

Geographies of disadvantage in the post-industrial city: a critical evaluation of policy, practice and partnership.

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Abstract

Disadvantage is a concept which attracts significant interest from both academic and political perspectives. The concept is however not always easily defined, measured or investigated. This research examines the various issues surrounding definition and measurement of the concept before investigating the lived experience of disadvantage in Govan, Glasgow. This research is informed throughout by an applied geographical perspective. This research affords an in-depth understanding of the lived experience of disadvantage, against which government responses to tackle disadvantage are evaluated. Interviews with the key agencies involved in tackling disadvantage reveal that whilst the philosophical foundations of New Labour's approach are valid, application on the ground is problematic. Partnership working, community engagement, moving people into employment and realising the potential of the voluntary sector all present challenges to those working to tackle disadvantage. It is concluded that those actively involved in tackling disadvantage strive for genuine partnerships and community engagement; that there is a need to ensure that those entering employment are supported and provided with opportunities for 'upskilling'; that the role arts and culture can play in tackling disadvantage requires more recognition and that the voluntary and social economy sectors need to be more appropriately supported to realise their full potential. This research demonstrates that only through a greater appreciation of local contextual factors in defining disadvantage, a combination of measurement techniques and an understanding of the lived experience of disadvantage will it be possible to create relevant sustainable localised responses.

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CRITICAL EVALUATION OF POLICY, PRACTICE AND PARTNERSHIP.**

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INTRODUCTION

Despite interventions of various forms and levels of intensity the effects of poverty and deprivation continue to be felt by large numbers of the UK population. Whilst New Labour could not be accused of “doing nothing” about poverty (Mooney, 2007, 165), many sections of society “continue to experience living conditions and levels of financial hardship that are not compatible with good health or social cohesion” (Scott, 2006, 115). Gordon et al (2000, 69) postulate that poverty rates are highest amongst the following:

“Women, children, adults living in one-person households (including single pensioners), large families, families with a child under 11, young people, those who left school at age 16 or under, households with no paid workers, separated/divorced households, lone parent households, local authority and housing association tenants and households dependent on Income Support”.

Thus despite the redistribution of income through the social security and tax systems, there are still significant variations in average income levels over the lifecycle with pensioners and children being worst affected (Piachaud and Webb, 2004). According to Darton, Hirsch and Strelitz (2003) whilst people move in and out of poverty, the great majority of those who are poor at a particular moment in time will face some form of persisting low income. Poverty, deprivation, disadvantage and inequality are all terms utilised to refer to the unsatisfactory conditions which these individuals experience on a day-to-day basis.

A number of conceptual and methodological issues surround attempts to define and measure what exactly constitutes disadvantage. Yet clear definition and measurement of disadvantage is imperative to aid those working to tackle its impacts as well as to set levels of social security which are deemed to be ‘acceptable’. Disadvantage may be viewed from an absolute or relative perspective. While an ‘absolute’ definition of disadvantage implies that there is a minimum subsistence level at which social security levels can be set, a ‘relative’ definition of disadvantage attempts to set levels of social security in relation to “the changing standards and the resources needed to achieve them which are relative to place, time and observer” (Howard, Garnham, Fimister and Veit-

Wilson, 2001, 20). Debates around measurement of disadvantage are also extensive due to the ambiguity involved in selecting the most appropriate method of measurement. Factors such as motivation for measurement and scale of measurement will impact on the form of measurement employed. Perceptions as to why poverty exists can also impact on the levels and form of intervention being adopted with those subscribing to 'structuralist' explanations laying the blame on the failings of the economic, political and social system. On the other hand, 'individualist' explanations focus causal attention on the poor who through better choices could have ultimately avoided their problematic situation (Bradshaw, 2006). Comprehension of and response to disadvantage are clearly dependent on which definition, measurement method and theory are subscribed to. Examination of these and related issues is clearly of fundamental significance and is the focus of the present thesis.

Attempting to determine a consensual approach towards definition or measurement of disadvantage is not an easy task due to the variety of factors which interweave to create the condition. Townsend (1987, 136) identifies several types of disadvantage. In essence, he draws a distinction between 'material' and 'social' deprivation. The first includes a situation where "people may not have the material goods of modern life or the immediately surrounding material facilities or amenities". Under the second "they may not have access to ordinary social customs, activities and relationships". Such an approach highlights the important non-material aspects of disadvantage such as lack of voice, disrespect, humiliation and an assault on dignity and self-esteem, shame and stigma, powerlessness, denial of rights and diminished citizenship (Lister, 2004). Disadvantage is clearly a multifaceted concept that can pertain to issues such as poor educational attainment, unemployment, crime, low standards of public service provision and local amenities, health, low self esteem, poor quality housing, chaotic family networks and addiction problems. The range of material and non material factors and the fact that problems of disadvantage are not necessarily being suffered by the same groups of people at the same time illustrate why it is so difficult to make generalisations regarding the what, where, who, why and when of disadvantage. Furthermore the spatial concentration of disadvantage in urban areas can operate as a

multiplier effect in exacerbating the suffering felt by those inhabiting such areas. Problems such as crime, delinquency, poor housing, unemployment and increased mortality and morbidity are ultimately accentuated by geographical concentration (Pacione, 1995). Unemployment leads to dependency on public support systems and lack of disposable income, which in turn lowers self esteem and can result in clinical depression (Pacione, 2003). The physical environment in disadvantaged areas is also typically bleak with sparse landscaping, extensive areas of dereliction and few retail and leisure facilities leading to residents often being stigmatised which acts as another barrier to gaining employment or credit facilities (Pacione, 1995a). As Jones and Novak (1999) contend poverty has to be understood not just as a disadvantaged and insecure economic condition but also as a shameful and corrosive social relation. It is apparent therefore that the differential combination of factors producing disadvantage all interweave to create a challenging environment for formulation of ameliorative policies. Furthermore, in addition to clear conceptualisation and measurement, successful policy formulation is predicated on a sound understanding of the felt experience of disadvantage.

