'voluntarist' tradition that focuses on the roles and functions of voluntary activity. The idea of a 'mixed economy of welfare' is considered in relation to community-based initiatives and the role that communities play in the interaction that characterises the 'moving frontier' (Finlayson 1994: 18) between the different elements of a welfare system. It also considers the role of that experimentation and innovation can play and community as a potential site for this. Secondary material on the west of Scotland is used to further explore these different roles and associated practice approaches as a foundation for the development of the historical accounts.

Chapter four presents the first historical account: that of the St John's Experiment in the east end of Glasgow between 1819 and 1823. This was initiated by the Reverend Thomas Chalmers to test whether a reinvigorated parochial system could provide for the needs of the poor within the parish without the need for recourse to funds from a legal assessment. Claims of its success played a key role in debates on the future of the Poor Law both north and south of the border and interest in the experiment has enjoyed periodic revival (Smyth 2014). The experiment is also cited as an early precursor of social casework (Payne 2005: 25, Young and Ashton 1956: 67-78).

As the starting point for this study the St John's Experiment provides an example of an attempt to revive the traditional parochial system of poor relief to prevent any expansion of the legal assessment and involvement of civic authorities in its administration. The local parish was to retain responsibility for its own poor. The extent to which this happened and the experiment was the success Chalmers claimed has been questioned by Scottish historians (Cage 1974, Cage and Checkland 1976, Brown 1982, Furgol 1987). The account presented in Chapter 4 builds upon this work and develops a picture of the wider

network of support that existed in the city at the time. Chalmers' retrospective and essentially static view of community as seen in his notion of the 'godly commonwealth' was unable to meet the needs of the increasingly mobile and dynamic community that characterised the early industrial city and his experiment may have had much more limited success but for the existence of this wider network of support and the support of his wealthy non-resident parishioners.

Chapter five develops an original account of Kinning Park Co-operative Women's Guild, the first Co-operative Women's Guild in Scotland. Established on January 8th 1890, it started as a cookery class for women co-operators under the auspices of the Educational Committee of the Kinning Park Co-operative Society and developed to become involved in a range of social welfare issues. Its interest in health, housing, the conditions of women workers, along with pensions and feeding of school children reflected the national debates at the time of the early Liberal welfare reforms.

In the context of this study, the account provides an example of local and female agency in responding to the social issues of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As one of the first community-based and, it could be argued, community-led organisations of working-class women, their agenda developed from their own experience and they developed their response within the democratic traditions of the co-operative movement. They worked with their own resources to develop their activities and Buchan (1913: 97) claimed that this association 'of the working class section of the community' was 'accomplished without the aid of any person of ease'. The account also provides an opportunity to explore the role of women in community-led and community-based initiatives.

Chapter six develops an account of a second experiment: Paisley Community Development Project which operated in Ferguslie Park between 1972 and 1977. It was one of twelve Community Development Projects instituted by the Home Office in areas of 'multiple deprivation' in the context of the economic and social change of the late 1960s and the growing concerns about the operation of the 'classic welfare state'. It was the only one of the CDPs based in Scotland and, by many indicators used at the time, worked in the most disadvantaged area. Within the study it provides an example of an attempt by central government to directly impact on service delivery at a neighbourhood level, to stimulate the resources of self-help and mutual aid which might exist within the community and, to re-invigorate local democracy.

The Community Development Projects continue to divide opinion in community development circles, but are largely remembered for the structural analysis of poverty developed by the 'radical projects' which in some cases brought them into conflict with their funders and led to their early closure. While Paisley shared much of this analysis, particularly in its later years, it has received scant attention within the national literature or indeed within Scottish community development circles. The account developed here provides an account of its activities and considers its legacy in the light of current re-evaluations of the work of the 'radical' projects (Armstrong and Banks 2017, Banks and Carpenter 2017, Carpenter and Kyneswood 2017).

Chapter seven provides an account of the engagement with contemporary community organisations undertaken as part of the study. It considers early work on generating interest in the study, engagement activity with local community organisations around the historical accounts and engagement around the emerging findings. Constraints of time meant that this was not developed to the extent originally envisaged but early data

were obtained. Analysis of this suggests that the historical accounts are useful in reinforcing ideas of community memory, place and locality and stimulating discussion about the process of history-making. They also provide a starting point for discussion about what is similar and different in the current context and the echoes of past ideas and approaches still discernible in practice today. While early impact is found, this element of the study is in many ways just beginning and forms the agenda for further work beyond the end of the study.

The final chapter develops the key themes identified by the study and its overall conclusions. While all three accounts are the products of different historical contexts, social philosophies and strategies for change, similarities are found in the levels of aspiration for community contribution, the practice approaches adopted, the issues addressed and the extent of impact. All three accounts illustrate the longevity of the idea that communities of place have a role to play in relation to social welfare, particularly at times of fundamental debate and transformation. They provide illustrations of the range of different roles envisaged for communities in this area and the range of practice models and methods used. They also highlight the obstacles that get in the way of impact in the very levels of aspirations, how issues are identified, the resource available to address them, and the extent of power and control that a community has over determining and directing the agenda for change.

The study concludes that the current 'turn' to community at a time of transition and transformation within social welfare can be seen to have clear parallels in the past. Taking a long view highlights elements of continuity and difference with the current context, the potential for community contribution in this area and the very real obstacles that may limit impact particularly in those communities facing the greatest challenges.

There are thus clear practical lessons that might be learned from an exploration of the three historical accounts for both communities and policy makers. Given a continuing interest from policy makers, academics who continue to struggle with issues of conceptualisation and discussions with the community organisations involved in this study which found an undiminished appetite for collective action to address the challenges they face, the value of the historical accounts in this study may also be found at the level of imagination: in their ability to support a narrative of hope and stimulate ideas about alternatives to the present.

Chapter Two. Sources and Methods

This chapter outlines the sources and methods used to both clarify and address the research question. It considers the starting points, the development and different iterations of the research question, the overall research design, the initial literature review and subsequent additions, together with the methods employed to generate data, carry out the analysis and reach conclusions. These elements are considered based on the division of the research process into three main phases. While this provides a structure in which to examine the process, there are clear overlaps between the activities associated with the different phases. A final section considers the limitations of the study and presents ideas about how these might be addressed.

Phase One

Initial bearings

The initial bearings for this study were shaped by the interests of the key stakeholders and the context in which it developed. Key stakeholders included the University Department and my supervisors, the ESRC as the funders via the Imagine Programme and myself as the researcher. Part of the context in which it developed was the 2014 referendum campaign on Scottish Independence.

The study was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) as part of the Imagine Programme, a five year programme bringing together a range of different research projects working across Universities and their mostly local communities with a focus on imagining how communities might be different www.imaginecommunity.org.uk. It formed part of work package four, '*The Democratic Context*', with a focus on civic

engagement and exploration of what the democratisation of knowledge about communities might mean in practice. There is a particular interest in what community members think about how the future of their communities has been imagined and how visions of the future were created by past communities.

This provided some clear links to the context as the proposal for the study was developed during the increased levels of civic engagement seen during the 2014 referendum campaign. Associated with this was a heightened interest in ideas of 'community' in Scotland, different imagined futures and the development of a distinctly Scottish policy agenda. The proposal with its focus initially on Glasgow and later the west of Scotland looked to respond to this.

As covered in the introduction, initial bearings also drew on personal biography. This includes initial academic training as a historian and a long-held interest in the role that history can play in informing policy and practice. Professional training in social work and a career in community development, voluntary sector service development and policy making, have provided some appreciation of both the aspirations and issues in relation to communities and their involvement in social welfare. They have also generated an interest in the process and theory of change and how this can be brought about at an individual, community and wider level. In addition, having lived for the last twenty five years in the west of Scotland, but with a limited knowledge of the histories of the area, the proposal provided an opportunity to explore these more fully. It thus brought together the key elements of an interest in histories of local communities, a focus on their role in relation to social welfare and ideas about how futures are imagined and change occurs.

In their discussion of definitions of reflexivity in relation to social work theory and practice, D'Cruz *et al.* (2007: 78) find three key variations. These are reflexivity as personal mastery or as a key competency in shaping your life in a fast-changing world; reflexivity as 'acknowledging the role that emotions and feelings play in social work practice', and reflexivity as a way of 'articulating, and therefore acknowledging and scrutinising, the tacit knowledge of the researcher'. It is this latter variation that is most relevant to this study. This study reflects a personal biography and this is evident in the overall research domain, the design, methods chosen and conclusions reached. As such the study will always be a social construction which has meaning in relation to this personal narrative and its methods and conclusions will draw on the tacit knowledge that has been developed from previous academic study and practice experience. It is also a product of the context in which it developed, the interest of the different stakeholders who have influenced its development and the time and resources available to conduct it.

The overall challenge at the outset was thus to design and deliver a piece of rigorous research, worthy of being shared with local communities, that would meet high ethical standards and make a unique and useful contribution to knowledge in this area. The title of the initial research proposal was, *In and out of focus – community connections and the changing relationship between informal and statutory welfare in Scotland over the last 150 years.* It spoke of synthesising learning from different academic, policy and practice perspectives to focus on the following question:

> What does the history of the changing relationship between informal and statutory welfare provision over the last 150 years in Scotland teach us about the connections that are key to communities, particularly low-income communities,

being able to fully engage in addressing the tricky welfare challenges of the 21st century?

It spoke of a particular interest in continuity and change in the interrelationship between family, community, civil society organisations, the market and the state in addressing welfare in Scotland over the past two centuries. It suggested that this would be explored in relation to six key periods, with a focus on Glasgow, and the connections that enabled communities to successfully engage with these issues. It also highlighted an interest in how such an analysis could be developed with communities and organisations to inspire new ways of thinking about their future.

The research question

The centrality of the research question to research design and methodology is well-documented. The nature of the question under consideration will determine the overall strategy and detailed methodology and provides both a starting point and compass to guide the overall process. Bryman (2007: 7) suggests that this is not necessarily always the case, and that from interviews with researchers 'it might be suggested that what they are providing is a normative account of the research process rather than a descriptive one'. Indeed he suggests (ibid: 6) that in some versions of grounded theory research questions 'are only formulated in a most general way at the outset' providing space for them to emerge alongside the research and theory development process. Stake (1995: 15) calls for the design of good research questions, but argues that the purpose of research questions is to 'direct the looking and thinking enough, but not too much'.

The study started with an initial research question which directed the initial exploration. It did however, undergo several iterations as the study developed. This was in

response to areas clarified by engagement with the literature, an appreciation of the limitations of the primary sources, engagement with professional and academic networks and also a growing awareness of what might be realistic within the timescale. The different iterations are covered in the accounts of the subsequent phases.

The literature

An initial broad literature review explored key concepts, looked to clarify theoretical approaches and engaged with early documentary sources on the period. This provided the underpinning for the overall research design. Each subsequent stage of the research has expanded the literature review to explore secondary literature in relation to each of the examples chosen, key ideas and concepts arising from engagement with historical sources and to inform the emerging analysis. A review of the key literature which informs the study is provided in the next chapter.

Early work focused on the basic concepts to underpin the study. This included ideas of community, of social welfare, of a mixed economy of welfare and the role played by experimentation in its development and delivery. It also provided an opportunity to revisit ideas of community development and their relationship to social work and social work history. Alongside this, a review of secondary literature on the overall period in question provided a particular focus on the history of social welfare, of developments in Scotland and potential available sources on communities and their involvement in these issues. It also covered ideas on theories of change and their use within contemporary evaluation frameworks. Literature was identified from relevant indexes and data bases, drawing on the expertise and recommendations of my supervisors alongside basic snowballing techniques and fortuitous conversations with others interested in the field.

Key issues which arose from this early engagement were a theoretical orientation towards an interpretative approach working to understand the social meaning of community involvement in social welfare in particular contexts and the implications of this for working with historical material. It also highlighted the contested nature of the basic concepts underpinning the study, of community, of history and of social welfare. Initial work on the secondary literature on the period identified a wide range of material within a UK context but a more limited range with a specific focus on Scotland and Glasgow. It also highlighted that within the ever expanding literature on ideas of community and studies of communities, historical material on community-based initiatives, particularly in relation to social welfare, and particularly in disadvantaged communities was still limited. These key elements informed decisions on the early research design.

Issues of design

These elements indicated the need for a research design that could be exploratory and develop original material while dealing with complexity and contested ideas. Located within the discipline of social work, as an interdisciplinary study, it also needed to draw effectively on the range of different research traditions and methods available. A concern was equally how to develop material that could form the basis for engagement with contemporary community organisations.

Inter-disciplinarity can increase the complexity of a study in terms of its design, but it also holds out the possibility of drawing on a range of different research traditions and methods. Social work research has been criticised as paying insufficient attention to theoretical approaches (Jones 1996, Pease 2009, Shaw 2014). This is linked by some to the gradual stripping out of the social sciences from the social work curriculum 'in favour of systems theory and general eclecticism' (Jones 1996: 190), leading to a narrow

concentration on positivist approaches currently manifested in the push for evidence based practice often as part of a 'what works' agenda. Pease (2010: 98) argues that there remains, however, in some areas a commitment to develop a 'critical and anti-oppressive' research agenda 'informed by a commitment to social justice, human rights and social transformation' and drawing on an interpretative epistemology.

The development of historical methodology can be seen to intersect with debates within sociological thought but to have its own distinct trajectory. The classic historical method often associated with Ranke and his followers which dominated the nineteenth century with its emphasis on rigorous analysis of primary sources and the progress of history might be seen to suggest an essentially positivist approach. Its proponents, however, were clear that history was an 'art' and involved the use of an empathic imagination to describe the past. The value of history was as a source of cultural and personal enrichment and Tosh (2000: 3) argues that such work was characterised by 'a lofty indifference to the claims of social utility'.

The middle years of the last century saw history exposed to a critique of such approaches as supporting the national project and subject to the demands of emerging feminist, anti-racist and post-colonial movements for a history that reflected their experiences. While the classic approach remains alive and well in some historical scholarship, there are now new kinds of social and publicly-engaged history - oral history, history from below, 'public history' 'thinking with history' and co-produced history. The latter is of particular interest to the Imagine Programme with its interest in the co-production of knowledge between community and academic partners. It was, however, obvious from the start of this study that in the context of three year funding it would not be possible to carry out a co-produced study.

In the field of social work, engaging with history is seen as a basis for confident practice (Payne 2005: 6) and of building social solidarity, the key mandate that social work enjoys in contemporary society (Lorenz 2007: 599). How to construct and understand such history is subject to similar debates. Is it a single narrative charting development and progress towards the present? Is it rather a matter of focusing on key 'moments' which can be seen as building blocks, each one replacing the former as we move towards the present (Harris 2008: 676) or representing different 'waves of modernisation' in which a break with history was attempted (Lorenz 2007: 605)? Or, is the history of social work best represented as layers of organic material laid down at different times, elements of which can be periodically mined to better understand debates and dilemmas in the present? They all suggest the idea of a multiplicity of histories which can be developed by different actors in different contexts that co-exist in a somewhat messier dynamic of continuity and discontinuity. This idea of social work histories, it is argued, better reflects a history that engages with the complexities of current practice. Harris (2008: 663) argues that 'social work is both conditioned by and dependent upon the context from which it emerges and in which it engages' and that 'social work's past (or perhaps pasts) exist in its present through on-going aspects carried forward from each historical moment' (ibid: 676).

The focus here is on professional histories and not necessarily histories of the people and communities that the profession has engaged with. Where these exist or are developed they may produce alternative accounts. However, the idea of moments, layers, histories, or perhaps more mundanely, examples or accounts provided a useful starting point for the research design. A focus on a number of examples or accounts would allow for in-depth exploration of particular initiatives, providing an opportunity to consider the range of different elements of the research question. Limited in number, there would be fewer

possibilities for generalisation, but there would remain the potential to consider areas of continuity and discontinuity, while recognising their particularity.

There would thus be no grand historical narrative or theory but something more provisional and tentative but there remained an interest in a long time frame. Short policy cycles with a focus on innovation, new ideas and transformation often fail to appreciate continuities in theory and practice approaches and also areas of discontinuity and change. Developing material from a longer time frame would provide the basis for an exploration of such continuities across a range of different contexts. The identification of particular periods within the overall timeframe which had formed part of the original proposal was retained to address this and indeed early interest in Chalmers' work at St John's pointed to the lengthening of the initial 150 year time frame to one of two centuries.

In starting to consider how to approach the development of historical accounts a case study approach offered the potential to explore issues in relation to depth of analysis and also understanding of the complexity of the context and approaches. Literature on case studies provided a useful starting point for this. Yin's argument (2014: 4) that the distinctive need for case studies arises from 'the desire to understand complex social phenomena' linked to the ambitions for the study. Case studies, he argues, are most used in answering questions which deal with 'how' and 'why' rather than 'who', 'what' or 'where'. He does, however, further argue that a case study needs to deal with 'a contemporary set of events over which the researcher has little or no control'. Histories are distinguished from case studies by the fact that they deal with the 'dead past' and cannot make use of direct observation or interviews with people involved (ibid: 11). This does not preclude the use of methods informed by case study approaches in relation to historical material. Indeed, Stake persuasively argues (1995: 86) that the use of case study 'is not a methodological choice

but a choice of object to study'. A case is most usually 'specific, unique and a bounded system' (ibid: 88) and the resources of the researcher are focused on trying to understand its complexities. Case studies may be of intrinsic or instrumental interest and the extent to which they are used to generalise is a matter for each researcher to decide.

The study could have been built upon just one such case, but while this would have provided a detailed historical account, it would not have allowed for the exploration of ideas of continuity and discontinuity or provided an opportunity to explore different approaches in different contexts. There may also have been issues in relation to availability of primary sources. The selection of a manageable number from across the period was thought to address these issues and became the basis for the research design. The basis for selection is covered under phase two.

Research based on a case study methodology is not without its issues and its detractors. Yin argues that case studies are often criticised for a lack of rigour, providing a limited basis for generalisation, the difficulty of establishing causal relationships, the fact that they can take too long, and produce cumbersome documents. The following warning is well made:

> Most people feel that they can prepare a case study and nearly all of us believe we can understand one. Since neither view is well founded, the case study receives a good deal of approbation it does not deserve (Yin 2014: 16).

Careful design is seen to be key to addressing such concerns. This includes developing a clear sense of the issues to be investigated, establishing the boundaries of the investigation and the likely analytical approach to be adopted. At the design stage the links between the focus on creating change which characterised attempts to stimulate community contribution to social welfare and recent professional experience of the use of theory of

change approaches to evaluate contemporary community based interventions suggested that they may be helpful in formulating a framework to inform the development of the historical accounts.

A broad family of approaches, theory of change approaches developed largely in the US but are increasingly being used in public health and social care in the UK to describe and evaluate complex social interventions. Their origins are in programme theory and have developed in evaluation practice in the community and international development fields (Vogel 2012). They are seen to be useful in exploring the causal relationships between different elements of an initiative and modelling these to identify short term outcomes and longer term impacts. They usually include participation of those involved in the interventions and build an appreciation of the difference between desired and actual outcomes. Practice experience of the development of logic models, outcome chains and theory of change narratives suggested that while clearly impossible to implement in a historical context, there were elements of the overall approach particularly the a focus on asking a series of questions to inform an analysis of complex social interventions that had something to contribute to the research design.

Many of the models are complex and require participation of all major stakeholders in the intervention. That advocated by the Kellogg Foundation (2004) takes a broad initial approach and provides a template that builds a basic theory of change logic model from consideration of the definition of the problem or issues, needs or assets that lead to its identification, desired results, factors influencing or acting as barriers to change, strategies adopted and the assumptions that underpin how and why these strategies will work (Kellogg Foundation 2004: 67-70).As applied to the early research question, use of this

model generated an initial framework to guide data collection for the historical accounts as follows:

- The social, economic and political context at the particular point in time.
- The problems, issues and debates in relation to social welfare at each of the particular points in time.
- The strategies adopted to address these including the underpinning assumptions and desired outcomes.
- The nature and range of activities and interrelationships between families, communities, voluntary and statutory organisations
- Ways of characterising the changing focus on the role of 'community' in contributing to social welfare over time and indications of the potential and obstacles to impact.

The idea of the logic of a theory of change, while clearly not an explicit element in the historical initiatives under consideration, provided a useful guide to inform the initial exploration of the historical material and wider literature

Community organisations

A further key element in the research design was how to approach the work with community organisations. This element was informed by a concern as a practitioner to generate knowledge that would have some utility to the communities studied. Consideration of approaches drew on the broad family of collaborative approaches which relate to action research, participatory methods and to an extent community development. These can all be seen to have their origins in the search for alternatives to traditional research methods and to building public participation in the research process. Discussing action research methods, Reason and Bradbury suggest that the primary purpose of action

research is to 'produce practical knowledge of what is useful to people in the everyday conduct of their lives' (2001: 2) and that action research:

> …seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities (ibid: 1).

Barbour (2008: 169) finds the roots of the approach in disenchantment with traditional research methods and a desire for change that draws on the contrasting models provided by community development approaches and professional organisational development models. An interest in such approaches also linked to work within the overall Imagine programme where colleagues were working on collaborations with community organisations and exploring the potential of what Banks *et al.* (2014: 37) suggest has become the 'ideal of co-production where professional researchers and community partners have equal power and responsibility'.

While such approaches resonated with a personal and professional ethical commitment to empowering practice, it was clear from more detailed exploration that there was neither the time nor resources to implement such a research design. Indeed, an early workshop at an Imagine conference explored the challenges of using such approaches within the format of a PhD study. At the design stage, it was considered that a background in community development, well-developed skills in participative methods together with wide contacts in the city, would provide a range of possibilities for building engagement with the historical material. These might range on a spectrum from the formal, such as lectures and presentations, to the more participative, interactive forums, joint materials development and the use of social media. The details of these would be negotiated with

community organisations as they were identified but would likely involve a series of group sessions which would be taped and transcribed for analysis. It was anticipated that materials would be developed to both give an overview of the overall study, but also detail of the emerging historical material and that these would provide the basis for discussion and exploration of ideas in relation to community organisations and their future involvement in social welfare. The design drew on ideas of focus groups but recognised that group membership would be self-selected.

Ethical approval

A concern to conduct the study to the highest ethical standards reflected a personal value base that stresses the importance of inclusive and empowering practice. It is also a requirement of both the funding body and department in which the research is located. Ethical considerations covered the collection and interpretation of historical material, the potential for the use of interviews to supplement this and the need to ensure fully informed consent and respect for privacy for interviewees. Ethical considerations were also addressed in relation to the work with community organisations and although it was considered unlikely that sessions would include information of a personal or potentially distressing nature, information and measures were developed to address such eventualities. A detailed ethics application was prepared which drew on best practice guidelines for oral history work produced by the Scottish Oral History Centre, and for work with community organisations developed by the Centre for Social Justice and Community Action at Durham University. This was submitted via the Departmental structures and accepted following minor amendment.

Phase Two

With a basic research design and ethics approval in place, the study moved to its second phase. This saw the development of the criteria for selection of the cases to be developed, a further iteration of the research question and a return to the literature to establish starting points for the collection of historical sources. It also included the start of detailed archival work and building links and sharing information on the study with a view to identifying potential community partners and wider professional and academic networks. Early themes emerging from the historical material were developed into an early conference paper (Rawcliffe 2016).

Selection decisions

The research proposal spoke of consideration of six different periods within the timeframe of the study. Ongoing engagement with the literature and discussion in supervision and elsewhere suggested that this should be reduced to allow for more in-depth investigation of a smaller number of examples, but that clear criteria for selection were required. These drew on ideas of the rediscovery or interest in community at points of transformation or transition and how these manifested in relation to social welfare. They also drew on an interest in those communities most likely to be the subject of social welfare interventions.

An overview of the period under consideration suggested three key periods in relation to approaches to social welfare. The early 19th century and the discussion about the future of the Poor Law and the debate about the respective roles of voluntary and statutory assessment. The early 20th century and the debate about the need for some level of state intervention and early Liberal welfare reforms linked to ideas of a social service state. Finally, the mid-1970s and the debate about the ability of what has been seen as the

'classic' welfare state to deliver for all especially in the face of economic transformation, rising inflation and unemployment.

All three can be characterised as periods of change and transition in relation to institutional arrangements and the different elements in the mixed economy of welfare and as such might provide examples of experimental or innovative approaches to stimulating community contribution to social welfare. Further scoping of potential primary sources produced two initial examples, the St John's Experiment in the east end of Glasgow 1819-23 and the Paisley Community Development Project in Ferguslie Park 1972-1977. An initiative for the third period took longer to identify, but this delay allowed further thought as to how it might be used to provide a counterpoint to the other two. As an example of working class self-help and female agency, Kinning Park Co-operative Women's Guild was thought to provide this and was selected for the middle period.

Research question revisited

The process of selection of the periods and the particular initiatives for further study together with initial scoping of primary sources led to further refinement of the research question. The geographical focus narrowed from Scotland to the west of Scotland to encompass all three examples and provided for a clearer focus on the particular history of the area. The focus became what three accounts might indicate about the potential and obstacles associated with community-based initiatives. The focus on ideas of a mixed economy of welfare and changes in the relationship between informal and statutory welfare remained and this was refined to include a detailed examination of the issues, approaches and practices adopted within the different cases and continuities and discontinuities between them. The idea of developing the analysis with communities and organisations to inspire new ways of thinking about their future was also refined to the idea

of exploring the contemporary relevance of the historical material with community organisations. The iteration of the research question informing the second phase thus became:

> What does the development of three historical accounts of community involvement in social welfare in the west of Scotland over the last two centuries years indicate about the potential and limits of community-based approaches? What, if any, relevance might these have for contemporary community organisations as they think about how they address current social welfare challenges?

This was subsequently simplified to 'What lessons might be learned from three historical accounts of community contribution to social welfare?' Given a particular interest in what these accounts might indicate for present-day community organisations, the focus was local, on the west of Scotland and the idea of lessons included potential as well as obstacles to impact.

Documentary Sources

Documentary sources have long been considered by some the preserve of historians whose professional competence is built upon their ability both to locate and interpret them. They are often the only possible data source for some phenomena in the past and have become associated with a reading of the official record, often criticised for being narrow and elitist. In his argument for the rehabilitation of documentary sources within sociology, McCulloch (2004: 26) highlights the fact that sociologists in the early twentieth century relied heavily on such sources. It was, he argues, only from the 1940s that they became less fashionable and associated with the study of the past rather than the present, the affairs of the state rather than those of private individuals and a research process which was seen as 'mysterious, frustrating and boring'. Subsequent sociologists chose rather to concentrate

on surveys, interviews, focus groups and observation in its various forms, thus neglecting a potentially rich source of data. Scott's definition of a document as 'an artefact which has as its central feature an inscribed text' (1990: 5) provides for the inclusion of a wide range of materials from official records, autobiographies and newspapers to policy reports and fiction, as potential data sources. Irrespective of the type of document used, methods and procedures are required to ascertain both the quality of the available evidence and to generate data which meet the four criteria of 'authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning' (ibid: 6).

The starting point for all three accounts was an initial scoping of available primary sources to ascertain the extent to which these might be sufficient to support the objectives of the study. This involved meetings and discussions with relevant archivists and the development of lists of possible sources from catalogues and on-line and in-person archive searches.

For St John's this involved work in Glasgow City Archives and Special Collections which hold the parochial records for St John's, the records of the Presbytery of Glasgow, the records of the Burgh of Glasgow and minutes of the meetings of the Directors of the Town's Hospital. As interest developed in the wider network of support in the city at the time, further sources were identified within these collections and also within the special collections at the University of Strathclyde and Glasgow University. Chalmers' published writing was accessed together with some of his personal papers held in New College Library, University of Edinburgh.

For Kinning Park Co-operative Women's Guild (KPCWG) searches in the University of Strathclyde library produced some early secondary sources. Glasgow City Archives was equally a starting point with its extensive collection of Co-operative records that include the

records of the Kinning Park Co-operative Society, one minute book from the KPCWG and minute books and annual reports from the Scottish Co-operative Women's Guild (SCWG). Further relevant documents and publications were identified in the National Co-operative Archive in Manchester including one copy of the *Kinning Park Co-operator*, an early newspaper produced by Kinning Park Co-operative Society. Copies of the *Scottish Co-operator*, the newspaper produced by the Co-operative movement in Scotland, were located following searches in the catalogues of the National Library of Scotland.

Paisley Heritage Centre was the starting point for documentary sources on Paisley CDP. It holds copies of some of the reports produced by the project together with records of Paisley Burgh Council. Further reports were accessed via the digital collection held at the University of Indianapolis (http://ulib.iupui.edu/digitalscholarship/collections/CDP). Additional local records were identified in the Strathclyde Regional Council archive held by Glasgow City Archives along with copies of the community newsletter, *Scheme Scene,* in the National Library of Scotland. Research Team reports were accessed via Glasgow University's library, Scottish Office files were sourced from the National Records of Scotland and Home Office records from the National Archives in Kew. Additional reports and photographs were generously provided by those interviewed.

Initial scoping and document lists provided the basis for final decisions on the accounts to be developed and the detailed work on the sources to start. Data generation from documentary sources for the accounts was carried out in the following sequence, St John's, Paisley CDP, KPCWG. Mason (1996: 51) highlights the fact that too often documents are considered to be data in their own right rather than the raw material from which data are generated. Data extraction includes decisions on sampling and selection as well as on the overall recording strategy. For this study, documents on the lists were located and read.

Those considered to be of particular relevance to the research questions were copied and others were noted using full quotations of key passages. This combination of full and noted copies, provided the primary data from which to construct the narrative accounts and subsequent analysis.

Any use of documentary sources necessitates judgements as to their authenticity, their credibility, the extent to which they can be considered representative and their meaning. Also a clear appreciation of their limitations as always fragmentary and imperfect. Considering the use of documentary sources, McCulloch (2004: 30) alludes to a hierarchy of primary sources with handwritten sources being considered more 'primary' than 'printed' where there may be more than one copy. Reflecting the periods under consideration, almost all primary sources for St John's were handwritten, as were the local records for KPCWG. National records for KPCWG and the majority of records for Paisley CDP, with the exception of interesting margin notes from civil servants, were printed. As documents held within established local and national archives a degree of authenticity can perhaps be assumed, but each document still required examination to ascertain its source and establish and record where and by whom it was produced.

In relation to St John's, historians have used an analysis of primary sources to question the account of the experiment provided by Chalmers in his own writings (Cage and Checkland 1976, Furgol 1987) thus questioning the credibility of an account repeated by many of his biographers. Scott (1990: 22) argues for attention to be paid to the material interests that authors have in the contents of a document, and in this case, Chalmers and his subsequent biographers were keen to portray the experiment as a success when the record suggests it may have had more limited impact. A similar critical awareness is required in relation to the sources for KPCWG which are predominantly from co-operative

sources and thus likely to reflect a particular perspective. As one of twelve projects across the UK, Paisley CDP is covered in some of the literature on the overall community development project although some of the interpretations are not substantiated by examination of the primary sources (Crow *et al.* 2018).

Fundamental to all archival research are issues of availability, who made the original selection, what survives and in what form. All impact on the extent to which data obtained from documents can be considered representative. Much of the critique of archival research rests on the idea that what survives is largely the official record. This is particularly relevant to a study that looks to develop accounts of work with, and in, local communities. While this can be addressed to an extent by widening the search to include pamphlets, works of fiction and other sources there are still gaps which need to be acknowledged, particularly in relation to representations of the voice of members of those communities. In relation to St John's, a search of the Autobiography of the Working Class (Mayall *et al.* 1984-89) highlighted an account written by a Glasgow weaver of the period that was subsequently located in Glasgow University special collections. While this provided an additional perspective to the official record, it is just one account and clearly cannot be assumed to represent all weavers in the city at the time. *Scheme Scene*, the community newspaper written and produced by tenants in Ferguslie Park at the time of the Community Development Project, equally provides an alternative perspective to the official record. The fact that only a few copies survive leads to speculation, however, as to why these were chosen for preservation and whether the issues they address were typical, or rather those considered most contentious by those making the selection.

The attribution of meaning to data derived from documentary sources is key to the knowledge claims sought. McCulloch (2004) suggests three possible frameworks through

which to read documents, positivist, interpretative and critical, although acknowledging that they will often overlap and interact with each other. A positivist interpretation of a document would accept it at face value and provide an account with little consideration of the context in which it was produced. An interpretative approach would suggest that it cannot be separated from the social context in which it was produced or indeed the purpose behind its production. The critical framework would consider the impact of issues of social conflict, power, control and ideology on the production of the document. Scott (1990: 35) argues that the quality appraisal process is a never ending one:

> The interpretative meaning of the document which the researcher aims to produce therefore is in a very real sense, a tentative and provisional judgement which must be constantly in need of revision as new discoveries and new problems force the researcher to reappraise the evidence.

Interviews

If documentary sources are closely identified with historians, in the intellectual division of labour, interviews are often most closely linked to social scientists. However, just as sociology will in certain circumstances engage with documents, historians use variants on interviews where the period under consideration permits. The collection of oral histories and witness testimonies uses the methodology of interviews to collect data on contemporary events, reminiscences and memory. Just as documents cover a wide range of potential sources of data, interviews can take a range of different forms. Fontana and Fey (1998) consider the range of different types based on the extent of structure built into the encounter and also whether they are carried out individually or in groups. At one end of the spectrum, structured interviews will cover a predetermined set of questions, in the same order and the same format to provide standardised material for coding and analysis. At the

other, unstructured interviews can take a number of forms but are essentially interested in developing an in-depth understanding of the complexities of human behaviour, often including consideration of the role of the researcher. In between semi-structured interviews, while designed to explore a predetermined range of issues, do this within a more conversational format which allows for greater exploration of issues as they arise and as Mason (1996: 38) suggests are more interested in the depth and complexity of 'people's accounts and experiences, rather than broad understanding of surface patterns'. Alluding to the range of available options and indeed with a nod to feminist critiques of standard interview procedures, Oakley argues that:

> Interviewing is rather like a marriage; everybody knows what it is, an awful lot of people do it, and yet behind each closed front door there is a world of secrets (quoted *ibid*: 374).

Interviews were considered an additional data source for the third example, Paisley CDP, where it was anticipated there might be residents and workers who had been involved in the initiative. In the research design they were seen as a means to explore themes identified from the reading of secondary material and documentary sources with a range of actors, and also to address gaps in documentary sources in relation to the experience of local residents. The interviews were to be exploratory and thus best fitted a semi-structured format. In her examination of qualitative interviewing Mason (1996: 42) highlights the fact that it is 'hard creative work' requiring a high level of skills and intellectual preparation and can be 'greedy of resources' (ibid: 59). The relatively informal style is made possible only by thorough preparation in terms of the practical details, social skills required and the intellectual processes of reaching a clear sense of the topics to be covered, possible questions and how these relate to the overall research questions. Once

completed interviews need to be transcribed, itself a time-consuming process, and analysed.

The interpretation of data developed from interviews relates closely to the knowledge claims sought. Kvale (2007: 20) provides two metaphors of interviewer as 'miner' or as 'traveller'. As a miner, the interviewer is involved in the process of extraction of facts from the interview, often considered objective facts as the basis of the analysis and subsequent findings. As a traveller the interviewer is involved in a conversation, 'wandering together' with the interviewee, in which the interview and the analysis become intertwined. Just as with documentary sources interviews can also be subject to a literal analysis concerned in this case with the details of the actual dialogue, an interpretative analysis more interested in a reading for meaning, and as Mason suggests a more reflexive analysis which would also include a reading of the interviewer's own role and interface with the interaction (1996: 54). For this study, interviews covered events that happened forty years previously and so are working in the area of recollection and memory. Their strength was seen to be in generating data that would provide a different perspective or interpretation of events rather than providing a factual account.

Access to potential participants was negotiated using existing networks and professional contacts resulting in interviews with three former workers and one professional advisor. It proved more difficult to access local residents who remembered the initiative as many of the key activists from the period were either no longer in the area or no longer alive. One interview was conducted with a local resident who had been active in the later stages of the CDP.

In preparation for the interviews, a list of potential topic areas was compiled from the emerging analysis from the reading of primary and secondary sources. These areas

were further broken down into sub-areas and potential questions and an overall interview framework developed. This was checked for overall logic and amended in the light of the different roles participants had played in the CDP. Interviews were conducted in line with the ethics approval for the study. Participants were provided with a written project information sheet together with a consent form for signature prior to interviews taking place. Interviews were recorded and fully transcribed with transcripts sent to participants for agreement and clarification of any difficulties in transcription.

Wider engagement

Alongside work on data generation, opportunities were used to create initial engagement with the study in two key areas. The first was general information sharing about the details of the study with professional contacts, through existing networks and some social media activity. The reach of this was expanded via attendance at workshops and events, including Imagine Programme events and the Scottish Graduate School of Social Science summer school. A proposal to develop an exhibition on the study for the Scottish Graduate School for the Arts and Humanities PhD showcase event was accepted and an exhibition mounted. A proposal for a conference paper for the Voluntary Action History Society (VAHS) 25th Anniversary Conference in Liverpool in 2016 was equally successful and a paper produced and delivered. The focus that VAHS has on advancing historical understanding and analysis of voluntary action (www.vahs.org.uk) provided the opportunity to share information about the study, receive feedback, and extend networks and contacts.

The second area covered early attempts to build engagement with contemporary community organisations. Contact was established at this stage with IRISS (Institute for Research and Innovation in Social Service), a Scottish Government funded organisation which looks to increase the use of knowledge and research in service improvement, in

relation to their *Time to Do Things Differently* programme. This looked to support work with a number of community organisations across Scotland to explore different ways of addressing issues within their communities. Involvement in a series of meetings and discussions with community group members in relation to this programme allowed testing of initial research design ideas on how this might be achieved. The issues raised by this are covered in more detail in Chapter seven.

Reflection and review

At the end of phase two, data generation for the first two examples was largely complete. In relation to St John's this involved predominantly archival work and for Paisley CDP was a combination of archival work and interviews. For each example, the data was collated and an initial analysis of the material undertaken to develop a first draft of the historical material and to identify gaps for further exploration. The example for the third period had been identified and scoping of potential primary sources undertaken. In relation to work with community organisations initial contacts had been made with interest expressed in the study and some work on how to present themes in a graphic form carried out in preparation for the exhibition.

The development of the paper *A Tale of Two Experiments* for the VAHS conference (Rawcliffe 2016) was a first attempt to move beyond the largely narrative accounts of the historical material to an early comparative analysis. Covering the first two accounts, St John's and Paisley CDP, themes around continuity and difference between the two initiatives were explored in terms of the context, the locus of control, underpinning social philosophies, practice methods and approaches, outcomes and impact. Feedback from, and discussion with conference participants, provided further contacts and ideas as well as points for reflection, particularly in relation to the dangers inherent in the study of

recreating and reading the past in relation to current policy concerns. Considering the use of documents in historical research, McCulloch (2004: 6) states:

> I am also very interested in the potential link between past and present, but hopefully not at the expense of becoming ahistorical or anachronistic in my approach to documents, which must be interpreted in relation to the historical context in which they are produced.

As an issue which had already been raised by my supervisors, this was a point for particular attention in the final phase of the study.

Phase Three

The final phase of the research included the completion of archival research for the third account, Kinning Park Co-operative Women's Guild (KPCWG). The completion of accounts of all three examples allowed for detailed review and comparative analysis of the historical findings to start. A paper was produced on the emerging analysis which was shared with contacts developed throughout the research process for feedback, discussion and comment. Alongside this there was further work on engagement with contemporary community organisations. The findings from this were developed into an article for an edition of the University of Stirling's interdisciplinary on-line journal of post graduate research, SPARK (Rawcliffe 2017). There was also input, building on the analysis of Paisley CDP, to a joint article with my supervisors for the *Community Development Journal* (Crow *et al.* 2018). All contributed to the developing analysis and overall findings.

Comparative analysis

A key activity in the final phase was the development of a comparative analysis of the historical material. This drew on ideas of thematic analysis, using Boyatzis' (1998: 161) definition of a theme as a guide:

> A theme is a pattern found in the information that at the minimum describes and organises the possible observations or at the maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon. A theme may be identified at the manifest level (directly observable in the information) or at the latent level (categorising issues underlying the phenomenon).

Working with historical material from very different historical periods and recognising that the material was illustrative of those particular contexts, however, precluded direct comparisons between the examples but rather allowed the drawing out of themes reflecting elements of continuity and change.

The identification of initial themes for the comparative analysis drew on four key sources: the framework established at the design stage drawing on theory of change approaches, key reference points from the literature, the themes developed in the VAHS paper and a further detailed reading of the historical material. Building on these, a series of early themes were developed into an analysis matrix. Themes were reviewed for each example in turn and additional areas of interest which were not covered, were added. This produced a matrix covering four key areas of definitions, strategies, practical application, impact and legacy. Each of these four areas was further broken down into sub areas. Thus the section on definition covered the community involved, how this was defined, needs that led to a definition of the issues, the description of issues, factors influencing change, the predominant model of social welfare, underlying assumptions and the desired results.

The matrix was completed for each example allowing for the identification of gaps in the data and areas for further clarification and exploration.

A series of 'memos' was developed to explore ideas arising from the comparative material. Each recorded an overall theme, its content and the sources identified to support or refute it. They also highlighted questions and areas for further consideration. These themes were further explored in relation to the historical examples in the paper on emerging themes. This paper was circulated to contacts who had been involved in the study to elicit feedback and discussion in advance of developing the final conclusions.

Engagement with community organisations

With the historical material largely complete, this allowed for a subsequent attempt to build engagement with contemporary community organisations. This was based on approaches to the geographical communities covered by the accounts. This proved successful in two out of the three areas with sessions held in conjunction with community organisations in both Ferguslie Park and Kinning Park. Sessions were recorded and partial transcripts made for analysis. The detail of this is covered in Chapter seven. The analysis provided the basis for a paper '*Imagining the past: Imagining the Future'* (Rawcliffe 2018) submitted to SPARK. Subsequent follow up activity with the organisations included involvement in two exhibitions drawing on the historical materials and consultation with participants in Paisley on both the overall historical account and the joint article developed with my supervisors based upon this.

A return to the literature and the archives

Ongoing work on the secondary literature and on archival sources was also a feature of phase three. Additional secondary literature was identified in relation to emerging key themes and concepts to inform the final analysis and finalise the literature review. This

included work on ideas of people's history and public history, further work on the history of social work as well as exploration of concepts such as 'commonwealth' and 'commonweal', a feature in both St John's and Kinning Park, and currently enjoying a contemporary revival (Studdert 2006, Studdert and Walkerdine 2016, Monbiot 2017). Additional archival work was carried out to double check sources and search for additional material to complete the final versions of the historical accounts. Alongside this, in a study that had some ambition of relevance to contemporary policy, there was a need to refresh awareness of the current policy context after an absence of three years in the field, particularly as it related to the issues emerging from the study. This included work on the idea of a 'Scottish' approach to policy making, aspirations for communities in current social policy and material in relation to the implementation of the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015.

Interpretation and theorisation

The final stage of phase three was a detailed review of the material produced from all sources to develop and test conclusions and the final thesis. The analysis matrix was revisited in the light of additional archival material and ongoing work on the literature review. The memos were further developed in the light of this and following feedback from contacts and a discussion on the emerging themes paper. The analysis of the sessions with community organisations was reviewed in the light of comments from my supervisors and the peer reviewers of the paper produced. Aware of Boyatzis' (1998: 13) suggestion that one of the key obstacles to effective thematic analysis is the projection of the researcher's values and conceptualisations onto the raw information, and the importance of avoiding sweeping, unsubstantiated claims from the findings, wider engagement at this point was key to testing what was particular and what could be generalised from the findings. A set of outline draft conclusions in relation to the research question was developed and tested

through the process of crafting these in finer detail. Final amendments were made in the light of debate and discussion with my supervisors and key contacts.