To comprehend fully the lived experience of disadvantage it is vital to undertake field research in disadvantaged communities. According to McWilliams (2004, 265) “the poor are generally excluded from the debates about the poverty they experience”. Only through “listening to the experiences of those facing the day-to-day reality of poverty” will it be possible to create policies which “more effectively address the challenges that lie ahead” (Green, 2007, 48). In the present research this objective is pursued through the lens of applied urban geography, described by Briggs (1981) as a problem oriented discipline that attempts to solve the problems which influence the quality of life for all.

In addition to longstanding academic interest in the geography of disadvantage, the importance of tackling disadvantage is now being increasingly recognised across the political spectrum (Hirsch, 2004) although actual strategies vary. The policies of New Labour between 1997 and 2007 set the political context for the present research. New Labour with its philosophical adherence to the ‘third way’ “between or beyond the ‘Old Left and New Right’” (Levitas, 2004, 42) vowed to tackle poverty. For Blair (2006, 2) “tackling poverty and promoting equality of opportunity lie at the heart of our approach

to government; they define our policy agenda and drive our vision of the future". Since 1997 New Labour have adopted approaches in attempting to tackle poverty in areas blighted by its effects including the promotion of 'joined-up' thinking, a focus on 'equality of opportunity' and evidence based working. Of particular interest with regards to tackling disadvantage is the focus on community engagement, social exclusion, the promotion of partnership working and social capital. New Labour proclaim to pursue holistic urban regeneration and 'joined-up' government with the community being invited to become involved in policy decisions (Johnstone and McWilliams, 2005, 166).

New Labour have also strongly promoted the view that 'work is the best form of welfare' and have pursued a policy agenda to promote paid work, to make work possible and to make work pay (Millar and Gardiner, 2004). Alcock (2003) suggests that if the government is focussed on making decisions relating to policy, conditional on not undermining the goal of stable economic growth, then policies which stress helping people into employment as a route out of poverty are likely to be of high priority. Scott, Mooney and Brown (2005, 104) argue that the current New Labour approach to tackling disadvantage involving "a commitment to policies that stress work as the key way out of poverty; a belief in the value of joined-up policy; and the valuing of evidence and monitoring in providing future direction for policy" represents "a minimalist agenda in relation to poverty, largely premised on the idea of achieving equality of opportunity not equality of outcome". In a similar vein Mooney (2007, 168) argues that low income and poverty have still not been addressed in an "effective and comprehensive way" rather New Labour have been focussing on the "lower end" of the spectrum in creating policies to tackle poverty and exclusion whilst being loathe to do anything to question the dominant sources of inequality in society.

From a Scottish Perspective, devolution in 1999 was welcomed by some as heralding an era of Scottish solutions to Scottish problems (Mooney and Scott, 2005). The Scottish Executive at first focused on 'social justice' a term described by Law (2005, 54) as "providing an inoffensive means of wafting a gentle aroma of egalitarian intentions over the stale odour of pronounced market inequalities", but defined by the

Scottish Executive¹ as trying to create a fair and decent society by reducing inequalities in opportunity and tackling social disadvantage (Turok, 2004). The term was subsequently replaced by “the more New Labour-sounding ‘Closing the Opportunity Gap’ which had three broad aims; to prevent individuals or families from falling into poverty, to provide pathways out of poverty and to sustain individuals and families in a lifestyle free from poverty” (Mooney, 2007a, 6). The broad philosophical approach adopted by Scottish New Labour² to tackling disadvantage has been similar to that adopted South of the border. Three key values which have informed Scottish policy post-devolution consist of the belief that social exclusion and social injustice rather than simply low income should be tackled, the belief that anti-poverty strategies should be directed at those who are willing to help themselves, and a belief that some families and communities possess anti-social values which constrain the effectiveness of anti-poverty strategies. Thus Scottish policy for tackling disadvantage adheres to the UK level principles outlined above of ‘joined up working’, evidence based policy making, a focus on equality of opportunity, partnership working, engagement of communities and the use of Area Based Initiatives moving towards mainstream targeting of resources on those areas identified as deprived. Further and importantly there are crucial areas of policy, such as social security and the employment service, which are not in the remit of the Scottish parliament and which limit the new parliaments role in addressing poverty (Mooney and Johnstone, 2000). With regards to these matters it is Westminster that “calls the tune” (Scott and Mooney, 2005, 264).

To comprehend fully the issues and challenges involved in implementing the range of policies and initiatives proposed by the Scottish Executive, its associated Non

¹ Due to the data collection and policy analysis elements of this research having occurred prior to the ‘Scottish Executive’ becoming the ‘Scottish Government’ in September 2007, for purposes of consistency the ‘Scottish Government’ shall be referred to as the ‘Scottish Executive’ throughout this thesis.

² This research was undertaken under a Scottish New Labour dominated government and as such policies and strategies outlined will be within this context and time period up to May 2007. If of direct relevance to this thesis, post-2007 policy and strategy will be briefly discussed.

Departmental Public Bodies (NDPBs)³ and Local Authorities, as well as their impacts on groups working at the local level including those of a voluntary nature as well as local communities it is important to include views of those agencies working across the regeneration spectrum. The present research was designed to investigate the lived experience of disadvantage and the variety of strategies and approaches which have been adopted to tackle disadvantage with particular reference to a local community in Glasgow, a city which has consistently been identified as having the most acute problems of disadvantage in Western Europe (Mooney, 2006).

Aims and Objectives

In direct response to the enduring challenges of disadvantage, this thesis will address the following key aims and objectives:

- to critically evaluate the conceptualisation and measurement of disadvantage.
- to gain an in depth comprehension of the lived experience of disadvantage.
- to examine a number of key New Labour approaches towards tackling disadvantage
- to investigate the barriers which confront those across the regeneration spectrum attempting to tackle disadvantage face
- on the basis of original field investigation conducted in Govan, to recommend possible remedial strategies to combat disadvantage in Glasgow.

³ A national or regional public body, carrying out its day-to-day functions independently of Ministers, but for which Ministers are ultimately accountable (Scottish Arts Council, 2008).