Reflection and review

The end of phase three was reached with the production of a first draft of the overall thesis. This represented some success in achieving the design and development of an interdisciplinary study in the broad area of community contribution to social welfare in the west of Scotland over the last two centuries. The historical accounts make a contribution to knowledge in the form of new accounts of three community based initiatives which add to the literature on initiatives in disadvantaged communities designed to stimulate involvement in social welfare. The utility of such accounts has been explored with contemporary community organisations and other key contacts and there has also been an attempt to explore potential policy relevance from the study. Returning to the starting point of biography, this has involved a huge personal learning curve for someone returning to study after a considerable period and has drawn heavily on the patience, support, enthusiasm and generosity of all who have helped along the way.

Limitations of the study

A key area of that learning has been an acceptance of the provisional nature of any knowledge claims made and a critical awareness of the limitation of the study. Reflection on the sources and methods which underpin the study finds these in relation to the research design, the balance of work between historical sources and community organisations, the sources available, use of social media and the fact that the three examples are drawn from a particular geographical area. One of the memos developed in

phase three covers the level of ambition in relation to community involvement in social welfare and this was perhaps an issue in relation to the initial proposal for the study. The ambition to cover an extended historical period, in conjunction with community organisations, was not (with hindsight) realistic and early work on narrowing the focus was required to address this.

The interest in exploring the interdisciplinary nature of the research question, it is hoped, added a level of richness to the study but may have also created unnecessary complexity, either real or imagined, in the attempts to combine methodologies from different disciplines and to retain an exploratory orientation. The design perhaps also failed to fully integrate the two key aspects of developing the historical examples and engaging with community organisations, resulting in a compartmentalisation of the work. Each of these elements might have been a study in its own right and it was perhaps ambitious to try to address them within the constraints of a three year PhD.

The limited integration between the two elements perhaps inevitably led to an imbalance in the work associated with each. Initial ideas as to the ease of engagement with contemporary organisations proved unfounded in the current climate of stretched resources, increased demands and a different role as an academic. Equally, the fact that there was only a generalised picture of the study to share until well into the study was an issue. Engagement on the basis of sharing the historical material proved more successful but time was then limited to build the trust fundamental to taking this forward and to devote to the practicalities of setting up opportunities. Thus engagement was more limited than originally intended and more akin to ideas of public history than the original ideas of participation and co-inquiry. Useful data were however developed and the engagement is likely to continue beyond the study.

There were also limitations within the sources. While this is often the case with archival sources, this was particularly so for a study looking to develop an account of work in communities which do not always feature in official records. Even where they do, it may be particular voices which are reflected. Voices are missing and it was partly a response to an awareness of the predominance of male voices in the record for both St John's and Paisley CDP that led to the decision to use KPCWG as the third account. The selection of examples has also been restricted to those initiatives for which there were records to work with, which may mean that they are not entirely typical. While ways of supplementing the existing records have been pursued wherever possible, material that reflects the voices of recipients of the interventions in the study remains limited.

The extent to which the use of social media might have broadened engagement with the study was perhaps not sufficiently explored. This was raised by participants at the discussion in Kinning Park and led to reflection on whether more use of a blog or twitter might have increased awareness and engagement with the study. Initial ideas on establishing an online presence and its regular updating were not followed through in detail and may represent an opportunity to receive feedback on the study which was missed.

The study has produced three historical accounts of community contribution to social welfare in the west of Scotland at different points over an extended time period. These appear to be of interest locally and it is the argument of this thesis that they can be seen to have some wider relevance in relation to lessons that might be learned from them. It is, however, a very small and perhaps atypical selection of examples in a particular local area and thus any conclusions are necessarily provisional and will be subject to challenge as knowledge develops.

The plea for additional time and resources is a familiar one and both would clearly go some way to addressing the limitations of the current study. Additional time to build further engagement with contemporary community organisations both geographical and those with an interest in social welfare would allow for further exploration of ideas of contemporary relevance. Equally additional resources to inquire into and develop further examples at different time points would provide a basis for greater generalisation. A further study building on the learning from this would allow for an exploration of the impact of different research methodologies and time to share findings with policy colleagues for exploration of potential policy impact. These are all, however, beyond what has been possible within the boundaries established by three years' research funding and provide the starting points for an agenda that will take the study forward.

Chapter Three. The Literature

An examination of efforts to mobilise community in the provision of social welfare in the west of Scotland over the past two centuries is an interdisciplinary endeavour. It will necessarily draw on literature from history, sociology, social policy and, within a thesis in the field of social work, social work studies and community development. If there is also an interest in the contemporary relevance of the study, material on the uses of history, of public and engaged history, and the current context for policy and practice in Scotland is indicated. The challenges of this breadth of interest are obvious and it is clearly impossible to cover all fields in detail.

The review that follows builds on the literature examined in Chapter two to locate the current study within this broad literature. It starts with a consideration of the current interest in community within current Scottish social policy and highlights key issues in relation to its distinctiveness, the definitions and aspirations involved, agency and the locus of control. It also suggests that the current focus on a 'what works', present-focused agenda may miss insights provided by an examination of historical antecedents over a longer time frame. The review then draws on the sociological literature to explore the conceptual history of ideas of community with a particular focus on the modern period covered by this study. It highlights three main discourses - that of community lost, community to be built and community to be recovered. All, it is argued, include a heavy dose of nostalgia and longing often mixed with high aspirations and expectations about what communities might offer

Connections between ideas of community and social welfare provide the basis for an examination of the historical literature in this area. Within historical accounts of the

development of arrangements for social welfare over the last two centuries, two main traditions are identified: one that provides a narrative of progressive state involvement in the development of the welfare state and a second 'voluntarist' tradition that focus on the different roles and functions of voluntary action. Community-based initiatives might include elements from both and the idea of 'a mixed economy of welfare' that suggests an interplay between different elements within a social welfare system is useful here. This includes the idea that experimentation and innovation may be a key feature of initiatives that straddle the borders created by such an interplay. The accounts developed in this study are contributions to the history of such borderlands.

The accounts in this study are also concerned with the practical contribution that communities have made to the development of social welfare in the west of Scotland and the approaches and methods employed to support and mobilise this. Historical studies in this area provide the basis for an examination of charity and mutual aid, collective self-help solutions, philanthropy and organisations with a wider social purpose. They are also used to consider different practice approaches and the threads that can be traced from these to contemporary practice. The importance of the contribution of women to the development and implementation of these approaches is highlighted as an issue for further exploration in the historical accounts.

The current policy context

Community is key focus of interest for current social policy in Scotland. Community is associated with policy areas as diverse as planning, safety, social care and social isolation. Setting current policy making within the context of devolution, Mooney and Scott (2011: 17) suggest that devolution is of increasing interest to social policy as a 'key global trend'. Further, they quote Béland and Lecours' (2008: 6) argument that:

> At both state and sub-state levels, social policy arrangements have been an important component of nation building and social policy preferences are fundamental aspects of the characteristics of a nation. Social programmes structure shared institutions while participating in the construction of economic, social and political boundaries between specific populations and territorial entities.

Given that the key policy making responsibilities of the devolved administration in Scotland are in the realm of social policy - those of health, housing, education, social services and local government, policy in relation to social welfare can be seen to be key to the nation building agenda of the current Scottish government (Mooney and Scott 2011: 4). The utility of social policy to a national project is twofold. Social policy is concerned with people's everyday lives and it is perhaps easier to build links between policy and a wider population in this area than in others. Discussion of social policy also involves discussion of core values, principles and overall social philosophy and can offer the space to establish a distinctive 'Scottish' approach.

Stewart (2004: 12) locates his case for a distinctive approach historically in the degree of social welfare autonomy that continued in Scotland after the Union 'supported by legal, political and administrative cultures that were, to varying degrees distinctive'. These are variously described as more inclusive, more expansive, more social democratic and more closely inter-related. Post-devolution the old model of policy making is characterised in its crudest form as 'top-down, paternalistic, characterised by silo based working and with a focus on curing problems after they arise' (Mitchell 2015). The results of this are those highlighted by the Commission on the Future of Public Services (CFDPS 2011: 8): a cluttered institutional landscape, some 40% of budget spent on 'negative demand' and minimal inroads into 'the longstanding needs in Scottish society'. In contrast a new Scottish

model of policy making is presented as one that is inclusive of community and service user interests, promotes effective partnership working, prioritises spending on prevention and maximises the efficient use of resources across the public, private and third sectors. The focus is on the transformation of public services. As applied to social welfare this has led to a range of policy prescriptions aimed at personalisation, asset-based approaches, co-production, early interventions, resilience and well -being. Indeed, Mitchell (2015: 2) cautions:

> We have become adept at inventing the language of reform with new terms invented or old terms polished up to be used as evidence of reform mindedness… We need to acknowledge that an abundance of ideas can be a form of displacement activity.

The idea of a distinctive approach to policy making in Scotland is examined by Mooney and Poole (2004: 459) in relation to social policy and by McGuiness *et al* (2015: 29) in the field of regeneration. Both suggest a greater convergence of practice than rhetoric and policy statements might suggest. Far from being the 'land of milk and honey' or the 'grass being greener on the other side' of the border, implementation in Scotland is subject to similar economic and ideological forces as the rest of the UK.

What is of particular interest to this study is the focus on 'community'. The key pillar of the recommendations of the CFDPS (2011: 26) is that:

> A first key objective of reform should be to ensure that our public services are built around people and communities, their needs, aspirations, capacities and skills, and work to build up their autonomy and resilience.

Communities, according to the Scottish Government will be key to a 'flourishing and fairer Scotland' and the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015 provides the legislative

framework to support communities to ensure that all their members can contribute 'their energy, creativity and talents'. This includes support to do things for themselves via community rights to buy land (Part 4), transfer public assets into community ownership (Part 5) and to make 'participation' requests to be involved in the delivery of elements of local improvement plans (Part 3).

The language is aspirational (Skerratt and Steiner 2013: 321); communities are a rich source of creativity and talent and central to Scotland's future prosperity. Regeneration strategy is focused on ensuring the potential of disadvantaged communities is realised (McGuinness *et al* 2014: 29) and in relation to social welfare the focus is on partnership, user involvement and co-production of services. Such policy direction can be seen to hold out the potential for responsive public services that value the contribution made by communities and their organisations and represent a move to a new politics with a focus on social justice, participation and community empowerment. This may represent a shift to the 'radical, new, collaborative culture' that will be needed throughout public services (CFDPS: viii) and may present opportunities for communities and their organisation to influence policy and service development. It might equally, however, represent a shift in responsibility for social welfare from central and local government to the individual and local communities (McKendrick *et al* 2016: 435, Shaw 2017: 14). Risks and issues that for some time have been addressed as public, collective issues such as poverty, unemployment and inequality are now individualised and privatised (MacLeod and Emejulu 2014: 432).

In addition to the need to critically assess the underlying objectives of a focus on community, there are further key elements to consider. The first is that of definition. While the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015 acknowledges the complexity of definition there is little attempt to resolve this. Instead any community body wishing to

make use of its provisions are to 'define the community to which they relate'. Where there is any definition it is in relation to local authority area or postcode but in relation to National Outcomes a requirement is made for Scottish Ministers to consult with people who 'appear to them to represent the interests of communities in Scotland' (1(5)(a)(i)). This part of the Act, Part 1 (11) states that "community" includes any community based on common interest, identity or geography"- a broader definition.

A second issue is the presentation of community as essentially unproblematic. There is limited discussion of the impact of difference and conflict within communities or the inequalities that exist both within and between communities. Underlying assumptions of shared objectives and a linear process of development are challenged by the messier reality of work on the ground (Skerratt and Steiner 2013: 335, Lawson and Kearns 2014: 69). Equally the inequality of resources both human and physical suggest that some communities will be more able to win funding and resources than others (Shucksmith 2000: 212). Robertson (2015: 3) highlights the separation that has existed for the last 80 years between physical regeneration and community-based social development in Scotland with the former having access to much higher levels of resources A focus on building services around the needs and aspirations of communities would require a substantial reallocation and investment of resources and a significant change in professional cultures, neither of which have been evident to date.

A further issue is that of agency. The rhetoric of community involvement is well-rehearsed. In the field of regeneration there has been an 'extensive lexicon extolling the importance of involving local people' (Robertson 2014: 25). This has included community consultation, involvement, engagement, participation and now empowerment. Considering the ubiquity of the term 'community capacity building' and examining whether it

represented something old or something new (Craig 2007: 354) concluded that it was 'none other than our old friend community development' and that it contained many of the tensions and difficulties that have characterised debates within this field. These include 'manipulation of communities, misappropriation of terminology, co-option of activists, conditional funding and state controlled power games such as divide and rule'.

Ideas of community empowerment raise similar issues. Shaw (2017: 6) argues that the model of community empowerment, seen in community planning in Scotland, has little to do with supporting the development of independent community agendas and action and much more to do with increasing participation in the processes of government. Community planning far from being the development of a bottom-up agenda is rather the name given to the strategic planning process within local authorities (Robertson 2014: 25). The first two sections of the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act lay out this strategic planning process in detail. Part 1 covers the development of National Outcomes and Part 2 covers the work of Community Planning Partnerships in the development of their local outcomes improvement and locality plans. It is only in Part 10 that the power enabling Scottish Ministers to require public authorities to promote and facilitate the participation of members of the public in the decisions and activities of the authority, including in the allocation of resources, is mentioned. The locus of control is firmly external and in the hands of agency stakeholders.

While this process may provide some opportunity for community voice to inform planning processes, notions of community empowerment can also provide a progressive gloss on less than progressive implementation. In the context of regeneration, far from being an empowering process for the geographical community of 'Clydemount', community empowerment was used to legitimate the shifting positions of statutory partners (Lawson

and Kearns (2014: 78). Community empowerment is not the 'spontaneous, self-regulating inclusive and organic' process (Skerratt and Steiner 2013: 321) that policy makers might hope for but something messier, more complex and episodic that needs to take into account resource and power imbalances between stakeholders and within communities.

Such complexity extends to the potential for tension between processes of community empowerment and representative democracy (Lawson and Kearns 2014, Shaw 2017). Participative approaches can see the emergence of 'consultative elites' and 'community leaders', who may struggle to represent the diverse interests within communities or choose to provide a partial view. Their existence and engagement creates the potential for conflict with the role of locally elected representatives as to whose views receive precedence. Local democracy and political representation can be undermined providing less, rather than more, opportunities for communities to raise issues of concern. Questions are currently being asked about the appropriate structures for local governance in Scotland and the balance between participative and representative approaches to deliver the deliberative, democratic and accountable structures required at a local level.

Taking a long view

Policy development in these areas is informed by a commitment to learn from 'what works'. The 'what works approach' aims to produce 'clear, synthesised, well presented and disseminated evidence' to support policy interventions (What Works 2013: 1). It also has a clear focus on achieving value for money. It is not the role of the What Works Centres to generate primary research but rather to gather and synthesis existing, academically rigorous, research. Such an agenda is clearly important but does depend on what is considered as 'evidence'. The focus can be on the present or relatively recent past. Accounts of voluntary and community activity, where they do survive, can often be

localised, scattered and relegated to what is considered 'grey literature' and thus unavailable to those reviewing evidence. Equally an agenda that focuses on the current or recent past may miss insights provided by an examination of historical antecedents which provide the opportunity to place developments within a longer timeframe and explore the existence of patterns and continuities in approaches.

Discussing the nature of history, Marwick (1989: 14) claims that it is a necessity; key to a community's ability to orientate itself in relation to its past and future and to relate to other communities and societies. History acts as communal memory providing the sense of identity, bearings, ability to relate to others and underpins the taking of intelligent decisions. Considering the links between history and policy, Tosh (2014: 210) argues that the 'modes of thinking' of academic historians can bring a particular perspective:

> They make repeated use of the antithesis between continuity and change, being particularly attentive to claims of novelty; they seek to identify enabling conditions in the past and whether these still apply today; and they track historical processes which are still unfolding in the present.

This is can be particularly pertinent to social policy and arrangements for social welfare that reflect the ongoing debate about the respective roles of the individual, community and state in the interplay of different players in the mixed economy.

History is, however, a social process and ideas of public history broaden the focus of enquiry, the purpose of that enquiry and the process and methods by which history is created. This allows for new participants in the history making process, new areas of interest and the use of non-traditional materials. They might also as Newell suggests involve a different 'attitude or perception about the use and value of history' (quoted Kean and Martin 2013: xvi). While an early focus of public history was on where it was being

produced, by whom and how it was transmitted by historians to the 'public', Kean (2010: 26) argues for 'a different way of thinking about public history that places less emphasis on any distinctiveness of "historian" and "public" and more upon 'the process of how the past becomes history' and the 'form and processes involved in the creation of history' (ibid: 29).

History is no longer the preserve of academic historians and builds on a long tradition of alternative histories developed outside the academy. Drawing on Samuel's legacy and his oft quoted definition of history as 'a form of social knowledge; the work in a given instance of a thousand different hands' (1994: 8), the argument is for inclusive histories. These are histories which break down knowledge barriers, value engagement and promote the use of different materials. Such ideas informed the development of the new social histories, the identity histories and oral histories of respectively the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s (Flinn 2011). New voices are added to the communal memory and different perspectives recovered.

While such histories expand the range and scope of historical perspectives concerns have been expressed about the dangers of a focus on rediscovery, on essentially local concerns and a tendency to the development of micro-histories. As applied to work in communities and independent and community archives, Flinn (ibid: 9) highlights the danger of a focus on 'reclamation and celebration' and the development of community archives as places of passive collection of the past. This can be addressed, he suggests, by the inclusion of elements of critical reflection and analysis that create the possibility of a radical or oppositional history that can 'become a significant tool for discovery, education and empowerment'. This, he claims will be a source of 'useful' history, history not produced solely for academic purposes, but histories 'that are explicitly intended to be used to

support the achievement of political objectives and mobilization as a means of inspiring action and cementing solidarity' (ibid: 12).

There is also a danger that public and engaged history may equally focus solely on the near past, the more easily accessible past. This can be seen in histories of social work that take as their starting point the development of current institutional arrangements post 1945 (Payne 2005: 15) or even, as in the literature review to support the 21st Century Review of Social Work in Scotland, the philosophy of the Kilbrandon Report in 1964. Such an approach however is challenged by Lorenz (2007: 599) who argues for the use of a longer timescale that sees social work as an essentially liberal development with its origins in the nineteenth century and a 'messier pre-professional past'. Incorporating a long view allows for consideration of broader issues of patterns and threads that survive in the present alongside elements of change and difference. This may be particularly relevant in the study of community-based initiatives that often remain unexamined and certainly not over a long time period. In this study adopting a long view also provides the basis for an examination of claims of novelty and transformative potential in a focus on 'community'.

Community in sociological thought

There is a substantial sociological literature to draw on to explore these issues further. This includes work on definition, conceptualisation and also the tradition of 'community studies' and 'studies of communities and localities' that Crow and Allan (1994: 18) suggest have an enjoyed a revival since the 1980s. Community in the sociological literature is a highly-contested concept that generates an ever-expanding literature. Crow and Mah (2011) in their annotated bibliography for the Connected Communities programme cover 100 works that related to the theme 'Conceptualisations and meanings of "community"' produced between 2000 and 2011.

A key reference point is Williams (1976: 65) who traces the use of the word 'community' in the English language back to the fourteenth century with its meaning chiefly concerned with social groups and the particular quality of relationships or associational life. From the seventeenth century onwards, he identifies signs of a distinction being made between 'society' and 'community', with the latter being seen to be more immediate. There is also the idea in Western thought that community was associated with the 'vision of a pure or pristine social bond that did not need a state' (Delanty 2003: 9): community as 'natural'. These senses of community as associational life, as immediate, and as somehow natural and ideal, are all important to this study.

In the early nineteenth century with the advent of more complex industrial societies, the quality of immediate, direct social relations associated with the idea of a traditional community are increasingly contrasted to the more remote and instrumental relationships with 'society' and the developing state. Community is seen to occupy an intermediary position between the world of the individual, their family and the state. The nature and quality of relationships is key. Tönnies makes the distinction between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (1887). The former is characterised by the associational relationships expressed in family life, in folkways in rural village life, and religion in town life; relationships which are characterised by a shared world view, shared values, oral communication and co-operation. The latter is characterised by exchange relationships based on shared interests and functional co-operation, associated with social relationships in industrialising societies.

These changing relationships are seen as a loss, a concern about the impact of modernity on previously ordered and established social relations. The contrast is drawn between the town and the country: the fractured, dislocated social relations within

developing urban areas and the natural 'folk ways' of the rural setting. Community as had been known to date is destroyed by modernity. This is a powerful theme that runs through much of the discussion of community. In his review of the literary treatment of these themes, Williams uses the image of an escalator that constantly moves the idea of loss of community, back to the earliest times. This idea of 'perpetual retrospect' gives rise to the myth in modern England that the transition from rural to industrial society, most usually associated with the process of enclosure, is seen as a 'kind of fall, the true cause and origin of our social suffering and disorder'. Williams questions whether this can be seen to be a decisive moment arguing that such treatment attributes the blame to the system of urban industrialisation and not the processes of capitalism that were being played out simultaneously in both the country and the city (1985: 12). The nostalgia for something lost, however, remains a key element in notions of community. Bell and Newby (1971: 22) suggest that while there may be many definitions of community they are all characterise d by a 'pervading posture of nostalgia – of praising the past to blame the present'. Bauman (2001) characterises this as the idea of 'paradise lost'.

The counterpoint to a narrative of loss is one of recovery, of re-establishment that can combine with the idea of the potential for progress and change through rational enquiry and scientific method. This characterised many initiatives in the period under consideration and Delanty would argue that these elements were key to many of the major political discourses of the nineteenth century (2003: 19). Bauman (2001: 3) suggests the impetus for this is the search for security in our currently insecure world. The security we long for and seek in community, he suggests comes at the price of freedom and individuality. Notions of community are at best nostalgic and illusory and will always fail to deliver:

> Paradise lost or a paradise still hoped to be found: one way or another, this is definitely not a paradise that we inhabit and not the paradise we know from our own experience.

Approaches that draw on a cultural, post-modern perspective challenge the nineteenth and early twentieth century notions of community suggesting more fluid, open notions based on a recognition of the potential range of different identities and allegiances that individuals might develop across time and space in a globalised world. These approaches see community as variously, emergent, about communication, as constructed via social action and as a set of 'practices that constitute belonging' (Delanty 2003: 130). Following Bourdieu, Somerville (2001: 9) suggests that 'community' is perhaps best understood as 'meaningful connectedness within habitus' and that it is 'experienced, felt and imagined as a collective entity or project' (ibid: 32). Such approaches also challenge romantic ideas of community. They highlight the potential for conflict and processes of exclusion within communities and consider issues of boundaries and how these are developed and maintained. Drawing on an analysis from Foucault there can equally be an emphasis on the extent to which ideas of community reveal underlying structures of power, social management and control in particular communities (Parry *et al.* 1979). Examining more recent literature, Crow and Mah (2011: 4) argue that conceptions of community are now more paradoxical:

> …the term is used positively to represent social belonging, collective well-being, solidarity and support, but also negatively in relation to social problems and 'problem populations'.

If community is beyond our reach it is in the realm of imagination, of our aspirations, that ideas of community can be an impetus to change:

> If there is to be a community in the world of individuals, it can only be (and needs to be) a community woven together from sharing and mutual care: a community of concern and responsibility for the equal right to be human and the equal ability to act on that right. (Bauman 2001: 149).

Community and Social Welfare

Linkages between ideas of community and social welfare have a long lineage. The idea of commonwealth or commonweal provides an interesting starting point. The notion of the 'commons', now the subject of substantial contemporary interest (Studdert 2006, Studdert and Walkerdine 2016, Monbiot 2017), in its original form referred to an association, often a political association, formed for the common or general good. There is a concern with public welfare, wealth in this context links to well-being and ideas of common, and often self-organised, well-being. Prochaska (2006: 5) suggests that in seventeenth century Britain 'the commonwealth fused ancient ideas of republican citizenship with Christian notions of benevolence and social justice'. While the individual and the family have a role to play in social welfare, the commons, as external to the family unit, equally have a role to play in providing collective well-being. Ideas of a 'commonwealth', either of the 'godly' or 'co-operative' variety, reoccur throughout the period under consideration most often as an alternative to the existing social order. They also sit alongside ideas of a 'traditional' community that organises to meet the needs of its members from within its own resources, with a minimal role for a state and often associated with rural, pre-industrial society.

If ideas of commonwealth or commonweal involve the notion of communal well-being and public welfare and those of a traditional community involve ideas of self-sufficiency and self-organisation, those of a 'welfare state' suggest a different set of social relations. Briggs (1961: 228) provides the classic definition:

> A 'Welfare State' is a state in which organized power is deliberately used (through politics and administration) in an effort to modify the play of market forces in at least three directions – first by guaranteeing individuals and families a minimum income irrespective of the market value of their work or property: second, by narrowing the extent of insecurity by enabling individuals and families to meet certain social contingencies (for example, sickness, old age and unemployment) which lead otherwise to individual and family crises: and third, by ensuring that all citizens without distinction of status or class are offered the best standards available in relation to a certain agreed range of social services.

This is the state using its democratic mandate and its administrative powers to address universal social welfare needs, to provide for all from the 'cradle to the grave'. The state is the guarantor of social welfare for individuals and their families. The narrative is one of the interaction between the individual and the state, the rights and entitlements of citizens and one in which the role of community receives less emphasis.

Briggs' definition perhaps reflects the context in which it was written and might also be seen as an ideal-type definition that refers to developments in the UK at a particular point in time,-that of the post war period. It is, however, useful in contrasting different visions for the contribution of 'community' to the provision of social welfare. An essentially conservative approach draws on ideas of a traditional community, most usually of place, characterised by strong social links and obligations with the resources and organisation to take responsibility for the social welfare its members. An alternative radical vision starts from the position that such communities, if they ever existed, may have been partial and selective in what they provided for their members and that it requires the collective organisation of the state to guarantee equity and social justice.

There are many variants in between such opposing positions. For a significant period of time the history of the development of arrangements for social welfare was dominated by an interest in the development of the welfare state and a narrative of increasing collectivisation and progressive state intervention. In 1994, Finlayson (1994: 18) warned that such a 'Whig' path to the welfare state was beset with dangers. In historical literature primarily focused on the state he argued, 'voluntary social action in its various forms disappears from sight' (1994: 10) and, 'books which take account of voluntary initiatives have, indeed tended to be written by students of politics, sociology, and social administration and to be set in the very recent past, or in the present-day period'. The suggestion was that historians had tended to focus on more plentiful and accessible records, such as those for the Poor Law, left by the state rather than those for the different forms of voluntary welfare activity which tend to be 'scattered, localised and patchy'. This may be particularly so for such activity within disadvantaged communities that tend to leave less records. The dominance of interest in the activities of the state might also lead to a focus on the defects of voluntary activity which was variously seen as elitist, moralising, un-professional and partial. Accounts of voluntary and community activity were thus non-existent, marginal to the main narrative or indeed seen as obstructive to the progress of the state.

Lewis (1996: 155) links a resurgence of interest in voluntary organisations and their relationship to the state to the 'commitment of successive Conservative governments from 1979 onwards to promote voluntary agencies together with the market and the family, as the preferred providers of welfare'. Harris and Bridgen (2007: 2) agree that there was a link to the emergence of new attitudes to welfare provision but also that historians' response to developments in thinking about social policy and developments in their own discipline were a contributing factor. A dimension of this was a changing focus from the work of

organisations and institutions to ideas of history 'from below'; a focus on reconstructing the ordinary. Such a reorientation has produced studies on voluntary action, informal welfare and their different organisations. Despite this, however, an analysis of the literature on small, informal community groups in 2010 by the Third Sector Research Centre was still able to conclude that, as the largest part of the third sector, they are the least researched (McCabe *et al.* 2010). Where there has been historical research, it has tended to focus on larger voluntary organisations, voluntary hospitals and individual philanthropists for which there are perhaps more easily accessible records than for the activities of local communities.

Linked to a move from ideas of a linear progression of increasing state involvement in social welfare is that of the existence of a 'mixed economy of welfare'. This starts from the premise that voluntary activity has always played an important role in social welfare in Britain and sees the different elements of the state and voluntary activity in all its forms interact, negotiating the 'moving frontier' (Finlayson 1994: 18), or operate in the 'borderlands rather than borderlines' (Lewis 1995: 3). This suggests a more subtle and complex interaction and relationship between the different players which will shift and change at different points in time. The players are from four main sectors; the 'informal sector', the 'for-profit' or commercial sector, the statutory sector and the 'not-for-profit', voluntary or third sector although it is generally acknowledged that such categories include a substantial degree of overlap. Indeed, community-based initiatives might well include elements of all of these and suggest more blurred boundaries than those often assumed between the different sectors.

An important feature of such interaction is that of innovation and 'recurrent experimentation' (Finlayson 1994:18). Beveridge (1948: 302) recognised the importance of

this in his sequel to his main report, *Voluntary Action*, in which he stated that voluntary action was 'needed to pioneer ahead of the state and make experiments'. It was also, he argued, needed to do things that the state should not do or that the state is most unlikely to do. Such experimentation and innovation might result in different solutions at different times as players seek to respond to new and emerging issues. Addressing the challenge of how to write the history of the voluntary sector, Lowe (1995: 370) questions how 'is it possible to generalise without the loss of that vital sense of individuality and the anarchic variety of responses to different needs at different times in different regions'. Engagement with ideas of such variety and experimentation within communities in the west of Scotland is a key underpinning to this study.

Examples from the literature in Scotland on communities and social welfare demonstrate the different approaches. Levitt (1988: 6) provides a detailed study of the evolution of Scottish poor law policy and administration, tracing the development of system based on promotion of individual need without recourse to guilt or shame, not only as end in itself but also 'to aid an understanding of the origins of the British Welfare State and the difficulties it faces today'. Contributors to Cage's (1987) edited collection on the working class in Glasgow between 1750 and 1914 consider housing health, poor relief, politics and popular culture within the context of the debate on the impact of industrialisation on the overall standard of living of the working class.

Clydeside and the debate on 'Red Clydeside' is a key backdrop for studies of community action. Damer (1980: 75) sets the rent strikes in Glasgow in 1915 within the context of the struggles on Clydeside and argues that they represented a class victory for organised labour rather than a 'social' or 'community' movement. Melling's (1983) work on housing and the role of women in the rent strikes of 1915 considers the interconnected

roles of community-based as well as industrial protest. Based on oral testimonies of participants and their relatives, his work also considered what this meant for gender roles within the wider labour movement. The importance of the politicisation of housing to Labour's fortunes in Glasgow and the role of women and an extended franchise in their ultimate success in capturing the municipal corporation in 1933 is a key theme of Smyth's (2000) study of Labour in the city. The rise of Labour is seen not as a march forward but rather something more fitful including progress as well as retrenchment.

In their map of some 55 community and locality studies in the British Isles compiled by Crow and Allan (1994: xxiv) just five were in Scotland. Those in the west of Scotland were Giarchi's (1984) study on Holy Loch and Damer's study on Moorepark (1989). The latter adopts an ethnographic approach to consider the process of stigmatisation of an area and how housing reform and policy in Glasgow created a division between tenants considered to be 'rough' and those considered 'respectable'. A further ethnographic study based in the early 1980s was of 'Cauldmoss' an ex-coal mining village in the central belt of Scotland, focused on work and the cultural constraints on how the community responded to over 30% male unemployment (Wight 1993).

Housing and post-war regeneration in the city is the focus of Brennan's (1959) study which included material on work, home and social life in Govan and comparative material for Pollok and Gorbals. The study, he argued, (1959: 43) addressed a gap in the literature on what he describes as 'problem areas' suggesting that where studies have been made, they have been made by sociologists 'on the basis of ideas which are outside the normal equipment of the planner and administrator'. Regeneration and the lessons from the experience of the GEAR (Greater Eastern Renewal Area) project is the subject of

Middleton's 1987 study based on material from the social survey carried out in the project area providing an overview of the local communities involved.

From a different perspective, feminist historians in Scotland have developed accounts of the lives of women in local communities (King 1993, Breitenbach 2010, Gordon 1991, Breitenbach and Wright 2014). Again, however the primary focus is on wider political involvement and relations to the suffrage and labour movements rather than the detail of local community initiatives. The latter are a primary focus of some of the community development literature. Bryant and Bryant (1982) document four case studies of 'issue-centred collective action' from the work of Crossroads Youth and Community Association engaging with debates on the efficacy of local community action. Collins examines the resilience and longevity of a local organisation that has survived amidst radically changing contexts and changes of personnel over some 35 years. The importance of a sustained process of collective self-education and co-learning driven by an ethic of solidarity (2011: 77) together with a longstanding connection to the trade union movement and a focus on the development of their own workers are identified as key factors in this. Despite an expanding literature in this area there remain gaps in the detailed examination of community-based initiatives and few that take a comparative approach to developments over a long time frame.

Areas of Community Contribution

Locating community within the idea of a mixed economy of welfare suggests contributions in three main areas: the provision of charity and mutual aid, the development of collective self-help solutions and the development of initiatives with a wider philanthropic or social purpose. These will be examined in turn drawing on the historical literature and that

covering developments in the west of Scotland. While much of this account of the material is based on the literature on the nineteenth century, the basic categories are in evidence well into the twentieth century and can still be found in the current community and voluntary sector, albeit with some important additions. Any attempt to impose categories on what is a diverse and essentially fluid sector must equally acknowledge that there are clearly overlaps between them.

Charity and mutual aid

In his examination of 'welfare from below' Harris (2004: 89) argues that self-help and mutual aid were the third 'arm' of what might be called the Victorian 'welfare state'; the other two being the statutory Poor Law and voluntary provision. The nature and extent of charity and mutual aid within communities at any given period are difficult to ascertain, given that such activities leave few official records but although 'the aid provided by friends, relatives and neighbours was often unrecorded, its existence was acknowledged by many contemporaries' (Harris 2004: 76). Examining the philanthropy of working-class women, Prochaska (1980: 42) argues that 'such activities were part of the day to day un-administered lives of the poor' suggesting that this creates a problem for the historian in that 'they rarely leave a trace behind'. Equally examining the role of working-class charity, he suggests that such charity was essential to their domestic economy and that the kindness of neighbours served to extend the boundaries of the 'protective familial world' (Prochaska 1990: 360). Ross (1993: 134) highlights that help from neighbours was a feature of the social economy of women in poor communities. This was evident in the collective care of children, help with minor household expenses and equipment as well as more major life events. Roberts' (1984: 187) oral history study of the lives of working class women in the north west describes the range of help provided by neighbours as 'immense'; ' the sick and dying were fed and nursed; clothes were passed on; funeral teas prepared for the

mourners; the dead laid out; shopping done for the elderly'. This help that is immediate, local and able to respond to crisis is built upon neighbourhood networks and social bonds often seen to be key features of traditional communities and a focus of interest in studies of working-class communities in the twentieth century. Considering the role of neighbours, Abrams, (Bulmer 1986: 92) concludes that:

> The so-called natural helping networks of the traditional neighbourhood - not actually natural at all, of course - developed as a response to certain highly specific social conditions which one would not wish to see reproduced today.

The charity and mutual aid in evidence is a response to economic insecurity, a lack of financial resources and the absence of an expectation of a public welfare system. Abrams, in his examination of the process of neighbouring and neighbourhood care suggests that such activities occur in very specific circumstances, those of 'extreme social homogeneity… permanence… and threat' (quoted Crow and Allan 1994: 185). This is the mutuality of the 'people living at the edges or the margins of a generally oppressive system' (Williams 1985: 104), a theme reflected in Damer's (1989) study of Moorepark in Govan.

While charity and mutual aid are often a feature of community responses to need and are able to anticipate or indeed prevent the need for statutory activity, the circumstances within which they occur and extent to which they are effective may depend on the nature and resources of the particular community at the particular point in time. Again, in relation to neighbours, Bulmer suggests that they may also be limited to assistance with short-term emergency needs and domestic crises. In his study of government charity relations in interwar Britain, Harris (1995: 540) argues that the level of mutual aid that was possible was limited by the 'depth and concentration of the poverty experienced in many working-class areas'.

Collective self-help solutions

Closely linked to the idea of mutual aid, Finlayson (1994: 27) focuses on the idea of 'provident behaviour' defined as 'help from within', the pooling of risks to make provision for bad times in more favourable times. Friendly Societies are deemed to be an important example of this and he argues, were 'the most notable and widespread manifestation of providence'. Friendly Societies and box clubs existed in Scotland as early as the 1600s. These provided two main benefits, a weekly allowance when sick and a funeral payment for widows. The earliest friendly society in Glasgow is recorded by Cleland (1829: 244) as the Bell's Wynd Society which was instituted in 1746, and in 1829, he recorded some 129 Friendly Societies in Glasgow established since the year 1746. The societies, often based on locality, shared place of origin, or occupation, fulfilled both a social as well as an economic function for their members. They perhaps also provided social networks for people new to the city. Thane (2012: 412) highlights that most of the members of Friendly Societies were men as women were often unable to afford the contributions even though they were in greater danger of poverty than men given their 'longer life expectancy combined with their lesser opportunities to earn'. Many of these local societies were gradually replaced by the growth of the affiliated orders that grew out of groupings of local societies and which proved to be attractive the higher paid workers in industrial areas.

For those unable to afford the higher subscriptions of friendly society membership, burial societies and collecting societies provided a more affordable alternative. The benefits derived from these were, however, more limited, restricted to death benefits with no compensation for loss of earnings due to sickness or old age. The Scottish Legal United Assurance Society founded in 1852 had some 216,343 members in Glasgow when the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies reported in 1872, and the City of Glasgow Society,

founded in 1862 had 24,000 (Gosden 1974: 119). Gosden suggests however that the 'collecting societies could hardly be considered as foremost among the agencies for mutual thrift and self-help, but their continued success showed that they met a need among the poorer section of the community' (ibid: 122).

Savings banks provided another alternative for those unable to access Friendly Societies although many originated as local philanthropic initiatives and may have been treated with some suspicion. The first savings bank in Scotland was opened in Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire in May 1810 by the local Minister the Rev. Henry Duncan (Checkland 1980: 133) and most conformed to the pattern of being instituted by local philanthropists to encourage saving among the poor. Whether they were used by those they claimed to support is open to question, but Payne argues that the Savings Bank of Glasgow was somewhat unique. While founded on the same motives of benevolent paternalism as elsewhere, he argues, it was characterised by the energy, creativity and motivation of its founders and paid officials. There were 36 associated penny banks across the city in 1860 with 60,000 depositors and the bank 'did attract and maintain the support of manual workers', some of whom built up sizeable deposits (Payne 1967: 165).

Early co-operative societies can also be seen as attempts to pool resources to address hard times. The earliest of these in Scotland, the Fenwick Weavers was established in 1769 followed by the Govan Victualling Society in 1771, the Bridgeton Old Victualling and Baking Society in 1800, the Lennoxtown Co-operative Society in 1812 and the Larkhall Victualling Society in 1821 (Lucas 1920: 22). Cole (1944: 149) suggests that most of these were small scale and grew primarily among weaving communities. Maxwell (1910: 46) argues that they may not have seen themselves as co-operators. Discussing the Fenwick weavers, he suggests:

> It was the creation of a few poor Scottish weavers who in all likelihood had never heard of co-operation, but simply saw in an associated effort of this kind a means whereby they could supplement their scanty and uncertain earnings.

It was later in the nineteenth century that co-operative societies considered themselves to have a wider social purpose.

Philanthropy and wider social purpose

In the preface to her study on *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland*, Checkland (1980: 2) draws a distinction between charity and philanthropy. Charity, she argues, was 'often a social observance, designed rather for the re-assurance of the giver than for the good of the receiver'. In Victorian Scotland it was particularly important as a strict interpretation of the provisions of the Poor Law did not allow for support for the able bodied poor and it was often 'heavily impregnated with moral judgements' and came to be regarded as 'mean and grudging'. In contrast, philanthropy, she argues, is 'a broader concept based on wider humanitarian concerns'. Its concern is to better human conditions and she argues, should not be concerned with making moral judgements about recipients. On the basis of this definition, Checkland identifies three general phases of philanthropic activity in Victorian Scotland. An early phase is largely concerned with the charitable activities of upper and middle class philanthropists, a second from the 1870s is characterised by attempts to rationalise the burgeoning charitable world and put in on a more 'professional' footing, and the third from the 1890s into the early years of the twentieth century saw the introduction of more radical ideas about the need for a greater role for the public sector. The latter she argues was associated with the rise of the Fabian Society and other socialist groups and can be seen in the debates around the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws 1905-1909.

In relation to activity within working class communities in the nineteenth century, Prochaska (1990) argues that a distinction between charity and philanthropy did not exist at the time and thus has limited value in terms of analysis. Philanthropy, of both the working-class and middle-class variety, he argues was of huge importance:

> No country on earth can lay claim to a greater philanthropic tradition than Great Britain. Until the mid-twentieth century philanthropy was widely believed to be the most wholesome and reliable remedy for the nations' ills, a view that is not without adherents today (1990: 357).

While much of this was the preserve of the middle classes there were organisations, mostly local ones, where 'working class men and women worked together with those from higher social classes in common cause' (ibid: 366). He suggests, however, that most charities that saw such mixing of the classes were 'typically parish based and sought to keep the immediate community's body and soul intact (ibid: 367).

Other community-based organisations with a wider social purpose can also be seen during this period. Societies based on Owenite principles were a feature of the west of Scotland in the mid-nineteenth century and indeed Maxwell (1910: 57) claims that Alexander Campbell, one of 'Owen's first missionaries', was the first to discover the principle of distributing profits in proportion to purchases in 1827, predating the work of the Rochdale Pioneers. Lucas (1920: 30) points to the importance of the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts of 1852 and 1862 as providing the impetus for the expansion of co-operation in Scotland. There were two early retail co-operatives in Glasgow, one in 1830 and another in the 1850s. These primarily developed under the auspices of Alexander Campbell, one of Owen's first 'missionaries', but neither society thrived and despite initial growth and the opening of 8 branches in 6 years, the latter was wound up in 1865 (ibid:

109). The period from 1865 saw the major development of retail co-operatives in Glasgow and the surrounding area alongside that of co-operative production seen in the activities of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society and related organisations. These organisations provided an important source of saving and security for a section of the working population and have often been seen as organisations of the better off working class who were able to afford the higher prices required to support the dividend. The fact that they were also concerned with developing alternative forms of social and economic organisation points to a wider social purpose. This was a feature that they shared with other organisations of the labour movement in the mid-late nineteenth century. Reflecting on the links between co-operation, competition and community, Thomson (1897: 14) described the development of co-operation as a 'balance and an antidote to the evils of competition' and its mission as being to 'show that the feeling of brotherhood is still abroad among the members of the human family, that association is as necessary as the development of the individual as it is to that of society and that the community can only exist by the acceptance of co-operative ideas and the practice of co-operative methods'.

Practice approaches

If community is seen to make a contribution to social welfare across this range of areas, what of the practice approaches adopted to stimulate and encourage this? The historical literature provides several threads which link to ideas of current practice. The first of these are the nineteenth century visiting and collecting societies with their parish and neighbourhood focus. These were largely controlled and run by women (Prochaska 1980: 97) and developed a model of organisation based on the division of the areas into districts. Under their district visiting model members each took responsibility for one area and

visited recipients in their own homes to collect and/or distribute aid. Records also suggest a strong focus on reporting and co-ordination of activity.

A thread from this model was the approach of 'friendly visiting' developed within the Charity Organisation Society (COS) by Octavia Hill and Helen Bosanquet (Lewis 1995: 34). The origins of COS can be found in concerns about the impact of alleged indiscriminate giving and the development of ideas of scientific charity. In Scotland it was established in Edinburgh in 1868 and in Glasgow, as The Glasgow Association for Organising Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity, in 1874 to address 'the proper distribution of charitable relief and the promotion of the welfare of the poor' (Checkland 1980: 299). This was to be achieved by careful investigation of the circumstances of all applicants, the keeping of records and wherever possible the encouragement of independence and self-help. Rather than having responsibility for a geographical district, the visitor, again most usually a woman, now had responsibility for particular individuals and families. Friendly visiting was described as 'quiet, practical work with the poor', built on spending time with them developing a detailed knowledge of their needs and how they might be helped, on respect for the families and the building of neighbourliness. Woodroofe (1962: 52) quotes Octavia Hill as saying 'our ideal must be to promote the happy intercourse of neighbours'.

Whether such an approach characterised the work of all the COS investigating agents is unclear, but evidence to Glasgow's Municipal Commission into the Housing of the Poor (1903: 525) spoke of 'the friendly personal interest and counsel of the lady rent collector as extended under such a scheme as that of the Kyrle Society', based on the ideas of Octavia Hill and founded in Glasgow in 1882. This was described as bringing a 'breath of practical good sense into a charitable scene much hidebound by old ideas, and led on to new fields of social caring in housing management and general social work with problem

families' (Checkland 1980: 302). Glasgow COS, along with the Queen Margaret College Settlement and the Glasgow Union of Women Workers, held a meeting on May 12th 1909 to consider the need of a School of Social Economics in Glasgow such as exists in London, Liverpool, Birmingham and other cities' (35th Annual Report of the Council of the Glasgow Association for Organising Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity: 17). The School of Social Study and Training established in February 1912 aimed at both paid and voluntary workers within the charitable sector, public officials and 'organisers and secretaries of Trade Unions, Friendly Societies and Co-operative Societies' (Checkland 1980: 308) can be seen as the start of social work education in the city.

While district and friendly visiting approaches with their individualised approach suggest links to the development of ideas of locality and social casework, there were equally approaches with a collective focus. Prochaska (1990: 381) highlights 'mothers' meetings' which recruited 'vast numbers of working class women and children' and were 'supervised by ladies often with the assistance of working class missioners'. A development from district visiting, he suggests that for a century they were a 'crucial agency in British social service' that attracted large numbers of working-class women to sessions which included a mix of needlework, religious instruction, social support and female solidarity (Prochaska 1989: 379). They also over time increased their focus on issues of interest to women and became he argues a 'clearing house for information on family welfare' (ibid: 391) expanding their activities to include savings clubs, clothing clubs, doctor's funds, lantern lectures, outings as well as information of child welfare.

Related to this is the division that Woodroofe (1962: 60) highlights within the COS between those who favoured a focus on the individual and their particular circumstances and those who advocated the importance of building relationships and interchange

between the classes as a means of achieving wider social reform. The latter was a key feature of the early settlements such as Toynbee Hall in the east end of London and Hull House in the US which provided an important space for women to develop both a research and practice agenda (Oakley 2018: 41-75). The Glasgow University Settlement Association was founded in 1886 and, in 1897, Toynbee House opened in the Townhead area of the city. Checkland (1980: 304) quotes John Caird, Principal of Glasgow University:

> From the outset, we have tried to make Toynbee House a centre of social work in the district. Members of the Association, grouped together as "families", undertook to get gradually associated with residents and to invite them to social gatherings… Everyone now acknowledges that this kind of work is most essential to knit the various classes of the community together, and to extend the blessings of civilisation to all.

An initiative associated with Toynbee House was the Queen Margaret Lecture Guild organised by women students at Queen Margaret College to provide short courses for working women and girls and in 1897, women students formed the Queen Margaret Settlement Association which opened its premises in the Anderston area of the city in 1901 (Checkland 1980: 306). The work of the settlements, many of which later became social action centres, was a key influence on the development of community development and ideas of social action (Gilchrist 2004: 14).

A key element across these approaches is the role played by women both as volunteers, workers and most likely recipients of community-based interventions. Early district visiting attracted predominantly upper- and middle-class women keen to find occupation outside the home but there is evidence that working-class women were involved when they could be. This was certainly the case for mothers' meetings and

Prochaska (1980: 129) cites Ellen Ranyard's Bible and Domestic Female Mission as leading the way in including working class women as organisers. He also argues (1989: 398) that these meetings were an expression of 'maternal culture' reflecting a focus on family and community religious life.

Feminist historians debate whether the focus on issues of interest to women and children which characterised much of the early work women became involved in constitutes 'welfare feminism', women becoming active in relation to issues considered to reflect a domestic agenda as opposed to equal rights feminism concerned with wider emancipation (Gaffin and Thoms 1983, Scott 1998, Blasak 2000). Others argue that women's activities covered both agendas (Breitenbach and Wright 2014) and that a focus on active citizenship more accurately reflects their motivations. Thane (1982: 283) questions whether it is purely co-incidence that welfare states, in Britain and elsewhere, 'have come into being simultaneously with the emergence of sustained women's movements'. One of the five key strategies that Oakley (2018: 348) identifies for creating amnesia about the lives and labours of women reformers is to squash their achievements into a small box called 'feminism' and then suggest that anything so labelled cannot possibly be of mainstream interest. A further device 'for sticking them in the shrubbery' is to call them 'social workers' (ibid: 349).

Locating the historical accounts

A review of the inter-disciplinary literature relating to the research question provides key reference points to locate the historical accounts and inform their development. The sociological literature engages with issues of definition and conceptualisation of 'community' and the existence of three main discourses - community lost, community to be

built and community to be recovered, that characterise much of the debate. All, it is argued, include a level of aspiration and often nostalgia for what was, or might be. Associated with this is the long connection between ideas of community and social welfare. The social policy literature highlights the linkages made within different social philosophies and from different positions on the political spectrum. Community can be of particular interest to those concerned to highlight individual responsibility and limit the size of the state and statutory spending on social welfare. It is of less to those concerned with collective responsibility for social welfare and interested in how this is provided via the state.

The historical literature on arrangements for social welfare includes two key traditions; one that traces the development of state involvement in social welfare and a second that focuses on the role of voluntarism. Neither are mutually exclusive and the importance of the idea of the existence of a 'mixed economy of welfare', involving an interaction between the statutory, private and voluntary sectors, is useful in examining the changing nature of arrangements for social welfare at different historical junctures. The historical literature also provides insights into the different roles that communities and their organisations have played over time. The literature on the history of social work highlights different approaches to practice and the threads that can be traced from these to current approaches.

A focus on communities and their organisations' contribution to social welfare links to ideas of 'history from below' and history of the 'ordinary'. This is history often created outside the academy that draws on different sources and processes and involves different players. Ideas of public and engaged history are a key reference for a study that looks to recreate accounts of the role of community in social welfare and looks to add to the

historical literature on the west of Scotland. A focus on the utility of the historical accounts to current community organisations draws on this, while it is acknowledged that the decision to take a long view and to use primarily archival sources draws on a more academic model of history making.

Finally, the current policy literature considers the aspirations for communities within social policy in a devolved Scotland. This questions the extent to which there is a genuine move to transform public services, empower communities and develop a new collaborative politics focused on social justice and the needs of the most disadvantaged. The discourse of community empowerment and the centrality of communities may provide the basis for a distinctive Scottish approach to social welfare but might equally reflect the privatisation of, what for a period were, public issues and a shift in responsibility from central government to the individual and their communities. This reflects developments in other parts of the UK and equally in the historical context raises questions about how new or transformational such approaches might be.

The historical accounts that follow use these reference points to explore what lessons, if any, can be learned from three new accounts of community based initiatives designed to stimulate community contribution to social welfare. Drawn from a period of two centuries, they deliberately take a long view to explore issues of continuity as well as change in aspirations, expectations and approaches to the contribution that community might make. A focus on experiments and innovation provides illustrations within a 'mixed economy of welfare' and highlight both the potential of such approaches and well as the very real obstacles they engage with. The exploration of such historical antecedents places current aspirations and developments within a long-term context to explore the extent to which the current 'turn' to community evident in Scottish policy making is new or indeed

transformational. They also address some of the gaps that continue to exist in historical research on local community initiatives, provide material for contemporary communities to explore expectations and aspirations for their activities and make a contribution to the narrative of the history of the west of Scotland.

Chapter Four. The St John's Experiment

The first historical account is of Thomas Chalmers' experiment at St John's in the east end of Glasgow between 1819 and 1823. It provides an example of an attempt to embed responsibility for welfare within a particular community. Chalmers' purpose in undertaking his experiment as Minister at St John's was to prove that a reinvigorated parochial system based on the model of rural Scotland could meet the needs of the poor in the context of an industrialising city. The combination of an active evangelical ministry, parochial education and poor relief based on voluntary contributions and benevolence would replace the need for a statutory assessment and provide a model for parishes across Scotland and indeed the rest of the UK.

Chalmers' experiment at St John's has been variously described as an attempt to create a 'self-supporting working class community' (Smyth 2014: 857), to build 'a godly commonwealth' (Brown 1986: 112) as a form of 'urban feudalism' (Hilton 1988: 56) and as an attempt to meet the 'problems of the 19th century with the solutions of the 16th century' (Cheyne 1985: 28). It was essentially utopian and conservative in its attempt to address welfare issues raised by early industrialisation in Glasgow via a return to notions of a self-sustaining Christian community where the responsibility for welfare lay within the parish

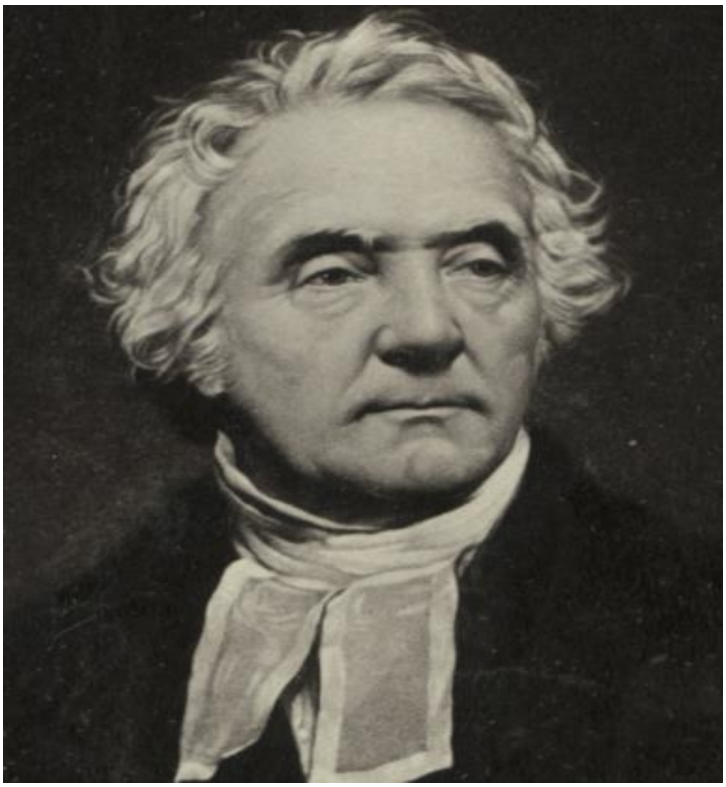
Long proclaimed as a success by Chalmers and his supporters, there were attempts at replication elsewhere in Scotland, Europe and the US throughout the nineteenth century and Chalmers is often considered a key figure in the development of social welfare and social work in Scotland. Smyth (2014: 847) highlights how, despite the work of Scottish historians that has cast doubt on the validity of the claims of success, the experiment

continues to exert an influence and has been regaining interest on both sides of the Atlantic via the writings of neo-liberal thinkers

The interest of the experiment to this study is twofold. It provides an example of an attempt to gradually shift the burden of responsibility for addressing need from the statutory authorities to the local community and the extent to which this was achieved. Previous authors have been critical of Chalmers' claims that he demonstrated impact at St John's and suggest that it was rather less than often supposed (Cage 1974, Cage and Checkland 1976, Brown 1982, Furgol 1987). These studies have focused on an analysis of the St John's accounts, on the categorisation of those in need, on the claims for savings to the overall budget in the city and the alleged subsidies provided to the experiment by Chalmers' wealthy non-resident parishioners. A key proposition of this chapter is that a further important element to consider in evaluating the practical achievements of the experiment is the wider network of community and charitable support that operated in the city at the time which may also have contributed to any success. This account provides an insight into the nature and extent of such voluntary provision for social welfare in Glasgow in the early nineteenth century and the interaction between both this and the statutory system and also the community of St John's.

Chalmers was admitted to the Tron church in Glasgow in 1815, the year of Waterloo. Around 1811 he had undergone an evangelical conversion (Mechie 1960: 47) in his previous rural parish in Kilmany in Fife and established an active parish ministry based on the three elements of 'education, visitations and poor relief' (Brown 1982: 73). He had also undertaken an experiment designed to demonstrate how parish 'pauper' lists and legal definitions of eligibility for relief might gradually be replaced by private charity (ibid: 80). Despite being relatively unknown in the west of Scotland, his appointment in Glasgow was

welcomed by Evangelicals in the city as a victory over the opposition of Moderate clergy and Tories. Within a period of three years, by 1818 he and his supporters had persuaded the Town council to build a new church and create a new parish in the east of the city, St John's (map 1) to which he was elected unopposed. The Town council also agreed that he could implement a scheme, an experiment, in this new parish to return to a parochial system of poor relief. This included an exemption for St John's from the requirement to send its church door collections to the General Session for redistribution to parishes based on the number of poor on their rolls. This challenged the system which had operated in the city since 1731, a decision which ultimately brought about its demise.



Thomas Chalmers D.D. (source: Glasgow City Archives)

The structure of the account follows the framework outlined in chapter two. It provides a picture of the context of Glasgow at the time, the particular community of St

John's and the social philosophy that underpinned the experiment. It then considers the detail of the initiative, the practice and methods adopted and locates it within the wider network of support operating in the city at the time. A final section considers ideas of impact and where this might be found.

The Context

The City

Glasgow in the early 19th century was a city undergoing transformation. Its economic base was moving from trade to manufacturing and its population was rising rapidly, with immigration from other parts of Scotland and Ireland, with the associated impacts on the city's limited infrastructure and social welfare system. While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to provide a detailed account of the city at this time, it is important to consider some of the key elements of the change as they relate to the experiment at St John's.

Textiles, mainly wool and linen, were an established part of economic activity in the city in the 18th century. In the period between 1780 and 1830, a coalescence of factors created the conditions for the creation of a successful cotton industry which would characterise the city's first phase of industrial development. Campbell (1995: 193) describes these as the mechanisation of spinning, the application of steam to the process that allowed workshops to be set up in the city centre, access to finance, markets and most crucially the facilities for the import of the raw materials a key legacy from the city's commercial past. In 1818, there were 52 cotton mills in Glasgow containing 511,200 spindles along with 18 steam weaving factories containing 2,800 looms. The amount of cotton cloth produced in the city annually was upwards of 100,000,000 yards with a value of £5,000,000 (Old Glasgow Weavers: 153). By the 1831 census, the first that provided

information on occupation, 28.4 percent of the population of the city aged between 10 and 70 years of age, where an occupation was listed, was directly or indirectly involved in the manufacture of cotton goods (Cowan 1840: 5). Much of this development was based in the east of the city where St John's was located.

Early industrial growth attracted large numbers of people to the city and the population almost doubled between 1801 and 1821 from 77,385 to 147,043 (Chalmers 1930: 2). The majority of immigrants were from other parts of Scotland, but the troubles in Ireland in the late 1790s and early 1800s saw a first wave of refugees to the west of Scotland, many of whom were employed as weavers, spinners and labourers (Mitchell 1998: 1). In 1819 almost one in ten of the population of Glasgow was Irish (Cowan 1840: 5). While the main period of Irish immigration was from the mid-1840s there is evidence of a growing Irish community, particularly in manufacturing areas of the city, which is borne out by the initial survey conducted by the Deacons at St John's (Statistical, Moral and Educational Survey of St John's for the year 1819, hereafter Statistical Survey.)

Rapid population growth placed a strain on the city's infrastructure. Figures collated by Cage (1983: 175) suggest that population growth outstripped housing development with a consequent increase in the number of people per household particularly among the working classes. Such overcrowding and associated poor sanitation led to disease. Cleland reports that in 1818 'the lower classes were severely afflicted with Typhus and afterwards with Synocha or common fever' (Cleland 1820: 105), and there was concern about 'removing and eradicating the nuisances injurious to health which exist in the different narrow wynds and closes of the town' (Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow Vol X: 426, hereafter Extracts Vol X). In March 1818, a temporary fever hospital was erected in Spring Gardens by public subscription which treated 1,929 patients before it

finally closed in July 1819. This was in addition to the 1,371 patients with fever treated in the Infirmary in 1818 (Cowan 1837: 7).

With a high proportion of the population involved in the textile trade the city was particularly hard hit by the slump in trade which followed the end of the Napoleonic Wars. This was exacerbated by the numbers involved in the subsequent de mobilisation (Murray 1978: 51). Minutes of the Directors of the Town's Hospital, the Incorporation of Weavers and the records of the Town Council all refer to extreme distress in the city in 1819. On August 9th 1819, the Magistrates and Town Council record creating work for 'a number of operative weavers resident within the royalty, who owing to the pressure of the times are unable to obtain such employment as to afford subsistence for themselves and their families' (Extracts Vol X: 499). Work was provided for 300 weavers in that week. Soup kitchens were established over the winter, even in St John's, and on November 19th considering the annual estimate from the Town's Hospital with a view to setting the assessment, the Town Council minutes highlight the likely increase in demand for support, given the 'extraordinary pressure of the times' but agreed to limit the assessment to £11,500 'having taken into consideration the distress among the mercantile and manufacturing classes' (ibid: 526). This decision, which was perhaps indicative of the interests represented on the Council, was later reversed for fear of legal challenge. Later, biographers of Chalmers would argue that it was a sign of his great confidence in his scheme that he went ahead against this backdrop.

One hundred years on from the Act of Union, as a Royal Burgh, the affairs of the city were managed by the Magistrates and Town Council, appointed annually from among the burgess institutions. They also formed the electorate for the Member of Parliament. Despite being essentially a self-perpetuating elite, Maver (1995: 241) argues that the

municipal leaders in Glasgow were not inherently opposed to administrative reform but were constrained by both the constitution and the funds they were able to raise. They acted where they could to support the development of water and gas companies, which later passed into public ownership, and in 1800 passed the first Police Act that provided for an element of community control over the election of the 24 Commissioners serving on the Police Board (ibid: 251). There were relatively few paid positions, one of which was superintendent of public works, occupied by James Cleland, a source of many of the early statistics on the city; many of the other duties being carried out by tacksmen or lessees.

The years between 1816 and 1820 saw a rise in radical activity in the city. A demonstration in 1816 attended by 40,000 people, demanded the restoration of lost political rights and limited parliamentary reform and agreed to petition parliament. By 1819 more radical demands were being made and there was evidence of secret societies operating in the city (Hutchison 1987: 101). A large demonstration following the events at Peterloo in August 1819 demanded annual parliaments, universal suffrage and the ballot, and April 1820 saw the 'so called Scottish insurrection' (Murray 1978: 53) or 'Radical War' (Mitchell 1998: 90) when a large proportion of the working-class population took part in a general strike called in the city by 'The Committee of Organisation for forming a Provisional Government'.

At their meeting on May 2nd, the Town Council recorded their thanks to the various military commanders for 'their energetic suppression of the late insurrectionary movements in the manufacturing districts of Scotland and the aid so promptly afforded to the civil power for the maintenance of the public peace and the free and happy constitution of this country' (Extracts Vol X: 552). Arrests were made and in trials for treason twenty two

rebels were found guilty. Three were executed and the remainder transported to Australia (Mitchell 1998: 90).

Much of the activity centred on the east end of the city. When the central committee was arrested in February 1820, they were meeting in Gallowgate (ibid: 89), and when three areas of the city were surrounded by soldiers and searched for arms and ammunition after the abortive rising, two of these, Calton and Bridgeton, were in the vicinity of St John's. Letters from Chalmers to Wilberforce, one of his key evangelical allies south of the border, discuss the disturbances and whether the radicalism among the weavers and spinners could be attributed in the case of spinners, to their lack of education, or of the weavers, to their membership of dissenting congregations (Hanna 1867: 264-266). Maver (1995: 253) argues 'that the Town Council was prepared to sanction the ministry of Thomas Chalmers at St John's Parish from 1819 suggests that approaches other than aggressive policing were being tested in an effort to come to grips with Glasgow's blighting urban problems'. The attraction of Chalmers' experiment to the civic authorities may have included the potential it held out for building some form of social integration and stability.

The social welfare system

The statutory social welfare system operating in the city in this period was essentially the Old Poor Law, the basic principles of which were outlined in the second major piece of legislation in 1579:

> It requires the Justices of the Peace in parishes, and the Magistrates of Burghs – a power subsequently vested in the Heritors, Minister and Elders – to take an inquisition of all the aged, poor and impotent persons entitled to the privilege of residence, and – after considering what provision will be necessary for 'their needful sustentation', to enable them to 'live unbeggand',-'to tax and stent the

> haill inhabitants within their parochins, according to the estimation of their substance, without exceptions of persons (Ewing 1818: 11).

Until 1731 this system had been administered in Glasgow by four different organisations, the Town Council, the General Session of the Established Church of Glasgow, the Incorporated Trades (the producers' guild) and the Merchants House (the merchants' guild) all of which operated independently (Cage 1981: 46). In 1731, concerned about the increase in destitution and begging in the city, the Magistrates and Town Council developed a new system which included the setting up of the Town's Hospital, the first poorhouse in Scotland, which operated alongside the General Session until 1822.

Funds for the system were primarily from voluntary sources. Kirk session funds came from church door collections, proclamation of marriage fees, mortcloth dues, fines for irregular marriages and births and donations. Each kirk session gave half of their collection to the General Session which in turn provided funds to individual parishes in proportion to the numbers of poor on their rolls. Funds to support the Town's hospital came from contributions by the organisations involved in its management, the Merchants House, Trades House, and sales of work carried out by those who lived there, although the latter raised less than originally anticipated (Cage 1981: 52). When required, the Town's Hospital was supported by an assessment – a levy on heritors with property with a rental worth in excess of £300 per year. Proceeds from this assessment were also used to make up any shortfall in General Session funds. By 1818 the assessment had become an annual levy, agreed by the Town Council on receipt of a report and estimated expenditure from the Directors of the Town's Hospital. The balance of expenditure between the two bodies, on what he termed 'the legal poor', was laid out by Ewing. In the year 1817-18, the Kirk sessions spent £3,313 12s 8d (of which £1,500 was derived from the assessment) and the Town's Hospital spent £10,602 11s 1d (Ewing 1818: 156).

Those in need of assistance were first considered by their parish and if found eligible for relief were entered onto the roll with the General Session. Where the need was greater than that which could be supported by the General Session they were referred to the Town's Hospital. Ewing (ibid: 21-22) described the process:

> when a poor person entitled to the privileges of residence claims relief he must apply, in the first place to the Session of the parish in which he lives, who allow him from 1s 6d to 4s 6d per month, according to his necessities. If, from bad health, or other causes, this supply is found insufficient, he is sent with a recommendation to the weekly committee at the Hospital who allow him from 5s to 10s as a temporary relief in addition to the Sessional aid. If his case appears to be urgent and likely to be permanent he is visited by the Superintendent, and if he is deemed a proper object, he is placed on a pension, whether of money or of meal; if the former, he receives from 10s to30s per quarter, and in extreme cases 40s; if the latter he gets from six to twelve pounds of meal weekly, varying according to circumstances, but corresponding in extent with the pecuniary supply of others in a similar situation.

Entitlement to relief was limited to those resident for three years and restricted to the aged and long-term sick or disabled. It has long been highlighted that a major difference between the Scottish and English systems was the fact that relief was not available to the able-bodied unemployed. While this may have been the case for funds from the statutory system, the funds that remained at the disposal of individual Kirk sessions and those raised by public subscription were often used to address significant need in this area (Cage 1975: 115). Further principles of the system were that legal allowances should only supplement, and not replace, other sources of support (ibid: 135), and also that those who contribute to the available funds should be involved in their disbursement (Ewing 1818: 23).

Hunter (1912: 21-2) highlights the principle behind the system of relief in Scotland, quoting an extract from a Report of the General Assembly of the Church to the House of Commons in 1820:

> The Scotch have uniformly proceeded on the principle that every individual is bound to provide for himself by his own labour, so long as he is able to do so; and that his parish is only bound to make up that portion of the necessaries of life which he cannot earn or obtain from other lawful means. Even in cases of extreme poverty the relations and neighbours of the pauper have a pride in providing for their necessaries, either in whole or in part.

The extremely small sums provided by the system are evidenced by the calculations provided on the cost of living in Glasgow in the early nineteenth century (Gourvish 1972: 67). For a base year 1815-16 two separate indexes are constructed; the first that for more prosperous sections of the working class at 18s per week and the second, the basic expenditure of the lowest paid workers, at 9s per week. Statutory relief, even at its most generous, would fail to reach this amount. Given also that of the budget of 9s per week, 71 per cent was spent on food, it is likely that it would be insufficient, unless supplemented from other sources, to prevent starvation.

By 1818 there was increasing concern about the ability of the system to meet the needs of what was a fast-expanding city, especially in the face of rising prices and increasing numbers of people applying for relief. James Ewing, Dean of Guild, presented a report to the Directors of the Town's Hospital board on the 'Management of the City Poor' (Ewing 1818). This report contained a letter from Chalmers which outlined his aspirations for the work at St John's and the conditions that would be required for the implementation of his scheme (Furgol 1987: 110). The attraction of Chalmers' scheme for St John's has variously

been attributed to the fact that it provided the potential for significant savings in relation to the legal assessment and at a time of social unrest, greater social stability. In a letter to Ewing, Chalmers, however, wrote that his main design was:

> …not to achieve any civil or any political enterprise whatsoever. It is to bring the lessons of Christianity into effectual contact with the minds of the population of an assigned district of the town. (Statement from the Session of St John's: 7).

St John's

St John's was an administrative entity created as a ninth parish in Glasgow to address the shortage of church accommodation for its growing population. In 1819 St John's had a population of 10,304 made up of 2,161 families (Statistical, Moral and Educational Survey of St John's Parish Glasgow for the year 1819: 3). This reduced in 1820 to 8,294 when part of the parish was transferred to St James (Chalmers 1823: 5). The average number of persons per household for the city at the time was 4.5 and St John's had an average of 4.7 (Cage and Checkland 1976: 42). Chalmers (1823: 6) described the population:

> While the population of this parish is above the average of Glasgow, its wealth is very greatly beneath the average. With the exception of about 20 families, it may be regarded as altogether a plebeian district: and more especially abounding in that class of operatives who are most affected by the reverses and difficulties to which every manufacturing place is liable. And besides the weavers, there is a large body of labourers, whose employment fluctuates with the season and who are often forced to suspend work for many days at a time.

The Parish of St John's 1822 (source: Glasgow City Archives)

He also claimed that it was the poorest parish in the city, basing this on the low number of domestic servants and the fact that in 1822 St John's contributed £140 about 1/66th of the total of the assessment for the city that year which was £9,213 4s 6d (ibid: 7). In 1841, he continued to claim that St John's 'was and still is the poorest as well as the most populous parish in the city' (Chalmers 1841: 100).

This interpretation has been challenged. Using primary source material, Cage and Checkland (1976: 46) argue that St John's was not the poorest parish in Glasgow, and had the 4th lowest number of paupers of all parishes in 1819 at the start of the experiment together with low numbers in the Town's hospital. Brown (1986: 130) equally argues that St John's, which was made up of the western portion of the Tron parish and sections of College and Barony parishes, did not include the most destitute areas in the east of the city

and 'was in fact a parish of substantial labouring families who were managing to weather the post war distress'. Certainly a sample of the occupations listed for the different portions in the Statistical Survey of 1819 would suggest a mixed population. In the second portion these include a 'Joiner, Tailor, Slater, Shoemaker, Wright, Baker, Spirit dealer, Victualler and Warper; the fourth, a Founder, a Manufacturer, Captain, Merchant, Spirit dealer and, in the eleventh Weavers, Labourers, Millers, Twisters and a Police Man.

There was undoubtedly a high number of weavers. Furgol (1987: 163) calculates that they constituted 17.1% of the overall population and were primarily concentrated in the eastern part of the parish and that bordering Calton. There was also a growing Irish community, many of whom would have been Roman Catholics. Whately (1995: 388) describes St John's as one of the most turbulent districts within the Royalty and one with one of the highest percentages of Irish born residents in 1819, at 14.5%. While it may have been more prosperous than Chalmers claimed, as a recently established parish, home to a mixed and densely settled population many of whom were likely to be recent immigrants and subject to fluctuations in trade, St John's was very different from the more settled rural parish that had been the mainstay of the parochial system.

The terms of the debate / Chalmers' hypothesis

Although Chalmers had developed important allies and political support in the city, his ideas remained controversial. Central to his thinking on social welfare was the distinction he made between poverty and pauperism. Poverty was part of the preordained natural order of things, the poor being always with us, and was to be avoided by hard work, thrift and a focus on religious observance. Pauperism on the other hand was man-made and the result of dependence on relief from statutory sources:

> A poor man is a man in want of adequate means for his own subsistence. A pauper is a man who has this want supplemented in whole or in part out of a legal and compulsory provision. He would not be a pauper by having the whole want supplied to him out of the kindness of neighbours, or from the gratuitous allowance of an old master, or from the sources of voluntary charity. It is by having relief legally awarded to him, out of money legally raised, that he becomes a pauper (Polity of a Nation Vol 1. quoted Hunter 1912: 210).

Chalmers also differentiated between 'artificial' and 'natural' sources of support for those in need. The natural sources of support were the 'four fountains' which were 'frozen or locked by the hand of legislation'. These were, 'the habits and economies of the people themselves', 'the kindness of relatives', 'the sympathy of the wealthy for the poorer classes of society' and he claimed of 'far superior importance', 'the sympathy of the poor for one another' (ibid: 213-17). In his letter to Ewing in 1818, Chalmers claimed that 'natural' systems of support were being restricted by the very existence of the legal institution (the Town's Hospital) which:

> like every other throughout the land, is great in promise and wretched in performance, has most delusively lulled into inaction both the vigilance and the humanity of individuals. It is fast putting an end to the kind offices of relationship and neighbourhood and while it has added to the amount of what is *ostensibly* given for the relief of human wants, it has diminished the whole amount of what is *actually* given by obstructing all those numerous and unperceived channels of relief which, in a natural state of things, both the benevolence of Christianity and the benevolence of instinct are ever sure to strike out, through the great mass of human society (Statement from the Session of St John's: 5. [italics in original]).

These natural sources of benevolence could be stimulated, he argued, by the reinvigoration of the traditional parochial system. This involved three main elements, active spiritual oversight and missionary activity by an established church that expanded to meet the needs of a growing population, the development of a system of parochial education and a system of poor relief based solely on voluntary contributions within the parish. His guiding social principle was benevolence; 'through which men [*sic*] were bound together in harmonious communities' (Brown 1982: 11), and which involved a personal interaction between members of the community. He saw only a limited role for organised charity, which he argued, should be limited to activity in relation to education and disease, and had no role in the relief of general indigence (Chalmers 1841: 308).

Chalmers' hypothesis was not universally accepted at the time. It was seen to be idealistic and backward-looking, an attempt to bring the ideas of rural Scotland to the issues of an early industrialising city. The Directors of the Town's Hospital in considering Chalmers' plan, remarked that 'there is a distinction in the analogy between the limited and fixed population of a country parish and the extended and fluctuating population of a great city' (Ewing 1818: 39). There was also a recognition that in the new economic system factors beyond an individual's control may impact on their ability to provide for themselves and their families. Discussing the role of benevolent societies, Wardlaw (1818: 41) suggested that 'the spirit of independence will not satisfy the cravings of a hungry family: and of what avail is the spirit of industry unless it has some field of profitable exertion?' Further, there was a concern that private charity might miss those most in need and be wasteful of scarce resources. In a letter to the *Glasgow Chronicle*, Hedvidius Priscus suggested that the Poor Laws were 'enacted by the rich themselves, to supply the deficiencies and correct the inequalities of private charity' (28.10.1817). The *Glasgow Herald* (31.1.1820) published extracts from Essays by Stevenson MacGill, Professor of Divinity at Glasgow University, who

argued that anyone experiencing hard times was entitled 'at least to have extended over him the shield of public protection, to screen him from the insults of thoughtless levity or of unfeeling arrogance'.

The Experiment

The precondition that Chalmers established for the experiment at St John's was increased parochial control over parish affairs. This was seen in the allocation of church seats to ensure that many of his wealthy supporters at the Tron could follow Chalmers to St John's and in the exemption given to the parish from sending half of its session funds to the General Session. Chalmers gave notice too, that at some point in the future he would look for a law of settlement to prevent what he believed would be an influx of people from other parishes in the city attracted to the support available in St John's. He did, however, retain the right for people from St John's to benefit from any additional funds that might be raised in the city in response to particular periods of distress.

In return for this increased control, St John's agreed to take on full responsibility for all the existing 'sessional poor' on the rolls (excluding at this point, those in the Town's Hospital), and any new applicants for relief. There would be no new referrals from St John's to the Town's Hospital and all those requiring relief within St John's would be supported by parochial funds with no recourse to funds from the legal assessment. Chalmers (1823: 9) described the basis of his experiment at St John's:

> I undertook from the outset, the expense of all my sessional poor, amounting to £225 a year; but as my yearly collection was £400, I withdrew by the arrangement, £175 from the general support of the poor in Glasgow. The only return which I could then venture to hold out for this sacrifice, was, that I should send no new

> poor, either casual or permanent, to the Town hospital, whence the fund by assessment was distributed among all the poor of the city. It is evidence that under this arrangement, that institution would, by the operation of death, be gradually lightened of the pauperism that they had received in former years from that district of the city which now formed the parish of St John's and would be at length relieved from it altogether.

While the focus of attention has most often been on the arrangements for poor relief, there were two other important elements to Chalmers' system. The first was spiritual oversight and an evangelising ministry to increase the reach of the established church in the parish. The Statistical Survey (1819) concluded that 'the number of sitters in their own Parish Church scarcely amounts, at present, to a hundredth part of the whole population'. The second was the creation of a system of parochial education, involving Sunday Schools and the establishment of parochial schools to ensure that children were able to read the Bible, to understand their place in the world and not fall prey to radical ideas. Education as a key component of a parochial system would lead, he believed, to the end of pauperism. In an address to parishioners prior to the opening of the first school in St John's in 1819, Chalmers stated:

> The main object of pouring a more copious and rich supply of education amongst them is not to furnish them with the means of abandoning their status, but to furnish them with the means of morally and intellectually exalting it. It is not to raise them on the artificial scale of life, but to raise them on that far nobler scale which has respect to the virtues of mind and the prospects of immortality… (Hanna 1867: 246).

A key element of the experiment was the establishment of two congregations at St John's. A day time congregation of wealthy, largely non-resident seat holders able to raise a door

collection in the region of £400 per year, would support those already on the rolls at the start of the experiment, the 'old paupers'. Any surplus from this collection, which he anticipated would increase as numbers on the existing rolls reduced, would be used to support the development of parochial schools and additional church buildings. A second evening congregation of local residents who paid lower seat rents providing door collections of around £80 per year, would support any new applicants for relief, 'new paupers'. The number of new applicants would be minimised by the 'charity of human kindness' and the interventions of the Deacons. In time, the 'old paupers' would be removed from the rolls either through death or a return to 'independence' and St John's would support all its poor from the funds from the evening collection from local residents.

The system relied on lay involvement in the administration of the parish. Divided into twenty-five proportions, Kirk elders shared with Chalmers the responsibility for the overall spiritual welfare of people in the parish while newly-appointed and trained Deacons were responsible for the operation of poor relief in a particular proportion Voluntary Sunday school and paid parochial school teachers worked across the parish to expand educational provision. While none of this was new, all being elements of the traditional parochial system, Chalmers' innovation was in the revival of key elements such as the diaconate which had fallen into disuse. A team of committed individuals, largely from his non-resident wealthy supporters was trained, co-ordinated and charged with getting to know the people in their particular 'proportion'. Chalmers' instructions to his Deacons were clear. They were to carry out investigations into need, attempt wherever possible to encourage independence, support by family or neighbours, consider what they themselves could offer by way of temporary support or employment and, only when all of these sources of support had been exhausted, should they consider an application for relief which then had to be discussed and agreed with the other Deacons (Hanna 1867: 300-304).

Co-ordination of effort was also important. Hanna records a whole series of meetings- 'ordinary meetings of the kirk session, monthly meetings of the Deacons, monthly meetings of the Sabbath-schools teachers, monthly meetings in the church for missionary purposes and frequent meetings of the Educational Association' (ibid: 287). There was also an agency breakfast each Monday morning 'to which a general invitation was issued' (ibid: 289), and quarterly meetings of the whole St John's Agency. Surveys were conducted and reports produced, in what appears to be an early example of locality planning. It is of note that the majority of parishioners involved in the work at St John's were men, although Hanna (1867) does record some involvement of the wives and daughters of the Deacons playing some role particularly in relation to Sunday schools.

The results

In 1823, Chalmers claimed that the experiment was a success. The number of sessional paupers both old and new had decreased from 125 to 91. The number admitted to the fund 'as permanent paupers' between October 1st 1819 and July 1st 1823 was 20 of whom he suggests only 13 should count as these were admitted on the grounds of general indigence. Of the others, two were on the grounds of extraordinary and hopeless disease, which he claims should be dealt with by organised charity and the other five were 'on the grounds of that necessity that springs from crime' which should not in his opinion be provided for at all (Chalmers 1823: 16). No new cases had been referred from St John's to the Town's Hospital and the number on the assessment relief rolls had decreased from 49, at an annual cost of £152, to 34, at an annual cost of £90. The full cost of these following a decision by the Agency, was now being met by the congregation at St John's. In addition, Sunday Schools had been established in each of the 25 'proportions', four parish schools established and

work was underway on a new Chapel of Ease in the parish. Reflecting on the work Chalmers (1841: 94) made bold claims:

> The experiment that we were permitted to make was made in such adverse circumstances, that we have ever regarded it as an *experimentum crucis*; and therefore on its actual triumph and success do we feel ourselves entitled to found an *argumentum a fortiori*.

These claims of success were repeated by Chalmers' Victorian biographers. Hanna (1867: 307) reports a spectacular reduction in costs:

> From one-tenth of the city and that part composed of the poorest of its population, the whole flow of pauperism into the Town Hospital had been intercepted, and an expenditure which had amounted to £1400 per annum was reduced to £280.

Similar figures are used by Blaikie (1896: 55), and Dodds (1879: 152) claims that the average cost was reduced to '£30 per 1000, whereas the cost of the other parishes in Glasgow was £200 and in many parishes in England was upwards of £100 per 1000 of the population'. He further quotes an English Poor Law Commissioner, Mr Tufnell, from 1833 (ibid: 155):

> This system has been attended with the most triumphant success for thirteen years; it is now in perfect operation, and not a doubt is expressed by its managers of it continuing to remain so… The essence of the St John's management consists in the superior systems of inspection which it establishes… This personal attention of the rich to the poor seems to be one of the most efficient modes of preventing pauperism.

Limitations to the proof

The claims that Chalmers and his early biographers made, characterised by Smyth as 'the late Victorian approach to Chalmers', were largely unchallenged until the later 20th century

when historians of the Scottish Church (Mechie 1960, Drummond and Bulloch 1973), Scottish social historians (Cage and Checkland 1976) and later biographers (Brown 1986, and Furgol 1987) suggested that it may not have been as successful as originally claimed. Assessing his contribution in relation to the development of the established church Mechie (1960: 53-4) argues that while Chalmers 'inspired a vast amount of personal service and voluntary association in all manner of good works' his poor relief methods 'tended to conceal rather than relieve poverty'. His approach which was designed to let the 'undeserving' 'feel the weight of those severities which are intended by the God of Nature to follow in the train of idleness, improvidence and vice' was also out of step with the idea of Christian compassion. Drummond and Bulloch (1973: 174) are also critical:

> Chalmers himself made claims for this system which were far too high, and he has been ill- served by biographers whose idolatry permitted them to see no flaw in the work of their hero; but so far as the relief of poverty was concerned, it had sad limitations.

His major limitation, they suggest was the fact that he looked to provide succour to the victims of a harsh society without questioning the basis on which that society was built.

Others raised questions in relation to the detail of the claims made such as the nature of St John's and whether indeed it was the 'poorest and most plebeian parish in the city' as claimed by Chalmers, and whether the figures as presented in support of the success accord with available original sources or rather fail to reflect hidden subsidies from wealthy parishioners (Cage and Checkland 1976: 49). Furgol (1987: 155) also questions the extent of support provided to 'the occasional poor' and the fact that only small amounts of anecdotal evidence are provided to support the claims for the increase in benevolence in

the parish. Two additional elements can also be seen to contribute to any success at St John's.

Economic improvement

Somewhat ironically, the first is the very issue that Chalmers has been criticised for ignoring: the external environment and the existence of wider economic forces outside of the control of the individual. Post 1820, there was some improvement in conditions in the city. Fever abated and Murray (1978: 54) argues that 'from the painful and prolonged trough of 1819-20 the Scottish economy made a slow but gradual recovery', during which the cotton industry enjoyed a short-lived period of buoyancy. Soup kitchens reported fewer users and the Incorporation of Weavers in December 1820 spoke of a reduction in food prices (Minute Book Incorporation of Weavers: 53).

The reduction in costs reported by Chalmers was shared elsewhere. In 1822, the Town Council asked the Directors of the Town's Hospital to look at reasons for the reduction in the level of assessment. The committee reported in February 1823 that 'it has arisen from the absence of many of those causes which tended to increase it during the five years of war and for several years after its termination'. These are listed as military recruits leaving destitute wives and families, machinery introduced to manufacturing, after- war trade stagnations and typhus in the city. They also added that 'within the last two years the state of the country, as everyone knows has been materially improved, in so far at least as the working classes are concerned. All of these now readily find employment and the prices of provisions are extremely low' (Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow Vol Xl: 9, hereafter Extracts Vol Xl). A change in economic conditions is likely to have contributed to the reduction in applications for relief reported at St John's.

There is limited material from other parishes to establish points of comparison, but what exists does suggest that St John's was not the only parish seeing a reduction in the numbers claiming relief. A comparison of figures in the General Session Book for Glasgow (pp. 27 and 89) for September 1819 and February 1821 respectively, suggest that St John's was not the only parish seeing a reduction in the numbers of people claiming relief. Over this period the numbers in Outer High parish reduced from 122 to 105 and in Inner High parish from 148 to 136. Equally, examining the figures for people referred to the Town's Hospital between 1821 and 1823, it is recorded that very few were sent from the parishes 'where collections were more than adequate', the majority coming from five parishes where funds 'were deficient' (Extracts Vol XI: 67). Outer High parish sent no-one between 1822 and 1823 and North West parish no-one between 1821 and 1822. St John's with its wealthy non-resident parishioners and Deacons was clearly in the former category.

A wider network of support

A number of the accounts of St John's make some reference to the role of other charitable activities and the minimal support provided by the statutory system but there is limited detail about what, if any, wider network of support existed within the city and how, despite leaving fewer records than Chalmers and the statutory system, the different elements of this may have contributed to supporting those in need.

A key principle of the old Poor Law was that it should supplement and not supplant other sources of support and there is evidence that those administering the statutory system of relief recognised that they were part of a wider system operating in the city at the time, an early, although limited, 'mixed economy of welfare' In his report to the Directors of the Town's Hospital, Ewing (1818: 33) refers to a minute appointing an

Overseer of the Poor, which had anticipated that the full role would include compiling a list of all the paupers in the city:

> receiving pensions, or occasional aid from the several parochial Sessions of the Establishment, and as far as he can, from the Sessions of the Dissenting Congregations, from the 14 incorporated Trades and from other Voluntary Societies, instituted for the relief of the poor of this city, such as Graham's, Buchanan's Old Man's Society, and other such Benevolent Institutions; for the purpose of ascertaining the whole sources of relief to which every pauper has access within the city.

He further stated that due to pressure of work to date this had not been achieved. While there are clear limitations as to the sources, an attempt to reconstruct an account of the different elements of the wider network of support operating in the city at the time is useful in examining the potential contribution made by the wider community and its organisations to those in need in St John's.