Outline of thesis

Chapter 1 Only through a comprehension of what constitutes poverty and why it exists is it possible to comprehend the concept of disadvantage. This chapter clarifies the terminology surrounding disadvantage and its relationship with the terms poverty and deprivation. The origins of poverty research are discussed before moving on to consider the key debates with regard to defining poverty. Finally a number of theories aimed at explaining the existence of poverty are reviewed and the applied geographical approach underlying the present research is explained.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the main indicators of poverty as a prelude to measurement. This chapter deals with the issues of what should be measured and how best to measure the existence of poverty. The benefits and pitfalls of both objective and subjective measures are discussed before moving on to an examination of the various spatial scales at which disadvantage is measured. This chapter informs the choice of measurement methods utilised in the empirical element of this research.

Chapter 3 provides an overview and examination of New Labour's ideological and philosophical position with regard to tackling disadvantage. This includes their focus on social exclusion and belief in the power of social capital, partnership working and engaging communities to tackle disadvantage. The similarities and differences to the Scottish approach in tackling disadvantage are highlighted.

Chapter 4 discusses the criteria employed in identifying the area selected to study the lived experience of disadvantage, explains the methodology employed to conduct focus group investigations into the lived experience of disadvantage and, provides detailed discussion of the methodological considerations for carrying out interviews with public and voluntary sector agencies and actors to ascertain the barriers confronting attempts to tackle disadvantage

Chapter 5 builds upon the conceptual and methodological basis constructed in chapter 3. The lived experience of disadvantage is explored through detailed empirical investigations with local residents. This was complemented by interviews with the personnel in the major public and voluntary sector agencies tasked with tackling disadvantage on the ground. This chapter also evaluates the New Labour rhetoric of social exclusion, opportunity, welfare to work, and social capital with the aim of understanding the extent to which ‘warm words’ and intentions have been translated into reality. This chapter provides a comprehensive understanding of the experience of disadvantage, highlights the issues which those attempting to tackle disadvantage feel impact on their ability to do so, and provides a critical evaluation of the practical reality of the rhetoric of New Labour’s anti-poverty strategy.

Chapter 6 building on the findings from chapter 5 this chapter focuses specifically on the New Labour concepts of partnership working and community involvement to assess how successful these particular approaches have been in improving working practices in the field of regeneration, and in strengthening the input of the ‘local’ in decision making. This chapter examines strategies to improve the partnership working process and the role communities can play in informing policy and decision making.

Chapter 7 presents a number of key conclusions of the research. These relate to the definition and measurement of disadvantage and the rhetoric vs. the reality of New Labour’s approach to tackling disadvantage with particular reference to the lived experience of disadvantage in local communities and to the experiences of those attempting to tackle disadvantage on the ground. A number of recommendations are also proposed as to how this research can inform future action and thought on the conceptualisation, measurement and practical tackling of disadvantage.

CHAPTER 1: CONCEPTUALISING DISADVANTAGE

1.1 Introduction

Disadvantage is a complex and multi-dimensional concept which can involve a number of fundamental components including poverty, gender, ethnicity, life quality and social class simultaneously or in isolation. This research shall focus on disadvantage from a poverty perspective. The aim of this chapter is four fold. First disentangling the terminology surrounding the concept of disadvantage. Following this an overview shall be provided of the origins of poverty research and the key debates surrounding the definition of poverty. Thirdly a discussion of causal theorisation will be undertaken. Finally the value of the applied geographical perspective that informs the present research is explained. Only through awareness of the debates over what constitutes poverty and why it exists will it be possible to comprehend fully the close relationship between poverty, deprivation and disadvantage. This chapter will therefore lay the foundations for subsequent chapters through exploration of what constitutes disadvantage conceptually and the major explanations for its causes.

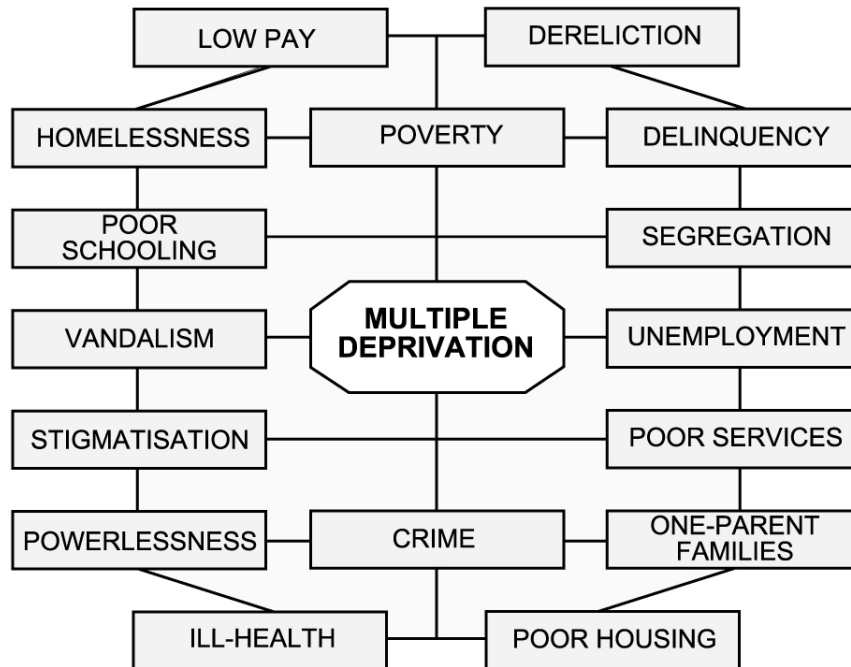
1.2 Poverty, Deprivation and Disadvantage: Tackling the Terminology