The Dissenting Congregations

The population of St John's included a high number of members of congregations other than the established Church. These congregations were outside the statutory poor relief system but provided relief to members of their congregations in need. Some 21.1% of the population held seats in dissenting churches while just 7.6% were sitters in the Church of Scotland (Brown 1986: 130). The low overall numbers of residents with any church seat reflected the limited amount of church accommodation available and the fact that seats were rented and thus perhaps beyond the reach of large numbers of St John's residents. The detailed list for portion one (Statistical Survey1819) includes a number of alternative places of worship, 'the Methodists, the Catholics and the English Chapel' and also the

names of different dissenting minsters which include Mr Turnbull, Mr McFarlane, Mr Dick and Mr Ewing who appears in the list of initial subscribers to the Friendly Society of Dissenters (Friendly Society of Dissenters Minute Book 1818-1830, hereafter FSDMB). The first meeting of the society was held in December 1818 in response to 'the calumnies which had been long circulated in various forms respecting the method in which dissenters support their poor' (ibid: 1).

One of the first actions of the society was to request details from congregations across the city of the level of their contributions to the poor. The minute for January 1819 reported an annual expenditure by 17 congregations of £1,791 11s 11d that supported 318 'regular' poor and a greater number of 'occasional' poor (ibid: 6). The amount recorded against Mr Ewing, who Chalmers named as 'our Independent Minister' in a letter to Wilberforce in 1820 (Hanna 1867: 262), is £136 5s 10d supporting 20 regular and 7 occasional poor. While there is no detail of who was supported and where they lived, it is likely that a number would be from St John's. It might also be surmised that the other congregations were also providing some support in the parish. Indeed, the role played by Dissenting congregations is recognised by Chalmers in his instructions to his new Deacons that there are three things to be checked when faced with a new application: if there is any kind of work that he can do; what relatives or friends are willing to do; and 'whether he is hearer in any dissenting place of worship, and whether its session will contribute to his relief' (Hanna 1867: 299).

The society also agreed a letter for publication in the local press which advocated that:

> instead of burdening, the Dissenters as a body aid the public funds in no inconceivable extent in three ways, by paying their rates, by supporting the greater

> portion of their own poor and by preventing many who would otherwise become indigent, from descending to the rank of paupers (FSDMB: 10).

They also highlighted the importance of support given to the occasional poor which they suggested should be seen as a gift rather than 'alms', as 'brotherly aid rather than public charity' (ibid: 11).

Organised Charity

While Chalmers' experiment at St John's predates the major period of growth of organised charity there were organisations operating in the city at the time. In her work on pre-Victorian charities in Scotland, Checkland (1980: 14-27) creates the following categories: educational endowments, early orphanages and charity hospitals, charity for the old, the infirmaries and the benevolent societies. Many of these she suggests, however, were not accessible to the majority of the population. Charity hospitals were provided by men of the middle classes for the offspring of 'decayed burgesses' and had a preference for the kin of their founders. Equally while there were numerous small pensions available for the 'aged independent poor', these were often only accessible to those who had never claimed poor relief and could evidence a record of sturdy independence (ibid: 18). It is only the benevolent societies, formed 'with a view to help the working class' that were closer to the general population. These are categorised as those formed by members of the middle classes to benefit the poor, those set up as a form of social insurance or self-help, and those 'for incomers to the cities, based on place or county of origin' (ibid: 24).

Discussing the role of benevolent societies in relation to support for the indigent poor in the city, Wardlaw (1817: 50) described them as 'a highly eligible medium between exacted assessment on the one hand and undiscriminating and desultory personal charity on the other'. He suggested they provided a middle space between the 'dispenser and

recipient' of charity, providing a service to those who wished to dispense charity but did not have the time or skills to ensure that it was received by those most in need.

Several such organisations were in existence in the city by 1819. Table 4.1 creates a list of those known to be in operation during Chalmers' time at St John's together with their objectives. While records are limited, there are some for a number of these early societies which provide some insight into the support they provided and their practice approaches.

Name	Date of Incorporation	Objectives
Aged Women's Society	1811	Relief of aged poor women.
Bell's Wynd Society	1746	Friendly society.
Benevolent Society	1808	Relieving indigent persons, who for the want of a regular domicile, have no legal claim on the charities of the city.
Brown's Society	Unknown	Friendly Society.
Buchanan's Society	1725	Relief of aged and indigent persons of the name of Buchanan or any of the reputed septs of the clan.
Female Society of Glasgow	1814	Relieving wants and allaying the distresses of poor and indigent widows and orphans.
Glasgow Ayrshire Society	1761	Relief of persons in reduced or destitute circumstances but not receiving parochial relief.
Glasgow Dumfriesshire Society	1792	Friendly society.
Glasgow Fifeshire Society	1759	Mutual assistance or friendly society.
Glasgow Galloway Brotherly Society	1791/2	To provide a fund out of which certain allowances might be made to ordinary members during sickness, infirmity and superannuation.
Grahams Society	1759	Relief of indigent persons of the surname of Graham.
Highland Society of Glasgow	1727	To give education, clothing and trades to the children of poor highlanders.
North Glasgow Washing Green Society	1792	Equip and manage washing greens the free income from which to be distributed among the poor of North Parish.
Old Man's Friend Society	1811	Relief of such old men as from age or sickness are unable to support themselves.
Ruth's Society	1809	For the aid of poor and destitute persons in the city and suburbs.
Sick and Destitute Strangers Society	1791	For the purpose of visiting and relieving sick and destitute strangers at their own home.
Thistle and Rose Society	1807	Friendly Society.
Tweedside Charitable Society	1813	Regional and family name society.
Watson's Society	Unknown	Friendly Society.

Table 4.1 Societies Operating in Glasgow 1819 – 23

Sources: Cleland 1816, Gemmell 1904, Checkland 1908, Statistical Account of Scotland 1791-99.

The Buchanan Society is described by Senex as 'the very oldest charitable society amongst us, established by private benevolence' (Glasgow Past and Present 1884: 115). It was established in 1725 admitting members of the name of Buchanan on payment of £4-5 'for behoof of the poor' (Buchanan's Society Minute Book, hereafter BSMB). Early members included a maltman, merchant, gunsmith, barber, tailor, surgeon, shipmaster, and at number 18, 'John Buchanan, writer' (Buchanan 1931).

The society provided an annual distribution from its funds to people in need with the name Buchanan. In 1820, £317 was distributed to 231 recipients, in the city and the west of Scotland in sums of £1-2, on either an annual or quarterly basis. Recipients included weavers, a shoemaker, a washer woman, widow of a weaver. By 1823 the distribution had reduced to £271 15s 0d to 209 (BSMB 4.11.1823) recipients. This would suggest relatively modest sums were distributed.

There were several other societies based on a shared name - Brown, Graham and Watsons which shared similar purposes and which Checkland (1980: 24) suggests combined aspects of charitable societies with those of a friendly society and which were 'part of a support system that had a strong mutual element which new arrivals organised for themselves'.

Records for the Old Man's Friend Society provide an insight into the practical operation of one society. Members paid 10 shillings per year in quarterly amounts and these sums were augmented in 1817 with the proceeds from an annual sermon, and in 1818 by an annual concert that 'added £214 4s 1d to the funds of the society' (Old Man's Friend Society Minute Book No 1 (hereafter OMFSMB): 8th Annual Report 1819). In a male version of Prochaska's 'visiting societies' (1980: 97), the funds were administered by initially

10 male managers and from 1821, 15 managers, who were each responsible for a particular part of the city and met weekly to consider cases. Their role was described as follows:

> Applications for relief are immediately transmitted to the visiting manager of the district in which the applicant resides who call personally on the Old Man and enquire of his neighbours respecting him: from all of which he draws out a case and submits it to the cognisance of the other Managers at the first meeting of the society where its fate is determined (OMFSMB: 31.12.1818).

There are clear parallels with Chalmers' approach at St John's with a focus on personal contact and thorough investigation. Managers were expected to 'make the most minute enquiry into what aid the applicant receives from other quarters' (op cit.) and to visit recipients at least fortnightly when they paid allowances. Meetings record that some beneficiaries were struck off for begging and others resigned their allowances when their health or other circumstances improved. In 1819 from funds of £506 17s 4d, £319 9s 6d was distributed to 168 men. In 1820 there were 186 regular pensioners and 6 receiving temporary assistance from a fund of £419 2s 0d. In answers to a survey by Dr Wardlaw in 1818 (ibid: 15), the society recognised that the sums given to each pensioner were small and would not be enough to support them and that they were not intended to preclude them from claiming sessional relief.

There were also perhaps a couple of early examples of social enterprise in the city. The North Glasgow Washing Green Society, set up by the Heritors of the North Parish in 1792, provided washing facilities and drying greens on land they owned next to the Molendinar Burn. The income from these was distributed among the poor of the North parish adjacent to St John's (Living History in Glasgow 1938: 7). The Highland Society of Glasgow established to give education, clothing and trades to the children of poor

Highlanders, purchased land in Argyll Street and erected and operated the Black Bull Hotel, one of the foremost meeting places in the city (Glasgow Past and Present 1884: 82).

Hanna (1867: 302) provides some evidence that organised charities were active in St John's describing the fact that one of the cases considered by the Deacons was also receiving funds from the Female Society. Cleland (1816) includes an account for the amounts distributed by charities in his overall calculation of 'monies contributed in aid of public institutions and public and private charities in Glasgow'. Ewing (1818: 156) estimates the contribution to be high at 'about £19,000', when expenditure on the 'legal poor stood at £ 13,916 3s 9d'. While these figures will include funds for infirmaries, orphans and pensions which may not have been accessible to all, they do suggest that charitable organisations were playing a role in support to those in need in the city and as one of nine parishes in the city residents of St John's would have had access to this. They were, however, still providing relatively small amounts.

Collective self-help

Given the small amount of support from both statutory and organised charitable sources, it would seem reasonable to surmise that self-help must have been a major source of support for those facing hardship. It appears that there were two main ways that people were able to make provision themselves for hard times, the Trades Incorporations and Friendly Societies.

For those established in the city and, more importantly, able to pay the dues of entry to the fourteen different Trade Incorporations, these provided some support in times of hardship. Cleland (1816: 207) states that in 1815, the Incorporated Bodies connected with the Trades House gave their poor £2,777 3s 1d. He does not record, however, how many people this was used to support. Records of the Incorporation of Weavers for 1819

state the numbers in membership as 1150 and that 'they distributed to the poor and for the mortifications and other charitable uses in the same year £425. 12s. 10d' (Minute Book Incorporation of Weavers: 41). Given the calculation that weavers constituted some 17.1% of the population of St John's (Furgol 1987: 163) it is likely that these amounts would have played some role in supporting those in need in St John's.

For those unable to afford the dues of entry to the Trade Incorporations, Friendly Societies provided an alternative means of providing for the future. The Glasgow-Fifeshire Society was founded by weavers and cloth workers from Fife many of whom, the author of a bicentenary memoir surmises, could not afford the 'high freedom fines (dues of entry) imposed by the incorporations' (The Glasgow Fifeshire Society, 1959: 2). In 1790 the entry money was set at 10s 6d and 'quarters accompts of 2s per annum' or life membership for 40s. For this, members received a standard rate of benefit if sick, an allowance for funeral expenses if they died in a 'poor and indigent condition', an annual allowance for their widow, and an assurance that orphans were to be cared for. In addition, the preses (presiding officer) was able to 'order the members to the funeral in case the deceased person had no friends' (ibid: 19).

There were numerous other Friendly Societies in the city in 1819. The earliest recorded was the Bell's Wynd Society, instituted in 1746 (Cleland 1829: 242). Part of Bell's Wynd was included in the St John's parish boundary. The existence of a number of Friendly Societies in the city was noted in the Statistical Account of Scotland (1791-99: 320) describing how they provide the opportunity for a person who 'chuses to spare a little money, in the time of health, has the pleasure of feeling plenty in his family, when he is no longer able to provide for them' and concludes that 'These societies seem to be the best support, for the relief of work people in a manufacturing country'.

Cleland (1829: 244-49) published a list of the Friendly Societies of Glasgow established since 1746 which identified 129, 108 of which had a date of institution prior to 1819.They provide an interesting picture of social connections. Some are based on a shared place of origin Argyllshire, Dunfermline, Grampian, Perthshire; others on a shared location in the city, Rottenrow, Gorbals, Calton, Anderston, some of which such as Calton Green Street and Campbell Street are very specific; others on a shared name (Watson's, Young's, Fulton's), and yet others on a shared occupation (Bricklayers, Cabinet Makers, Journeymen Weavers, Journeymen Taylors, Printers and Bookbinders, Warpers, Thread Makers). There are also some that appear to be linked to religion or place of worship, 'Methodist, St Mungo's Catholic, St Hugh's, and St James'. Almost all accept quarterly payments of 1s to 1s 6d and provide for funeral expenses and sickness with a distinction being made between 'Bedfast' and 'Walking'. Some are also listed as providing 'superan' and others, a 'widow's allowance'.

An accompanying section on 'queries and answers' states that it is impossible to give an exact figure for the number of Friendly Societies in the city, or indeed how many are in good health at the time of writing, given their often 'erroneous constitutions' (Cleland 1829: 243), but the numbers and diversity do suggest an established tradition in the city of such societies. Cleland (1817: 241) records a 'Number of Benefit Societies', 'which are of great use in relieving the wants of their members when overtaken by disease or poverty; although the number of these cannot be easily ascertained it is believed there are at least one hundred and fifty societies, who distribute in an average £12 per annum'. It is not be possible to establish the number of Friendly Societies operating within St John's based on other shared characteristics, but there are societies on Cleland's list, namely, Gallowgate, Gallowgate Youth's, Calmachie, Calmachie Old Trades, Campbell Street, which suggest proximity to St John's.

Two other financial institutions were also operating in the city by 1819. The Glasgow Annuity Society was established in 1808, the object of which was 'to secure a fund for the support of its members in advanced age' and which Cleland (1817: 366) suggests 'By this institution, a man of moderate circumstances, may, for a small sum which he can easily spare, ensure for himself, his wife and children, a competence in old age'. There was also a provident bank in the city from June 1815: 'In 1815, upwards of 200 benevolent persons in this city, observing that when the working classes were thrown out of work, or afflicted by diseases, they had no savings to assist them, subscribed money and established a bank on the plan originated by Rev Henry Duncan of Ruthwell' (Cleland 1840: 64). It is highly unlikely however, that such institutions played a major role in support for the very poorest in the city.

The generosity of neighbours

Undoubtedly for many it was impossible to make any such provisions and they needed to rely on other provision. Charity and mutual support is acknowledged in all sources although there is no attempt to quantify the extent of it. Hanna (1867: 304) provides some rare glimpses into the working of the St John's Agency. Writing of how a 'vast number of the primary applications melted into nothing under the pressure of a searching investigation' he provides the example of a young family who had been deserted by their parents. They were 'left to lie helplessly in the hands of the neighbourhood, the Deacon meanwhile making every endeavour to detect the fugitives'. In his response to the survey that Chalmers circulated among his Deacons in 1823, the Deacon for proportion four cited the case of a poor woman who had a lingering illness but did not make any claim on parish aid, 'the neighbours and those who heard of her situation, came forward in her behalf, so that she appeared to stand in need of nothing that was necessary' (Chalmers 1823: 36). In

his essay read to the Literary and Commercial Society of Glasgow, Wardlaw (1817: 62) states that the poor do support the poor; 'it does happen and is to be admired' but asks whether:

> …there is not something unreasonable and unnatural in the proposition that the poor should relieve the poor; - that poverty should be the source to which poverty must look for its supplies. And there is something, too, not over gracious or kindly in the practical conclusion, that because we see a spirit existing, which is ready, nobly and generously ready, to deny itself for the sake of others, we should allow this self-denial to be put to its utmost stretch, while we have nothing to do, but to look on and admire.

The extent of private charity within the city is also mentioned in several sources. An account from a Glasgow weaver mentions two episodes when his family benefited from random donations of cash (A Short Account of the Life and Hardships of a Glasgow Weaver (1834: 6) and Ewing (1818: 156) speaks of 'private benevolences' as part of the overall public aid provided to the poor. Cleland provides an interesting attempt to calculate the sums involved, based on a premise that, out of a population of 63,635, perhaps 21,212 would give charity of varying amounts between one penny to four shillings and sixpence per week. The total he reaches is £67,467 12 0d which is almost twice the figure provided for public charities including the Town's Hospital (1816: 242). While these figures cannot be corroborated, they do suggest a culture of private charitable giving in the city which may have played an important role as part of the overall network of support available to those in need.

In ‘A Short Account of the Life and Hardships of a Glasgow Weaver’ (1834: 4) the weaver speaks of his early years of marriage after 1814 and the discovery of a further means of support:

> My wife one day making her wants known to a neighbour, and asking her if she could lend her a trifle of money until I would go to the warehouse, was told there was not a sixpence in the house, but she said, by way of a secret, that she had often been obliged to relieve herself by taking a little thing or two to a pawn-broker and getting a shilling or two.

Considering the development of pawn shops in the city, Cleland (1840: 70) suggests that ‘unquestionably, much occasional relief is afforded in seasons of temporary distress by their assistance’. He describes the growth of the trade in the city since the opening of the first pawn brokers shop in Bell Street (formerly Bell’s Wynd) in 1813. Bell’s Wynd was adjacent to St John’s:

> Other individuals soon entered the business, which increased so rapidly that towards the end of 1820, when the working classes were in great distress, 2043 heads of families, pawned 7,380 articles on which they raised £739. 5s. 6d. Of these heads of families, 1,946 were Scotch and 97, English, Irish or Foreigners. 1375 had never applied for, nor received charity of any description, 473 received occasional aid from the relief committee, which had then been established by a number of benevolent individuals and 194 were paupers.

By 1844, Levitt and Smout (1979: 139) highlight that alongside the licensed pawnshops, there were also a large number of ‘wee pawns’, small unlicensed brokers and also dealers in old clothes to whom people turned in times of need. It is highly likely that some of these

were already in operation in the period under consideration and provided some means of support to those either excluded or discouraged from accessing the statutory system.

Impact

Chalmers was a leading churchman with a reputation for his ability to communicate. He was reputedly a great orator, preaching across Scotland and the rest of the UK. He also set up his own publishing company, Chalmers Collins, with one of his trusted Elders William Collins, to ensure that his sermons and writings achieved wide circulation. Brown (1982: 144) suggests that his experiment at St John's might have passed into obscurity but for the three volume treatise 'The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns' which he published between 1819 and 1826.

Chalmers left St John's in 1823 to take up the Chair of Moral Philosophy at St Andrew's University. The experiment continued until 1837 when St John's requested to re-join the existing arrangements for poor relief in the city given their financial situation. While Chalmers claimed that this was due to the failure of the Town's Council to provide a rebate to St John's for the assessment levied on parishioners and its failure to institute a regulation on settlement, the Abstract of the Treasurer's accounts for St John's (1819-1835) showed a surplus in the years 1819-1823 and thereafter a small and increasing deficit to 1835. This would suggest that the system struggled to survive without Chalmers' energy, commitment and the support he had been able to attract from his wealthy supporters. It also suggests a limit as to the ability of the community at St John's to support its own system of poor relief, however limited, purely from within its own resources. The attempt to retain responsibility for poor relief within a single community and based solely on voluntary contributions can be seen to have been limited by the economic resources of that community.

While claims of impact were made for the period 1819-23, as has been discussed these have been questioned based on limitations in the evidence provided to support them. This account further suggests that reductions in the number of people on the parish roll may equally have been the result of the changed economic situation and the contribution of a wider network of support that was operating in the city at the time. This included elements of self-help, private charity, organised charity and the support provided to members of the dissenting congregations. People in St John's would have been able to draw on these small measures of support available within the wider community. What is without doubt, however, is that the amounts available from the range of different sources were small. Examining the role that measures for the relief of poverty among hand loom weavers played, Murray (1978:147) argues 'the only reasonable conclusion is that collectively considered they were successful in averting starvation'. It appears unlikely that the support available to the parishioners of St John's, and indeed in the wider city, between 1819 and 1823 had any greater impact.

While doubt can be cast on the extent of the success of the overall experiment and indeed the impact it had on addressing need in St John's, the methods and ideas that informed it have had more influence. The principle of locality and the subdivision of his parish into proportions each overseen by a Deacon undertaking regular district visiting and thorough investigation of need is seen to have influenced the development of the Elberfeld system in Germany. This system in turn became a model for social services in other parts of Europe and is cited as an influence on Loch in his development of the Charity Organisation Society in London (Woodroofe 1962: 44-5). Miss Ballantyne of the Glasgow Association for Organising Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity, the Glasgow COS stated:

> It is perhaps advisable to state at this point that the Charity Organisation Society seeks to carry out principles which Dr Chalmers acted on in St John's parish, by having committees in limited areas throughout Glasgow, which seek to deal with individual families in distress, and assist such as are helpable into ways of being ultimately independent (Glasgow Municipal Commission into the Housing of the Poor 1903: 284).

Young and Ashton (1956: 77) also suggest legacy can be found in the fact that a century before organised and formalised training began for social workers, the experiment highlighted the need to pay attention to the selection and training of people involved in social work. They also find in the work at St John's the antecedents of many of the elements of a classic casework method: 'the interview, the visit, the case committee, the sifting of evidence and consideration of the needs of the whole family before deciding what to do' (ibid: 91). This assessment finds echoes in a report in the *Glasgow Herald* (4.5.1957) of the Stevenson Lecturer on Citizenship at Glasgow University:

> He (Chalmers) insisted on the need for careful selection and training of social workers. On always working on a small scale, at the personal level: on making a careful study of each individual case: on keeping the family together. These are the basic principles of modern social and family welfare (quoted Mechie 1960: 62).

Chalmers' ideas were subject to debate at the time. They have, however, enjoyed periodic rediscovery. In the introduction to a volume of Chalmers' writings on poverty, Hunter (1912: 16), ex-President of the Society of Poor Law Officials of Scotland, claims that 'the problems engaging the attention of the country today (the question of bettering the condition of the working classes) are those to which he gave the best years of his life' and that:

> The problem as to how far and in what way the State should relieve necessitous people has not been settled by sixty years of a reformed Poor Law in Scotland and eighty years in England, but is still as eagerly discussed as when Chalmers wrote on the subject.

Equally Smyth (2014: 860) traces the transatlantic transmission of his ideas within evangelical thought and their contemporary reappearance in the concept of 'welfare dependency' in the writings of Murray (1994) and Olasky (1992) and the neo-liberal agenda in both the US and the UK.

Chalmers engaged with the enduring question of the balance between the individual, family, community and state in relation to social welfare and issues of entitlement, rights and responsibilities. His was an essentially conservative vision, of a traditional community that could be recovered by the reinvigoration of a system of social order which he had known in a rural setting. The extent to which this was essentially mythical can be questioned and what he failed to appreciate was the extent of the transformation in the newly industrialising setting.. His communitarian vision of a working-class community able to meet the social welfare needs of its own through the intervention of the church and its officials to stimulate benevolence while of enduring attraction was essentially unrealistic in the new context.

Brown (1982: 149) draws an interesting comparison with Robert Owen, arguing that they were the 'two great communitarian thinkers of early nineteenth-century Scotland' but that what set them apart was the role they saw for spirituality in the new moral order. Of fundamental importance to Chalmers, this was rejected by Owen who advocated a different social order based on reducing social difference, communal

ownership of property and co-operative labour. These anticipated many of the ideas that would dominate subsequent political debate.

Chapter Five. Kinning Park Co-operative Women's Guild

Owen's vision of a new moral order was a key influence on the development of co-operation in the west of Scotland. Orbiston near Motherwell was the site of an early Owenite co-operative community in 1825 and one of his 'missionaries', Alexander Campbell, developed two of the early retail co-operatives in Glasgow in 1830 and 1850 (Lucas 1920: 109). A key feature of his vision for the co-operative commonwealth was that of equality between the sexes and the retail co-operative movement as it developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provides an interesting example of how this played out within local organisations in predominantly working-class communities.

The selection of Kinning Park Co-operative Society's Women's Guild and Mutual Aid Association (hereafter KPCWG) as the second historical account to be developed in this study is based on a number of factors. The first is that the organisation developed at the time of the early Liberal welfare reforms, a key period in the debate as to the role that the state should play in relation to social welfare. As covered below its members were active in the debates that led to these reforms. The second is that it was an organisation of predominantly working-class women. In contrast to Chalmers and his predominantly male St John's agency they developed a local organisation of women that allowed women to meet and socialise outside the home, develop skills, and become involved in wider issues of concern at the time as they affected women and children. As the first co-operative women's guild in Scotland, they were also experimental and innovative building their organisation on the democratic traditions of the co-operative movement and developing women's voice and place within it.

The first branch 'Kinning Park Central' was established on January 8th 1890 (Dollan 1923: 143).

Kinning Park Co-operative Women's Guild (source: Glasgow City Archives)

It started as a cookery class for women co-operators under the auspices of the Educational Committee of the Kinning Park Co-operative Society (hereafter KPCS), and developed to become involved in a range of social welfare issues. Its early leaders, Mrs McLean, Mrs McAulay and Mrs Rutherford, were instrumental in the founding of the Association of the Women's Guild in Scotland in November 1892 (Buchan 1913: 1), later the Scottish Co-operative Women's Guild (hereafter SCWG), and many of the early working-class women involved in public life in Glasgow were members of the Guild (Dollan 1923: 147). In 1890, Kinning Park was a separate burgh on the Southern edges of Glasgow which was

incorporated into the city boundaries in 1905. In 1906 the Board of the Kinning Park Co-operative Society noted that membership of the Guild was at a record of 1199 (Minute Book Kinning Park Co-operative Society Board Members Meetings 27.2.1906) and, the Scottish Co-operative Women's Guild's Annual Report (1907) reported that KPCWG had seven branches ranging across the south side of the city; Kinning Park Central, Corkerhill, Gorbals and Laurieston, Govan, Govanhill and Crosshill, Hutchesontown and Plantation.

KPCWG features briefly in the two main histories of the SCWG (Buchan 1913 and Callen 1952) as the first women's guild, the 'mother branch', providing the example and impetus to other co-operative societies across Scotland to establish women's guilds. It also features in a short chapter on 'Women Leaders' in the history of the KPCS (Dollan 1923: 141-149). There is, however, no separate history of its activities, locating it within its local context and its activities within developments in the co-operative movement and the wider community. Accounts of the work of the Co-operative Women's Guilds focus largely on the Women's Co-operative Guild in England (Gaffin and Thoms 1983, Scott 1998 and Blasak 2000) and locate its work within debates on gender relations within the co-operative and labour movements and in ideas of welfare feminism, relational feminism and equal rights feminism. There are scant mentions of the SCWG and, where they do occur, there are echoes of the somewhat dismissive assessment by Cole (1944: 224):

> It did very useful work; but despite its success in enrolling a higher proportion of women Co-operators in its ranks it cannot be said to have played so notable a part in the general political education of Scotswomen as the Women's Co-operative Guild under the leadership of Margaret Llewelyn Davies was able to play in England.

North of the border, Smyth's (2000: 174) study of Labour in Glasgow highlighted the role that KPCWG members played in the rent strikes in Govan in 1915, and the SCWG has been of interest to feminist historians as an organisation of working-class women (Gordon 1991, Breitenbach 1993, Abrams and Gordon 2006, Breitenbach and Wright 2014). This interest has focused in the role SCWG played in relation to gender politics in the wider labour movement and where to locate it within debates on different conceptions of feminism. There has also been work on their more high-profile members such as Mary Barbour and Agnes Dollan in the later period (Damer 1980, Melling 1983, Breitenbach and Wright 2014).

This account looks to build on the literature to date. It is beyond its scope to engage directly with the current debates on gender and politics, although these clearly inform some of its content. What it seeks to provide is an original account of the work of one Co-operative Women's Guild, the first in Scotland, and one of the earliest organisations of working-class women in the west of Scotland. It provides a different perspective focusing on the early development of KPCWG and rather than their role in relation to labour politics, if, and how, they responded to some of the key social welfare challenges of their time. Within the overall study, it provides an example of local agency informed by a social philosophy of self-help and co-operation pursued by women in their local community. It thus provides an interesting counterpoint to the other two case studies where the locus of control was essentially external to the communities involved.

The Guild developed at its own pace, largely with its own resources and within geographical boundaries defined by the branches themselves. It responded to issues of concern to its members primarily those of household management, health and housing. Alongside this, it supported action in relation to 'sweating' and women's employment conditions, medical inspection and feeding of schoolchildren, old age pensions and

women's suffrage. KPCWG also lobbied within the co-operative movement for restrictions on credit trading, the extension of co-operation to the 'poor' and increased representation of women within co-operative and local authority structures. In all of this, a key element appears to have been the social activities it provided for members, the opportunity to gather and talk with other women in their neighbourhood together with access to wider educational and democratic opportunities provided by the co-operative movement and the wider networks provided by its members.

There is evidence in a small box of records in Glasgow City Archives that KPCWG remained in existence until at least 1972. The interest here is in the early period of its growth and development, the context in which it developed, how it organised and its practice models, the issues it became involved in and what impact, if any, it can be seen to have had. The end-point for such an account is somewhat arbitrary, but the majority celebrations held in 1911 provided a point of reflection for the guild members and their supporters. It also coincided with the point at which some of the wider national issues that became of concern were starting to be addressed by the early Liberal welfare reforms.

The sources that this account draws on are those identified in chapter two. These sources have been cross-referenced where possible with secondary sources but it is acknowledged that the majority are from within the co-operative movement and thus perhaps present a particular perspective on activities. Blasak (2000: 33) argues that in literature on women's place within the working class movement more generally, historians are forced to make a judgement call between an optimistic or more pessimistic view of the role they played; was it significant or were they relegated to 'washing up after meetings and the entertainment'? Looking more specifically at records of consumer co-operation, Gurney (1996: 1) quotes Beatrice Webb on the grind of 'notetaking from these endless

volumes of the *Co-operative News*. A treadmill of disjoined facts in themselves utterly uninteresting and appallingly dry, and not complete enough to be satisfactory'. Based on his analysis of jubilee celebrations and histories of co-operative societies, he argues that rather than being seen as drab and dreary, consumer co-operation should be at the centre of explorations of working-class associational life and the writings and artefacts seen as an 'important and largely forgotten genre of people's history' (ibid: 128). While they clearly communicate a sense of progress and expansion, he also finds evidence of an awareness of the factors working against this, the boycotts by private traders, rapid economic change and perhaps, also geographical mobility. Detailed discourse analysis is not part of the purpose here, but an awareness of the limitations of the sources must inform any subsequent analysis.

The Context

The context for the development of the KPCWG is a period of change at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which can be characterised as the state edging towards greater involvement in issues of social welfare, particularly in relation to the family as seen in the early Liberal welfare reforms. Glasgow was at the height of its industrial strength and a series of legislative and municipal initiatives were starting to address some of the key issues facing the city. Despite some notable successes however, the city continued to be synonymous with overcrowding, squalor and disease. Many early public health initiatives in the city had been successful and attention was moving towards the issues of housing and the needs of children and older people. At the same time the Franchise Acts of 1867 and 1884, which led to the extension of the franchise to 60% of adult males and, the advent post 1892, of elected parish councils created the conditions for increased demands for reform (Levitt 1988: 23).

Early industrialisation based on textiles and chemicals that characterised the early nineteenth century was, by the 1870s, being replaced in Glasgow and the west of Scotland by coal and steel and heavy engineering, particularly shipbuilding (Checkland 1981: 7). By 1890 when the annual Co-operative Congress was held in the city, the souvenir brochure highlighted the scale of industry and trade in the city:

> By 1880, 259,425 tons of iron was shipped from Glasgow, and of coal 424,559 tons. Duty was paid on five million pounds of tea and three million pounds of tobacco. Of British manufactures there was exported goods to the value of £9,853,000.... The shipbuilding trade in 1880 was represented by a total of 248,656 tons launched during the year (Handbook of the Co-operative Conference: Glasgow 1890: 86).

This was in addition to cotton, jute, flax, paper mills and carpet factories which, it was claimed, turned over goods worth millions of pounds and the 29,000 people employed in factories across the city.. By 1913, the tonnage for 'Clyde-built' ships was some 757,000 tons (Checkland 1981: 6).

Industrial growth on this scale required a workforce and the population of the city that had been 147,043 in 1821 (Cowan 1837: 6) was 776,967 within the municipal boundary in 1901 (Municipal Commission on the Housing of the Poor 1904: 1). This was largely the result of inward migration from other parts of Scotland and Ireland. Both the speed and level of this population growth posed fundamental challenges in terms of social welfare particularly in relation to housing and public health.

Checkland (1981: 18) argues that Glasgow became the most densely populated areas in Western Europe and this is supported by Slaven (1975: 149) who states that by 1861 'densities of over 1000 persons per acre were common between the Old College on High Street and the river'. Some 78.5 per cent of the population lived in one or two

apartment houses in 1871. Many of them also took in lodgers and there were places for a further 10,000 people in lodging houses. The Burgh Police and Improvement Act 1862 provided powers for the Dean of Guild to demolish old and unsafe buildings leading to some modest demolition and the 1866 City of Glasgow Improvement Act led to the clearance of an area in the city centre for new streets. Associated with this was the 'ticketing' of houses with between 700 and 2000 cubic feet of air space. Tickets placed on buildings stated the number of people who could live in them and occupancy was subject to random inspection by sanitary inspectors. Despite such measures, new building, which was largely reliant on the efforts of the private sector, was limited. There were major inquiries into housing, by the Presbytery of Glasgow in 1891 and in 1902-4 by the Municipal Commission on the Housing of the Poor. The latter revealed that some 65.84 per cent of the population of the old city still lived in one or two apartment dwellings and that there were 19,919 ticketed houses in the city (Municipal Commission on the Housing of the Poor 1904: 2).

The association between overcrowding and disease was not immediately accepted. As late as 1853 there were those who saw epidemics as the will of God, with the Scottish Presbyteries asking London for a day of prayer to mitigate the effect of disease (Checkland and Lamb 1982: 3). The 1862 Act also provided for the appointment of Local Medical Officers of Health, and William Tennant Gairdner, the first part time Medical Officer for Health in Glasgow, suggested in 1863 'that God's providence might give the seal of approval to a certain amount of interference with private concerns' (ibid).

A full time Medical Officer of Health was appointed in 1872 and the period saw the opening of the Belvedere fever hospital in 1870 described as 'the largest fever hospital out of London and the finest in the three Kingdoms' (ibid: 11). Perhaps the most significant

public health measure was the Loch Katrine scheme which brought fresh water into the city in 1859, although this was not generally seen at the time as a health improvement measure (Slaven 1975: 150). This was followed by the development of a sewage system for the city that went hand in hand with the construction of the underground from 1888 (Checkland and Lamb 1982: 9). In response to such changes the death rate in the city reduced as major epidemics receded, but it remained above the national average with increases in childhood diseases and pneumonia and ongoing high rates of tuberculosis (Slaven 1975: 242). By the 1890s, the now all too familiar health divide between the disadvantaged and more affluent areas of the city was apparent with death rates of 30 per thousand in Cowcaddens and High Street contrasting with 10 per thousand in what were then the leafier suburbs of Blythswood and Woodside (ibid: 243).

Fraser (1993: 268) argues that between 1860 and 1880, Glasgow was at the forefront of the use of municipal powers for social improvement. In addition to water, sewage and attempts to deal with overcrowding, the Town Council also secured a municipal gas supply in 1869, and the municipalisation of electricity in 1892 to provide power at reduced costs to residents. The city was however, poorly served by truck shops, street markets and corner shops and concerns about food adulteration and short weights of food were an ongoing issue. This, Campbell (1983) argues, was an important impetus to the development of retail co-operative societies in the city.

Industrial growth brought some rise in income at least in the period 1870-1900. Slaven (1975: 256) estimates that the average growth in money wages for this period was 30-40 per cent, with a simultaneous drop in prices. In contrast between 1900 and 1913 'wages and prices advanced rapidly together'. The lives of working people, however, continued to be characterised by insecurity. Employment was subject to the trade cycle and

Glasgow was hit by acute depressions in 1892-3, 1895, 1903-5 and 1907-10 (Campbell 1983: 277). The 1845 Poor Law Act had established an entitlement to relief for those in need and easier access to the Courts for those who wished to challenge the decisions of their local parish, but relief was not available to the able-bodied unemployed. Relief for those unable to make their own provision via Friendly Societies or similar organisations remained largely 'a matter for private benevolence' (Levitt 1988: 12). The extension of the franchise in 1867 and 1884 and the replacement of the Board of Supervision with the Local Government Board for Scotland and elected parish councils in 1892 created a new administrative system based on relief committees with some democratic control. The city's Poor Law administrator, however, in an echo of the ongoing influence of Chalmers, claimed that as elected officials they were too lax, creating pauperism rather than, as the previous parochial boards, preventing it (Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws Vol iv 1910: 260).

The middle of the nineteenth century saw the flourishing of philanthropic organisations. The *Handbook of Glasgow Charitable and Beneficent Institutions* for 1888 lists some 273 institutions covering activities from medical aid and voluntary hospitals to the feeding and accommodation of poor children. A concern to avoid duplication and to attempt to streamline activity in the city led to the formation of the Glasgow Association for Organising Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity in 1874 to 'achieve the proper distribution of Charitable Relief and the promoting of the Welfare of the Poor' (Checkland 1980: 299). Drawing on the work of Charles Loch, who cited Chalmers as one of his key influences, the emphasis on careful investigation of the circumstances of all applicants together with encouragement of self-help provides an echo of Chalmers' instructions to his Deacons. Such an approach played into concerns about the numbers being supported under the Poor Law particularly in urban areas.

Pressure for reform came from a number of sources. Levitt (1988: 45) argues that the 1890s onwards saw the creation of 'new social knowledge' which informed a growing national debate on the definition of welfare and how it should be delivered. This was largely the result of a number of reports each building on each other to provide a picture of the scale and extent of the issues created by industrialisation. At a UK level this included the early investigations into poverty of Booth and Rowntree and the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor. In Glasgow, in addition to the investigations into housing by the Glasgow Presbytery in 1891 and the MCHP in 1902-4, MacKenzie and Foster (1907) carried out their detailed study into the physical condition of children attending public schools in Glasgow and these reports alongside the evidence provided to the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws between 1905 and 1909 provided a detailed picture of conditions in the city.

This developing awareness of conditions fuelled debates at a national level on ideas of national efficiency which intensified following the Boer war and the discovery of the poor physical condition of many of the recruits. Political reform in 1867 and 1884 led to increased working class involvement in local and national politics able to lobby for change. Harris (2004: 155) also associates the origins of the Liberal welfare reforms with concerns among both Conservative and Liberal politicians to legitimise the status quo and pressure from employers. Early reforms, primarily in relation to the welfare of children, provided for medical inspection and feeding of schoolchildren. These were followed by state involvement in old age pensions, support for the unemployed, labour exchanges and the establishment of trade boards (Harris 2004, Hay 1983, Thane 1996).

Kinning Park

Kinning Park was one of nine Police Burghs that surrounded the City of Glasgow by 1880. Originally part of the Burgh of Govan, by the late 1860s population growth had created an

appetite for greater control over local affairs and a desire to resist attempts at amalgamation by its rapidly expanding neighbour.

Map 2: Kinning Park c 1890 (source: Glasgow City Archives)

A campaign by working men to amalgamate with Glasgow was opposed by local 'men of property and commercials' who seeing the higher rates charged by Glasgow to pay for civic improvements and amenities argued for a separate burgh (McMahon 2003: 136). On January 16th 1871 Kinning Park was declared 'a populous place which could without impropriety be ordained a town'. A subsequent vote was contested, requiring a re-examination of those entitled to vote and a recount, with the Scottish Secretary confirming its status as a Police Burgh under the General Police (Scotland) Act 1850, on 24th July 1871 (ibid). It was the smallest of all the Police Burghs at just 108 acres, with four wards each with three commissioners. In the elections to these posts, five working men were elected

including Andrew Boa, Joseph Leckie and William Aitchison. These three were signatories to the initial rules of Kinning Park Co-operative Society and McMahon (2003: 164) states that 'Kinning Park had the distinction of electing the first Labour councillors in Scotland, if not in Britain'.

In 1871 the population of Kinning Park was 7,231 and by 1901 this had expanded to 15,851 leading to a substantial density of population within the same small geographical area. McMahon argues that by this time 'it had practically reached the limits of its possible expansion and so inclusion within the civic boundaries of Glasgow made sense'. Inducements in the form of rates concessions for a number of years following amalgamation succeeded in encouraging other Police Burghs to join Glasgow and may well have been a factor in Kinning Park's final accession in 1905. Amalgamation was agreed with the condition that the burghal title was retained as the name of a municipal ward (Dollan 1923: 6).

Kinning Park Co-operative Society

In setting up the Kinning Park Co-operative Society (hereafter KPCS), Boa and his colleagues drew on the tradition of co-operation in Scotland covered in chapter three. It started in 1871, according to the society's historian, with a three penny piece. This was the surplus of the fund that working men had established to support the amalgamation of Kinning Park with Glasgow in 1871. Unsuccessful in their attempt to amalgamate with their larger neighbour, they disbanded their committee and 'it was resolved on the spot that an attempt should be made to form a society with the wee coin as the basis of the finance' (Dollan 1923: 7). The rules registered on July 7th 1871 stated the objects of the Society to include:

a. To improve the material or pecuniary means of its members by forming a fund, with monthly or other subscriptions, to purchase food, firing, clothes, or other necessaries at wholesale prices, retailing the same at ordinary rates to the members and public.

b. To promote the intellectual and moral advancement of its members by providing means for social intercourse and literary culture.

c. To afford a field for practically working out various questions of social reform - as, for example, the fostering of habits of prudence and business among men, open and fair trading early closing etc.

d. To provide a safe and profitable investment for the savings of the working man, combining the securities and facilities of a bank with the profits of a trade… (ibid: 8).

There is no explicit mention of the ideal of a co-operative community, the co-operative commonwealth; rather cultural and educational activities feature alongside economic concerns and the aspiration to practically work out questions of social reform. Boa's advice to members which accompanied the rules called for integrity and ability to be the key elements in the choice of officers, equal voting in all affairs of the society, avoidance of all wealth distinctions, credit in buying and avoidance of publicity or opposition (ibid). This was a new moral order; one based on self-help and the shared rewards of economic co-operation but very much one that sought changed relationships within the prevailing social and economic system. While the ideal of the co-operative commonwealth continued to feature in many of the speeches and writings, the rules reflect a focus on economic advancement and commercial concerns.

A key legacy of Owenite ideals was the status accorded to women within the co-operative societies. Dollan (1923: 142) highlights that:

> Even in 1871, when the Kinning Park Society was formed, it was provided in the rules that women members were on an equality with men in all matters affecting the Society. It was only in 1918 that the British nation partially conceded the franchise to some women, so the humble Co-operative societies can well claim to be regarded as pioneers in the advancement of Women's' Rights.

While it may have been the case that women were entitled to membership in their own right, there is limited evidence available to confirm this, although by 1892 encouragement was being given 'to all who were members in their own right to attend the general meeting of the Kinning Park Co-operative Society, Tuesday next' (Central Branch KPCWG minute: 3.11.1892).

Each member of KPCS had a one pound share which could be paid up in weekly instalments of threepence. No member could have more than ten shares. There was also provision that no alcoholic liquors could be bought or sold in the name of the society and that an allowance for educational purposes was to be made from the revenues (Dollan 1923: 8). By 1910, membership of KPCS stood at 18,599 and as a society it had share and loan capital of £258,856 and the sales for the half year were £252,937 (Maxwell 1910: 326).

Cole (1944: 9) argues that the early co-operators' stance in relation to credit limited the appeal of the movement and that it became a movement 'mainly of the better off and thriftier sections of the working class'. Not all were in a position to be independent and many who may have been attracted to the movement could not join as in the bad times they relied on credit, and in the good, remained under obligation to their creditors. The economic format that fuelled retail co-operation involving higher prices and higher

dividends equally limited the societies' appeal to those who could afford the prices. The emphasis on respectability and temperance also may have limited their appeal. Despite this, growth in Glasgow was rapid. For the opening of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society's new premises at Morrison Street in 1897, the 'procession of vehicles filled with delegates, and of vans and lorries belonging to societies… was nearly two miles in length and was witnessed by an enormous concourse of people' (Annual Co-operative Congress Report 1897: 102) and by 1914, Campbell (1983: 502) calculated that the retail societies in the greater Glasgow area were:

> …employing almost 600 workers and representing over 100,000 co-operators. They sold over £4 million of goods annually from between five and six hundred shops and were probably helping to feed some 40% of so of the area's population.