Poverty, deprivation, disadvantage, social exclusion and low income are all examples of terms utilised to describe the situation approximately 14 million people in Britain (25% of population) found themselves living in by the end of 1999 according to the “most rigorous survey of poverty and social exclusion ever undertaken” (Pantazis, Gordon and Levitas, 2006, 1). In the policy forum ongoing debate over terminology has since the late 1980’s been dominated by bland euphemisms – ‘low income’, ‘below average income’, ‘the bottom ten percent’ – “terms which obscure the reality of deprivation, poverty and hardship” (Oppenheim and Harker, 1996, 12). There is an apparent reluctance on the part of government to use the term poverty. According to Oppenheim and Harker (1996, 12) “poverty is a term which is rarely heard on the lips of policy makers”. Indeed it appears

that other terms have recently come into use which “embody broad visions of poverty – or something very like it” (Roll, 1992, 11). These include terms such as social exclusion (see chapter 3). This does not necessarily mean that the only term of value is ‘poverty’. The concept of poverty is one of a number of concepts which when used in unison best describe and display the multifaceted nature of disadvantage. If the ultimate purpose is to unravel and attend to the problems of living in need then clearly terminology upon which consensual definitions, measurements and solutions can be based is vital. If this is not achieved the result will be a great deal of debate at “cross purposes” (Roll, 1992, 12).

For the purposes of this research the concept ‘disadvantage’ will be employed to refer to those living in environments of poverty and deprivation whether they be of a social, political, economic or cultural nature. It is of most value not to delineate poverty, deprivation and disadvantage as three distinct terms but rather view poverty and deprivation equally as both the symptoms and the causes of disadvantage. In discussing disadvantage, whether using the terminology of poverty or deprivation essentially the same issues are being deliberated. Poverty and deprivation are not predetermined states and as such their existence is due to the maldistribution of resources in society. Those enduring such circumstances thus assume a position of disadvantage which has a cumulative effect on opportunity and life chances. The term disadvantage utilised within this thesis shall therefore incorporate the terminology of poverty and deprivation. Whilst the terms are not directly interchangeable disadvantage is ultimately deprivation compounded and as shown in figure 1.1 poverty is a central tenet of what it means to be multiply deprived.

Figure 1.1: The anatomy of multiple deprivation



Source: Pacione, 2004, 119.

It is important to understand the relationship between the terms poverty, deprivation and disadvantage. According to Pacione (2004) deprivation at its root has economic foundations. These are comprised of low wages earned by those employed in traditional industries now in decline or employed part time in newer service based activities; unemployment experienced by those marginal to the employment market such as lone parents, the elderly and those school leavers who have never been employed and lastly reductions in welfare expenditure in many Western countries. Poverty is thus at the heart of deprivation which in turn contributes to the existence of disadvantage. Townsend (1993) concurs poverty and deprivation are two sides of the same coin, deprivation being viewed as the outcome of poverty which is held to be the cause (Bailey, Flint, Goodlad, Shucksmith, Fitzpatrick and Pryce, 2003). Townsend (1993, 36) elucidates:

“People are relatively deprived if they cannot obtain, at all or sufficiently, the conditions of life – that is, the diets, the amenities, standards and services – which allow them to play the roles, participate in the relationships and follow the customary behaviour which is expected of them by virtue of their membership of society. If they lack or are denied resources to obtain access to these conditions of life and so fulfil membership of society, they may be said to be in poverty”.

Ultimately the multi dimensional problem of deprivation whereby individual difficulties reinforce one another subsequently produces a situation of compound disadvantage (Pacione, 2004). According to Brown (1983, 1) “the deprived suffer; the multiply deprived suffer in many dimensions; but the disadvantaged are locked into deprivation because they are handicapped in their access to a range of interlocking life chances”. Those who are disadvantaged thus face a life barren of opportunity where poverty compounds and “widens the gap between reality and potential” (Oppenheim and Harker, 1996, 5).

The use of such a term as disadvantage can ultimately prove politically problematic as deprivation like poverty, invokes questions relating to morality and fairness. Disadvantage is an emotive term: “it suggests systematic unfairness in the distribution of the rewards and opportunities of life” (Brown, 1983, 1). To assert that some people are systematically disadvantaged is to claim that “such deprivations and problems are both persistent and predictable, that they are part of the social structure rather than reflections of rough justice in the distribution of rewards, or the random allocation of bad luck” (Brown, 1983, 1). In essence the term disadvantage implicitly infers that others are at an advantage.

As figure 1.1 indicates, comprehension of what constitutes disadvantage requires consideration of both the conceptualisation and causes of poverty. Only once the compound and complex nature and origins of poverty are understood is it possible to define and ultimately discuss and deduce relevant responses to the wider but related concept of disadvantage.

1.3 Urban Poverty

The persistence of poverty and disadvantage in a generally prosperous country is a matter of ongoing concern for those in both academic and political spheres. According to Gordon et al (2000) millions of people in Britain are still unable to afford basic necessities such as proper clothing, decent nutrition and repairs and furnishings for their homes. In an urban setting where disadvantage is concentrated in a number of neighbourhoods often a sense of despondency and despair prevails with associated problems of crime, drug cultures and difficulties within families feeding into a widespread social malaise (Hirsch, 2004). Often a vicious cycle is therefore set in motion whereby “those who can escape to something better do so. Those completely engulfed by arrears and those whose children become too troublesome to the neighbours are evicted to similar roads on some other estate... the turnover of people is therefore so high...that it becomes very difficult to make friends or to organise people to help each other. There is no community.” (Donnison, 1982, 4). The multiple manifestations of poverty are clearly visible in urban areas ranging from localities blighted by decay “streets daubed with graffiti, and littered with rubbish drifting in the wind; undernourished people hurrying by” to the “beggars in the street, young homeless people bedded down for the night under the arches, or people rummaging in rubbish bins” (Donnison, 1982, 3). Poverty is also to be found concealed “inside homes, workplaces and institutions” (Oppenheim, 1993, 2). The prevalence of often ‘hidden’ poverty means that “Britain cannot cloak the reality of the decades of the 1980’s and 1990’s going down in the annals of the 20th century as the period in which poverty, by whatever definition or measurement, reached unprecedented depths, both in terms of its nature and its extent” (Stitt, 1994, 2). The statistics are stark, according to Pantazis, Gordon and Levitas (2006, 1):

- Roughly nine million people in Britain cannot afford adequate housing for example their home is unheated or damp.
- More than 12 million people are financially insecure. They cannot afford to save or spend money on themselves.

- Almost 10 million adults and one million children are too poor to engage in common social activities such as visiting friends and family and having celebrations on special occasions.

Trends in income distribution compound the extent of the problem. Overall income inequality (defined by Berthoud (1976, 18) as being “concerned with some people having less than others, the others being either the average or the comparatively rich. The reference point is other members of the same society”) was greater at the start of the twenty first century than at any time in the fifty years from the late 1940s (Hills, 2004). Such inequality prompted Meacher (1992, 254) to comment that “British society is now more unequal than at any time since the Edwardian era.” Despite previous claims that higher incomes for the rich would in due course benefit the poor, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation’s *Inquiry into Income and Wealth* published in 1995 displayed that there was no discernible evidence of a ‘trickle down’ effect. Hills (2004, 36) concurs that “average incomes grew by about 40 per cent between 1979 and 1994/95. For the richest tenth of the population growth was 60-68 per cent. For the poorest tenth it was only 10 per cent (before housing costs) or a fall of 8 per cent (after them)”. Whilst it is possible to paint a “statistical portrait” of poverty in Britain “for decency’s sake, it is necessary to caution that statistics alone hid(e) the real scale of the human tragedy of poverty” (Stitt, 1994, 2). The persistence of abject poverty and inequality and the misery and suffering it imposes on those enduring its effects is therefore perhaps best demonstrated not only through figures but from personal accounts.

Fear of personal harm - “I don’t go out any more. I only go to the paper shop and come back...It frightens me this area...I just walk in here and bolt and chain that door every time and lock it” (Kempson, 1996, 63)

The poverty trap - “There’s not enough money to pay what you’ve got to pay – it seems like I’m in a poverty trap. I really, really try, but I just can’t financially get myself clear. Every year it seems to get worse.” (Kempson, 1996, 48)

Financial pressure - “I’d much rather when it comes to a real push, go out there and jump under a bus...when it gets to that stage I’ve gone to bed and I’ve said – ‘I wish to God he’d let me go. I’ve laid in bed night after night...and I’ve prayed to God ‘Please let me go, please let me have another (heart attack).’” (Kempson, 1996, 44)

For those experiencing poverty it ultimately means, “going short materially, socially and emotionally” (Oppenheim and Harker, 1996, 5). Alcock (1997, 4) believes this represents “an *unacceptable* (italics in original) state of affairs” with the onus implicitly being on “what are we going to do about it?”. In attempting to provide a contribution to the debate regarding future action, it is important to first consider briefly the origins of poverty research which provides the basis for comprehension of modern attempts at definition.

1.3.1 The pioneers of modern poverty research

Britain has a long tradition of investigating poverty. Indeed the “moral and political dilemmas posed by the poor had troubled politicians, social commentators and theologians from the middle ages and indeed before” (Glennerster, 2004, 15). Crucially though it was not until the 1860’s that Victorian society was “compelled to acknowledge that some poverty was beyond the control of the individual” (Stitt, 1994, 85). The pioneering scientific investigators of the early 19th century were “provoked by the exploitation of working people and the raw desperation of their conditions of life induced by the early stages of the industrial revolution” (Townsend, 2000, 9). Such studies contributed to the political will of philanthropists Charles Booth (1889) and Seebohm Rowntree (1901), often referred to as the pioneers of modern poverty research (Lister, 2004), who desired to establish support and improved circumstances for those in poverty. According to Veit Wilson (1986) at the end of the 19th century the problem was not how to define poverty but attempting to find out what the scale and causes of poverty were. Booth (1889) undertook a vast study of poverty in London in the 1880’s with the clear intention of bringing the scale and intensity of the problem to the attention of politicians and policy makers who would then he hoped be forced to react to it (Alcock, 1997). The

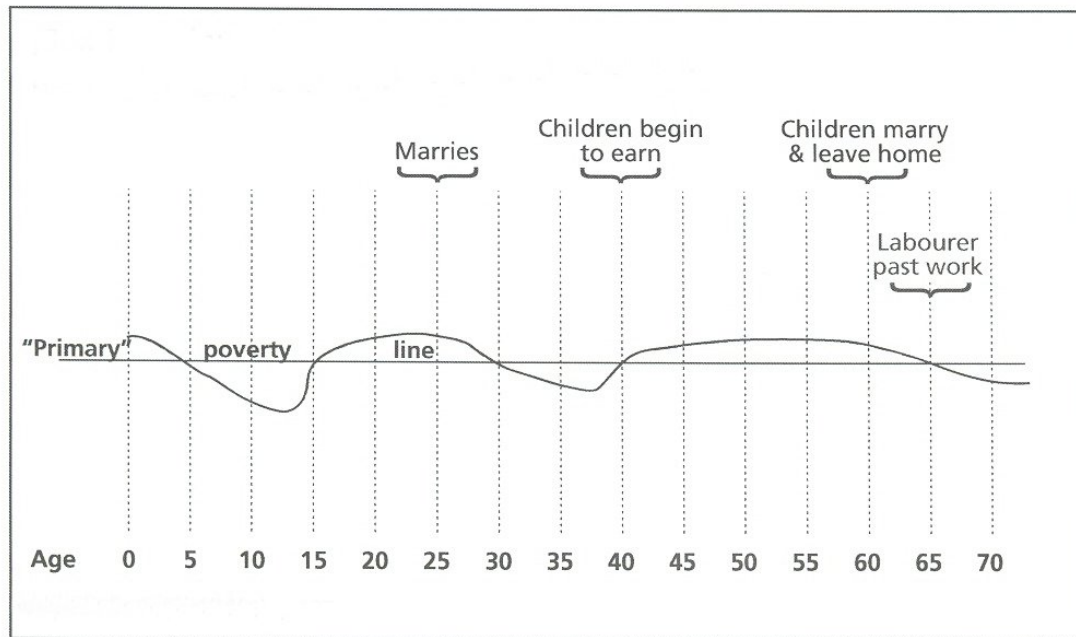
purpose of the study was ultimately to “show the numerical relation which poverty, misery and deprivation bear to regular earnings and to describe the general conditions under which each class lives” (Booth, 1889, 6). What Booth accomplished was to “set a rough income level that reflected a judgement about its social acceptability” but “it was not one that could be debated or challenged” (Glennerster, 2004, 19). This was to be Rowntree’s crucial contribution.