The Co-operative Women's Guild

In the report of the Annual Co-operative Conference held in Edinburgh in 1883, there is a short note that reads:

> In the course of the afternoon a meeting of ladies was held, with the view of developing the Women's League, which has for its object the spread of co-operation. There was a good attendance, but the procee dings were conducted in private (Annual Co-operative Conference Report 1883: 11).

This meeting was the inaugural meeting of the Women's Co-operative Guild (hereafter WCG) and although there is no evidence of women members from Kinning Park being at the meeting, or indeed the congress, male members of the Educational Committee were and subsequently supported the development of the KPCWG. Some seven years later, the 'mother branch', Kinning Park Central, was inaugurated on January 8th 1890, followed by the Govan and Hutchesontown branches and a subsequent branch in Govanhill and

Crosshill. The minute of the KPCS Board Members meeting records a general members' meeting held on April 1st 1890 when the Education Committee reported that '200 ladies had joined the Women's Guild' (Minute of KPCS Board Members meeting 1.4.1890).

There is perhaps an important difference here, in that the WCG in England appears to have developed as an autonomous women's organisation from the beginning (Scott 1998: 4) whereas the KPCWG was initiated and supported in its early stages by members of the educational committee, who were men (Buchan 1913: 17). The extent to which these male members acted as a result of demands by local women co-operators to be involved in the work of the society, or rather out of an appreciation of the role that a women's Guild might play in expanding membership and building loyalty to the society among women, is not clear. Certainly there was an appreciation of the fact that women controlled a large proportion of household expenditure, the idea of the 'woman with the basket' (Webb 1927) and that they could be key to the success of the society. Buchan (1913: 17) does record that both Mr McCulloch (Secretary of KPCS Educational Committee) and Mrs McLean spoke at the first meeting.

What is also not clear is the extent to which they encountered opposition in the formation of the branches. Considering the work of the Women's Co-operative Guild in England, Blasak (2000: 18) argues that their achievements have been consistently overestimated because historians have failed to explore the gender politics at work in the Co-operative movement and the extent to which men controlled the agenda and space available to the Women's Co-operative Guild in how it organised. She further argues (ibid: 76) that in areas where the societies were strong, such as the north-west of England, men were particularly antagonistic to women organising. This does not appear to have been the

case in Kinning Park. Speaking at the KPCWG majority celebrations in 1911, Mrs McLean alluded to some opposition suggesting it was relatively short-lived:

> Some of the critics prophesised that the Guild would be a "flash in the pan", but the record of their progress was one to be proud of, and that of Kinning Park Central particularly so. The mother guild was immediately successful, and branching out began very early…. The only rebuff she met with was from a man (laughter and applause) who didn't believe in womenfolk deserting their firesides, a theory which had since been successfully exploded Scottish Co-operator 13.1.1911).

The early years

The rules circulated for adoption by the KPCWG stated that its object was to 'draw a closer bond of union between the wives, mothers and daughters of members of the Kinning Park Co-operative Society by mutual aid and social intercourse, and to help in the propaganda of co-operation' (Dollan 1923: 244). The minute book that survives for Central branch provides a vivid picture of activities in the early years. Each annual session lasted from September to May, the main focus of which was the weekly meeting. Average weekly attendance from a membership of 157 in November 1893 was estimated to be 112 (Central Branch KPWG 30.11.1893) and by 1903 this had increased to a membership of 280 with an average attendance of 200 (SCWG 11th Annual Report: 1903). Needlework appears to have been a consistent feature of most meetings which provided access to a sewing machine together with support in relation to pattern cutting and different techniques. The Central Branch KPCWG minute of November 1st 1894 states:

> The President intimated that any members wishing anything cut or machine stitched, or assistance of any kind just to ask members of the Committee and they would be very willing to oblige,

and that of 31st January 1895 records:

> The attendance was not quite so good as usual but the busy hive of work and the click of the sewing machine was still as lively as ever.

There were also additional sessions provided by either members or outside tutors on different sewing techniques, different forms of 'fancy work', and other home industries such a millinery and artificial flower making.

Weekly meetings also included recitals of music or poetry. A discussion on Co-operation on December 15th 1892 was followed by 'flower making', 'cheerful music' and 'a Scotch song' (minute of same date). Social activities were an important feature. In addition to weekly meetings there were harmony nights and socials to mark the end of the annual session and special occasions. At the harmony night held on December 8th 1892, attendance was larger than expected and 'the door had to be closed early and admittance denied to some', and the social held to mark the third anniversary of Central Branch on January 5th 1893 was attended by 500. There were also annual excursions and regular children's entertainments.

Scott (1998: 19) argues that a key feature that Margaret Llewelyn Davies introduced into the work of the English Women's Co-operative Guild was the idea of guild activities falling under two headings, co-operative work and citizenship work. Indeed in a paper she delivered to the Glasgow and Suburbs Co-operative conference in 1902, Llewelyn Davies argued for co-operative education to 'include the rights and duties of an industrial

democracy dealing with men and women in the capacities as co-operators, workers and citizens' (Llewelyn Davies 1902: 4).

While such a division in the activities of KPCWG is not articulated in its earliest records, there is evidence from the early meetings of interest in wider issues particularly as they affected women and children. These issues largely arose from their own experience and can be seen to reflect women's roles within both the co-operative movement and their wider community. They also reflected some of the major debates within the city at the time in relation to health, housing, working conditions for women and support for the able bodied poor.

Health

Although by 1890 there had been some improvements in health in the city, health remained a key issue. The Central Branch minutes contain frequent references to the health of members. That for February 23rd 1893 record that the President:

> Intimated to the meeting that our friends Mesdames Steel and Rutherford were improving and on the way to recovery from their serious illness. Then a sad duty was performed telling the loss the Guild had sustained by the death of two members, Miss Eliza Cameron aged 21 years and Miss Catherine Dow aged 22 years, impressing us with the thought that here we have no continuing city.

That for 19th October 1893, records that 'members would be glad to learn that Miss Calder was a great deal better, but she (Mrs McLean) was sorry to inform us of the illness of two of our guild members, Mrs Chaddock and Miss Campbell, who were very ill'.

Responses to concerns about health are evident at a number of different levels which reflect the development of the guild over time. An early focus on immediate issues saw the election of a visiting committee in November 1893 to visit sick and absent

members (Central Branch KPCWG minute: 2.11.1893). While their role appears to have been mainly to collect information and report back on absent members, by 1895 they were also providing 'little delicacies' for sick members from the newly established benevolent fund (ibid: 7.2.1895). There was also support for other organisations working on health. In April 1894, the President suggested raising a subscription of a couple of pounds 'which would entitle us to send one of our members for two weeks in the homes' (convalescent homes) (ibid: 12.4.1894) and in November 1895 a monthly collection was set up for the Samaritan hospital, the local hospital for women and children. By 1898, the *Scottish Co-operator* (1.7.1898) included a report that KPCWG had given £4 to the seaside homes and 'has received four lines of admission to the homes, should any of our members need them'.

In addition to concern about individual members' health, health was a focus for developing knowledge and skills. In 1895 Central Branch had a series of cookery lessons provided by Mrs Black of the Glasgow School of Cookery followed by lessons on sick nursing (Scottish Co-operator December 1895); the Govan Branch had five medical lectures from a Lady Doctor and Govanhill and Crosshill had lectures on cookery and health (SCWG 4th Annual Report: 1896). The report also lists the lectures available to branches from the Queen Margaret Lecture Guild University Settlement Association which included food and drink and their relation to health, air and ventilation, personal hygiene, the care of the sick and the treatment of accidents and emergencies. These were provided by women graduates. It also advertised the possibility of a second course 'for those who desire a more systematic and connected course of instruction on the subjects of health and sick nursing, suggesting that 'such instruction is a very practical way of furthering social work among the working classes' provided by lady doctors. In 1899, the report from Central branch stated:

A new feature of this branch has been the formation of a Sick Nursing Association

> which has been beneficial to many members of the society. It consists at present of 15 nurses and during the few months of its existence there have been 300 applications (SCWG 7th Annual Report: 1899).

In 1900, a further series of lectures on 'home nursing' was provided and 'at the end of the course some of the members passed the St Andrew Ambulance examination' (SCWG 8th Annual Report: 1900). This was an area of activity that linked into the KPCS overall involvement in Ambulance Work. In 1913, it was noted that KPCWG 'had arranged to supply sick room appliances to their members and that the guild should take the matter up' (SCWG 21st Annual Report: 1913).

KPCWG also contributed to collective responses to health issues within the co-operative movement particularly in relation to the development of the co-operative convalescent home at Seamill. They were inaugural members of the committee set up for the first fundraising Bazaar in January 1894 and the minute stated:

> Great honour was reflected on our own branch by three of our members taking part in the discussion. And all were pleased to see another of our members (Mrs Rutherford) able to be present and take her own responsible part in the work (Central Branch KPCWG minute: 16. 3.1893).

They went on to support a second such bazaar in 1899 (Callen 1952: 7) and the development of the second such home at Abbotsview, and to commemorate the coming of age of the SCWG in 1913, Airdmohr in Dunoon as a 'mother and child's rest home' (ibid).

Health also featured in the campaigns supported by KPCWG both locally and nationally. As key members of the SCWG District number 1, they raised the issue of cigarette smoking among young people and its impact on health. In 1903, the President stated that she was 'pleased to note that the Chairman of the late School Board who

headed a deputation to the Town Council on this matter gave credit to a band of women [*sic*] who had been the means of rousing interest in cigarette smoking, which had ultimately resulted in the Anti–Smoking Leagues being formed…' (SCWG District Committee No. 1 minute: 7.4.1903). Branches also lobbied at a local level in relation to treatment of consumption and conditions within isolation wards. The minute also recorded a resolution 'to gather all the information we can re isolation wards in connection with the fever hospital' (ibid: 2.6.1902) and that as the letter from Mr Fyfe, Chief Sanitary Inspector, was not satisfactory, the secretary was instructed to write to the Medical Officer of Health (ibid: 5.9.1902). A subsequent deputation visited Dr Chalmers (Medical Officer of Health) to get more information (ibid: 3.10.1902).

At a national level KPCWG also supported the lobby for the medical examination and feeding of schoolchildren. The SWCG report to the Annual Co-operative congress in 1907 states that in the next session there will be a series of subjects for discussion: the principal among these will be 'The Medical Examination of Children in Schools, and the 'Feeding and better classification of the weaker ones', and at the SCWG Annual Meeting in 1907 the following resolution was passed:

> That this meeting representing 9000 women respectfully asks His Majesty's Government to pass through Parliament an Act authorising School Boards to provide for the medical inspection of all school children and to make provision for the feeding of the necessitous ones amongst them' (Annual Co-operative Congress Report 1907: 152).

Housing

While KPCWG members were unlikely to experience the worst of the housing conditions in Glasgow, they nevertheless lived in an increasingly populated area near to the city centre

and would have been affected by issues of overcrowding and lack of affordable housing. Their interest in health would also have made the links to issues of housing. Smyth (2000: 174) argues that the most important concern for Labour in Glasgow after 1910 was housing and, discussing the role of the Co-operative Women's Guild, that the rent strikes in 1915 were 'an agitation instigated and conducted by Kinning Park members in south Govan)'. There is evidence that housing was an issue for the guild in 1900. Discussing the work in branches the SCWG Committee wrote:

> So we would say to committees and others, see that co-operative subjects bulk largely in your arrangements, have lectures on desirable reforms in the laws of our country, the condition of women's trades, the housing question, the laws of public health and other citizen subjects (SCWG 8th Annual Report: 1900).

KPCWG Central branch heard a paper on the Housing Question from Mrs Crighton of the District Committee in 1902 (SCWG 10th Annual Report: 1902) and, at the SCWG Annual Meeting in 1902, which would have coincided with evidence to the Municipal Commission on the Housing of the Poor, Mr Maxwell read a paper on 'The Slum Problem':

> He treated the subject as dealing principally with the slums of Glasgow, giving a very complete and exhaustive statement of the population of three, two and one roomed houses. He also dealt with ticketed houses and suggested a few probable solutions out of the difficulty (Annual Co-operative Congress report 1903: 170).

Miss Irwin, in her evidence to the Commission, described the housing conditions she found during her investigations into home working in Glasgow:

> Armed with a box of matches and a taper, battling with what seems to be the almost solid smells of the place, one finally reaches the top, and on being admitted finds, perhaps a room almost destitute of furniture, the work lying in piles on the

> dirty floor, or doing duty as bedclothes for a bed-ridden invalid and the members of the family generally (MCHP 1903: 523).

She was not giving evidence as a member of SCWG, but interestingly advocated the 'firm supervision of a resident caretaker' along with 'the friendly personal interest and counsel of the lady rent collector', on the model of Octavia Hill, as the means to ensure better habits among the occupants of any scheme for providing better houses (ibid: 525). The use of supervision and external advice to ensure better habits is a theme repeated in the case of Ferguslie Park with the existence of the enclave of supervised housing for 'problem families' between 1942 and 1971 being seen to be a major factor in the stigmatisation of the area (Paisley CDP 1978c). A concern with housing conditions continued as a feature of the work of KPCWG. Mrs Laird, president KPCWG Central branch, in her capacity as a member of the Women's Labour League gave evidence to the 1918 Royal Commission on Housing (Campbell 1983: 419).

Conditions of women workers

Campbell (ibid: 290) addressed the issue of membership of retail co-operative societies in the greater Glasgow area, drawing on the limited evidence available on occupation together with information on purchases and capital invested. He concluded that the picture was of a central core of highly-committed members, likely to be high wage earners belonging to the artisan or lower-middle class who formed around 5% of the overall membership, with a larger group of 10% or so largely skilled workers who were still 'fairly' committed to the co-operative ideal, with the rest of the membership ranging from comparatively well paid semi-skilled workers to unskilled and even casual workers. The membership was thus predominantly working-class and a concern with the conditions of women workers is evident in the work of KPCWG.

In an early session in 1892, Mrs Rutherford read her paper on 'Co-operation'. The subsequent discussion focused on the 'sweating question' and how by individual action purchasing from co-operative stores members could be sure that the goods had been produced under fair conditions. The discussion ended with a resolution 'to do all in their power to ensure the discontinuance of this evil' (Central Branch KPCWG minute 15.12.1892). A report from KPCWG in the *Scottish Co-operator* in April 1894, records that Mrs Anderson's paper on Domestic Service was read and this led to a discussion of their experience by members who had themselves been in service (Scottish Co-operator: April 1894). A further report in November 1894 by Miss Irwin on the 'Conditions of Women's Employment in Shops' was also recommended to be read at branch meetings and the 'Ladies Page' of the *Scottish Co-operator*, written by members from KPCWG, reported on a national conference of women workers held under the auspices of the Glasgow Union for the Care and Help of Women and Girls supported by co-operative women's guild members, expressing some disappointment in the outcome:

> The one thing that seemed to be a great matter for regret, was the want of practical outcome of the conference – no attempt being made to bring forth a resolution of any kind (Scottish Co-operator: December 1894).

The interest in this subject was supported by the wider involvement of KPCWG members in the Glasgow Council for Women's Trades. The organisation's 4th Annual report lists both Mrs Hector and Mrs Campsie of KPCWG Govan branch as members. They both served on three committees: the Department of Inquiry, 'to investigate and report on the conditions of employment among women and children'; the Department of Organisation, 'to promote trade combination among women' and the Parliamentary Bills Department which was to 'watch the progress of and to promote Legislation in the interest of women and children'

(Annual Report of Glasgow's Council for Women's Trades (No 4). A major piece of work by this organisation was a series of investigations into women's working conditions in the city across a series of trades carried out by its Secretary, Margaret Irwin, a member of the SCWG and one of four Assistant Commissioners responsible for gathering and supplying information on women's work to the 1891-94 Royal Commission on Labour (Lewenhak 1977: 102).

By 1895 links were made to the WCG's campaign in England on the conditions of women and girls employed in co-operative stores and there was discussion on the need to investigate the situation in Scotland. Miss Irwin delivered a paper in 1902 on 'The Problem of Home Work' in which she spoke of the development of 'a communal conscience – increasing sensitivity of the moral responsibilities as customers and consumers towards those by whose labour our commodities are produced' (Irwin 1902: 7). It detailed wage levels, housing conditions, household expenditure, and diet among home workers, examining the case for and against homeworking including the fact that for women who had fallen on harder times, it provided an alternative to working in public workshops. It also highlighted the potential public health risk from clothing produced in insanitary conditions and argued for basic regulation of sanitary conditions.

Mrs Laird of KPCWG (1907: 3) in her paper '*What is Sweating*?' described the fact that there were 1,322 home workers in the city but many were not willing to give full information about their work. She provided the following definition of sweating:

> Sweating is acute under-payment. It entails over-work, under-feeding, bad housing conditions, and a poverty and debasement that lie at the root of many other social evils….. A sweated woman worker earns in an average one penny per hour, and has just to work as many hours as she can endure (Laird 1907: 1).

The wider implications for the family are highlighted:

> A specially serious feature of sweating is its implication for the children. Poor parents are forced to send them out to add a little to the scanty income, long before they are physically able (ibid: 4).

Laird argued that while co-operation could contribute to addressing the problem by producing goods under the best conditions, there was also a need for legislation and called for support for the Bill before Parliament for the establishment of Wages Boards with the power to set minimum wages, including for home workers. At its Annual Meeting in 1907, the SCWG passed a resolution on sweating:

> That this meeting deplores the extent of the trade in articles produced under sweated conditions and pledges itself to do all in its power to discourage trade of this nature, and in furtherance of this object respectfully asks His Majesty's Government to cause inquiry into the whole question of goods produced under sweated conditions to be made (SCWG Annual Report: 1908).

At a local level and on a related issue KPCWG lobbied in relation to tram fares and the distance covered by the 1/2penny fare. While this may appear an unusual issue to campaign on, it was raised as an issue affecting women workers as future mothers. Unable to afford to go home for a hot midday meal 'the alternative was tea and cakes, with, as a result, anaemic, ill-nourished girls' (SCWG 19th Annual Report 1911: 7).

Co-operation and the 'poor'

The issue of how co-operators should respond to the needs of those less affluent than themselves was one that received considerable attention from the movement throughout this period. In the English context, Webb suggests that this subject 'occupied much of the Guild's attention from 1899 – 1904 (1927: 87) becoming a defining issue for the General

Secretary, Margaret Llewellyn Davies and this has been likened to women acting as the conscience of consumer co-operation on this issue (Gaffin and Thoms 1983: 18). An enquiry was instituted into current practices by different co-operative societies, published as *The Open Door* in1902 (Llewelyn Davies 1904: 80, and a practical scheme was instituted in Sunderland, the Coronation Street store and adjoining settlement. This initiative lasted just under two years, despite claims of initial success and it perhaps reveals where some of the limits of what women were able to achieve within the movement lay.

Kinning Park Co-operators were equally concerned with this issue. The one surviving copy of the *Kinning Park Co-operator*, published between 1891 and 1893 (Lucas 1920: 61), questions approaches to date:

> Co-operation has done much for the thrifty, well-to-do workman: what has it done for the thriftless and hopeless class which abounds in our large cities? It is not that it cannot bring comfort and hope to them, it is only that we have not tried (22. 8.1891).

In 1900, Mrs Crighton delivered a paper to KPCWG on 'Co-operation in the slums', and in May 1902, Llewellyn Davies advocated practical changes to the customs and rules to extend co-operation to the poorest. Such changes included the abolition of entrance fees and payment for rules in established societies, no enforcement of payments of more than one shilling towards share capital, the removal of fines for withdrawal of dividends, ability to withdraw down to one shilling without ceasing to be a member and the encouragement of penny banks open to children and non-members as well (Llewelyn Davies 1902: 7). A paper based on the Sunderland experience was delivered at the Glasgow and Suburbs Conference on Jan 3rd 1903, followed by a conference of some 281 delegates which included representatives from the SCWG Executive and the different branches of the Guild which

considered two possible schemes for the city which were remitted to KPCS along with St Georges to consider implementing (Annual Co-operative Congress Report 1903: 243). The *Co-operative News* (21.3.1903) stated that: 'for nearly twenty years this question had been before the co-operators of Scotland, and it is now high time they were doing something practical towards the attainment of the object in view'. It went on to argue that the capital outlay required £500-600 to equip and stock a suitable branch 'would not press heavily upon the financial sources of the wealthy societies of Glasgow'.

The KPCS Board considered the scheme and appointed a committee of seven, drawn from the Education Committee and main Board to 'make full and complete enquiries and report as to the need for action, the various poor localities in Kinning Park District, what has been done by other societies, and what should be done by the Kinning Park Society' (Minute book KPCS Board members meetings 24.4.1903). It is not clear whether KPCWG was represented on this. A further special joint meeting was held with the Education Committee on July 8th 1903 at which it was reported that 'The joint committee wish however from the members to appoint a suitable canvasser or missionary to obtain some definitive facts… before coming to a final conclusion'. There is no further coverage in either the Board or Education Committee minutes.

Despite attracting substantial interest among the wider movement, it appears that the issue was not a priority for KPCS. Dollan (1923: 67) states that 'schemes for bringing the benefits of mutual aid within the reach of the poorest were discussed, but did not come to fruition. The promotors maintained that the poor would only be won over to Co-operation by selling them the best goods at the cheapest price'. The Board members of KPCS supported their own members when in need. Campbell (1983: 311) records that during the engineers' lock-out in 1897, KPCS distributed £600 to needy members, but they were

essentially shopkeepers and, as Dollan charts, their business was developing well at this time and they had plenty of new customers without needing to consider how to adapt their business model to the needs of the poorest. Their preferred approach appears to have been one of philanthropy, making substantial donations each year to a range of medical institutions along with organisations supporting the poor and disabled. In 1905 the list of donations to charity totalled £117 16s 0d (Minute book KPCS Board members meetings 24.10.1905). Campbell suggests that the failure to address the needs of the poor was a major strategic error allowing commercial interest to overrule ideological ones which would lead to the eventual demise of retail co-operation. It may also have been the result of the fact that the model advocated did not sit easily with ideas of mutual aid and collective self-help.

Practice models

Discussing the demise of the Sunderland scheme, Cole (1944: 223) suggests that the 'attempt to mingle storekeeping, if not with philanthropy in the ordinary sense, at all events with social service was alien to the spirit of co-operation at the time'. Gaffin and Thoms (1983: 67) argue that it savoured too much of 'soup and blankets rather than thrift, saving and sensible shopping'. Llewellyn Davies drew on the settlement model which was being developed in different parts of the country at the time. Indeed, in her early paper in 1899, 'Co-operation in Poor Neighbourhoods' (Llewellyn Davies 1904: 76) she called for the establishment of 'a co-operative colony' in poor districts. When the Coronation Street store opened in 1902 it had an adjoining 'settlement' operated in its first three months by Llewellyn Davies herself and other members of the executive of the WCG. The demise of the initiative after less than two years was accompanied by suggestions of friction between the women workers and members of the Sunderland co-operative society. This may have

been a result of different priorities but equally that the Executive of the WCG was looking to develop a model more readily associated with middle-class philanthropy than independent working-class self-help. It was not a model that could be readily adapted to a co-operative approach.

The other practice models used by the Guild to organise provide some points of continuity from those seen in St John's, albeit with important differences. In advocating the potential of collective action to achieve reform, the importance of political representation and working-class education they also anticipate later models of community education, development and social action seen in the Community Development Projects.

Just as at St John's, individual visiting played a part in the work of the guild as seen in the visiting committee instigated by KPCWG. Chalmers' model of district visiting in which his Deacons had responsibility for their 'proportion' to investigate need and mobilise self-help relied primarily on his Deacons, visitors from outside the area and of a different social status. Their visiting, as that of the 'friendly visiting' developed by the COS in this period, was about rationing resources and encouraging behaviour change. Members of the KPCWG visiting committee were elected from the membership and essentially visited their peers. Their purpose was not to investigate need and mobilise self-help, but to offer what solidarity they could in the spirit of mutual aid and to maintain contact with their membership. In December 1895 KPCWG Central Branch minute recorded:

> The Treasurers paid the sums voted to members of 19th December and each of them wished to sincerely thank us for our practical sympathy in their trials (KPCWG Central Branch Minutes 26.12.1895).

In a further echo from Chalmers via the evangelical movement, the guild developed its basic model of organisation, the weekly meeting, from the 'mothers' meeting'. Prochaska

(1989: 381) argues that such meetings, largely ignored in social histories, developed in the middle years of the nineteenth century out of the traditions of district visiting and parochial service which characterised the work of evangelical religious organisations such as London City Mission and the Ranyard Mission:

> By the end of the nineteenth century the mothers' meeting was triumphant, the most pervasive female agency for bringing women together on a regular basis outside the home in British history. Not even the expanding female trade unions could match the membership figures for mothers' meetings.

Buchan (1913: 1) acknowledges the link, stating that the early Guilds 'took the form of sewing classes, cookery demonstrations, health lectures and other forms copied from procedure at women's meeting connected with religious bodies' and the Webbs suggest that 'the Guild started as a sort of Co-operative 'mothers' meeting' with co-operative literature being read to assembled wives bowed over their needles' (quoted ibid: 397).

Prochaska (1989: 381) described the model thus:

> Supervised by ladies often with the assistance of working-class missioners, meetings typically had about fifty or sixty regular members, who listened to stories or lectures while bowed over their needles. The meetings offered cheap clothing to poor families, relief from domestic drudgery, a source of female comradeship, training or children respectability, and, for many, the consolation of religion. In time, the organisers gave more and more attention to social schemes, medical benefits and infant welfare.

While the model looked familiar, key differences can be found in the emphasis on social and cultural activities not evident in the activities of religious bodies, the level of

democratic engagement and involvement in determining the activities for the sessions and, the focus on self-help and education.

Education was enshrined in the aims of KPCWG primarily in relation to the principles of co-operation. This was not formal education, although they would later take an interest in this in their activities in relation to school boards, but the more informal opportunities that arose from their day-to-day activities. For members of KPCWG their branches were the place where they started to develop voice and involvement in wider affairs. Reflecting on the early work of the branch at the majority celebrations in January 1911, Mrs McLean spoke of how 'their Guild had been organised in fear and trembling that memorable afternoon in the Clarence Street Hall, when they were almost afraid to hear the sound of their own voices' (Buchan 1913: 23). This perhaps suggests a different complexion of leadership within KPCWG and SCWG to that of WCG, the leaders of which Webb ((1927: 72) suggested 'had the advantage of scholarship and culture'.

The sources chart in detail the early development of voice. They record the first public speeches made by Mrs McLean and Mrs McAulay at the start of trading at the premises in Ardgowan Street (Dollan 1923: 148) and their subsequent speeches at meetings to set up further branches (Buchan 193: 24). The minutes recorded who read papers, how they were received and also list in detail the speakers in any subsequent discussion. The emphasis on the use of one-minute speeches at meetings, and the encouragement of women to write papers for competitions and prizes and respond to them, all contributed to this. Buchan (1913: 67) reflected on this:

> One reason for claiming this credit for the Guild is that at no other meetings of women are the members so frank and sociable, giving their opinions and thoughts on what might be called home subjects in a manner which tends favourably to the

> development of their best intellect. There is a feeling of comradeship amongst the members that can only be accounted for by their reverence for the motto "Mutual Aid" and there is an opinion throughout the whole membership of the Association that they are there for a specific purpose and to further a good cause.

In addition to such activities, members had access to experience and training in organising and running meetings, events, conferences within the democratic tradition of the co-operative movement.

The roles of women and the guild within the wider co-operative movement were frequent topics for papers and discussion. While much of this can be seen to reflect an idea of the separation of male and female spheres, with women responsible for the domestic and 'civilising sphere' of the movement, there were other voices. Mrs Murie (President Central Branch) read a paper at the District Conference in which she argued:

> that working women are now beginning to find out as men have done that the means for improving their conditions and redressing their wrong lies largely in their own hands and proceeded to show that in the Guild, by combination, their need for freedom and power, for education, for rest and recreation, might all be found (SCWG District Committee No 1 minutes: 1.4.1904).

Callen (1952: 15) finds around 1908 an increase in interest in 'questions affecting the welfare of the community', with an increasingly political flavour to the resolutions submitted to the annual meeting of the guild and a consequent increase in 'the value and education of Guildswomen in questions of citizenship'. The issues on which they campaigned arose from their own experience and largely related to the needs of women and children but, by this point in their development, members of the guild were recognising

the importance of collective and political action, couched at the time in the language of citizenship. Mrs Ritchie (1908: 4) of KPCWG stated that:

> If the Co-operative movement is to become a real, living force, making for social justice and righteousness, its members must be taught to take a keen interest in the movement, as well as in municipal and national affairs. They must be taught that the future of our cities and our country depends largely upon the education and public spirit of our working people.

Women from KPCWG played a role in the affairs of KPCS from 1893 when Mrs Hector and Mrs McLaughlin were elected to the Education Committee, although progress was slow. In 1903 Mrs Murie was elected to the Glasgow and Suburbs Co-operative Conference and Mrs Ritchie was elected to attend the SCWS meetings, but it was not until 1916 that Mrs Hunter was elected to the Board of KPCS (Dollan 1923: 148). Breitenbach (2010: 65) charts the development of opportunities for women to seek public office, first via Education Authorities and later via Local Councils. Progress in civic representation by members of KPCWG was equally slow. It was 1910 when Mrs Hardie was elected to the Education Authority for Glasgow followed in 1919 by Mrs Dollan and it was 1920 before Mary Barbour was elected to Glasgow Town Council. Campbell (1983: 421) records that Kinning Park was the 'outstanding retail society for guildswomen involved in the Labour Party'.

KPCWG and the SCWG also recognised limitations in what they were able to achieve without parliamentary representation. Reporting on a discussion within the quarterly meeting of the SCWG on a paper on why women should seek the vote, 'Mrs Galloway (Kinning Park) said she was sure if women had the vote there would be old age pensions, not sweated labour and no public houses'(Scottish Co-operator: 13.9.1907). The SCWG sent their first petition to the Government on women's suffrage in 1893 (SCWG 2nd

Annual Report: 1894) and there were a series of subsequent discussions, papers and resolutions although Buchan (1913: 68) claimed they were 'not in evidence with the militant party'. Mrs Murie of KPCWG presented a paper on Women's Suffrage to the District Committee in 1903, (SCWG District Committee No 1 minute: 11.11.1903) and in 1907 a further paper by Mrs Buchan was distributed to all branches for discussion. This suggested that the opposition to the complete franchise for women was illogical 'for why a woman should be eligible to vote and act on local boards, and not have sufficient intelligence on Parliamentary affairs seems ridiculous' (Buchan 1907: 3). It also argued that widening the sphere of women's interest would be to the benefit of their children and that;

> The franchise need not make her less domesticated, less useful, or less lovable, but rather more capable of standing by his side, counselling, helping, and cheering him on (ibid: 7).

The *Scottish Co-operator* reported that 'a good many of the Co-operative Guildswomen in and around Glasgow are working heart and soul for the success of the monster demonstration being held in the St Andrew's Hall on Friday next in support of voting rights, among them being Mrs Buchan and Mrs Laird' (Scottish Co-operator: 8.3.1907) and at the SCWG Annual Meeting in May 1907 the following resolution was passed:

> That this meeting pledges itself to help in every constitutional way the progress of the movement to grant the extension of the franchise to women for the Parliamentary elections, on the same basis as at present they have the municipal vote (Annual Co-operative Congress report 1908: 152).

Towards an Evaluation of Impact

The central branch of the KPCWG held its 'majority' celebrations on the 7th January 1911 at the St Mungo Halls. The president, Mrs Laird spoke of the success of the Guild which from the foundation of the first Kinning Park branch in 1890 'today throughout Scotland… had something like 125 branches, and a membership of close upon 12,000' (Scottish Co-operator: 13.01.1911). KPCWG by this point had grown from just one original branch to seven across the south side of the city with a total membership in excess of 1000.

How then to evaluate the impact of KPCWG? Given the heavy reliance on co-operative sources, there is a clear danger of over-estimating its impact and so caution needs to be applied to any claims made. It does however appear possible to find impact in three main areas: on the lives of individual women members within their local community, within the wider KPCS and the local and national co-operative movement and, in their engagement with the local and national debates in relation to the Liberal welfare reforms being debated at the time.

At an individual level, the guild provided the opportunity for women to meet and socialise outside of the home when opportunities to do this were limited and homes were often crowded places. It also provided the opportunity to develop skills and access resources that might increase the level of domestic comfort. As the population of the area increased, this may also have contributed to a sense of belonging and opportunity for relationship for members without roots in the area. In an article in the *Scottish Co-operator* on the Women's Guild, Buchan considered the impact of the Guild on women of different ages. For young women, she claimed, it provided the opportunity to mix with her elders and gain 'an education in practical and everyday usefulness'; for the married woman, it provided 'a mild form of relaxation and beneficial change from the everyday cares of this

life' as well as assistance with 'the various difficult problems that arise in matters of economy and everyday life'; and for the older woman 'who has her family grown up, and is ripe with experience, and has more scope for getting about to attend the different meetings than she had in her younger days', the opportunity to share this for the benefit of those coming behind her (Scottish Co-operator. 8.3.1901: 88). The numbers who joined KPCWG and the size of the meetings suggest that this was fulfilling an important function for women members in their community.

In the same article Buchan states that the aim of the Women's Guild 'is mutual aid and the education and improvement of women'. Much of this is couched in the language of women's role in relation to the domestic sphere and the early educational activities in KPCWG were in needlework, pattern cutting, making-up and cookery, all of which served to reinforce this. In their work on health issues, however, an initial focus on issues of domestic concern such as sick nursing, food and health and home nursing gradually developed into a concern with wider issues of community and public health in their involvement in ambulance work, support for convalescent homes and wider local and national campaigns. At a limited level, this would contribute to skills, knowledge and facilities available to the local community while supporting calls for wider reform.

For those who wanted to, membership of KPCWG also provided the potential for involvement in local and national issues within their own branches, the wider SCWG, and co-operative movement. In her article in the *Scottish Co-operator* Buchan speaks of:

> minor objects (of the Guild), such as the mere fact of being present and taking part in the meetings … gives the average woman an idea of the conduct of greater meetings, which her sex practically debars her from being present at, and gives new

> light and understanding of this great world of ours to her, and enables her to have more intelligent ideas on many questions that affect the women of our day (ibid).

The democratic conduct of meetings, the writing and reading of papers, involvement in small scale research, information available from the wider network of organisations represented within the membership such as Miss Irwin, Mrs Hector and Mrs Campsie from the Glasgow Council for Women's Trades, Mrs Laird and the Women's Labour League, all contributed to the development of women active within the field of social welfare in their local community.

In 1910, KPCS had 18,599 members and was one of the largest retail co-operative societies in Glasgow and in Scotland and a key player in the SCWS and the wider co-operative movement. It is impossible to ascertain the extent to which KPCWG contributed to this growth in membership. Reflecting on the work of the guild in its first few years, Mrs Hector, President of Govan branch, stated:

> She was reminded tonight of the time when their educational committee first proposed to inaugurate the guilds: there was considerable difference of opinion as to their ultimate success, and some even were afraid they would become a financial burden on the society. After nine years' experience, however, she thought they have proved to the educational committee and co-operators in general that instead of becoming a financial burden on their society they had proved themselves to be one of the most powerful mediums for advertising co-operation and since the guilds had started the membership of the society had gone up by leaps and bounds (Scottish Co-operator: 22.4.1898).

At the majority celebrations Mrs McLean claimed that 'men folks soon began to recognise that having a guild in connection with the society was a strong factor in their progress'

(Scottish Co-operator:13.1.1911), and in his history of KPCS, Dollan (1923: 141) acknowledges that without women as 'domestic buyers' there would be no co-operative societies and that co-operation depends on women for support and success. The existence of the society provided local access to unadulterated and fair weight food, the potential for small-scale savings as well as the other benefits associated with co-operation.

Although progress was not rapid, members of KPCWG were elected to various co-operative committees serving on the Education committee, the Co-operative Laundry Association, the Glasgow and Suburbs Co-operative Conference, the SCWS, the United Co-operative Baking Society, the Co-operative Congress held in Paisley in 1905 and, eventually in 1916, the board of KPCS. They also contributed via their initiation of, and shared membership with, the SCWG to wider debates within the co-operative movement on credit trading, extension of co-operation to the poor, pensions and working conditions for co-operative employees, all of which had some impact on the local neighbourhood. Their practice approaches developed their own leadership and they also contributed to the lobby for wider reform on issues such as feeding and medical examination of schoolchildren and regulation of working conditions, working in conjunction with other organisations to support this.

There were undoubtedly clear limits as to what they were able to achieve. Despite being concerned about how to deliver the benefits of co-operation to those less well off than themselves, there was no real progress on this within the co-operative movement. This perhaps reflected the lack of vision among members of KPCS or a recognition of the limits as to what co-operation could achieve. There were also issues that were recognised as beyond the reach of co-operation. In the English context, Webb (1927: 104) recorded a paper on old age pensions which argued that: 'It is clear that no co-operative scheme can

touch the mass of destitute old men and women, so as citizens we must be careful not to put any barrier in the way of a more comprehensive scheme'. In 1902, the SCWG recorded a donation of ten shillings to the organising fund for the promoting of an old age pension and in 1909 the Annual Report reflected on this and the passage of the Act:

> The comfort and independence which the passing of the Act has given to many old people, the large majority of whom are women, ought to encourage us, as Guild members to take greater part caring for our country's welfare' (SCWG 17th Annual report: 1909).

It reported that three SCWG members had been invited to sit on Old Age Pension Committees. KPCWG and SCWG also recognised the limitations of what they might achieve without political representation and supported the demand for women's suffrage alongside supporting women to take on public office where they were able at the time.

In her history of the SCWG, Buchan (1913: 97) speaks of the creation and maturity of an association of a 'working class section of the community' and the remarkable fact that:

> the work and its construction have been accomplished without the aid of any person of ease; for this reason we claim that the credit is all the greater as due to less qualified minds, who have accomplished what has been done after the ordinary work of the day.

KPCWG provided the foundation and example for this, building an organisation of working-class women in the south side of the city that built from a focus on domestic skills and home industries to engage in some of the key social welfare issues of their day. In doing this they adapted existing models of practice to their own ends and developed models of community education, leadership development and democratic decision making that would

become important future approaches. The fact that they developed their agenda from their own experience, were able to work with their own resources and within boundaries they established themselves perhaps also accounts for their longevity and participation in public life as the twentieth century progressed.

Chapter 6. Paisley Community Development Project

Whereas KPCWG provides an example of local agency and the development of collective self-help solutions to some of the pressing issues of the day, Paisley Community Development Project (hereafter Paisley CDP) provides a further example of an externally designed experimental approach designed to address issues of 'multiple deprivation' by action at a neighbourhood level. Paisley CDP operated in the Ferguslie Park area of Paisley from 1972-1977. It was one of twelve Community Development Projects (CDPs) instituted by the Home Office in 1969 under the Urban Programme and the only one that was in Scotland. It was initially sponsored by Paisley Burgh Council and, following local government reorganisation in May 1975, by Strathclyde Regional Council.

The CDPs were developed largely in response to concerns about enduring poverty and the existence of what were seen as geographical pockets of deprivation that the 'classic' welfare state was failing to address. They were designed as action research projects and described as 'a major experiment in improving social services for those most in need'. While Paisley CDP was the product of a very different historical context to Thomas Chalmers' experiment at St John's some 150 years earlier and is informed by different underlying assumptions about social welfare, it does display some interesting similarities in the issues it addressed and the practice approaches it employed.

Unlike the other CDPs, Paisley did not produce a final report, developing rather a series of reports on particular aspects of their work. As such, there is no overall account of the work of the project and this account seeks to address a gap in the history of a community-based initiative while also making a contribution to the wider history of the

CDPs. Paisley has received scant attention in the national literature on the CDPs. There are just three references to it in Loney's 1983 study on the CDPs. Its fate was perhaps sealed by its inclusion in the category of projects described as 'local ameliorations' (Kraushaar 1982: 1) when the history of the CDPs has been largely written by those involved in the 'radical' projects. At a time when a more nuanced appraisal of these projects is being developed largely as a result of a detailed consideration of their neighbourhood based work (Armstrong and Banks 2017, Banks and Carpenter 2017, Carpenter and Kyneswood 2017), this chapter provides a first overall account and evaluation of the work of the only project working within the distinctive Scottish policy context. It was an initiative that worked, by definitions used at the time, in the most deprived of all the CDP areas and, unusually for the CDPs which have been criticised for their lack of attention to issues of gender and race (Green and Chapman 1992), was led for its final two years by a woman.

This account draws on the sources outlined in Chapter 2 and follows the format of the previous accounts. It locates the work of Paisley CDP within the national social, economic and political context of the late 1960s/early 1970s and the local context of greater Glasgow and Clydeside. It considers the objectives and philosophy informing the overall Community Development Project and the level of aspiration associated with it. It engages with the issue of why Paisley was selected and provides a picture of Ferguslie Park, the location agreed with Paisley Burgh Council. It then covers the detail of the work undertaken and the changing practice approaches throughout the life of the project and specifically the work in relation to information and advice, housing, unemployment and education. Finally, it considers the question of impact and what, if any, legacy can be identified from the work of Paisley CDP.

The Context

The context for the development of the CDPs is that of the late 1960s during which the post-war consensus on social welfare started to come under increasing strain. In the 1950s Britain had thrown off the privations of the immediate aftermath of the war and enjoyed relatively full employment, rising living standards and increased access to consumer goods. It had also enjoyed a level of consensus on social welfare and seen developments in relation to improved access to health care, social security, education and housing often characterised as the period of the 'classic welfare state'. There were already, however, indications of economic transformation and fundamental restructuring in the UK economy in the face of increased global competition. This was seen in the continuing decline in traditional industries in the face of increased international competition and a growth of unemployment as the creation of jobs in newer industries failed to keep pace with the numbers looking for work.

Economic change was accompanied by social change across a range of areas. The period saw a growth in the Black and Asian population in the UK as people from the West Indies, India, Pakistan and parts of Africa were encouraged to emigrate to address labour shortages in the UK particularly in the developing service sector. The reaction to what were relatively small populations in different parts of the country resulted in the Immigration Acts of the 1960s which set the foundations for future UK policy (Fryer 1984: 343). Women were entering the workforce, especially in the service sector and there was a push for equal pay for women and divorce law changes reflecting changing expectations in relation to work and family. For many young people the late 1960s was also time of hope and expectations for radical change as they were exposed to the Civil Rights movement in the United States and the events of 1968 in Europe and at a time of rising expectations there

was a growth in community activism around issues of housing and neighbourhood redevelopment. The period also saw the development of pressure groups such as Child Poverty Action Group, Shelter and Women's Aid highlighting and pushing for change on issues of poverty, homelessness and domestic violence.

This is the period often characterised as the 'classic welfare state'. Questions were however being raised about the capacity of an increasingly complex system to deliver for all and concern was expressed about the persistence of poverty. Writing such as that of Abel-Smith and Townsend (1965) highlighted the fact that despite an overall rise in financial incomes, whole sections of the population had experienced little change and were being left behind and vulnerable to poverty. Equally from the other end of the political spectrum the system was seen as restricting choice, stifling enterprise and creating dependence (Jones 2000: 169). Concerns were also starting to be expressed in some quarters about the ability of the post- war system to meet increasing demands in the face of simultaneously rising inflation and unemployment.

In policy terms the period saw an increased focus on ideas of community and how communities might play a role within the system. Thus while reorganisation became the main policy preoccupation in the early 1970s with wholesale reorganisation in personal social services, health and the structure of local authorities (Jones 2000: 80-1), all included an orientation toward community. Reforms in the NHS led to the integration of Health and Community Services; in personal social services in England and Wales to the creation of 'a community based and family oriented service available to all' (Seebohm Report 1968); and in local government a push to increase opportunities for local people to participate in planning as recommended by the Skeffington Report (1969).

Of particular relevance to the development of the CDPs, given shared personnel and for a time the same national research director, were reforms in education seen in the development of Education Priority Areas (EPAs) which built on the recommendations of the Plowden Report (1967) These saw resources focused in particular areas of deprivation with a focus on positive discrimination, the development of pre-school education and 'the fostering of the idea of the community school so that a new partnership between parents and teachers could emerge as a force enabling every EPA community to stand on its own feet like any other and rejuvenate its own world' (Halsey and Silva 1987: 6). At a national level this also saw the development of the national EPA action research project working in five areas of the country (Smith 1987: 27), with one project in Scotland, in Dundee. A renewed interest in community was equally reflected in an increased profile for community development as an approach. This has been linked to the return to the UK of practitioners who had honed their skills in preparation for post-colonial reconstruction combining with colleagues who were influenced by community organising and the war on poverty in the US (Mayo 1975).

The Context in Scotland

Paisley CDP was the only project in Scotland and as such it is important to consider what might be distinctive about the context in which it developed. In concentrating solely on the economic, political, social, and policy context in England and Wales most accounts of the CDPs fail to acknowledge this and the particular circumstances in which Paisley operated. While Scotland shared in developments south of the border there were significant differences. The west of Scotland enjoyed a period of rising living standards, increased access to consumer goods and relatively low unemployment in the 1950s as the demands of post-war reconstruction and limited overseas competition gave a boost to the traditional shipbuilding and heavy engineering industries. However, by 1958 unemployment was rising

and was twice that of the rest of the UK, an indication of what was to follow as the Scottish economy was transformed from 'one dependent on heavy industry founded on imperial markets to a post-industrial economy driven by foreign capital and global markets' (McCrone 2001: 26).

Equally, while a growing state sector and the advent of light engineering encouraged new entrants to the labour market, most notably women, and a growing number of Asian workers, many of whom were recruited from the Midlands and Yorkshire and Chinese migrants from Hong Kong (Devine 2006: 564), numbers were much smaller than those in the rest of the UK. McCrone (2017: 94), argues that rather than in-migration during this period, the key feature in Scotland was the level of out-migration which marked Scotland out as a net exporter of people. This was not just from the Highlands and Islands; the net annual outflow of population from greater Glasgow was particularly strong in the late 1960s representing' almost 90 per cent of the total net migration outflow for Scotland.

The Inquiry into the Scottish Economy chaired by Toothill which reported in 1961 identified a continued over-reliance on traditional industry as the major weakness in the Scottish economy and proposed a strategy of establishing 'growth points' in new towns and elsewhere to which inward investors in newer 'modernising' industries could be attracted (Collins and Levitt 2016: 298). It could be argued that they were also designed to achieve a 'realignment of industrial politics in central Scotland' (ibid: 299) which some saw as a block to attracting inward investment. The subsequent Central Scotland Plan saw major investments in a series of projects designed to generate such areas including the construction of the Rootes car plant in Linwood adjacent to Ferguslie Park which opened in May 1963. Despite such investments under a Conservative Government, Harold Wilson's Labour Government was returned to power in 1964 heavily reliant on the support of the 43

Labour MPs elected in Scotland (Devine 2006: 573). The 'white heat of technological revolution', which was to bear down on Britain's endemic issues involving planning and interventionist economic policies, saw a rise in public expenditure in Scotland between 1964 and 1973 in the form of regional assistance, infrastructure projects and other benefits including University and College expansion (ibid: 580). Much of the credit for this increase is attributed to Willie Ross, the Secretary of State for Scotland, in the Labour Governments of 1964-1970 and 1974-1976, who gained a reputation as a formidable operator in Cabinet, committed to securing a fair share of resources for Scotland.

The return of a Conservative government in 1970 saw the withdrawal of support from so-called 'lame duck industries' and an emphasis on an increased role for competition in response to a deteriorating balance of payments. When the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders (UCS) announced in 1971 that it was going into receivership, the subsequent work-in orchestrated by the shop stewards' movement to save jobs attracted huge public support with a demonstration in June 1972 in Glasgow attracting 80,000 people. Whether the subsequent government U turn was the result of fears for public order in Strathclyde or a wider political strategy (Foster and Woolfson 1986: 16) is open to debate, but it highlighted the impact that resistance might have. Resistance was not confined to the trade union movement and equally Labour-controlled local authorities refused to co-operate with attempts to reform housing finance in Scotland which saw them fined for their attempts to maintain affordable rents (Devine 2006: 584).

While subject to similar forces as the rest of the west of Scotland, Paisley enjoyed some economic advantages as an established manufacturing centre with a mix of traditional and modern industries, a skilled workforce and easy access to air, road and sea routes. In employment terms it occupied a position somewhere between the rest of the

west of Scotland and the UK as a whole. While there had been a decline in local manufacturing, principally textiles, and redundancies and closures in the local food, furniture, carpeting and engineering industries, Paisley had benefited from a growth in the service sector, warehousing and distribution and can be seen to have many of the characteristics of the 'growth points' advocated by Toothill (Paisley CDP 1978b: 4). Ferguslie Park was not sharing in these 'economic advantages' and this may account for its choice as the area for the CDP.

Despite higher levels of public investment and an expansion of jobs in new technologically-based industries, the 1971 census revealed levels of poverty across Clydeside which were unique in the UK. Building on this Levitt (1975: 317) argued that 'today in Scotland there are over a million poor - even though we are generally better housed, clothed and fed than ever before'. The paradox of Scotland in the affluent society, he argued, was that 1 in 4 had not shared in the new prosperity that had been seen in the last decade. The 'new' poor were those impacted by economic restructuring; the long-term unemployed, the low paid, the elderly and single parents. This existence of poverty amidst apparent growing affluence mirrored the rediscovery of poverty in the rest of the UK.

Parallels can also be drawn with a policy orientation towards community which saw specific developments in Scotland. The background to the development of The Social Work Scotland Act (1968) which saw social work unification in Scotland in advance of the rest of the UK, provides a picture of a close-knit Scottish administration able to develop a vision for social work that would see it not just address the issues of poverty, but also contribute to wider social change (Brodie et al 2008: 699). It also expanded the definition of social work beyond the individual and family to the community at large, investing in the new social work departments a responsibility 'to promote social welfare by making available advice,

guidance and assistance on such a scale as may be appropriate for their area' (Bryant 1975: 344). This was a much broader vision than that implemented in England and Wales.

The Wheatley Commission (1969) that reported on local government restructuring in Scotland equally provided four definitions of community and in its recommendations sought to provide for representation at a range of levels. The subsequent Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973 saw the creation of the Regional Councils the largest of which, Strathclyde, was tasked with addressing the issues in the west of Scotland with a population of 2.5 million representing 46% of the population of the country (Barr 1991: 5). Operating from a secure power base as a Labour authority with a Labour central government and unimpeded by any defensiveness about the past, as a new authority it made an early commitment to community development:

> Its social strategy would have been exceptional whatever the size of the authority. However, given its scale, it represented the single most extensive commitment by local government to anti-deprivation work, anywhere in the UK, employing the principles of community development (Barr 1991: ix Editorial Preface).

The Community Development Project

The national Community Development Project was conceived in the Home Office. It was the brainchild of David Morrell, Assistant Under-Secretary of State in charge of the Children's Department who was credited with developing the initiative by force of his personal commitment. This was to be an issue when he died suddenly in December 1969, just six months after the initial press release and the overall project suffered from a subsequent lack of co-ordination or investment from the centre (Loney 1983: 74). Variously described as an attempt to anticipate the reforms recommended by the Seebohm Committee from

within the Home Office or as an insurance policy in case they were not accepted (Specht 1976: 7), the CDP reflected the preoccupations within the Home Office at the time.

On January 1st 1969, A.H. Halsey, Head of Department of Social and Administrative Studies at University of Oxford and Director of the Educational Priority Area Project, sent Derek Morrell a paper which set out the five key assumptions which informed the development of the Community Development Approach:

> The proposal begins with the assumption that social dependency and ineffective social services have geographical concentration as one of their characteristics. We assume second that 'more of the same', in the sense of added resources to the same structure of social services, though no doubt useful is not e nough. Third, behind this assumption is the theory that there are immobilised or untapped welfare and 'self-help' resources in communities of such a character that a multiplier effect in reducing dependency on statutory services may be achieved by appropriate social action. Fourth, we assume that the actual need for welfare is greater than the effective demand and that the gap is caused by inadequate communication. Fifthly, and finally, we assume that the optimal methods of improving the standard of life and welfare in poor communities are by no means completely known (TNA BN29/2150).

The latter point, he argued, had important political and administrative implications suggesting that an experimental approach using social science methods of enquiry and evaluation would be a 'wise and worthwhile addition to traditional ways of tackling the problems of social welfare' (ibid). This outline was developed in the Home Office and the 'Objectives and Strategy' paper presented to the Central CDP Steering Group meeting on June 10th 1969 elaborated:

> As the more obvious problems, such as long term poverty at large within the community, begin to yield to familiar but essential long-term policies, problems are exposed which are of great complexity and difficulty. And because there are so far no known solutions to them which can be described and offered for general application, the proper course is to admit that this is so, and to attack them in an experimental framework, so structured and documented that successful approaches can be identified and followed up (TNA HLG118/2792).

The approach was to be experimental, designed to test the hypothesis that multiple deprivation and ineffective services were a feature of particular geographical communities. Also that they could be addressed by improved service co-ordination and mobilisation of untapped 'self-help'. The press release announcing the overall programme and the names of the first four areas on July 16th 1969 stated:

> This will be a neighbourhood-based experiment aimed at finding new ways of meeting the needs of people living in areas of high social deprivation: by bringing together the work of all the social services under the leadership of a special project team and also by tapping resources of self-help and mutual help which may exist among the people of the neighbourhood' (TNA HLG118/2792).

They would be action research projects. Costs were to be split, 75% from Central Government via the Urban Programme and 25% from the sponsoring Local Authority and were to fund a 'combined effort by national and local government, voluntary organisations and universities to find new ways of supplementing or co-ordinating existing social services' (ibid). Projects were expected to last for five years and employ both an action team and a research team, the latter based in a local academic institution.

Although the CDP was described at the time as a modest experiment in social policy, John Greve (1973: 119), Director of Research for the CDP and Professor of Social

Administration at the University of Southampton, stated that aspirations were high. He argued that it was 'probably the biggest and most ambitious action research programme that has been attempted in Britain' (1973: 118) and its objectives were 'little less than reassertions of the fundamental ideas of social policy and democratic politics' with their emphasis on 'improving the quality of individual, family and community life, increasing the range of social and economic opportunities and individual and community capacity to create or take these opportunities, and the capacity of the individual and community to exercise self-determination of their own lives and the wider environment' (ibid: 119).

Others had different interpretations but still highlighted the level of aspiration. Alex Lyon, Minister of State at the Home Office described the CDPs as 'designed to put teams of articulate young people into areas where the population, though deprived, was inarticulate, to help these people to express their own sense of grievance, and to put pressure on the authority to do something about the situation' (Jones 2000: 157). Providing a different perspective, Specht (1976: 61) suggests that the projects had little at all to do with social services and reflected 'an interest in an experiment that would provide useful experiences out of which national policy in respect to local government interagency co-ordination might be determined'. Writing in 1977, CDP workers highlighted the fact that the CDP was one of a number of 'poverty projects' sponsored by different government departments with little central co-ordination. Experimentation was a key feature of all of them alongside ideas of seeding new developments and the potential of a 'multiplier effect'.

> But the ideas were common and the organisation of the different schemes took very similar forms. It was an experiment – the word comes up again and again – conducted with very limited resources in a lot of separate laboratories……. Most important of all the schemes took as their testing grounds, small, working class

districts of Britain's big cities and older industrial towns. These were the 'areas of special need' which had first come to the centre of official concern; soon they were being called pockets of deprivation' (CDP 1977a: 9).

A 'Scottish area'.

The press release spoke of local projects being set up in twelve neighbourhoods with populations between 3,000 and 15,000 people where there was acute social need. A series of letters and handwritten notes in Home Office files suggests a lengthy process of consultation and deliberation across departments as to which Local Authorities might be approached and how these might match to neighbouring Universities. Early versions of these speak of the need for a 'Scottish area' and discussions were taking place amongst Scottish Office officials as early as August 1968 on the criteria for selection (Collins and Levitt 2016: 301). While these discussions noted as early as September 1968 that 'Glasgow selects itself' and that this would most likely be the peripheral estate of Drumchapel or Easterhouse (ibid) clearly no consensus had been reached and, in advance of the press release in June 1969, Social Work Services Group in Edinburgh provided the Home Office with a draft press release on the position in Scotland that stated:

> In Scotland the local authorities are engaged in their preparations for the introduction of the integrated social work service on the 17th November 1969, and are now appointing their Directors of Social Work. It has been felt, therefore, that it will be inappropriate to ask any one of the authorities to take part in the first series of experiments until the new departments of social work have been created and are available to help (TNA BN29/ 1345).

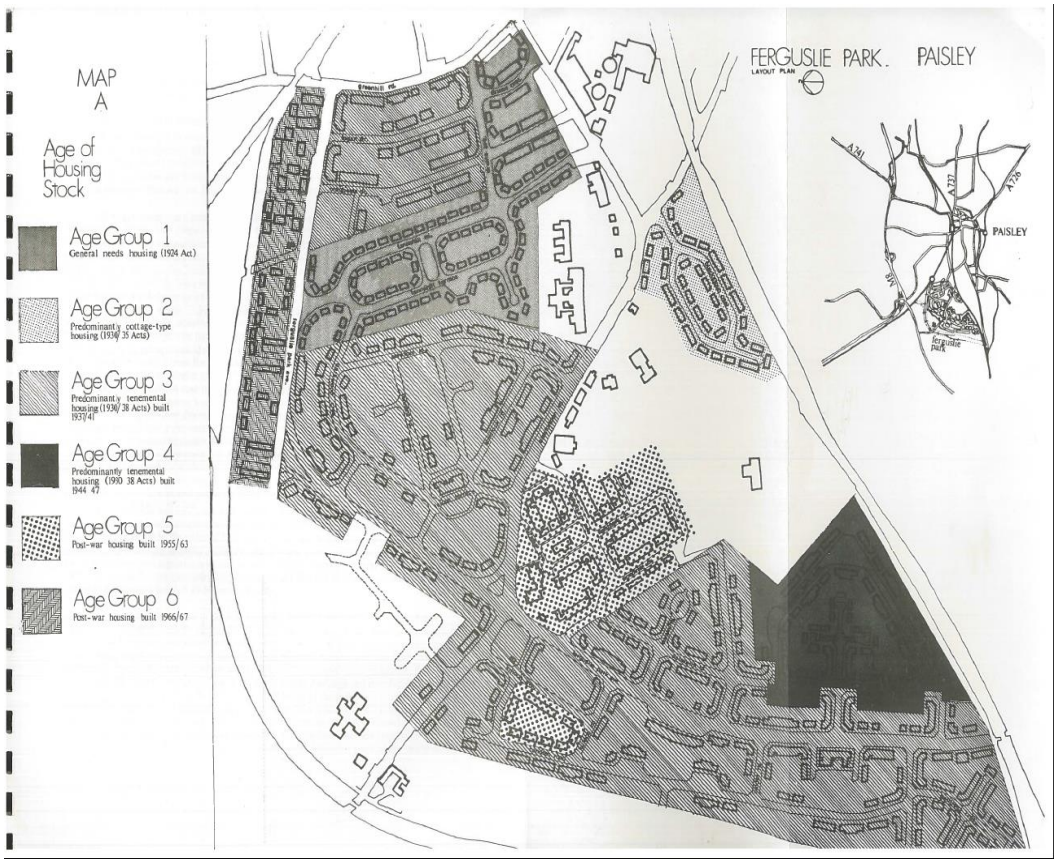
An area in Scotland would be included in the subsequent eight areas to be announced and by the time that a subsequent handwritten note outlined the process for approaching areas

for the second phase of the project, this was identified as 'Paisley'. The reasons for this have been variously ascribed to the direct intervention by Willie Ross as Secretary of State for Scotland, the fact that 'Glasgow was probably less easy to control… or that somewhere, someone decided that we have to do something outside of Glasgow' (Williams 2016), that Paisley had already had some kind of strategy in place for Ferguslie Park (Irving 2016) or that is was a deliberate move to avoid professional and academic sources scrutinising an economic strategy which was effectively draining talent and industry from Glasgow (Collins and Levitt 2016: 301). The minute of the Law and General Purposes Committee of Paisley Burgh Council (9.3.1970) records that the Town Clerk intimated that in response to a parliamentary question by the local M.P. John Robertson the following day, the Minister would announce that Paisley had agreed to host the CDP in Scotland. Although announced as part of the second wave of projects, it was some 18 months later on December 21st 1971 that the minute recorded agreement that Ferguslie Park should be the area for the CDP and it was in August 1972 that the Director was appointed. By this time many of the 'third wave' projects such as North Tyneside were about to start (Armstrong and Banks 2017: 2).

Ferguslie Park

Ferguslie Park was, and is, a local authority housing scheme approximately one mile north-west of Paisley town centre bounded on the three sides of its triangular site by railway lines and industrial land (Map 3). In many ways it matched the description of an 'encapsulated community' (Somerville 2011: 20):

> The other problem for Ferguslie Park was that it was bounded on two sides by a railway line and there was only one road in; an easy place for the Council to ignore. It had no shops as such, certainly no pub, they wouldn't allow one, and no public amenities at all… (Irving 2016).



Map 3: Ferguslie Park (source Gilbert and Rosen 1980)

Originally built to house workers from the local thread mills, it expanded in the late 1930s and early 1940s with the construction of tenement properties designed for rehousing people from housing below tolerable standards. Many of the tenants who moved to Ferguslie at this time were from other parts of Paisley, often with large families, low incomes and irregular employment; 'we had nothing to put in our houses, but weans!' (Ferguslie Elderly Forum nd.). There was further expansion post-war which was mainly tenements but included some non-traditional semi-detached houses and small blocks of flats in 1966/7. In 1973, the population was 12,300, some ten per cent of the population of Paisley Burgh Council area. This decreased during the life of the CDP, alongside the rest of Clydeside, as a result of out-migration, leading to increasing levels of vacant properties which in turn were offered to neighbouring local authorities to house those who were homeless or who had no alternative (Irving 2016). In addition to a

reputation as a major 'slum clearance' area, Ferguslie Park was also impacted by the policy in 1942 of allocating part of the scheme for supervised housing for 'problem families', a policy that lasted until 1971. Despite the issues leading to 'supervision' being largely home management and rent arrears rather than anti-social behaviour, the stigma persisted (Ferguslie Elderly Forum nd).

The official narrative highlighted poverty, unemployment, poor housing and stigma, a narrative that at a later date, some local residents described as 'distressing':

> Ferguslie Park has a reputation as one of the most deprived housing areas in Scotland. Many of the residents are distressed by this reputation, particularly older people who came to Ferguslie in the early years during the 1930's and 1940's. Their experience of the estate was of "a beautiful place to come to" (ibid).

The reality of high levels of disadvantage and deprivation cannot be ignored, but local residents also describe a strong community 'a good community spirit that was very evident in the area' and people moved to Ferguslie Park to be near family and friends (Reilly 2016). This was recognised by workers that knew the area at the time of the CDP who described it as a 'very tight community, supportive to each other… On occasions, as I said, when evictions did take place, the furniture hardly touched the street and it was taken in somewhere and the whip round started. It was that kind of community… a lot going for it…' (Irving 2016).

The official narrative also spoke of a single community, which is reflected in many ways by the fact that the whole of the scheme is covered by a single postcode, PA31. This, however, failed to recognise the local distinctions which divided the scheme into three different areas, the top, the middle and bottom (Reilly 2016).

The Teams

The Research and Action teams in Ferguslie Park were largely drawn from outside the area although there was some employment of local people and the first Director was already employed within the area. They also largely reflected Alex Lyon's description of 'teams of articulate young people' (Jones 2000: 157). Paisley CDP was unusual in that its Research Team was up and running in advance of the Action team (Lees and Smith 1975: 34). This was attributed to the fact that the Department of Social and Economic Research at the University of Glasgow had good links to the Scottish Office and had people keen to take on the work (English 2016). Over the life of the project, the Research team primarily consisted of three members, a team leader and two researchers, with other people being drawn in for particular pieces of work.

The early Action team consisted of a Director and an Assistant Director. This was supplemented over time by a Youth Worker, part-time Secretary, two volunteer Information Centre Workers, an Information Officer and a Warden for the CDP building. In the second phase of the project's work, the structure evolved to include a second Assistant Director with responsibility for housing, an Educational Social Worker and a Community Worker. Table 6:1 provides a list of team members. While there was some interaction between the Action Team and the Research Team in the early stages, all interviewees commented on the tension that developed between them and the records suggest an increasing separation between their work; 'I suppose we were seen as rather ivory tower and in most of the other projects everybody mucked in together' (English 2016). This was different to some of the projects where there was more intermingling of areas of responsibility (Carpenter and Kyneswood 2017). Paisley also retained a hierarchical

structure when some other teams adopted more 'collective' approaches (Armstrong and Banks 2017).

Paisley CDP Action Team c. 1977).

Table 6:1. Paisley Community Development Project Staff Teams

Action Team		From	To
Director	George Irving	October 1972	May 1975
	Barbara Jackson	May 1975	1977
Assistant Director	Patricia Hughes	January 1973	not recorded
	Barbara Jackson	September 1973	May 1975
Assistant Director Unemployment	Michael Martin	June 1974	1978
Housing Action Worker	Steve Mason	December 1975	1978
Youth Worker	Simon Rahilly	March 1973	not recorded
Secretary	Helen Kerr	July 1973	1977
Information Centre Worker	Connie Simpson	July 1973	1977
	Mary McQuarrie	July 1973	not recorded
Warden	William Elliot	July 1974	1977
Information Officer	Pam Davidson	August 1974	
	Rosemary Watson	August 1975	July 1977
Community Worker	Linda Rutherford	April 1976	not recorded
Research Team			
Director	Peter Norman	October 1972	June 1974
	John English	July 1974	1977
Researcher	John English	October 1972	July 1974
	Alec McKay	October 1972	not recorded
Research Assistant	Gail Armstrong	October 1972	September 1974
	Jill Snaith	November 1974	not recorded

Sources: Bi Monthly Report 4. June – July 1974. NRS/ ED39/926.

Research Team Report October 1974 – September 1975. NRS ED39/932

CDP Statement to the Deprived Areas Sub-Committee. SR3/81/3/26. GCA.

The assumptions

For the originators of the CDP, poverty was not part of the natural order of things but, in Holman's (1973: 436) analysis of the approaches of the two main political parties' policy position at the time, 'an unfortunate occurrence'. The responsibility was seen to be primarily individual, rooted in individual inabilities or inadequacies and often the result of

the operation of a cycle of deprivation within particular families and communities. Poverty was neither inevitable, nor a result of wider social and economic forces, but a result of individual and community inability to make the most of what was on offer. There was a belief that such individual, family and community deficits could be addressed with the right administrative or technical fix. Such fixes were not required at a universal, structural level, but rather in small pockets of the country where the problems associated with poverty were concentrated in 'areas of multiple deprivation'. In *Gilding the Ghetto* (CDP 1977a: 53) the CDP workers argued that setting up the CDP in twelve areas across the country suggested that the issues were located in a few marginal areas which served to minimise the problem. It also served to set up a separation between the people living in those areas and neighbouring communities.

The Inter-project Report produced by the CDP Working Group and submitted to the Home Office in November 1973 highlighted the original assumptions behind the CDP:

> It was assumed that problems of urban deprivation had their origins in the characteristics of local populations – in individual pathologies – and that these could best be resolved by better field co-ordination of the personal social services, combined with the mobilisation of self-help and mutual aid in the community even among those who 'experience most difficulty in standing on their own feet' (quoted Lees and Smith 1975: 33).

Whether such assumptions were shared by the sponsors of the CDP in Paisley Burgh Council is unclear. A member of the Research Team was able to interview Members and Chief Officers of Paisley Burgh Council about their aspirations for the project in advance of any public announcement being made. This research identified a divergence in views between those identified as of a 'social planning' orientation and those who favoured a

'locality development model'. The former were principally concerned with collecting information as the basis for rational decision-making about the perceived best future for Ferguslie Park with scant reference to the people living there, while the latter 'concentrates upon the promotion of self-help schemes and the keynote of the strategy pursued is the involvement of a broad section of the community in determining and solving their own problems (Mackay 1974: 57). Interviews with members of the Action Team and the Scottish Office Advisor to the CDP highlight the lack of an overall strategy for the CDP in Paisley and 'this image that we would somehow or other regenerate the area, we would get the folk involved in improving their own area… and the CDP Director would be seen to co-ordinate the various services going in on a planned basis' (Williams 2016).

Early approaches

An examination of the work of the first phase of Paisley CDP reveals an attempt to follow the overall strategy outlined in the CDP Objectives and Strategy paper of June 1969 (TNA HLG118/2792). The paper highlighted four key areas of interlocking activity: description, communication, social action and evaluation. A first task for teams was to develop as detailed and as comprehensive a description as possible of the individual, family and social circumstances of the neighbourhood. This would, it was argued, require teams to establish communication and relationships of trust with residents, local services and other organisations. As the second area of activity, this communication would provide an opportunity to ensure that full use was being made of existing services by exploring how it might be improved both between services, and between services and the community they served. Description and communication were the foundations for the third area social action which consisted of activities in areas targeted to address the needs expressed by local people. It was anticipated that some activities would involve increasing accessibility of

traditional services by delivering familiar services in different ways but that the needs in CDP areas were such that there would also be a need to work with service providers to deliver different types of services designed to meet the particular needs expressed within the neighbourhood. This was to include participation by local residents. This was not, however, to involve large-scale redevelopment:

> The nature of these initiatives will then be that they are aimed at remedying whatever can be remedied without large-scale redevelopment, and at doing so in a way which progressively builds up the capacity of the neighbourhood to express its needs and feelings: at the same time they will be aimed at building up the capacity of the statutory services to respond with greater understanding of the inter-dependence of all forms of social action… (ibid: 6).

Evaluation was the final area of activity and seen to be fundamental to the overall experimental design. Evaluation was to be integral to all of the activities providing the teams with continual feedback on what was and was not working and allowing them to change strategy accordingly. Poverty and deprivation, it was assumed, could be addressed by small-scale ameliorative activities involving improved service co-ordination, integration and design which involved 'participation' of local residents. Local residents might be unable to express their needs and would require 'professional' assistance to do this as well as to stimulate hitherto untapped self-help.

Description

Much of the early work in Ferguslie Park focused on description. The Research Team provided a detailed analysis of the population based on an analysis of administrative data. This focused on the demographics of the area, establishing levels of deprivation and also looking in greater detail at housing and housing allocation, employment and unemployment. Early work attempted to collect social indicators in line with the list

compiled by John Greve, Co-ordinator of research for CDP, for background data to inform evaluation. Mackay (1974: 4) describes the difficulties they faced in terms of access and that:

> Although initial exploratory work covered health, police, housing, education, social work, social security and employment agencies the difficulties set out above narrowed the field of interest to take-up of free school meals, the growth in numbers of empty houses, rent arrears and social work cases.

What this work did highlight was the extent of the issues facing the community. Between one-fifth and one-third of the population wished to live elsewhere and were on the transfer list; one in seven houses were empty, many so extensively damaged that they could no longer be considered part of the housing stock. Levels of poverty were high; 27% of all the applications for free school meals in Paisley originated in Ferguslie Park with applications four times greater from some areas of the scheme than others.

This early work was supplemented by data from the 1971 census, work on housing allocation records, a survey of local employers and an analysis of a cross section of the male unemployment register, all of which was collated into a profile of the area (Paisley CDP 1978c). This explored issues of age distribution and household size, levels of overcrowding, the incidence of lone-parent households, unemployment and income. In relation to housing it highlighted the fact that the unpopularity of the area related 'primarily to the tenements built as slum clearance housing in the late 1930s and early 1940s and some of the post war tenements' and not to other areas of better-quality housing built at different periods. It was also a legacy of the supervised housing in Craigmuir. While most properties enjoyed a basic level of amenities, not always found in private rented housing, over a third of households were overcrowded. In terms of age distribution, as with other CDP areas, Ferguslie Park had a high incidence of large families (22% of households contained six or

more persons compared with 8% in the whole of Paisley). 38% of the population was aged 15 or under and 'almost half of the scheme's population was aged less than 20' (ibid: 6). At the other end of the population distribution there were just 10% of people of pensionable age compared to 15% in Paisley overall. 17% of all dependent children in the area lived in lone-parent households and in 'the overwhelming majority the adult is the mother' (ibid: 7).

The Research team also produced six studies on unemployment in the early stages of the project. There was a study of employers of Ferguslie Park residents, a study of male unemployment in the area and an analysis of a cross section of the male unemployment register. They focused on the experience of men from Ferguslie Park within the wider labour market context with a view to providing an explanation for the high levels of unemployment they experienced despite the relatively buoyant labour market in Paisley and their living adjacent to one of the town's major employers. This included an exploration of whether this was, as local people believed, the result of being stigmatised by coming from Ferguslie Park (McGregor 1979). The rate for male unemployment was 22% compared to 8% for the whole of Paisley (Paisley CDP 1978c: 7) and by mid-1976 this had risen to 27%. Rates for female economic activity were low and it was calculated that 'well over 40% of households in Ferguslie Park are dependent on social security benefits' (ibid: 9).

The analysis of administrative data was supplemented by a local household survey carried out jointly by the Research and Action teams in 1973 which resulted in a series of reports: ' Pre-school children' (October 1973), 'Schools and School Age Children' (November 1973), 'Housing in Ferguslie Park', 'Use of services and opinions about them', and 'Ferguslie Park as a community' (July 1974) (NRS 1974j).

The overall focus was a deficit one. There was an interest in highlighting the levels of deprivation in the area. Based on an analysis of census indicators for urban deprivation, the Research team concluded that 'although Ferguslie Park is a very deprived area by the standards of Clydeside, it is even more severely deprived by those of Great Britain' (Paisley CDP 1978c:14). In an interview for this research it was suggested that it was perhaps more 'ambiguous' than claimed at the time and that 'it might have been possible to find small areas of greater deprivation than Ferguslie Park, but that compared to larger areas such as Easterhouse, this held true' (English 2016).

There was also no attempt to identify any perceived strengths in the area and no mention of levels of existing community activity and voice that would provide the basis for much of the CDP's work. There are various sources for evidence for the extent of existing community activity. The few surviving copies of the community newsletter *Scheme Scene* paint a different picture of a range of different organisations and activities being run for, and by, residents in the area. A list of community organisations, excluding youth clubs and clubs for over 60s, drawn up in 1977, identified six organisations in existence before 1973. These include the Ferguslie Park Christian Tenants' Association, Community Fortnight, Dalkeith Road, Candran Road, Mothers and Toddlers and Football Managers groups (Paisley CDP 1978g: 5). In advance of the CDP, the Social Work Department employed a Youth and Community Officer in the area and a report by the Assistant Director of Social Work lists work on Community week, with the 92 Club, Dalkeith Street Group, Candran Road Neighbourhood Group, a Lunch club, a Social Work Visitors group and a Summer Play Scheme (Minutes Paisley Burgh Council: 28.11.1972). In 1998, an evaluation of community involvement in the Ferguslie Park Partnership argued that one of the reasons that Ferguslie Park was later selected as one of the four partnership areas in Scotland was the existence of vibrant community organisations with a track record of previous commitment to improve

the area citing the existence of tenants' associations since the 1930s (Scottish Government 1998). The CDP was starting work in a community that had a tradition of organising.

Communication

In his first weeks in post, the Director of the Action team reported a series of meetings with officers within the Local Authority, Health, Social Work, Police, Education, with Churches, Tenants' Associations, Central Government, and local employers to discuss the CDP and the development of an initial community profile (NRS 1972). By January 1973 he reported some 131 contacts with local authority officials, relevant central government departments and other agencies and had established a 'Fieldwork Forum' which brought together voluntary and statutory agencies working in the area. He reported:

> The co-operation received to date from local and central government departments, voluntary agencies and residents has been very satisfactory, and this perhaps is the main reason why the Paisley CDP has become operational much more quickly than many of its national counterparts' (NRS 1973a).

The Fieldwork Forum was planning a full-day conference in March 1973 at which 'it is intended to create a multi-service working party from those attending, whose duty will be to study specific issues in detail and provide the CDP team with ideas for action' (ibid). The specific area of work that developed from this conference, held in Paisley Town Hall and attended by 85 people, was the work on education covered below. Further he reported that, as one of the basic concerns expressed by the Home Office was the low take up or misuse of existing services resulting from poor communication between service providers and recipients, a first edition of a community newsletter was being planned which would allow agencies to share information about their current and planned services and also encourage local residents to 'undertake schemes to improve their own area' (ibid).

Alongside the focus on communication with services, there was a focus on engagement with local residents. An Opinion Centre opened one day a week in January 1973 to gather views of local residents on issues to inform future action programmes and by April 1973 ten volunteers were staffing the centre dealing with approximately 30-40 people calling each day of opening (NRS1973b). Issues raised were recorded and the Assistant Director was exploring the potential for developing this into an Information Centre consulting the local Citizens Advice Bureau and also the CDP in Liverpool.

Social Action

In response to concerns raised by residents on environmental issues, early activity included a community clean-up campaign and attempts to address environmental concerns on back-courts and refuse collection which met with limited success. The first major project undertaken was the outdoor play area and multi-service centre. In response to an approach from the Burgh Engineer for involvement in the development of an outdoor play area in Ferguslie Park for which funding had already been agreed, a survey of over 450 people 'resident or employed in the scheme' was carried out and a detailed proposal produced to combine this development with the creation of a multi-service complex in an adjoining near empty tenement. This was seen to address the demand for improved play facilities in the area, to build relationships with the Burgh Engineer, generally acknowledged to be a powerful player in the Council (Williams 2016), and also to provide a base for CDP operations in the area. In his introduction to the report, the Director wrote:

> Should the Town Council agree with the proposals contained in the report then the Paisley CDP will have become positively active much earlier than any other CDP area and indeed have a multi service complex towards which many other projects of long standing are still currently striving' (NRS 1973d: 3).

The complex would provide office space for both the CDP Action and Research teams, a community work base for the social work department, a base for play leaders, changing rooms, a play group as well as a resident warden. It was also the base for the Information and Advice Centre which opened in autumn of 1973, staffed in the first instance by the Action team with some involvement from the Research team and two part-time local volunteers. While the outdoor play area proved short-lived due to vandalism, the 'CDP building', as it came to be known, remained as a physical legacy of the CDP.

Alongside this, as other members of the team came into post, other areas of work were developed. In November 1973 the Assistant Director started to provide support to a street group in the Craigielea area which later developed into the Westmarch Action Group (Paisley CDP 1978g) and the youth worker started to provide support to local play schemes and youth groups. A second Assistant Director was appointed in June 1974 to work on unemployment and the pages of *Scheme Scene* record the work carried out in relation to terms and conditions offered by local employers, closures in local firms, issues of unionisation and support to workers on strike (*Scheme Scene* 1974: issues 17 and 18).

The Inter-Project report, prepared as a composite interim report from all the CDP projects in November 1973, provides a useful picture of the different approaches being adopted across the UK and also the range of issues being worked on. While the report produces a schema of different approaches ranging from social planning to community action it recognised that:

> In most projects there is a mixture of approaches and some degree of ambiguity and even contradiction in the strategies being attempted. This is partly because few team members bring a completely clear or consistent set of theoretical

> assumptions to the experiment; and partly because the problems being tackled are complex and contradictory themselves (CDP Working Group 1974: 170).

While not a member of the Working Group, the Director in Paisley was clearly grappling with these issues. In a planning report produced in December 1973, he discussed the balance required between local and wider arenas of activity suggesting that 'we have a moral obligation to those "experimented on" to provide short term gains, although I would hope not palliative measures'. He alluded to a community organising approach, quoting Saul Alinsky, author of *Rules for Radicals*, and the fact that the primary tactic during the first year of organising should be to build the organisation and went on to argue that:

> The Paisley pattern will be woven around 1. Creation of the CDP unit and identity, 2. Local commitment and stimulation and 3. Initial inroads into the external forces affecting the area (NRS 1973c: 2).

Evaluation

The importance of evaluation to the overall project was recognised in Ferguslie Park and there is evidence of early attempts to evaluate specific areas of work. The main functions of the Research team identified in their first annual report were 'evaluation of the work of the Action team, collection of information about conditions within Ferguslie Park, and undertaking tasks directly to assist the Action Team' (NRS 1974j: 2). There were some attempts at evaluation of specific areas of work such as the Ferguslie Park Directory that was produced in 1974 and the work of the Information and Action Centre. There was also an attempt to look at how the overall strategy for the project evolved and the monitoring of specific aspects of the project's work. However, by September 1974 the Research Team reported that with increasing experience of the CDP, the scope for evaluation was much more limited than originally imagined 'given difficulties in measuring change in the target population' (ibid). They reported difficulties of attribution, difficulties in measuring the

outcomes of community development work, limitations in both quality and sensitivity of administrative data in relation to the project area, and the unacceptability of the frequent use of alternative data collection methods such as surveys:

> The conclusion was reached that evaluation, in the sense of assessing the outputs of CDP work, is only possible in the case of initiatives with clearly defined objectives and potentially concrete and measurable results. But this is not the case with a great deal of the work of the Action Team and to attempt to make it so would be an impossible constraint (ibid).

This conclusion was not unique to Ferguslie Park. The Home Office Review of CDP in October 1974 concluded that in most areas the Research teams were also, if not more, involved in advising and assisting the Action teams than evaluating their work (TNA HO389/2).

The solution in Ferguslie Park was a move to 'problem-oriented research'; research which would attempt to develop analyses to inform policy recommendations to local and central government based on the belief that many of the 'problems of Ferguslie Park can only be solved by changes in national and local government policy' (NRS 1974j: 4). It was also recognised that the timeframes for such work would be different to those of the Action team.

Towards a change in strategy

Interviews with workers from this first phase all speak of their newness, their lack of experience particularly in relation to community development, the lack of an overall strategy and their learning on the job. The Director of the Action team describes being appointed at the 'age of 31 with no community development background whatsoever' and 'being keen but green' (Irving 2016); the Scottish Office Advisor spoke of 'being one page

ahead of the rest of the pack' having spent a placement in a community development department in America, and the Research Team leader spoke of not being 'seen as sufficiently old enough or senior enough' to head up the Research Team which he effectively did (English 2016). Thus, 'the whole notion of a community development project from the outset wasn't embedded within the philosophy of the practice' (Williams 2016). It was only a year into the project, in late 1973 that any community development expertise came into the team with the appointment of the new Assistant Director who came with a track record in community development and lecturing at Jordanhill College (Irving 2016). She became Director in May 1975.

By 1974, the Director described being aware that his approach that drew primarily on his previous social work experience, with a focus on services and community activity rather than development, had its limitations and that he had probably taken the project as far as he could. Communication had not resulted in greater political commitment or indeed interest in the issues facing residents in Ferguslie Park:

> The vast majority of Councillors didn't set foot in Ferguslie Park at all… very few of the officials as well… we were left to get on with it… we had Lord Harris and so on every now and again for a tour and they would turn out for that kind of thing, but the Council didn't show any direct interest (Irving 2016).

Indeed, the only occasion on which the CDP Special Committee met was in response to concerns expressed in the Council about the content of the community newsletter (Minute Paisley Burgh Council: CDP Special Committee meeting 14.3.1974). This awareness of the limitations of a social work approach perhaps also informed the lobby for the CDP to be managed as part of the Chief Executive's Department and not the Social Work department at local government reorganisation, a lobby which was unsuccessful.

These doubts are reflected in the official reports. In a paper in February 1974, the Director reported on the first four months of the operation of the multi-service centre and some of the tensions that had developed. He stated that while it had initially been developed in line with CDP advisory circulars to attract various departments to operate from the building and to provide more accessible services to the public, this had created confusion as to whether what was being created was a multi-service centre hopefully housing various departments, or a 'tenant controlled facility geared very much to their wishes' (NRS 1974e). The dilemma at this stage was resolved by creating some tenant-controlled space within the centre - a tenants' meeting room, a resources room, a newspaper room and a changing room, and he concluded that 'we hope that by providing accommodation for meetings, duplicating facilities and the expertise possessed by CDP personnel that we can thus enable local groups to take action on their own behalf' (ibid: 8).

In December 1974, the Director reported that while the first nine months had been mainly concerned with improved service delivery, experience illustrated limitations of this approach and there was a danger of the project becoming a bridge between the community and local agencies. It had thus been decided 'that the emphasis should be on the development of neighbourhood organisations, the basic aim being to develop the capacity of residents to assess their own needs and take their own action', a community action approach. The project should now be mainly concerned with needs related to unemployment and low incomes, housing and the environment, with the Research team contributing 'problem-oriented' research in the field of housing and employment' (NRS 1974i).

This re-evaluation of strategy largely reflected the experience of other CDPs that equally found that attempts to improve service co-ordination and communication in small

geographical and often stigmatised areas yielded limited results and failed to address the fundamental issues facing local residents. They developed alternative strategies and whereas in some areas this was to create conflict with their local authorities, in the newly created Strathclyde Regional Council Paisley CDP found support for its approach. Local government re-organisation in the form of the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973 which created Strathclyde Regional Council also created an opportunity for the first Director to move onto a new post elsewhere.

A new strategy

While 1974 reflected a change in approach much of the groundwork for the work that followed had been laid in the early years. An account of this second phase of the work of the CDP relies on the accounts provided in the reports on different aspects of the work published at the end of the project in 1978, surviving minutes from Strathclyde Regional Council CDP Management Group, and interviews with two members of the team from this period and with local residents. There is a clear gap in this material created by the fact that there is no account from the second Director.

The four issues identified for attention largely resembled those of projects in other parts of the UK: advice and information, housing, unemployment and education (CDP Working Group 1974). The change of strategy was covered in the final report on the Westmarch Action Group (Paisley CDP 1978g). It discussed the inevitability of conflict when local people were encouraged to express their views about what they feel about living in the area and that 'an understanding of the causes of the problems was bound to be critical of government and the way society is organised'. The fundamental issue was the lack of power and that 'people in areas like Ferguslie Park have very little control over their circumstances and very little opportunity to bring their local knowledge and good sense

into decision-making' (ibid: 2). Any power gained as a result of community action was likely to be limited by the fact that many of the solutions to the issues faced were not local, but the team believed that local people could achieve some influence over decision making and this was thought to be more effective than pressure from the CDP itself. It could also potentially continue after the CDP was finished. The focus of the work was on the four key areas prioritised by the CDP, but work continued with other action groups on the basis that

> Self-help activities might initially divert energy from more fundamental problems but could eventually lead on to a greater awareness of the obstacles to change and more confidence in the power of joint action (ibid: 3).

Funding was provided by the CDP to a range of initiatives including a community minibus, activity programmes and play schemes. In line with a strategy of recognising the power of joint action, the team also supported the development of federations of community organisations to share expertise and take forward joint agendas. The Ferguslie League of Action Groups (FLAG) which was to play a key role in future initiatives in the area was founded in 1974 and the Amalgamated Group of Play Schemes in 1975.

Much of the work at the grassroots level was carried out by women who formed the backbone of the street groups, volunteers for the information and advice centre and parents who engaged in the activities designed to improved relations between home and school (covered below). The fact that participants in the unemployment initiative were all male residents perhaps reflects the higher levels of male unemployment at the time. Leadership roles in the wider action group FLAG were initially taken by male residents but there remained a strong tradition of female activism in the area.

Information and Advice

Work on information and advice is described in the final report as having fitted a strategy which combined 'the struggle for change with some alleviation of immediate and pressing individual problems' (Paisley CDP 1978e: 5) and also 'to develop local organisations around the issues of incomes and housing which would reflect local attitudes to official departments and which would be run by tenants themselves in their own style' (ibid: 23).