In the early twentieth century (1901) Seebohm Rowntree published ‘Poverty: A Study of Town Life’ the aims of which were “to throw some light upon the conditions which govern the life of the wage-earning classes in provincial towns, and especially upon the problem of poverty” (Stitt and Grant, 1993, 1). To determine the number of people living in poverty, Rowntree ascertained for a variety of family sizes, the obligatory requirements for a minimum of food, clothing and shelter, essential for the preservation of mere physical functioning. A weekly monetary amount was then calculated and compared to each family’s income (Stitt, 1994) if the latter fell below the former the family was considered to be living in a state of ‘primary poverty’ (Rowntree, 1901, 76). In referring to primary poverty Rowntree (1901, 133) described how “a family living upon the scale allowed for in this estimate must never spend a penny on railway fare...They must never purchase a halfpenny newspaper...The children must have no pocket money or dolls...The father must smoke no tobacco... The mother must never buy any pretty clothes for herself or for her children.” According to Roll (1992) the point of setting such a low standard was not to suggest that it provided an acceptable way of living. Nor was it designed to set benefit levels but rather Rowntree chose this definition of poverty so that no-one could question its existence by reasonably claiming that he had set the standard too high. Rowntree also introduced the concept of ‘secondary poverty’ where based on subjective observations and judgements about those living in “obvious want and squalor” (Roll, 1992, 24) it was attempted to determine the amount of money spent each week “on drink, gambling or other wasteful expenditure and to ascertain also whether the wife was a thrifty housekeeper or the reverse” (Rowntree, 1901, 115). Those in secondary poverty were thus ultimately “families whose total earnings would be sufficient for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency were it not that some portion

of it is absorbed by other expenditure, either useful or wasteful” (Rowntree, 1901, 115). Rowntree however was mindful that the immediate causes of secondary poverty such as ‘drink, betting and gambling’ were sometimes the inevitable consequences of abject poverty, desperation and hopelessness (Stitt and Grant, 1993, 3). However by the time of his second survey of York in 1936, Rowntree had discarded the concept of secondary poverty rationalising this according to Stitt and Grant (1993) by pointing to ever-evolving social attitudes and a liberalisation of understanding of problems such as poverty. Rowntree (1941, 461) himself believed “the only figures that are absolutely comparable are those for primary poverty”.

Rowntree was concerned not only with the total numbers of those living in primary poverty but also in attempting to disentangle the causes of poverty (Roll, 1992). Rowntree showed that the rewards the labour market provided in normal times were ill adapted to meet the basic needs of family life for the majority of the working population particularly during childrearing and widowhood, sickness and old age (Glennister, 2004). Developed into the ‘lifecycle’ view of poverty, Rowntree described how a labourer’s life was likely to be made up of “five alternating periods of want and comparative plenty” (Roll, 1992, 24) as displayed in figure 1.2.

Figure 1.2: Rowntree's picture of poverty over the life cycle



Source: Rowntree, 1901, 137.

In Rowntree's later studies (1937, 1941, 1951) the lifecycle view became less prominent with a focus on unemployment although comments on three periods of economic stress were still often incorporated (Roll, 1992). According to Stitt and Grant (1993) Rowntree historically has often been misinterpreted and misrepresented. An example of this would be the criticisms of Rowntree that "he prescribed the primary poverty line income level as adequate to live on and as a consequence... failed to take account of all social and psychological requirements" (Stitt and Grant, 1993, 11). Rowntree himself revealed his understanding that basic needs are social and not just physical (Lister, 2004) by clarifying "...working people are just as human as those with more money...They cannot live on a 'fodder basis'. They crave for relaxation and recreation just as the rest of us do" (Rowntree, 1937, 126). It was therefore disingenuous that Rowntree's poverty standard "devoid of any traces of generosity...constructed to expose the utter deprivation and destitution in which the poor in Britain lived at the end of the 19th century" came to be

“transformed by ‘state officials’ into a prescriptive yardstick upon which to build social security provision for the unemployed” (Stitt, 1994, 90).

Perhaps the greatest contribution that the early poverty studies made, was to provide new social science evidence which posed an alternative to the traditional view that poverty was “the result of personal failing and could be countered only by personal change which required the absence of easy state poor relief” (Glennerster, 2004, 27). Such studies therefore left little doubt over the existence of poverty and need, but in determining how best to tackle poverty, questions have consistently arisen surrounding how to define when exactly an individual can be deemed to be living in poverty? As Berthoud (1976, 17) elucidates “there are some aspects of life where a clean division between the satisfactory and the inadequate is not possible. At what point does income become ‘too low’, or hours of work ‘excessive’?” Such considerations are vital as “how we define poverty is critical to political, policy and academic debates about the concept” (Lister, 2004, 12).

1.4 Defining Poverty

Ambiguity surrounding the definition of poverty has long dominated discussions surrounding its resolution. According to Stitt (1994, 49) the poverty debate of the 1960’s climaxing in the mid 1980’s was characterised by “an academic battle of scholarly semantics and fanciful phrasemongering”. Whilst it now seems an “atmosphere of agreeing to disagree” (Stitt, 1994, 49) prevails, attempts at defining poverty can still be shrouded in debate and disagreement. Bradshaw (2006, 3) postulates this is due to the definition and theories explaining poverty being “deeply rooted in strongly held research traditions and political values, reinforced by encompassing social, political and economic institutions that have a stake in the issue”. Moreover, “no one theory of poverty has emerged that either subsumes or invalidates the others” (Blank, 1997 cited in Bradshaw, 2006, 3). As Alcock (1997, 3) testifies “there is no one correct, scientific, agreed definition because poverty is inevitably a political concept - and thus inherently a contested one”. The value-laden nature of conceptualising poverty led Orshansky (1969,

37) to comment that “poverty like beauty, lies in the eye of the beholder. Poverty is a value judgement; it is not something one can verify or demonstrate”. Poverty is ultimately “both a scientific and moral concept” (Gordon, 2000a, 38). Indeed there is still no official definition of poverty in the UK, with in the past, ministers often declaring the definition of poverty to be ‘knowing it when they see it’ (Gordon, 2006, 29). With poverty being such a disputed concept “why is it that academics and politicians continue to seek an accepted definition or argue that their approach is the correct one?” (Alcock, 1997, 4). Why, when as Stitt (1994, 77) declares “defining and measuring poverty is a problem without a solution” is clarification consistently sought? The answer lies in the view that the act of defining poverty “defines our obligations to our fellow citizens and the responsibilities of government” (Donnison, 1982, 5).

Poverty is not a one-dimensional phenomenon that the adoption of a one size fits all approach can tackle. It is a complex and contradictory concept whose causes and symptoms overlap and intertwine inextricably. Alcock (1997, 4) firmly states however that a viable response would not be to “sit on the fence” or “suggest that the problem is merely one of academic or political debate, because implicit in the disagreements about the definition of poverty are disagreements too about what should be done in response to it”. Ultimately the study of poverty is only justifiable “if it influences individual and social attitudes and actions” (Piachaud, 1987, 161). Only through keeping this ideal at the forefront of deliberations and discussions will it be possible to “avoid becoming an academic debate worthy of Nero – a semantic and statistical squabble that is parasitic, voyeuristic and utterly unconstructive and which treats the ‘poor’ as passive objects for attention... a discussion that is part of the problem rather than part of the solution” (Piachaud, 1987, 161). According to Kitchin and Sidaway (2006) the role adopted by geography must therefore, henceforth be to challenge rather than serve and it should not be fearful of diverging from popular opinion or saying things that politicians and bureaucrats may not want to hear. If politically contentious issues such as inequality, exclusion and injustice are included in attempting a definition of poverty then there can according to Donnison (1982, 7) be “nothing less than a new morality”. This is where conceptualisation and classification become not only difficult but divisive. Such division

emerges due to academics who whilst attempting to create an accurate, realistic and reflective definition of poverty are in direct conflict with those in policy-making circles trying to dehumanise and quantify poverty so as to ease resolution and avoid the inherent complexities of the issue.

It is clear that if poverty is to be meaningfully tackled what is needed now is a clear and consensual sense of direction and purpose. With poverty taking “away the tools to build the blocks for the future – your ‘life chances’” and ultimately stealing “away the opportunity to have a life unmarked by sickness, a decent education, a secure home and a long retirement” (Oppenheim and Harker, 1996, 5) it is clear that a workable definition is not just desirable but imperative if collective action is to be taken. Veit Wilson (1989 cited in Stitt, 1994, 50) classified the main purposes of measuring and defining poverty as:

- To count the numbers defined as poor in the population;
- To explain why people are poor;
- To prescribe a poverty line – a minimum level of income on which people ought to be able to live and avoid deprivation (as defined by the prescriber) if they spend their money as prescribed;
- To report a poverty line – a minimum level of income on which the population in general thinks it would be able to live and avoid deprivation as it defines it;
- To discover a poverty line – a minimum level of income which empirical research shows that the population in general manages to avoid what is defined as deprivation.

1.4.1 Absolute poverty

Instrumental in the debate over what constitutes poverty is the distinction between absolute and relative poverty. An absolute definition of poverty assumes that it is possible to define a minimum standard of living based on a person’s biological needs for food, water, clothing and shelter (Oppenheim and Harker, 1996, 7). The absolutist or

subsistence definition of poverty derived from that of Rowntree (1901, 86) asserts that a family would be considered living in poverty if its “total earnings are insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency.” The idea that there are some “objectively definable minimum requirements...necessary for physical survival” (Roll, 1992, 14) has also been espoused by Joseph and Sumption (1979, 27) who have argued for an ‘absolute standard’ denoted as “one defined by reference to the actual needs of the poor and not by reference to the expenditure of those who are not poor. A family is poor if it cannot afford to eat”. The concept of a primary poverty line devised by Rowntree (1941) represented the minimum sum on which physical efficiency could be maintained. It was a standard of ‘bare subsistence’ rather than ‘living’ and therefore such a minimum does not constitute a reasonable living wage (Veit Wilson, 1986). A standard of mere subsistence could thus be held “if all human passions for frivolity, the relief of monotony, and even irresponsibility were ruthlessly suppressed” (Rein, 1970, 49). As described by Stitt (1994, 53) the main thrust of this approach involves: the construction of a list of necessities; the costing, usually on a weekly basis, of these items; and the determination of a poverty standard/ line based on these estimates. Budget standards are thus created by ‘a team of experts’ relating to differing areas of expenditure whether it be clothing, food, fuel etc. based on information from other budgets, actual spending patterns, public opinion and moral judgements (Van den Bosch, 2001, 7). In principle using such a method to estimate minimum income standard is fairly simplistic (Van den Bosch, 2001) in reality Bradshaw (1993, 236) referred to such a process as “a ghastly chore”.

A number of criticisms have been levied at using budget standards as a method to estimate poverty lines. Such criticism includes the inevitable value judgements involved, claims relating to budget standards providing a ‘scientific’ subsistence poverty line and the most fundamental problem being the uneasy mix of expert judgement, actual household spending patterns and public opinion in the selection of items (Van den Bosch, 2001, 8). Bradshaw (1993 cited in Van den Bosch, 2001, 8) attempted to counter such criticisms by developing ‘low cost budgets’ based on if 75% or more of the population own an item or it is regarded as a necessity by at least 67% of the population then it is

included in the budget. Increased involvement of the general public in making choices surrounding what should be included may also help alleviate some of the issues surrounding such an approach (Van den Bosch, 2001).