The approach involved three main working methods. Active intervention including advocacy aimed to build local confidence on issues such as Department of Health and Social Security payments, repairs, evictions and appeals. The development of written information in key areas such as how to 'Keep a roof over your head' was tailored to the particular concerns in the area. Finally there were take up campaigns on 'Heating allowances, clothing grants, Family Income Supplement, benefits for old [*sic.*] people and the cost of gas central heating in a particular part of the scheme' (ibid: 15). The range of objectives and methods employed within the information and advice work reflects the analysis provided by Streatfield (1980) which suggests these were diverse including direct information provision, advice and referral, an access approach together with the 'advocate-organizer' approach concerned with campaigns, mediation and information services as a starting point for building community action.

By late 1975, the Action Team were actively pursuing a strategy to build local management of the centre by recruiting additional local volunteers to work in the centre and form the nucleus of a future management group. These volunteers worked in conjunction with members of the Ferguslie League of Action Groups (FLAG) to develop and lobby for Urban Programme funding. The CDP Management Committee received a report from FLAG in October 1976 requesting support for the application to continue the work of

the Centre. It stated that the 'aim which underlies all our work is to help people get their rights. These rights are denied by a lack of information, by mistakes or indifference on the part of officials or by individuals not knowing the correct channels to use to claim rights'. It went on to state that this overarching aim would be met by a number of different strategies: 'straightforward information and assistance to individuals who call at the information centre; improving take up by campaigns and other forms of information; identifying problems which are common to the locality and gathering information on cause and effects and becoming a resource centre for groups of people in the community' (SRC 1976a). The Centre received Urban Aid funding in 1977.

Housing

Housing was an early focus for the Action team. Work focused on repairs and environmental improvements with the formation of street groups in different parts of the scheme and working parties on housing and the environment. The practice model based on the development of street groups reflected an awareness that Ferguslie Park was not a single community and that housing issues were different in different parts of the scheme. It was also based on the assumption that work in smaller areas would lead to wider engagement.

Detailed community worker notes on the process of developing a street group feature in the report on this work (Paisley CDP 1978g). By early 1974, the street group in Craigielea Drive had become the Craigielea Tenants' Action Association and was pressing Paisley Burgh Council for action in relation to back court and environmental improvements. They set up their own system for reporting required repairs, carried out a survey of properties in their area and held a series of meetings with both local elected members and officials to press for housing and environmental improvement. A similar group was formed

in Logan Drive in the summer and at the end of 1975 the two groups merged to become the Westmarch Action Group to cover the same area as the local authority's proposed environmental action plan.

Progress was slow and it was only after local government reorganisation in 1975 that Westmarch Action Group had a series of meetings with officials from the newly formed Renfrew District Council around a draft environmental action plan including different options for housing improvements. There is a suggestion of a change of approach by the local authority and a new willingness to listen to and work with tenants' views and ideas:

> Some officials of the new local authority shared the tenants' view that improvement to the environment should be combined with house improvement. They initiated a series of meetings with tenants which marked a change in attitude and style of communication and led to a better understanding of the needs of the area and radical changes in the plans (Paisley CDP 1978g: 39).

The Housing Action Worker who came into post at this time described a community development approach as at:

> the forefront of everything we did and it was doing things with local people but also effectively trying to get things done for the area, so as always it's that balance between when you are doing things with people and supporting them to achieve things but actually along the way you are achieving things yourself (Mason 2016).

There was a detailed process of consultation during which the Action Group received support to gather views and prepare responses which involved surveys and exploration of different options for demolition and refurbishment. A consensus was reached that was almost overthrown by Labour's loss of a majority on Renfrew District Council in 1977, but saved by extensive lobbying by the Action group and demands for support within the

Labour Group by the local elected members. The contractor moved onto site in December 1977, four years after the formation of the initial street group.

Alongside support to local tenants' groups, in March 1976 the CDP with financial support from the Urban Renewal Unit commissioned ASSIST to carry out a detailed condition survey of existing stock in the whole of Ferguslie Park to allow 'cost estimates for alternative improvement strategies to be made'. This work was overseen by a separate stakeholder group which included the CDP Director and the Housing Action Worker. ASSIST conducted two physical conditions surveys, one of the external fabric of all the housing stock on the estate together with an internal survey of a sample of 170 houses, supported by street meetings and leafleting which involved FLAG and the CDP Housing worker. This made the Council 'sit up and think' as they were able to provide a professional opinion on alternative approaches and 'not one from us generalist community worker types' (Mason 2016).

Housing was equally an early focus and interest for the Research team. 'Housing was clearly a major issue… it was a council estate…and I suspect the Paisley project covered a more homogeneous area than practically any other' (English 2016). Having previous experience of working on housing issues, housing was 'an obvious direction for my interests' (ibid). The work looked in detail at the different types of housing in the scheme, when they were built and their relative popularity. There was also detailed work on housing application and allocation records, rent levels and rebates in conjunction with the housing authority. However, while both teams were maintaining a focus on housing, the knowledge generating cycle between action and research appears to have been missing. Indeed, by 1976 the Director suggests some separation between the two agendas:

> The major emphasis of the Research Team is now on housing and the Research Team leader is working on housing allocation and management with the co-operation of the Renfrew District Housing Department (SRC1976b).

The production of a report on the impact of housing policy and potential remedies by the Action team the following year also suggests a level of separation between the two teams (Paisley 1978a).

Unemployment

Starting somewhat later than the other areas of work, the work on unemployment appears to have drawn more closely on work by the Research team. The research work provided the basis for the report on unemployment (Paisley CDP 1978b) and the development of policy recommendations which included the idea of devising a 'local plan' to tackle specific concentrations of unemployment, including encouraging 'experiments which might help in the search for solutions' (ibid: 26). One such experiment was work with a group of unemployed men to develop the Ferguslie Park Community Workshop with the aim of developing a workers' co-operative. Its stated objectives were 'to establish a co-operative; to achieve a viable business; to contribute to the physical improvement of Ferguslie Park; to demonstrate the "willingness to work" of local unemployed men, and in the long run create permanent jobs' (ibid: 40). Funded initially by the CDP, the workshop later attracted funding from the Manpower Services Commission and operated for almost two years.

There was limited interest in the early ideas of running a local woodworking and do-it-yourself facility and plans to take on an environmental role landscaping and maintaining backcourts ran into opposition from the local Trades Council (an anticipated ally) and the direct labour force. Production of toys and equipment for local nurseries and other pieces of jobbing joinery were not sufficient to ensure financial viability and an

acknowledged lack of skills in forward planning, budgeting and overall management led to the closure of the venture in summer 1977. All five men associated with the project secured full-time work either during or at the end of the project and the work perhaps anticipated the development of Flagstone Enterprises which was employing 14 local people in July 1981 (Ferguslie Community Press1981).

Sharman (1981: 14) argues that one of the chief legacies of the CDPs is in the development of the idea of a 'local' economy. Locally collected data and experience alongside government statistics were used to support an analysis that located the issues of declining communities, not as something marginal to the operation of the economy, but as central to it. The suggestion that while the CDPs were able to identify the issues they 'were far less certain on an alternative programme' (ibid: 15) perhaps equally reflects the experience in Ferguslie Park. The work reflected interest at the time in workers' co-operatives and also perhaps anticipated the future development of community businesses and social enterprises in Scotland.

Education

The CDP Inter-project report of 1974 identifies two main strands of work within the CDPs on education. The first was community education type activity seen in work with groups of local residents to ensure that they have the information and skills they need to organise. The second was work with the formal school system to address issues of concern to the national Educational Priority Areas initiative (CDP Working Group 1974: 184). The working party in Ferguslie Park had direct contact with the EPA in Liverpool and indeed formed its recommendations following a visit by local head teachers to the Liverpool project (Paisley CDP 1978f). While clearly within the CDP remit, the work with the formal school system most closely mirrored traditional social case work approaches. The funding and

secondment of a senior social worker for two years to the local area team to allow her to carry out direct casework with a limited number of cases, improve liaison between social workers and the primary schools and improve links between home and school mirrored EPA activity in other areas.

The report on the activity is detailed and the social worker reflected on the fact that most of her time was taken up with direct case work and the general educational, consultative role between the teachers and social workers, leaving less time to work on improving links between home and school where there had been more barriers to overcome and progress was slow (Paisley CDP 1978f). The level of interest in the initiative, however, is illustrated by the fact that the report includes a record of 19 monthly meetings of a multi-disciplinary working group, including all the head teachers from the schools involved, set up to provide support for the social worker and direction to the initiative. It is also the only final report to contain an evaluation. This was carried out by the Department of Social Administration and Social Work at Glasgow University and not the Research Team of Paisley CDP.

Towards an evaluation of impact

In the absence of a final evaluation of Paisley CDP, this section considers the outputs and possible outcomes from the project and where legacy might be found. It also considers how these relate to the wider themes of the thesis. The CDP was the first of a series of initiatives in Ferguslie Park designed to address social welfare and regeneration. Despite almost continuous intervention since the CDP and the fact that Ferguslie Park is undoubtedly a very different place today, residents expressed concern that in 2016, the scheme was again found to be the most deprived data zone in Scotland as measured by the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation(www.simd.scot/2016 accessed 20.08.17). Concentrated deprivation

and disadvantage are persistent and successive initiatives have struggled to impact Robertson (2012: 21) states that it had been the most deprived in 2006 and the second most deprived in 2009 as measured by the SIMD

The reports on different areas of work contain some information on the outputs from the project. The Information and Action Centre dealt with 6,172 enquiries between September 1973 and June 1977 and contacted 695 tenants through their campaigns (Paisley CDP 1978e: 2). The exceptional needs payments campaign in November 1974 led to 95 successful applications for which details were available for 42, securing an average extra payment of £22 (ibid: 26). Successes in the campaign for clothing grants led to an addition of less than £1 per week to claimants' income (ibid: 17). The CDP worked with local residents to develop a local management structure and in 1977, the tenant managed Information and Action Centre received £25,000 funding from the Urban Programme and continued to operate from the 'CDP Building' in Ferguslie Park Avenue employing local workers and volunteers. This building also became the base for a number of community organisations.

In terms of physical improvements, the Westmarch area received an allocation of £2million towards housing and environmental improvements where there had been no previous plans (Paisley CDP 1978g: 33). The ASSIST survey also provided a blueprint for future improvements across the scheme. In the area of local employment five jobs were created via the community workshop and others within the CDP building and the evaluation of the educational social worker post on improvements to relations between teachers and social workers was positive and supported the continuation of the post. The Research Team produced a number of articles including policy recommendations based on their work in Ferguslie Park which received national attention. These outputs are largely in line with

those covered in the literature on other CDPs and what was essentially a short term project with limited resources.

Interviews with those involved in the project highlight some changes although all struggled with questions about impact and legacy. Re-modernisation of housing in the Westmarch area including getting rid of balconies and 'getting the local services together in the same room at the same time to try and promote better joint working between them which I think was not an insignificant initiative in itself just getting the co-ordination going because it was lacking when we got there' (Mason 2016). From a research perspective the discussion was in terms of 'pushing along the thinking and trying to get away from naïve explanations of why some estates were like they were' (English 2016). In terms of the early work there were some 'small successes' and 'the information centre certainly had the potential' (Irving 2016).

Whether these outputs created long-term outcomes for people in Ferguslie Park or indeed met the original aims outlined for the CDP, is less certain. The workers interviewed are rather critical of the achievements of their younger years. 'I very much doubt if it had a major impact' (English 2016). 'But the decline in the area and the forces were much greater than we were, so yes, it feels like a relative failure to be honest in retrospect. Could we have achieved more? I do not think so' (Mason 2016). 'It must have had some effect but I can't… I don't think I'd say it had a major decisive effect on Ferguslie Park' (English 2016).

The written record also makes somewhat muted claims for outcomes. Reflecting on the information and advice work it suggested that although the campaigns were a success, the 'actual amount added to the income of each claimant was small' (Paisley CDP 1977e: 17). Action at a local level developed skills and confidence in advocacy in relation to the welfare system and some small additions to people's incomes but was unable to address

the enduring poverty they experienced and which was supposed to have been eradicated by the social welfare system. While others might learn from their experience, there was a clear recognition of the limits of local action to address a system of nationally determined benefits that left many below accepted levels of poverty. In terms of work on unemployment there was equally recognition of similar limitations; unemployment was a national issue and 'no amount of "tinkering" at a local level will be effective without changes at a national level' (Paisley CDP 1978b: 2).

Given the scale of industrial restructuring taking place and its impact on local communities, any outcomes from a small local project would necessarily be limited. However, it was suggested that tinkering 'can be justified in terms of the effect it and other similar initiatives might have in effecting more widespread change' (Paisley CDP 1977b: 2). More widespread change at a structural level was what was required to address these fundamental issues; local, place-based action would only ever be able to achieve marginal outcomes in relation to inequality and disadvantage. This chimed with the assessment of the CDP Inter-project Editorial team who claimed that the poverty experiments were never about eradicating poverty but more about 'managing the poor' (CDP 1977a: 63). The co-ordination of services and development of local groups and participation structures could do little to address the enduring issues of low incomes, poor housing, unemployment and exclusion, the remedies for which were located outside the small local areas that the CDPs worked in.

Kraushaar (1982) examines the final reports of all the CDPs and suggests that there was a final report from Paisley. There is no evidence of such a document although there was an attempt to draw together learning from the project and minutes of the Management Group for 1977 record discussions on the range of papers to be produced. In

the introduction to the paper on the CDP Management Committee (Paisley CDP 1978d: 1), the purpose of the paper is identified as 'partly as a record of the CDP experience but also to illustrate some of the main issues to be considered when trying to create a structure which brings together officers, Members and local residents to focus on the needs of a particular locality'. By this point however many of the workers who were involved in the early stages had moved on and the Director of the Action Team was about to retire. This was a different situation to workers in many of the other CDPs who had an eye to the national agenda and also went on to develop careers as researchers and practitioners in community development.

At a local level, however, it does appear possible to look for legacy in the local groups and leadership developed either through, or in spite of the project, that provided the foundations on which a long line of initiatives were built. Reflecting on the impact of the CDP, a local resident discussed legacy in three main areas, the 'new initiatives they tried to establish in Ferguslie Park', the fact that they 'looked at decentralising the different agency services locally so that people could access them without having to go to the town centre' and that 'The CDP was also the first time that the community was being listened to' (Reilly 2016). There were limits to this, some of which can be attributed to a lack of experience and some, to a lack of political commitment to the project but it is perhaps in the support that was given to further develop local agency that legacy can be found.

Local residents and professional who worked in the area after the CDP described a legacy in terms of a particular 'mind-set' in the local community that their views mattered and a willingness to talk and learn from other people and communities (see Chapter 7). FLAG was established in 1974 and went on to enjoy in the late 1970s and early 1980s 'a Scotland-wide reputation as an effective campaigning group' (Gaster *et al.*, quoted Collins

1997: 191)), building links with tenants' groups across Scotland and becoming involved in wider issues in relation to housing, benefits, and unemployment. It continues in existence today albeit in a very different form to the organisation that had a banner with a central motto of:

> May the people awake
> To the recognition of their rights
> Have the fortitude to demand them
> And the fortune to obtain them
> And henceforth sufficient wisdom and
> Vigour to defend them (ibid: 192).

Equally, the work on unemployment can be seen as the forerunner of Ferguslie Park Community Holdings 'one of the pioneers of community business in Scotland' (Collins 2000: 4). Both organisations had subsequent difficult histories as they interacted with the different initiatives that followed the CDP. Residents however spoke of the fact that Ferguslie Park led the way in many areas and of an official attitude of 'if it will work in Ferguslie Park, it will work anywhere'. The project supported tenants to secure some housing and environmental improvements and supported developments in community based social enterprises and resident-managed advice and information centres all of which were to become important in anti-poverty strategies throughout the region. The extent to which these were unique to the CDP or had a significant impact is open to question, but their significance is perhaps in proportion to the funding provided. Indeed, much better-funded projects such as New Life for Urban Scotland which followed the CDP equally struggled to secure lasting impact.

There is also perhaps some legacy to be found in the wider policy context. There is evidence that the CDP made some contribution to the development of thinking in relation to area-based initiatives and the emphasis on community development in Strathclyde Regional Council. Paisley CDP and FLAG were two of the fifteen organisations visited by Strathclyde Regional Council's Policy Review Group on Community Development in 1976. There are also interesting parallels between a report produced by the CDP Director for the meeting of the Deprived Areas Sub-Committee (SRC1976b) and that of Strathclyde Regional Council's report on Multiple Deprivation published the following month (SRC 1976c). Both locate the issues facing communities within the wider socio-economic system, but also recognise that the way that social welfare services have developed and are delivered also has a major impact. The focus is on co-ordination and also planning that provides a voice for local communities in developments in their area. Strathclyde Regional Council was aware of the challenge: 'deprivation can only be tackled effectively by a co-ordinated response of members and officers from central and local government closely involved with the community in an educative, regenerative process' (ibid).

As the largest local authority in Europe, Strathclyde was to make a major investment in community development and while there were clearly other initiatives in the region at the time which might have attracted greater interest and political support (Williams 2016), in developing their strategy the Regional Council were clearly aware of the work in Ferguslie Park. At a wider level the CDP in Paisley also played a role in providing access to the lessons from the overall national CDP.

In terms of the research agenda, the work on housing and housing allocation linked to work in other parts of the country. John English (2016) described collaboration with Valerie Karn in Birmingham who was also working on primary and secondary allocation by

Local Authorities. This he suggested became part of the accepted wisdom (English 2016). The work on unemployment and the operation of the local economy equally sought to make policy recommendations. Careers were started and those interviewed who were involved in working on the CDP all identify early career learning from their work which they took into subsequent roles. As such the experiment perhaps had more impact on professional careers and wider policy and practice in Scotland than on the lives of people who lived in Ferguslie Park.

Analyses of the legacy of the National CDP largely focus on the analysis produced by the 'radical' projects and the role they played in challenging conceptions of poverty and disadvantage and developing a structural analysis which was to be a major influence on community development theory and practice in the UK. The evidence suggests that Paisley shared such an analysis although an early reputation as one of the projects that adopted a more consensual approach and 'localised strategy' (Specht 1976) perhaps sealed its fate. This may also have been the result of its distance and relative isolation from the other projects. This found echoes in Kraushaar's (1982: 62) categorisation of Paisley as one of the 'local ameliorations' projects. There were however voices at the time that questioned the extent to which the work locally in other CDPs reflected such an analysis:

> For local residents, CDP is more likely to be remembered for the advice that it offered and the playgroups which were provided, than for the controversies and ideological debates which characterised the programme's history (Loney 1983: 61).

Equally, Mayo suggests that the linking of a structural analysis to work on the ground proved elusive and quotes one former CDP worker who reflected that 'we talked revolution and organised the bingo' (Mayo 2016: 14). Projects developed their analysis on the basis of experience on the ground. Paisley followed a similar process and, while not expressed in

the ideological language of other projects, shared the analysis and its implications. Recent re-evaluations of some of the radical CDPs suggest that the 'reality was somewhat more complex' and that there may have been less distinction in practice between the five CDPs that were classed as 'radical' and the others (Banks and Carpenter 2017).

In the context of the overall study, Paisley CDP provides an example of an attempt by central government to address issues of social welfare within specific geographical communities. The proposition on which the CDP experiment was built was that both the origins and solutions to issues of enduring deprivation and disadvantage could be found in the local communities affected by them. Also that there was a small number of these. While initially framed within a consensual framework stressing the need for better co-ordination of local services, the reinvigoration of local democracy and the stimulation of voluntary action, the experience on the ground highlighted the limitations of such approaches to address fundamental issues of economic restructuring, unemployment, poverty and poor housing. The solutions to these issues lay outside the influence of local communities, however well-organised and able to express their views, in wider structural reform. Equally attempts to stimulate community self-help while successful in some areas were overall limited in their impact.

The development of such a 'structural' analysis by the CDPs created conflict between some CDPs and their sponsoring local authorities, whereas in Strathclyde it found resonance among members of the newly-elected authority who saw the approaches adopted as key methods to address the inequality and disadvantage which plagued much of their area. This is reflected by the fact that one of the first major reports the Regional Council considered was on their Community Development Strategy. As such, Paisley was not only unusual as the only CDP to operate in Scotland, it was also operating within a

context in which the analysis which developed from the CDP was already part of mainstream thinking within its sponsoring Local Authority at the time

Chapter Seven. Community Organisations

This chapter explores the final element of the study: that of engagement with community organisations in relation to the historical accounts. The account of sources and methods used in the study provided in Chapter two considered some of the issues in relation to the ambition for this element of the research and the restrictions placed upon. These issues are explored in more detail below. Chapter three considered the literature in relation to history, the uses of history and in particular public history which underpins this element of the study. This chapter draws on material generated in three phases of the study. The first phase involved building initial contacts and generating interest in the overall study; the second that of engagement with community organisations of place, and the third engagement on the emerging findings from the study. Each phase built on reflection and learning from the preceding phase with the overall aim of exploring the relevance of the historical accounts to current community organisations as they look to address their contemporary challenges.

Each phase is considered separately below, prior to a discussion of findings, follow on activity and, finally, learning from this element of the study. The analysis draws on data generated from four separate sessions. Three were held to explore the particular historical accounts and one considered the emerging conclusions from the study. The analysis is also informed by meetings and discussions held with community group members and workers to plan follow-on activities from the original sessions.

Starting points

As covered in Chapter two this element of the study drew on both a personal concern as a practitioner to generate knowledge that might be of some practical utility to contemporary community organisations and the wider interest of the study funders in collaborations with local communities around the theme of how communities might be different. As a historical study this includes engagement with ideas of the focus, purpose, processes and methods of history and history making. A key interest of the funders is in ideas of co-produced history defined by Lloyd and Moore (2015: 235) as:

> …research with, by and for communities, which currently emphasises accountability, relevance and ethical management of unequal power relations: it is the latest formulation of an impulse found across twentieth-century Britain in university extension courses and voluntary organisations.

Its aim is to generate knowledge and experiences that are unlikely to emerge through 'more orthodox academic processes' and create the potential for a range of new relationships and ways of making history. This accords with Banks *et al.*'s (2014: 37) examination in the interest in community university partnerships and their definition of co-inquiry as 'collaborative research with both an action orientation and some degree of participation by non-university members'.

Participation can take a number of forms and as in the field of public services, co-production in relation to historical research can be seen to cover a multitude of approaches that can fall under a banner of collaborative and participative. Although published some time ago, Sherry Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation which considered citizens' involvement in the planning process, perhaps retains some relevance here. The eight rungs on the ladder covering a span from manipulation to citizen control might equally apply to

approaches to historical research in and with communities. Thus at the bottom of the ladder communities may be engaged to provide some form of window dressing for research, while the top rung of the ladder would see community partners funded and in control of research partnerships. Awareness of such a hierarchy which can incorporate approaches from basic information sharing to fully resourced and democratically-controlled research partnerships, was a starting point for consideration of how best to approach community organisations. Equally-important was a developing appreciation of the huge opportunity and yet very real limitations imposed by three years funding for a single researcher.

Initial contacts and engagement

In the early months of the study, the main effort was directed towards developing initial contacts and interest in the study. The key challenge at this early stage was to speak convincingly and build engagement with a study that was still in its embryonic stages. Activities included sharing basic information within networks, involvement in an internal 'poster and pitch' competition, engagement with IRISS (Institute for Research and Innovation in Social Services) on their '*Time to Do Things Differently*' initiative and attendance at a number of conferences and events. Some success in the poster competition and interest from former colleagues and contacts that I spoke to generated confidence around the study as an engaging idea, but the foundations for this were just being developed. An ability to present an engaging idea was further confirmed by interest shown by IRISS following an approach suggesting that my research may have something to offer to their '*Time to Do Things Differently*' initiative.

In the second year this expanded further when funding was secured to mount an exhibition on the study as part of the Scottish Graduate School for Arts and Humanities

(SGSAH) PhD showcase event. A proposal was also accepted to deliver a paper at the Voluntary Action History Society (VAHS) 25th Anniversary conference in Liverpool. These activities took place against the backdrop of initial clarification of the research questions, work on the literature review and research design and exploration of potential areas for the historical accounts. They were important in developing new contacts and also maintaining existing professional ones. They also involved an element of transition between the role of practitioner and that of researcher. Contacts established and maintained at this point were important in leading to interviews for the Paisley CDP account, in developing an audience for the PhD showcase and also in establishing the network of people to engage in phase three which is covered below. Involvement with IRISS led to contacts in new fields including a graphic designer commissioned to design graphics for the PhD showcase exhibition and students and staff from Glasgow Caledonian University who ran an 'Imagine Community' event in June 2016.

While all of these had strong links to community organisations they were essentially professional and academic contacts. Moving beyond these to work directly with community organisations, in relation to research that was in its early stages, proved more challenging than initially expected. The issue of creating traction for an engaging idea with busy community organisations managing the day-to-day pressures of limited time and limited resources was key.

The launch event for the IRISS '*Time to Do Things Differently*' programme involved working in teams to develop and deliver pitches for projects in different parts of Scotland. In a 'Glasgow team' with committee members from North United Communities (hereafter NUC), we developed a winning proposal focused on exploring new forms of collaborative relationships and work between community members, organisations and decision makers

in the city to address the challenges presented by ongoing austerity. This drew on early ideas from this study on changes in philosophy and approaches but apparent continuities in practice, combined with the experience of NUC in their ongoing search for secure funding. In a paper written to provide background for a follow-up event, the Chair of NUC stated:

> Against this backdrop, some see 'asset-based' and 'place-based' approaches as signalling a new way of doing things that is focused on collaborative and mutually beneficial engagement with people and communities. This aspiration is great, but the practice is challenging (NUC paper, December 2015).

As one of two pitches selected, this was to lead to three years of investment of staff time and expertise from IRISS to take the idea forward in conjunction with local organisations. This would have been a useful test ground for my developing analysis, however, after one event and two further meetings it became clear that the proposal would probably not go ahead due to a number of internal and external factors. While there was continuing interest from some management committee members at NUC, it became clear that to pursue my agenda would take time away from their more pressing organisational concerns. At that stage I did not feel that this could be justified particularly as the north of Glasgow was unlikely to be an area directly covered by the study. I was also unwilling to engage in a larger development project that I was unlikely to have the time to follow through.

Reflection on this phase included the challenge of engaging community organisations in a historical study that was in its early stages and had at that point very limited historical material to offer. Also, the fact that the potential for influence or control over the process for community organisations was limited and yet the time being asked from them could be substantial. It also centred on the dangers evident in the situation whereby a second tier organisation or indeed a researcher can raise expectations and

absorb a considerable amount of hard pressed resources from community organisations, only to move on as their priorities shift. Thus, while intellectually committed to 'working with and for communities' there was a realisation that within the timescale of a PhD, any engagement with community organisations was likely to be more focused and more limited than perhaps originally envisaged. An appreciation of the extent of time and resources required to build anything approaching a partnership with community organisations called for realism as to what might be achieved with the resources available to a single researcher with time-limited funding. An alternative approach was required.

An alternative approach

Acceptance of the need for more limited engagement, although still informed by a commitment to participative methods, led to consideration of what might be feasible. This accepted that the historical materials would be developed largely within a more orthodox academic model of history, as the work of a single academic researcher, but also looked for opportunities to make the accounts accessible to local community organisations and use them to open dialogue about potential contemporary significance. This approach recognised that while such engagement might provide the basis for more detailed engagement, this would likely require follow-up beyond the timeframe of the study.

Consideration of how best to build links between the historical accounts which were still being researched and community members and organisations suggested a focus on subject and/ or shared location. In the latter case an offer might be made to share materials on a particular episode in local history. This would form the basis for discussion which could also include exploration of the themes of interest to the study. This would include sharing information on the overall study and in line with ethics approval requesting permissions to tape discussions and use material from the tapes in the final thesis. It was

also acknowledged that it may not be possible to do this in all three areas covered by the accounts.

While able to draw on some knowledge of community organisations in each of the three areas covered by the historical accounts, a walk around each of them followed by internet searches provided a shortlist of organisations to approach, one in each area. All involved an element of cold calling and in two out of the three cases, Ferguslie Park and Kinning Park, this led to successful engagement. In the third case of St John's contact was made with a neighbourhood 'Heritage and Learning Centre' in the east end and a local history group although unfortunately the latter had stopped meeting at the time. Given the success in the other two areas, once engagement with these started a decision was taken not to follow this up further and create expectations that may not be able to be fulfilled. Clearly, however, this remains a possible area for follow-up.

In relation to the two areas pursued, two different methods were employed to build links to organisations and in each case, the engagement developed differently. One involved a more direct co-ordinating role, while the other mainly consisted of providing material as requested by the organisation as ideas were incorporated into their existing activities.

In the case of Ferguslie Park, this took some time and was built alongside work on identifying potential contacts for interviews to inform the historical account. An initial series of unpromising visits to the local community centre, the Tannahill Centre, looking for potential contacts finally resulted in an interview with the Centre Manager who provided a key link. This combined with an approach to a former colleague who lives in the area led to further contacts. In an area with a history of being researched and written about and thus an element of reluctance to engage with yet more researchers, the fact that I had recently

worked with a former well-respected worker in the area appeared to play a key role in gaining access. In the course of meeting potential contacts and these interviews the possibility of sharing materials was raised and this was followed up with two sessions organised with the Tannahill Centre for this purpose. An invitation list was developed and invitations for this first meeting were circulated to everyone who had shown an interest in the work to date. The session attracted a mix of local residents, former workers and interested academics.

In Kinning Park, the approach was more direct. Aware of an active local organisation based in an old school in the area, the Kinning Park Complex (KPC), an e-mail was sent sharing some basic information about the size and scale of the Kinning Park Co-operative Society and the fact that the Kinning Park Co-operative Women's Guild (KPCWG) was the first in Scotland. This included an offer to visit to share my findings. This was enthusiastically accepted and a subsequent meeting with the Director and a curatorial student from Glasgow School of Art, working at the centre, led to an invitation to provide a 'talk' as part of their regular community meal, in the run up to International Women's Day.

Presentation of materials

Both approaches required some form of presentation of materials and as such were essentially forms of information sharing which fit into ideas of public engagement and focus group activity. The fact that Paisley CDP was more recent meant that there were physical materials that could be presented including some of the final reports from the project. In preparing materials for the PhD showcase exhibition I had also made contact with the professional photographer who had taken a series of photographs for the Home office and who agreed to the use of two of his prints. These were supplemented by photocopies of archival 'records', extracts from community newsletters, and from Local Authority and

Home Office records. Some basic collations of information such as a staff list for the project (Table 6.1 page 194) and a basic time line were added. These materials were laid out on tables and provided the basis for a short input on material collected to date and subsequent discussion. A discussion guide was produced although not strictly adhered to, allowing the discussion to flow.

In contrast, all sources for KPCWG were archival and thus more difficult to provide direct access to. Despite being in the context of a community meal, the venue for the talk was a large hall and in many ways more formal that would have been ideal. In discussion with staff at KPC it was decided that in this context, a simple presentation would be the preferred format. This incorporated the small number of available images with direct quotations and an outline of the developing analysis. Assistance was provided by KPC staff to format the presentation and publicise the session. The presentation was followed by questions and answers and wider discussion. Permissions were obtained and both sessions were taped, although unfortunately, the quality of the recording from the Kinning Park Complex precluded extensive direct transcription.

Common themes

Written notes and the tapes from the sessions were analysed in relation to ideas on the uses and processes of history making as well as the specific research question on lessons that might be learned from initiatives designed to activate community contribution to social welfare. Common themes were identified and are covered in turn below.

Community memory and a sense of place

In both cases responses to the materials involved ideas of community memory and a sense of place. Ferguslie Park remains an identifiable area despite the fact that it has been almost completely re-developed since the time of the Paisley CDP. Kinning Park, while originally

the smallest, independent police burgh on the outskirts of Glasgow, lost some of its identity when it was incorporated into the City in 1905 and has equally been extensively redeveloped with a motorway built through a large part of it in the 1970s. It remains a destination on the Glasgow subway but, even here, is overshadowed by its larger and more famous neighbour, Govan.

In both cases, the response to the material included a link to a sense of place, of locality. Discussion in Ferguslie Park covered the geography of the area. This included the boundaries of the area, 'it was known as the biggest cul-de-sac in the world' and the internal divisions within the community between the different parts of the scheme. It also covered the role that the CDP played in building links between the different neighbourhood groups and organisations. Participants spoke of a strong sense of place and, despite a changing demographic a sense of Ferguslie Park as a distinct entity. They also spoke of the need for new residents to understand the history of the area:

> Lots of different people have moved into the area as well…we need to be looking at that as well but based on the history of that whole thing…that people have looked at issues, have fought together, they've campaigned together, they've said "this isnae good enough, we need places for our kids to come, we need places to go and meet…" (Tannahill Centre session 22.5.2017).

In Kinning Park the sense of place was less strong. The Kinning Park Complex has strong local roots, having been saved from closure by a sit-in of local women and it also draws on a wider constituency of artists and activists who rent studio and other space in the building. A key area of initial interest from the Director was how the materials might provide a link to a sense of place, rooting the building in a distinctive Kinning Park identity rather than it being seen as part of Govan. The size and scale of the Kinning Park Co-operative Society surprised

participants. Figures extracted from the accounts and information about the number of shops, warehouses and factories based in the area at the time were completely new. There was discussion about maps and the location of different buildings and meeting places and street names that no longer exist or have changed. Equally, while there was some knowledge of KPCWG as the first Co-operative Women's Guild in Scotland, largely derived from one photograph that survives in the Glasgow City Archives collection, the size and scope of their activities were not something that participants had previously been aware of.

In both areas, there was engagement with ideas of community memory. This was more direct in Ferguslie Park where some participants had been directly involved in the work of the CDP and others had friends and relatives who had been involved. People in photographs were identified and the different reports led to a sharing of anecdotes and a sense of a thread of connection from the CDP to the present. Memories shared were not exclusively about the CDP but also about initiatives and projects which followed the CDP.

There was no-one to provide such a direct connection to the material in Kinning Park and so rather than a focus on reminiscence the discussion focused more on discovery with participants wanting to explore information on different aspects of the material. In response to a photograph of the first committee of KPCWG there were questions about the extent to which they really were working-class women, as 'they looked a bit too grand' (Kinning Park Complex session 2.3.2017). There was a series of other questions about the connections between KPCWG and other organisations in the city at the time and about the links to women who have had a higher public profile. An example of this was Mary Barbour who was a member of KPCWG Govan branch, leader of the rent strike in 1915 and the first woman to be elected to Glasgow Town Council. There was also a question about the extent

to which the guild members met with opposition from men both in and outside of the co-operative movement.

The process of history-making

In Kinning Park, comments touched on the idea of 'unknown' and 'missing' history. The discussion covered the fact that the history of ordinary people, and in particular women, is often not well covered by the mainstream and is also not always available in an accessible format. One participant highlighted that not everyone has the time and resources to carry out archival work but that material such as that on KPCWG is important in allowing people to re-establish a link to their own history. The importance of this history not always being written by 'outsiders' was also discussed and links were made to work taking place in Govan by '*The Govanite*' a publication that is looking to build knowledge of the history of the area and is about to launch an edition aimed at children to develop and an interest in their own history among young people.

The focus on discovery also extended to the mechanics of the archival work; what had been looked at, where records are located, who had written the records and how participants might access them. One question asked was: 'How easy was it to find out about this group – could you just 'google' it or did you have to look at archives?' This connected to ideas of the invisibility of women's histories particularly on the internet and the need to think about how best to make the material accessible and searchable on the web.

In Ferguslie Park discussion covered what is lost when activists die or move on. There was discussion about the loss of records particularly as the result of re-development in the area which has meant that people have moved on numerous occasions and not always been able to take records with them. There was also discussion about the need to tap into and record 'experiential knowledge' that would be lost without some attempt to

collect and curate it. Discussion covered the importance of an awareness of the history, being conscious of what they had learned from those who had been involved in the CDP and other initiatives and how to pass on the story:

> It's about telling the story…this is where we have come, we have come up and down and we are on the up and how can we take you all with us because there isn't any point one or two of us going a way up…you have to take a community with you and the community is very different to then…we need to be looking at that as well, but based on the history (Tannahill Centre session 22.5.2017).

Discussions in both areas covered ideas on the development of local archives/records of activities. Perhaps reflecting the demographics of the different sessions, in Ferguslie Park this focused on the importance of a physical archive available locally, while in Kinning Park it was on how to develop an on-line presence that would make the material accessible to a wider audience.

Similarities and differences to the current context

Comparisons were drawn in both settings between the historical material and the present and connections made to issues of concern. In Kinning Park, discussion covered the so called 'domestic agenda' of the KPCWG and their interest in health, women's working conditions and feeding of school children. Links were made to the food work currently taking place in KPC that is looking to address food poverty and provide community meals. Links were also made to the current small-scale workers' co-operatives and food co-ops which are being developed in the city and whether these might build into a new co-operative movement 'going back to local…more hands-on…a more artisan way of doing things together in communities'. This, they suggested, might be more akin to the local

model of Kinning Park Co-operative Society than the 'big business' that the overall Co-operative brand was seen to have become.

In terms of resources, the fact that Kinning Park Co-operative Society raised its own funds from its retail sales and was able to determine its own priorities was compared to the social enterprise model currently operating within KPC. Parallels were also drawn between the description of KPCWG meetings that combined home industries with the reading of papers, discussion and social activities, with the community meal, talk and banner-making workshop which were taking place on the night of the presentation.

In Ferguslie Park a key issue was the fact that many of the same issues addressed by the CDP continue to be of concern today. Poverty, unemployment, education, the need for advice and information continue to be key issues affecting the area. The continuity between the fact that Ferguslie Park was on many indicators the most deprived of all the CDP areas in the 1970s and in 2017 continues to be the single most deprived area as measured by the Scottish Index on Multiple Deprivation was highlighted. Participants pointed to the number of different initiatives that had followed on from the CDP and that Ferguslie Park had been involved in all the major regeneration initiatives since. While there had been some physical changes the 'real issues' had not been tackled.

> I just think… moving on from the CDP in terms of all the different initiatives we've had in Ferguslie Park, but nothing's ever really sustainable because they fire them in, for example the Health Project, and then they make them Renfrewshire-wide and they take it out of Ferguslie Park, which is not to say other areas don't need them… but we're talking years later and we're still an area notorious for high deprivation… we've never solved any of the inherent problems (Tannahill Centre session 23.1.2017).

Ferguslie Park was described as being a testing ground for initiatives; 'if it can work in Ferguslie, it can work anywhere' and participants also discussed a reputation for innovation. This was highlighted in relation to the work of the Community Health Project and the community transport scheme. Both were seen to build on the work of the CDP and one participant commented in relation to health that:

> I work across Greater Glasgow and Clyde and there's not a day goes by that I don't say we did that in Ferguslie twenty odd years ago… it's like the Emperor's new clothes (ibid).

There was also discussion of obstacles to progress in relation to resources and timescales. The CDP was seen to be important in bringing resources into the area and Strathclyde Regional Council played an important role in 'bringing resources and people'. A former Local Authority Council member highlighted the impact of different local government re-organisations as a brake on development and the abolition of Strathclyde Regional Council as marking the starting point for a reduction in resources for the area which has continued:

> There's still a library here, but I had eleven staff when I was here, youth workers and all sorts of things. There's only three or four staff there now and they cannae have the level of involvement. We had the staff to run all kinds of things.

Resources were both human as well as financial and there was discussion of the need for a long term commitment. One participant pointed to a 'lost generation of workers that are kind of missing here'. These were described as the 'people who would nurture things along' and there was an appreciation that 'you need at least ten years… you can't dip in and out of an area'. There was also a sense that things were particularly challenging at present:

> Looking back over the past 30 – 40 years, I think things have got worse and I think Ferguslie Park has just been decimated. When you look at the present, the support

> that was in the area… it's just gone. I think the stuffing has been knocked out of the people of Ferguslie Park. There is still an element of community cohesion but in terms of actually going out and doing things and the things we used to get involved in… it's just gone (Tannahill Centre session 23.1.2017).

Despite such a bleak assessment a further key focus of the discussions was community activism and its impact. In Ferguslie Park, a thread connecting much of the discussion was that of the 'strength of the people' and a key legacy of the CDP was that:

> People had the knowledge of what they could do if they got together and held together. And they knew how to argue their case, they were not stupid…it gave people the knowledge that I can challenge you, I can tell you what is wrong (Tannahill Centre session 23.1.2017).

The CDP was seen to have contributed to a 'mind-set': 'the idea that people's views mattered and a willingness to talk to other people' and also to visit and learn from other communities and their activities. Ferguslie Park's reputation as an organised community was seen to be key to what followed from the CDP and one participant suggested that it led to some 'paradoxical outcomes' in relation to developments in the 1990s. There was also a recognition of a changed current context and the impact of the welfare to work agenda and different employment patterns on particularly women's ability to be involved in community activities. Also the dangers of just focusing on a celebratory story, on the tremendous spirit and capacity of people to thrive in adverse circumstances.

In Kinning Park there was speculation about the extent to which members of KPCWG drew on a tradition of previous activism in the area and whether it was possible to establish if they were descendants of previous activists such as Chartists who had been active locally. Parallels were also drawn with the activism of local women who had occupied

the building to ensure it remained a resource in the local community twenty one years ago. Participants spoke of the role that an awareness of such developments in the past can play in inspiring activity in the present.

Follow on activities

In both areas the initial engagement sessions led to follow on activities. In Fergusli e Park the idea of an exhibition and archive on community activism using the CDP materials as a starting point was discussed at the initial meeting. A subsequent meeting was organised with local residents and a former worker from the CDP to explore this further and subsequent meetings held to follow this up with the staff from the local library and the Tannahill Centre. A former CDP worker agreed to find photographs taken at the time of the CDP in his attic. These were digitised and printed and used for a small exhibition as part of the local gala day in August 2017. This in turn generated a substantial amount of social media and wider interest and various options for following this up are currently being explored. These include the possibility of an application to the Heritage Lottery Fund for a larger project and activities in conjunction with an artist and a playwright linked to the Paisley 2021 bid. All those who attended the initial meeting were sent a final draft of the historical account of Paisley CDP for additions and comments and amendments made in the light of those received. The discussions also informed the article submitted to the *Community Development Journal* (Crow *et al* 2018).

In Kinning Park the material on the KPCWG linked into activities around the twenty-first anniversary of the Kinning Park Complex and explorations of the organisation's history. This work was co-ordinated by a graduate student in Curatorial Practice at Glasgow School of Art. A short blog about the talk was added to the KPC website alongside appeals for photographs and materials relating to the organisation's history. Links were made between the banners used by the KPCWG, one of which survives in the Glasgow Museums Resources

Centre, and a banner made by local women during the sit-in in 1996, the 'All Welcome' banner'. KPC made funding available to commission a new banner which drew its inspiration from both of these and was used as the centrepiece for a 21st anniversary march and exhibition in August 2017. The open call for the banner was for a contribution to 'March On: a celebration of the power of collective voice'. Material on KPCWG, including photographs sourced for the PhD showcase exhibition, was incorporated into the exhibition and a timeline developed making links from 1890 to the present. The exhibition brought together the original KPCWG banner, loaned by Glasgow Museum's Resource Centre, the newly-commissioned 'The Soft Cushion of Togetherness' banner together with the 1996 'All Welcome' banner.

The programme for the exhibition spoke of 're-emphasising the importance of community action by combining inspirational slogans with local reference and materials'. It further stated that:

> We invite audiences to consider the banners - some of which are historical, and some contemporary - as documents of specific ideas instigated by communities through their ability to constantly imagine different futures for themselves and act collectively when the political system and its institutions lose their traction. By displaying banners and props used in civic marches locally for over a century, we invite visitors to explore the meaning of sustainable support structures, self-organisation and the importance of activism in our future society (March On, exhibition programme 2017).

A short film of these activities was included in the 2017 Glasgow School of Art graduate summer show. In Kinning Park, there is also discussion about a longer-term project curating materials from the history of Kinning Park Complex and the wider community and as a

potential home for the material generated in the development of the historical account for this study.

Engagement around emerging themes

Engagement with these two local community organisations and interested others in relation to historical accounts linked to their particular area suggested that the accounts were of general interest in relation to ideas of community memory and the process of history making. In both areas they stimulated discussion in relation to the history of the particular community and how that history might be unknown to many present-day community members. In relation to the specific initiatives, the work of KPCWG and Paisley CDP, links were made to current issues of concern and in the case of Ferguslie Park this included discussion on some of the obstacles to success of such initiatives in terms of available resources, control of the agenda and timescales. In both areas there was also discussion in relation to community activism and collective approaches. In both cases this part of the study has generated follow-on activity and networks which hold out the possibility for engagement beyond the life of this study with the potential for a greater element of community direction and control.

There were, however, some limitations to this phase of engagement in terms of its ability to answer the original research question. In both cases, the material presented related to just one of the historical accounts and it was not possible to present the wider themes emerging from the overall analysis of all three. Thus, while some links were made to current social welfare challenges responses were mainly in relation to the particular locality and were not able to draw on any wider comparative material. While working with clear limitations of time, a third phase of engagement was developed to address this.

A short paper was developed providing an outline of all three historical accounts together with emerging themes from the analysis. This was circulated to a wide range of contacts drawn from different phases of the research with an invitation to respond by e-mail or phone, and/or join in a discussion scheduled at the University. It was recognised that responses to a paper that is circulated will not necessarily be high but that it might provide additional material to work with. Seven written responses were received by e-mail and a further four indicated that they would attend the discussion session.

All suggested that the historical accounts were of interest in their own right. They also found some contemporary relevance in the historical material. One participant in the discussion described 'major resonances from the different strands' covered by the historical accounts – 'Co-ops, the community-led dimension, but also the early church and evangelical dimension have come back with a vengeance'. This was described as both 'interesting and worrying at the same time' (Emerging themes session 28.7.2017). Another described the value of the accounts as follows:

> The value of these case studies is even if they are not specifically related to what people think they need to do now, they raise the discussion about what are the appropriate responses which could be based on history, which have worked elsewhere and are they relevant to current situations (ibid).

They were also thought to be useful as 'a tool for stimulating debate' as:

> Issues of deserving and undeserving poor are still here, issues of 'it's their fault' are still here, issues of the welfare cheats are still here, so there's lots of themes which will be current in any approach to local development (ibid).

The discussion was wide-ranging. It covered ideas of interventions as opposed to community-led initiatives, the idea of leadership and the role of organisations such as

KPCWG in developing a critical mass of local leadership. It considered ideas of community and the current emphasis on place, together with the role and practice of community development and the scale of ambition in relation to wider structural issues. There was discussion about the constraints on action in communities where there is now no wealth and no wealth generation. The accounts were identified as useful in stimulating debate on issues of basic values and principles. They also provided a much needed source of inspiration:

> We are so far from the liberal consensus now that even the most basic things we all agreed upon – like saving the NHS - seem in doubt as they are undermined by the current government. It's only history – what once was can be again – that gives us inspiration to plough on (Written response, S M. 5.7.2017).

There were clear limitations placed on this element of the study, both in terms of time and resources and thus clear caveats to any findings. The engagement activities that have taken place with community organisations do, however, suggest that such historical accounts can be of use in developing awareness of community memory and engagement with ideas of community history making. These relate to ideas of the reconstruction of hidden histories of community-based initiatives and of engaged history. The historical accounts equally initiated discussion about continuities between initiatives in the past and the present situation for exploration of what is different. Most notably in Ferguslie Park this included a sense that despite years of intervention the fundamental issues remain the same and that there are now additional constraints to progress in terms of the resources and capacity currently available within the local area.

There is always a danger that a historical perspective with a focus on themes of continuity might serve to limit imagination about future possibility. It can be seen to be

more likely to encourage an iterative approach to change, encouraging an incremental building on the past and what is known, rather than a transformative approach that disrupts accepted thinking. Conversely, however, it may be important in recognising what might be truly transformative and what might be rather a re-packaging of approaches from the past. In both local areas engagement with the historical accounts led to discussion of activism and collective approaches and the impact of this in addressing issues of social welfare. The research on how all these elements are key to communities imagining their futures is in many ways just beginning and a truly comprehensive analysis requires a longer time frame than that available via a PhD studentship. This will be the agenda for ongoing engagement and research beyond the funded period of the study.

Chapter Eight Discussion and conclusions

The engagement with present-day community organisations provided the opportunity to explore the contemporary relevance of the historical accounts and demonstrated early impact in this area. The accounts were useful in reinforcing ideas of community memory, of place and locality, stimulating discussion about the processes of history making as well as exploring threads of continuity and difference in community contribution to social welfare. The engagement also suggested that access to such accounts can be important in stimulating imagination about different futures. As such there are clear links to ideas of public history and engaged history as history not just produced for academic purposes but with aspirations for building wider engagement, shared knowledge and exploration of non-traditional materials. This is the 'collective and collaborative activity in which all can engage as active agents' (Ashton and Kean 2008: 2).

This chapter brings together the wider themes raised by the study to develop its overall conclusions. It starts with a brief recap of the key elements of the three historical accounts and then draws on some of the key reference points from the literature to consider the themes identified in relation to the original research questions. These include the longevity of connections between ideas of community and social welfare, the attraction of communities of place as potential sites for experimentation and innovation and the high level of aspirations often associated with these. They also cover issues of definition and practical implementation, the practice approaches adopted by the different initiatives and the issues addressed. In accounting for the evidence of impact in the different initiatives, the analysis identifies the obstacles that both the literature and the historical accounts suggest might stand in the way of success. Key elements here are the levels of aspiration

for community contribution, assumptions about the resources required to address and stimulate this and the locus of power and control over the agenda.

The overall conclusion of the study is that the historical accounts demonstrate that the current 'turn' to community seen in current Scottish social policy is not as new or innovative as might be assumed. They provide three examples which demonstrate parallels in the past and they are only three examples drawn from a particular area. The development of the accounts has provided the opportunity to consider the lessons they hold for current practice while at the same time to make a contribution to the literature on community-based initiatives in which there are still gaps. While clear practical lessons can be drawn from an examination of historical precedents, ideas of community have always included an element of imagination; of ideas of the good life and aspirations about how this might be achieved. It is in this ability to stimulate ideas of how things might be different to the present that our engagement with ideas of community and what- it might contribute to our collective economic and social welfare is likely to continue. The practical lessons identified by this study while often not new, may be of assistance to communities and their organisations as they seek to engage in the current context.

Themes from the study

The three accounts in this study are instructive in that they are all from distinct historical contexts, draw on different social philosophies and contrasting ideas about the role for community in addressing issues of social welfare.

At St John's, Chalmers looked to reinvigorate the parochial system to return responsibility for poor relief to his new parish. His aim in doing this was to prove that responsibilities under the old poor law could be met solely by direct charity and benevolence with no recourse to a municipal system increasingly reliant on the proceeds of

an assessment. The aim was not to address poverty, part of the natural order of things and an individual responsibility, but pauperism which was the result of reliance on a system of support that involved a form of taxation administered by civic authorities.

Kinning Park Co-operative Women's Guild provided a contrast to such an approach. Based on ideas of collective self-help and mutual aid its members drew on the resources of the KPCS Education Committee to build an organisation that provided a range of opportunities for its members. Their weekly meetings and programmes provided social activities for women outside their homes, opportunities to develop skills and to become involved in the major social welfare issues of their day. These included health, housing, working conditions, feeding and medical examination of schoolchildren, old age pensions and female suffrage. An example of local agency, their democratic local structures and educational activities developed voice and leadership that would provide female political representation in the city.

In the context of the early 1970s, the teams of workers that the CDPs provided in the 12 different project areas were to stimulate such levels of social action and self- help and encourage a level of participation by local residents. While there was some interest in how this might be sustainable in its own right, its main function was to address perceived failings in the functioning of the 'classic welfare state'. Participation by local residents would provide information on gaps in services and highlight areas for greater service co-ordination to address what was seen as 'social dependency' and 'ineffective social services' (TNA BN29/2150). In Paisley, as in many of the other CDPs, this analysis was questioned by experience on the ground that located issues of poverty and unemployment in the wider social and economic conditions associated with the restructuring of the UK and Scottish economy in the early 1907s.

While direct comparisons cannot be made, the accounts do,, however, exhibit some shared characteristics which raise issues of interest to the current agenda with its focus on the contribution that empowered communities might make to service transformation and the wider national project While some of these shared characteristics can be attributed to the process of selection of the initiatives to study others are not.

The selection of the three broad periods to be examined for the study as covered in Chapter two was informed by an interest in taking a long view of periods of transition and transformation within the development of arrangements for social welfare. This drew on historical accounts that consider both the development of the welfare state as reflected in increasing state involvement in social welfare and those that focus on a 'voluntarist' tradition. The idea of a 'mixed economy of welfare' involving an interaction between statutory, voluntary, private sector and informal sector providers allowed for appreciation of a more subtle interaction between the different players in the welfare system and the idea that some initiatives will operate on the borders between them. The initiatives covered in this study all operated in these, often unexplored, borderlands. Despite an interest in the shifting borders between the different sectors, accounts of the 'mixed economy of welfare' will usually make clear distinctions between the sectors. The accounts in this study suggest something more fluid and blurred involving a closer interaction between different players in community-based initiatives.

The St John's experiment was conducted against the backdrop of early industrialisation in the city and a concern about the ability of existing arrangements for social welfare to deal with a rapidly increasing, mobile, and potentially radical population. It drew on elements of the traditional welfare system but at the same time the argument in the account in this study is that it is likely that those in need in the parish relied on the

mutual support and the early wider network of voluntary and charitable organisations developing in the city

The challenges increased during the nineteenth century as the city and its surrounding area developed to the height of its industrial power and yet despite some notable advances particularly in public health, many among its growing population continued to experience overcrowded, insanitary housing conditions, income insecurity, poor working conditions and poor health. Existing arrangements for social welfare came under challenge from a growing lobby for state intervention in specific areas, efforts to organise existing charitable and philanthropic activity along more 'scientific' lines and a tradition of collective self-help among those most impacted. The growth of retail co-operation, to which KPCWG was a key contributor, is an important example of the latter but equally drew on elements from the activities of the voluntary as well as commercial sectors.

The context for Paisley CDP is that of a growing questioning of the ability of the 'classic' welfare state to deliver for all against the backdrop of the restructuring of the Scottish economy in the face of global competition, rising unemployment, a growth in emigration and industrial strife in the west of Scotland. While primarily designed to address issues of service co-ordination and improvement within the existing statutory welfare arrangements it also looked to stimulate local social action and self-help.

All three contexts can thus be characterised as periods of social and economic transition and transformation, by changing ideas and roles in relation to social welfare, concerns about the maintenance of social order and also some blurring of boundaries between the different players within different systems of social welfare. In all three periods it was also possible to find an example of an initiative designed to stimulate community

contribution to addressing the issues of concern. Drawn from a period of over two centuries this would suggest a long-standing connection between ideas of community and social welfare.

The literature supports such a conclusion. The notion of charity, care and concern for your neighbour is a common feature of all major religions and Prochaska (2006: 5) finds in the notion of commonwealth a fusing of 'ancient ideas of republican citizenship with Christian notions of benevolence and social justice'. Such ideas of self-reliance and self-organisation are often associated with ideas of traditional communities, often rural communities, characterised by close social bonds, reciprocal relationships and a guarantee of security for those in need. Whether such communities ever existed is a matter for debate, but the notion of a traditional community able to meet the needs of its members remains a key feature of aspirations for communities.

A key theme in the literature in the nineteenth century was the impact of modernisation on such traditional communities and the replacement of reciprocal social bonds and obligations by the exchange relationships characteristic of an industrial economy (Tönnies). This links a loss of community with the process of modernity and, to an extent, industrialisation. Delanty (2003: 19) argues that this gave rise to three main discourses: that of community as irretrievable, community as recoverable and community as yet to be achieved. In relation to social welfare such conceptualisations of community underpinned attempts to deal with the new realities of urban life variously seen in forms of charitable and philanthropic activity, mutual aid and collective self-help organisations which existed alongside the operation of the Poor Law.

In his vision for St John's, Chalmers drew on ideas of the traditional 'natural' community characterised by immediate, direct social relations and the established social

order of a rural parish. In the attempt to reinvigorate such a traditional parochial system described by Brown (1986) as a 'godly commonwealth' within a densely-populated area of an industrialising city, he sought to demonstrate that such a system could address issues of social welfare without the need for recourse to a legal assessment, a more exchange-based relationship that, he claimed, created pauperism. This is the idea of community as recoverable: the issues created by the current context addressed by a return to the relationships and structures of the past. Cage (1981: 88) characterises the parochial system as one of 'parochial paternalism where the elders were familiar with the needs of the inhabitants of the parish' that would not survive the advent of densely populated and mobile urban areas.

KPCWG equally looked to address the challenges of the context of the industrial city. Their approach involved the idea of commonwealth, but this was not a return to a traditional community, an idea of community as recoverable, it was rather the idea of community to be achieved and in the process of being achieved. They looked to build community among co-operators based on collective self-help, intellectual and moral advancement and the shared rewards of economic co-operation. This they believed would ultimately bring about a fairer distribution of resources between capital and labour and address the insecurities experienced by their members. The literature and speeches referred to the ideal of a co-operative commonwealth that suggested adherence to early Owenite ideals and the idea of a new moral order. Evidence of this in practice is, however, limited with a focus rather on changed relationships within the prevailing social and economic system. There is also evidence of an acceptance of a wider role for the state in their qualified support for the early Liberal welfare reforms. Such support can be interpreted as based on an appreciation of the limits of what could be achieved by

collective self-help in relatively low-income communities, particularly in relation to issues such as old age pensions, child welfare and conditions for women workers.

As state involvement in social welfare increased, philanthropic and mutual aid organisations did not immediately disappear but continued to operate alongside and in conjunction with the newly-developing services and indeed in some cases they took on responsibility for delivering them. The move to the development of universal services saw the focus move away from the local and self-organised, to the national and collectively organised. Local organisations became concerned with issues of service delivery, service innovation, representation and advice and information. It can be argued that it was only when the consensus responsible for the 'classic welfare state' started to unravel that communities and their organisations made a return to the political and policy agenda, a place they have continued to occupy across the intervening years.

This potential for a role for community informed the architects of the CDP who looked to retrieve or revitalise community, not as an alternative to the current social and economic order, but to address issues of multiple deprivation in areas that had not been able to make the most of the benefits of the classic welfare state. Their interest was in what they saw as the small number of communities unable to share in the benefits of economic change and collective social welfare due to cultures of poverty, ossified services and untapped potential for self-help. Invigorated by teams of workers, the communities that were the sites for the CDPs might become agents for bringing about change in all these areas. Such conceptions were challenged by the structural analysis developed within some of the CDPs which, along with locating the agency for change in wider social, economic and political forces, also highlighted the potentially coercive nature of the interventions, drawing on the insights from early cultural approaches to community.

Aspirations

In all three historical accounts, the aspirations for what could be achieved were high. At St John's, Chalmers claimed that the parish organised on traditional principles of direct personal charity could be self-sufficient and look after its own 'poor' entirely without recourse to statutory funding or the support of wealthier individuals. In line with the overall objectives for the CDP, in Ferguslie Park, it was anticipated that the CDP would provide models to address the issues of multiple deprivation that were proving intractable for the welfare state as it developed post 1945 and in the process serve to reinvigorate local democracy. The Director of Research for the overall CDP expressed the level of aspiration when he declared that the objectives for the CDP were 'little less than reassertions of the fundamental ideas of social policy and democratic politics' (Greve 1973: 119). KPCWG was perhaps initially more limited in its objectives, being primarily concerned with the development of mutual aid and social activities, but its key role in expanding membership of the wider co-operative movement held out the promise of more fundamental change in relationships between capital and labour. Its members also went on to become involved in some of the key social welfare debates and campaigns of the time.

Associated with high levels of aspiration was an emphasis on the scale of the task. In both St John's and Ferguslie Park, there were claims that these were the poorest and most deprived communities. While there was clearly an element of expediency in Chalmers' choice of St John's, as the one new parish available at the time, he would later claim that St John's was the poorest parish in Glasgow and his success all the more important for that. This claim was challenged by Cage and Checkland (1976) and Furgol (1987). While the reasons for the choice of Ferguslie Park were clearly the result of a political process, the area met the criteria established by the Home Office as an area of multiple deprivation and

the Research Team went on to demonstrate that, on many of the indicators, it was the most deprived of all the CDP areas in the country (Paisley CDP 1977c: 14). The author of that study, suggested that this assessment may have been 'ambiguous' (English 2016). The need to claim a level of concentration of need may reflect the need to secure support and resources from a political process interested in addressing its most potentially difficult challenges and to establish credibility for any results. The focus is a deficit one.

Here KPCWG provides an interesting contrast. Kinning Park in 1890 was a densely-populated area on the outskirts of Glasgow but by no means the poorest. As organisations of the 'better off and thriftier sections of the working class' (Cole 1944: 9), the retail co-operative members were mainly those who could afford to pay higher prices to accumulate a dividend and to contribute to the wider activities within the movement. Some of the co-operators in Kinning Park were likely to fit such a description (Campbell 1983: 290) and with access to resources from the KPCS Education Committee, KPCWG did not need to claim any particular deficit focus to gain support and resources for their activities or indeed to claim success.

The level of aspiration is further reflected in the issues that the initiatives looked to address. Chalmers' key concern was the abolition of 'pauperism' and in their work to achieve this the St John's agency looked to address unemployment, education, spiritual oversight and missionary activity leading to church extension. The primary objective of Paisley CDP was to address issues of multiple deprivation and this included a substantial amount of work on unemployment, housing, the provision of advice and information, and some support to play schemes, youth activities, lunch clubs, and a local gala day. KPCWG looked to promote social intercourse and mutual aid and in the process became involved in

issues of health, housing, working conditions (particularly of women and children) as well as female suffrage.

The extent to which such a range of issues might be addressed by community-based activity is open to question and examined under impact below. What they do reflect, however, is the wide-ranging ambition and aspiration for community contribution to economic and social welfare that existed in very different contexts and over an extended period of time

Experiments

Such wide ranging aspiration, particularly at periods of transformation and flux, may provide for a focus on innovation and the development of new approaches. Finlayson (1994: 18) argues that an important element of the interplay between the different players in the 'mixed economy of welfare' is innovation and 'recurrent experimentation' as the players move into new configurations of arrangements to deal with emerging issues.

All three initiatives in this study were essentially experimental. Both St John's and Paisley CDP were described as experiments at the time that they took place and were designed external to the communities in which they were implemented. Chalmers had already developed his hypothesis and took the opportunity to test it in the newly-created parish of St John's. The overall objectives and design of the CDPs had also been determined in the Home Office in advance of the selection of communities for implementation. KPCWG was innovative and experimental as the first co-operative women's guild in Scotland and in building an autonomous organisation. A key difference was that its objectives and agenda, while clearly influenced by developments within the wider co-operative movement, arose directly from the experience of the women in the community in which it was developed.

While such experiments might claim to share many of the characteristics of those in the natural sciences an important difference of experiments in the social policy field is the fact that they are usually the result of some form of political process. Speaking of the compromises involved in experiments in the social sciences at the Anglo-American Ditchley Park conference in advance of the launch of the Community Development Projects, Professor Coleman (TNA.HLG118/2792) argued that:

> Whereas in the one (physical sciences) the experimental stage was totally free of constraints imposed by the political process; and whereas the physical sciences had a clear dividing line between research and the application of conclusions, neither of these were so for social science research. The political process demanded results from the very outset.

Those working in the natural sciences may question whether such a sharp distinction can be drawn but it highlights an important feature. In his later examination of the strategies adopted by the different CDP Directors, Specht (1976: 1) suggests that the CDP could never be a 'truly' scientific experiment as these are 'organized to minimise the influence of the hopes, dreams, wishes, ideologies, and fantasies of the participants' and deal with 'phenomena about which there is a substantial body of knowledge'. Dealing rather with complex human behaviour about which little is known he argues:

> one of the objectives of the effort (which is usually unstated) is to unleash ideas and energies to work on these problems in the hope that if sufficient heat is generated, some of it will be transformed to light that will illuminate the subject (ibid: 2).

Dreams, wishes and aspirations remain a feature of social experiments.

Communities of place might hold out particular attractions for those looking to innovate or experiment. They can be small enough in size to intervene with limited resources and limited risk, and yet hold out the prize of scaling up for those who have their eye on a wider agenda. They might present a relatively small and convenient unit for analysis with defined boundaries. As the location for innovation and experimentation all three were communities of place and, in the case of St John's and Paisley CDP, determined by administrative boundaries. KPCWG extended its operations in line with the development of the KPCS, originally confined to the Burgh of Kinning Park although this would later expand.

The three communities were also of a similar size in terms of population. The population of St John's at the start of the experiment in 1819 was 10,304. The population of Kinning Park in 1871 at the start of the KPCS was 7,231, which expanded by 1901 to 15,851. At the start of the CDP, Ferguslie Park had a population in 1973 of 12,300 although this decreased during the life of the project. The idea of a community of place as being between 10- 12,000 people finds echoes in current guidance for community planning partnerships.

In all three initiatives there was some recognition that administrative boundaries did not necessarily reflect how ideas of community or neighbourhood were experienced by local residents. In its work with local street groups, Paisley CDP worked with the grain of local connections and shared issues as they existed in different parts of Ferguslie Park. KPCWG developed their branches in response to level of interest in particular neighbourhoods and the expansion of KPCS which negotiated its boundaries not with the civic authorities but with other co-operative societies in the city. Equally, while Chalmers wanted to develop a distinctive identity for the new parish of St John's, he recognised the need to sub-divide the area into smaller units, his 'proportions', to build this.

Implementation

In the examples of both St John's and Paisley CDP, external determination of the agenda linked to a reliance on external resources and external change agents to support implementation. Chalmers recruited his Elders and Deacons from non-resident parishioners and relied on a combination of their continuing contribution to parish funds, their time and personal charity to support his plans. The original brief for the Community Development Projects came from within central government and was developed in the Home Office building on the experience of the Education Priority Area and the American 'War on Poverty' programmes. Here, too, implementation was the work of external change agents; both the members of the Action and Research teams were initially from outside the area. Resources were also predominantly from central government via the Urban Programme, with Paisley Burgh Council and, from May 1975, Strathclyde Regional Council contributing 25% towards the costs of the Action Team. KPCWG, in contrast, developed using the resources of KPCS Educational Committee and their own fundraising.

While experimentation in community-based initiatives may not always be associated with early career development, this appears to have been a feature of all of the examples in this study. St John's was Chalmers' third parish awarded to him following intervention by the wealthy supporters he had attracted at Tron parish. Interviews with surviving workers involved in Ferguslie Park all stressed their youth and relative inexperience. While it is likely that the early leadership of KPCWG was provided by older women, often the wives of key members of the KPCS, the personal development they undertook would suggest little previous experience of public involvement and organising. Many KPCWG members went on to follow substantial careers in public service, Chalmers

became a leading churchman and several of the workers in Paisley CDP enjoyed successful careers in public service having developed early skills in community based initiatives.

As experiments, the interventions at St John's and Ferguslie Park lasted for a similar period, 5-6 years, after which interest and attention appear to have moved on, reflecting the political nature of their origins. Chalmers left St John's in 1823 and although the experiment continued until 1837 when the St John's Agency was forced to start referring paupers 'on the same terms as other city parishes' (Brown 1986: 143), the claims of success are based on the years 1819-1823. Interest in the CDPs within the Home Office was already waning by the time work started in Ferguslie Park and formal funding for the CDPs ceased in 1977. This saw activities in Ferguslie Park absorbed into the wider work of Strathclyde Regional Council. If KPCWG is seen as an example of self-organisation with an internal locus of control the fact that it continued in existence until at least 1972, some 80 years from its inception (a longer period than the other two), appears significant and links into debates about the relative efficacy of top-down or bottom-up approaches.

Practice Approaches

Despite operating in different historical contexts and providing illustrations of the operation of different social philosophies, there are clear similarities in practice approaches adopted by the different initiatives. Many of these are familiar today and links can be made to work with individuals, groups and communities, often seen as the key categories of social work practice. The work at St John's is highlighted in social work histories primarily for its focus on district visiting and the thorough investigation of individual need (Young and Ashton 1956: 91). This is a thread that can be traced through the work of COS and its involvement in early social work training to ideas of early casework. KPCWG drew on the model of the mothers' meeting, a group-work approach developed within evangelical and missionary

societies. In their work on the 'extension of co-operation to the poor', the Guild also drew on alternative models being developed in the early settlements (Oakley 2018) which in turn would inform both the community development and action learning approaches which would underpin the work of the CDPs. Despite being a community development project, a striking feature of the work in Ferguslie Park was the lack of community development expertise in its early stages and its reliance on group-work and individual visiting, 'a social work approach' (Irving 2016) to establish the project.

All the initiatives included an element of information gathering and research. In an early example of a social survey, Chalmers carried out his 'Statistical, Moral and Educational Survey' (Statistical Survey 1819) that recorded the numbers living at each address, their trade, their place of worship, children attending Sabbath Schools and those not, and the numbers of sessional poor, which survives in New College Library, Edinburgh. In line with the guidance from the Home Office, Paisley CDP concentrated in its first phase on building a description of the area and the issues it faced based on information from the 'opinion centre', analysis of local administrative data and a small-scale household survey. KPCWG carried out research among their membership to inform the various papers produced and there is evidence that KPCWG members were also involved in research carried out by the Glasgow Council for Women's Trades into the working and living conditions of women involved in homeworking across a range of trades in the City that provided evidence to local and national enquiries as well as informing their own papers (Laird 1907).

All three initiatives also included a focus on the co-ordination of effort and activity. The KPCWG operated within the democratic traditions of the co-operative movement with local branch committees, a central co-ordinating committee and annual conference at a local level and district and sectional committees feeding into the national SCWG Executive.

These co-ordinated activities and informed their positions on particular issues. In the first phase of work in Ferguslie Park, the CDP Action Team set up a whole series of different multi-agency working parties to focus on issues of concern and developed the Ferguslie Park Directory and the community newsletter (NRS 1973a) to improve information sharing. In phase two the focus moved from co-ordination of services to the co-ordination of activity between community organisations in the area with the formation of the Ferguslie League of Action Groups (FLAG) in 1974 and the Amalgamated Group of Play schemes in 1975. Structures to support the co-ordination of effort at St John's included the agency breakfast each Monday morning 'to which a general invitation was issued' (Hanna 1867: 289), quarterly meetings of the whole St John's Agency, meetings of the Kirk Session and monthly meetings of the Deacons, and Sabbath school teachers.

Finally, education provided a key strategic tool in all three examples. Betchaku (2007) argues that it was in the area of education that Chalmers was most successful with the establishment of his system of parochial schools. Education was also a key strategy for the members of KPCS - the second object established for the society was 'To promote the intellectual and moral advancement of its members by providing means for social intercourse and literary culture' (Dollan 1923: 8). This was seen in the cultural and educational events organised by the KPCS Educational Committee and the work of KPCWG and the wider SCGW on the 'education and improvement of women' (SC 8.3.1901: 88). In Ferguslie Park, the CDP included work with both the formal education system and more informal community education type activity designed to ensure that local groups had the information and skills they needed to organise as seen in the training for tenants involved in the Information and Action Centre, the Housing Action groups and the Workers' Co-operative.

Impact

The assessment of impact for contemporary community-based interventions is a challenge that different evaluation methodologies such as the 'theory of change' have been developed to address. The assessment of impact in relation to historical initiatives, particularly when the voices of the local residents are largely missing, must include multiple caveats. In the accounts in this study assessment of impact relies primarily on written archival sources with the associated issues of author, purpose and what survives.

Chalmers was a prolific author and a substantial amount of his writing survives. Reflecting on the experiment at St John's, Chalmers (1841: 94) declared his experiment a 'triumph and success'. The number of sessional paupers had decreased, there has been no new referrals to the Town's Hospital and the number of permanent paupers admitted to the fund in the five years between 1819 and 1823 was just 20. Sunday Schools had been established in each of the 25 'proportions' and four parish schools established. His biographers also highlighted the overall reduction in costs (Hanna 1867, Dodds 1879, Blaikie 1896). Such claims have been challenged but the experiment continues to be the subject of periodic rediscovery by supporters of limited statutory involvement in social welfare. The assessment in this study highlights the existence of a wider network of support which might have been equally if not more important in providing support for those resident in St John's.

The small number of historical accounts (Buchan 1913, Dollan 1923 and Callen 1952) of the KPCWG highlight its status as the 'mother branch', the first in Scotland and the model it set for the development of branches across the south side of the city and, in the work of the SCWG, across Scotland. Claims in co-operative sources equally need to be treated with caution but they suggest impact in three main areas: on the lives of individual

women members within their local community, within the wider local and national retail co-operative movement and, in their involvement in the local and national debates in relation to issues of social welfare. An example of local agency among working-class women, KPCWG continued in existence until the 1970s and was instrumental in the development of many of the early women activists in the city and yet is often not even a footnote in histories of co-operation in Scotland.

Unlike all of the other CDPs there was no final composite report from Paisley, but rather a series of reports on different aspects of the work. These identified outputs in terms of level of investment secured in housing improvements in the Westmarch area (Paisley CDP 1977g), numbers of enquiries dealt with and additional resources secured via benefit take-up campaigns by the Information and Action Centre (Paisley CDP 1977e) and number of local jobs created via the workers' co-operative (Paisley CDP 1977b). Claims for longer-term impact of the CDP are muted. It is remembered for the CDP building which went on to house a number of community projects, and for having brought different interests in the area together in the Ferguslie League of Action Groups which was to be a key player in subsequent initiatives in the area. The CDP was described by one local activist interviewed for this study as 'the first piece of the jigsaw to hopefully address the issues that affected people living in Ferguslie Park' (Reilly 2017). It may also have had some influence on Strathclyde Regional Council as it developed its community development strategy and brought some of the lessons of the wider CDP north of the border.

While some impact can be found in all three accounts, it is rather less than the original aspiration. Chalmers may have gone some way to achieving his aim of supporting the poor in his parish from 'natural' sources but he did not establish his self-sustaining 'godly commonwealth'. KPCWG can be seen to have had impact on the lives of their

members and their families, their wider community and contributed to the expansion of membership of KPCS, but as Campbell (1983) documents the flourishing of retail co-operation in the city was short lived and they did not achieve their ideal of a 'co-operative commonwealth'. While Paisley CDP saw some impact in relation to housing improvements, co-ordination of the activities of tenants' associations and provision of advice and information and it perhaps contributed to Strathclyde Regional Council's ongoing approach to 'multiple deprivation', it was not able to make major inroads into the issues faced by local residents.

Obstacles

The literature highlights a number of obstacles that may account for such limits. The first is in the area of conceptualisation. The social science literature suggests that aspirations for community involvement in social welfare may always be problematic as they are based on imagined concepts of community infused with romantic and nostalgic ideas which often fail to appreciate the dynamic, fluid nature of communities of place and the existence of conflict, exclusion and inequality within them. They at best reflect over-optimistic muddled thinking on the part of their initiators and at worst, a failure to appreciate the coercive and diversionary potential of community-based approaches. While recent conceptualisations of community can be seen to engage with the tension between ideas of social support and solidarity and narratives of 'problem populations' (Crow and Mah 2011: 4), Studdert and Walkerdine (2016: 614) argue, from their recent review of the field, that while the term was frequently used by government agencies and researchers it 'was rarely conceptualised or even defined'.

In his work on neighbouring, Philip Abrams highlights three distinct circumstances that impel the growth of neighbourhood care. These are:

> *extreme social homogeneity* because in every respect everyone is in the same awful boat; *permanence* because there is no prospect of anyone around you getting into any other boat and *threat* because the waves and winds could overturn and drown the whole lot of you two minutes from now, tomorrow, next week, anytime (Quoted in Crow and Allan 1994: 185, emphases in the original).

Social conditions within a community are key. Neighbourhood care is not the 'natural' feature of communities that many would hope for but rather a feature of communities where everyone is in a similar position and bound together by close kin and neighbourhood ties, limited mobility and limited resources. These are the specific social conditions that Bulmer (1986: 2) argues we would not want to reproduce in our aspirations for community contribution to social welfare.

From a historical perspective, Harris (2004: 89) cites support from families and neighbours in communities as a primary source of support for people during the nineteenth century. These activities were, however, limited by the level of enduring poverty found in such communities and in his study of government charity relations in inter-war Britain, he further highlights that the level of mutual aid was limited by 'the depth and concentration of the poverty experienced in many working-class areas' (Harris 1995: 549). Studies of collective self-help, such as friendly and co-operative societies, also demonstrate that these were usually the preserve of the better-off sections of working-class communities (Thane 2012).

Findings from this study would support such analyses and finds constraints in three main areas: the levels of aspiration for community contribution, assumptions about the resources required to achieve this and the extent of power and control a particular community might have in determining the shape and emphasis of particular initiatives.

All three initiatives in this study aspired to create some form of fundamental change; the eradication of pauperism (St John's), a new moral and economic order (KPCWG), tackling multiple deprivation (Paisley CDP), and yet all struggled to achieve impact in relation to these issues. Where they were more successful was in addressing issues of education, housing, health, advice and information, and in the case of Paisley CDP and KPCWG, provision of social activities and youth facilities. These can all be seen as issues within the orbit of the local area or of their local administrative authorities and perhaps suggest a particular area of competence for communities of place. As one respondent commented on the emerging themes paper:

> I am more confident in the lessons to be learnt here about improving social solidarity, nurturing self-activation and local democratization, but less confident about more ambitious claims for change through local action (Written response PM 21.08.17).

Expectations that communities of place can address issues that are determined by wider structural factors largely beyond their immediate influence may struggle to be realised. All three initiatives in this study encountered wider structural constraints which were beyond their competence to address.

A key factor in determining the extent of competence and impact is resources: resources in the broadest sense of finance, skills, support and capacity. It may also relate to the extent to which the resources deployed are commensurate with the objectives sought. KPCWG was largely able to determine its own agenda, pursue it within the resources available from the Education Committee and those it was able to raise itself and develop its own leadership using the resources of the wider retail co-operative movement and the SCWG. There is no mention in the primary sources of a lack of resources, but there was an

appreciation that some issues, such as old age pensions for all and feeding school children, were beyond the reach of solutions based on the proceeds of retail co-operation. Chalmers was aware that his resident parishioners at St John's had limited resources to draw on and relied on a separate congregation of wealthy, non-resident parishioners to take up the positions of Elders, Deacons and Sunday school teachers as well as to provide the finances to support his experiment. The CDP brought Urban Programme resources to Ferguslie Park and two teams of workers which accounted for the vast majority of the budget in the estimate for 1975-76. Out of an overall projected expenditure of £54,000, just £2,600 was allocated directly to community organisations (NRS ED39/932).

The overall resources at St John's and in Ferguslie Park, while perhaps considerable for their time, were also small-scale compared to the level of need described and the aspirations for change. While they provided some support for the duration of the initiatives, it was difficult, in communities with limited resources, to sustain them once interest and the agenda moved on. When Chalmers left St John's, the parish continued the experiment until 1837 but struggled to sustain it financially without the resources Chalmers had been able to attract from his wealthy non-resident parishioners. Equally, in Ferguslie Park, while some Urban Programme resources were obtained to support ongoing work, the end of the CDP marked a reduction, at least temporarily, in resources available to the area.

The external control of resources largely reflected the external control of the agenda. At St John's, Chalmers and his Elders and Deacons determined the agenda with no record of any input from members of the local parish into the design or delivery of the experiment. By the 1970s and the CDP, practice approaches reflected a growing demand for participation and democratic engagement and in Ferguslie Park there is some evidence of attempts to build local involvement in decision making. There were, however, limits to

this and the agenda remained largely determined by professional and political interests. The activities of KPCWG provide a contrast, reflecting greater local control over the agenda as well as the use of democratic decision making both in their meetings and in determining their position on particular issues. This, combined with access to their own resources, may have enabled them to develop at their own pace and to work over a longer time frame on issues determined by their membership.

In their support for women's suffrage, KPCWG built on their experience of democratic decision making within the co-operative movement to develop their argument for the right of women to vote on equal terms with men. It was only by women having and exercising their vote that, they argued, the issues they were concerned with would be addressed. Their model was one of developing voice and that of representative democracy and the importance of the franchise being extended to all with the opportunities this would offer for participation in wider public life. In a different context, the work of the CDPs engaged with issues of the respective roles of representative and participative democracy. A key interest was in the reinvigoration of local democracy and in Ferguslie Park support was provided by local councillors particularly in relation to the work on housing. Interviews carried out for this study suggest, however, that while participation was encouraged within the work of the CDP this did not extend to involvement with the local authority. One local councillor saw it as their role to speak on behalf of local residents and discouraged the Director of the action team from encouraging local people to attend meetings to speak on their own behalf (Irving 2016). Equally, in their report on the operation of the CDP Management Group (Paisley CDP 1978d), the workers highlight issues which arose in relation to residents' participation in meetings suggesting tensions between professionals, elected members and local residents. The interaction between the development of voice,

participation and local democratic decision making and the tensions that this can give rise to continue as a feature of current debates.

Conclusions

The overall research question informing this study was: 'What lessons might be learned from three historical accounts of community contribution to economic and social welfare? It had a particular interest in what, if any, contemporary relevance the accounts might have for present-day community organisations and the wider policy agenda. To address these questions the study developed three new historical accounts of community based initiatives in the west of Scotland designed to stimulate community contribution to economic and social welfare. The accounts are drawn from a period of two centuries designed to provide a long view of philosophy and practice in this area. They were selected from periods of transition and transformation in arrangements for social welfare with a focus on experiments and innovation. Two of the initiatives were described as experiments at the time and the third can be seen to be experimental and innovative as one of the first organisations of working-class women in the west of Scotland. The three initiatives all took place in geographical communities, largely determined by administrative boundaries, and are thus essentially approaches based on 'place'.

The accounts illustrate that communities of place are seen to have a role to play in relation to social welfare. While developed in very different historical contexts and based on different social philosophies, the longevity of such ideas over a period of some two centuries suggests that this is significant. It reflects Delanty's (2003: 11) assertion that 'community exerts itself as a powerful idea of belonging in every age and as such its reality consists of its persuasive power as the most "social" aspect of society'.

They also highlight the range of potential roles envisaged for communities in relation to social welfare and support an analysis based on ideas of the operation of a 'mixed economy of welfare'. They also all include a combination of elements of both statutory and voluntary activity and as such support a conclusion that even within ideas of a mixed economy of welfare the boundaries might be less clear than often assumed. Roles envisaged for community contribution might be as a source of mutual aid and charity, able to address the needs of the local area (St John's), as the location for the development of collective self-help as well as a source of political pressure for wider economic and social change (KPCWG), or as a source of self-help, democratic renewal, and an instrument for service reform (Paisley CDP). The aspirations in all three were high.

In seeking to operationalise such aspirations all three accounts involved elements of experimentation and innovation and despite operating in very different contexts they demonstrate similarities in practice approaches. They all include an element of information gathering and research, work with individuals and groups, a focus on co-ordination of effort and the use of education as a strategic tool. These are all approaches familiar to present-day practitioners.

While there is evidence of some impact as a result of such approaches the overall aspirations remain largely unrealised. There are significant obstacles that can get in the way of impact and these are found in the very level of aspirations, issues of conceptualisation of community, issues of resources and the process of external definition of issues and determination of the agenda. These are practical issues that may be worthy of consideration in contemporary practice to avoid a repetition of a cycle of experimentation in communities often looking to address the same issues with essentially similar practice

approaches. This can have the feel of the 'reinvention of the (broken) wheel' that Young (1987: 12) was keen to avoid in considering the future for the social strategy in Strathclyde.

Given these similarities across an extended time period, the historical accounts developed by this study suggest that the current 'turn' to community in current policy and practice is not new. Also that a long view can be helpful in exploring continuities and discontinuities that highlight the patterns that reoccur in our thinking and approaches. The Scottish Government agenda looks to have communities at the heart of its project to develop a wealthier and fairer, smarter, healthier, safer, stronger and greener Scotland (National Performance framework 2016) and the current 'Programme for Government' calls for 'bold ambitions' (A Nation with Ambition 2017). The provisions of the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015 provide opportunities for communities to acquire land and public assets and apply to deliver aspects of local improvement plans. Aspirations are again high and the promise is of a new collaborative policy approach based on empowered communities. While this may hold out the potential for communities to address issues of concern and ostensibly works from a position of appreciation of community assets rather than deficits, many of the same issues remain. Issues of definition and conceptualisation of community, of external and professional direction of the agenda, of access to resources and the extent to which the implementation of community empowerment might live up to the rhetoric are all key debates in the current context. There is equally debate as to the extent to which the role envisaged for communities within the current mixed economy of welfare is one of assuming responsibility for issues previously with the remit of the state.

Local residents interviewed for this study were well aware of the challenges of the current context. The historical material generated discussion about activism and collective approaches, their aspirations for their community, the importance of access to what is

often 'hidden' history and the obstacles they saw to progress. One resident in Ferguslie Park with forty years' experience as a community activist imagined what would need to be different to ensure impact:

> There would have been genuine community empowerment, the community would have been listened to in their agenda and any part of their agenda would have been addressed by the statutory agencies that were involved in changing this whole area that didn't happen. If they had been given in many cases, the funding and not just the carrots… because we worked very much to the agencies' agendas and there was never any genuine finance for any true community development to be done, not through any initiative (Reilly 2017).

Others highlighted links to other current agendas and issues of concern such as the growth of food banks:

> It also struck me that the three approaches, even going back to Chalmers, and the agendas and aspirations behind them, aren't difficult to unearth amongst all those who are currently working on food insecurity. That is highly unlikely to change in the short term and the challenge is to build and maintain as much of a consensus as possible around the most effective, dignified and sustainable approach (Written response. WG 19.07.17).

It will be for future historians to characterise our current context, whether it will be seen as a period of transformation and fundamental change in arrangements for social welfare and whether the current turn to community will provide new and different models for community contribution. In the epilogue to his recent publication on the sociology of Scotland, McCrone (2017: 632) speaks of 'a tale that has not ended', nor that 'will have a predictable end'. We may be witnessing the end of austerity, the demise of the neo-liberal

agenda and the possibility this may create for Scotland to chart a progressive course in terms of the economic and social welfare of its citizens. An alternative vision might see on-going austerity, the rise of populism, agendas that further reduce the role of the state in social welfare and transfer responsibility for previously 'public issues' to the individual and communities. In steering a course between the different alternatives, a long view can highlight key issues to inform approaches.

What is certain is that ideas of community are likely to continue to exert a powerful hold over our imaginations. Despite the fact that our efforts at implementation often do not to live up to our aspirations, our expectations and indeed our rhetoric, the role that it might play is, and will remain, on the agenda.

Community organisations involved in this study were committed to activism to address the current issues they face, and despite the level of criticism directed at ideas of community, the academic effort to conceptualise it continues. Somerville (2016: 261) calls for the establishment of 'beloved community' made up of attachments which flow from 'commitments made in a spirit of compassion' and based on the ethics of care, justice and freedom. Bauman (2001: 149) calls for a 'community of concern' which will 'be woven from sharing and mutual care', and Crow and Allan (1994: 151) suggest that despite very real issues in relation to conceptualisation of community it still 'has the potential to inspire more positive visions of the future based on broad inclusive alliances'. Bauman (2001: 5) suggests that it is part of what it means to be human:

> The argument between security and freedom, and so the argument between community and individuality, is unlikely ever to be resolved and so is likely to go on for a long time to come; not finding the right solution and being frustrated by the

> one that has been tried will not prompt us to abandon the search - but to go on trying. Being human, we can neither fulfil the hope nor cease hoping.

Our ideas of community appear to continue to provide a narrative of hope which binds community members, policy makers, politicians and academics in an ongoing search for alternatives to the present. In developing accounts of often neglected community-based initiatives this study highlights the longevity of such a search as well practical lessons which might usefully inform our attempts to create greater impact as we look to address issues of social welfare in our particular context.

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