By exposing the depth of subsistence deprivation in an otherwise prosperous Britain Rowntree's conceptualisation of 'absolute' poverty became the yardstick adopted and employed by statutory agencies throughout the 20th and into the 21st Century (Stitt, 1994). According to Oppenheim and Harker (1996) the appeal of an absolute definition of poverty is its apparent clarity and its moral force. Rein (1970, 48) similarly espoused the wide acceptance of defining poverty in subsistence terms being due to it seeming "to accord with common sense" and appearing "to be divorced from personal values of either harshness or compassion". Indeed many statements about poverty suggest objectivity with an implication that "there is a certain reality out there which poverty statistics can capture" (Laderchi, Saith and Stewart, 2003, 245). However like the search for the philosopher's stone, attempts made to discover an absolute and value free definition of poverty based on the concept of subsistence have proven futile (Rein, 1970). Indeed governmental resistance to defining poverty seems to be based on the concept that a 'scientific', neutral, objective definition would be implausible and any exercise designed to 'count the poor' would inevitably fail as it would involve 'experts' making subjective judgements about the criteria for poverty (Stitt, 1994, 50). Donnison (1982, 6) however suggests that the idea of minimum standards or 'subsistence poverty' "suits liberals who want to help the poor without upsetting other people or abandoning their own privileges". Through the use of "a poverty line of this sort and continuing economic growth, we could in time raise everyone's living standards to a point at which even the poorest are lifted out of poverty, without affecting relativities and relationships between the different social classes in society" (Donnison, 1982, 6). Veit Wilson (1989 cited in Stitt, 1994, 54) similarly implicates the use of an absolutist perspective in the maintenance of the status quo and highlights issues of power and subjection through the declaration that "In short, the concept of absolute poverty is literally an absolute nonsense. Its use in debate always means no more than a decision by some non poor people to allow the poor only certain shared human needs and not others." A further criticism of the absolute definition is that

it is very difficult to define an adequate minimum when standards of living alter so much over time (Oppenheim and Harker, 1996). What can be defined as ‘necessary’ as opposed to ‘unnecessary’? (Stitt, 1994, 55). Is the restriction on expenditure confined to subsistence needs in fact “arrogantly prescriptive and elitist?” (Silburn, 1988, 9).

There is ultimately a widespread acceptance that cultural factors as well as social norms will determine what can be defined as a minimum standard of living thus as Worsley (1984 cited in Stitt, 1994, 55) espouses “social want, not asocial, biological needs, define health and wealth”. What is deemed “socially acceptable” thus ultimately itself defines an adequate minimum (Oppenheim and Harker, 1996, 9). The focus on physiological requirements as opposed to social and cultural needs has meant a purely absolutist definition of poverty is no longer feasible nor desirable. The lack of relevance of a solely subsistence approach is highlighted by findings from the British Social Attitudes Survey (2007) which reports 47% of those surveyed who believe that a person is in poverty if they have enough to eat and live but not enough to buy other things they need. If we accept that needs are culturally or socially determined rather than biologically fixed then poverty can be more accurately treated as a relative phenomenon (Pacione, 1989). A more sophisticated multidimensional and multifactor approach is thus required to define poverty.

1.4.2 Relative poverty

The argument that poverty is a relative concept and needs to be defined and measured in such a context is widely acknowledged and accepted among academics, policy makers and most politicians (Stitt, 1994). According to Townsend (1979, 31) “poverty can be defined objectively and applied consistently only in terms of the concept of relative deprivation”. Townsend’s contribution to poverty research and thought in the post war years has been highly influential. Indeed a joint study with Abel Smith in 1965 entitled ‘The Poor and the Poorest’ was held to be largely responsible for the ‘rediscovery of poverty’ (Bradshaw and Sainsbury, 2000). The relative concept of poverty was introduced by Townsend (1979, 31) as being a situation where:

“Individuals, families, and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the types of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary, or are at least widely encouraged or approved, in the societies to which they belong. Their resources are so seriously below those commanded by the average individual or family that they are, in effect, excluded from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities”.

The relative conceptualisation is thus ultimately multi-dimensional encompassing “all of the major spheres of life” (Townsend, 1993, 36). The broader definition of needs inherent in the concept of relative poverty thus “includes job security, work satisfaction, fringe benefits (such as pension rights), plus various components of the ‘social wage’ including the use of public property and services as well as satisfaction of higher-order needs such as status, power and self-esteem” (Pacione, 2003, 326). Crosland (1964, 88) similarly states “Poverty is not, after all, an absolute, but a social or cultural concept...This demands a relative, subjective view of poverty, since the unhappiness and injustice it creates, even when ill-health and malnutrition are avoided, lies in the enforced deprivation not of luxuries indeed, but of small comforts which others have and are seen to have, and which in the light of prevailing cultural standards are really ‘conventional necessities’”. It is apparent therefore that whilst “the absolutist perspective carries with it the implication that poverty can be eliminated in an economically advanced society” the “relativist view accepts that the poor are always with us” (Pacione, 1995, 117). Berthoud (1976, 27) agrees “relative poverty is...by definition ineradicable. The ‘social norm’ will always be above the level of those who are right at the bottom of the distribution of income”. Indeed this approach to determining need is not new, in the late eighteenth century the economist Adam Smith (1776 cited in Lister, 2004, 26) wrote:

“By necessities, I understand not only the commodities which are indispensably necessary for the support of life but whatever the custom of the country renders it indecent for creditable people, even of the lowest order, to be without. A linen shirt for example, is strictly speaking not a necessity of life...But in present time...a creditable day labourer would be ashamed to appear in public without a linen shirt.”

Marx (1952, 19) similarly stated that “our desires and pleasures spring from society; we measure them, therefore, by society ...they are of a relative nature”. Implicit in this notion is the idea that “being poor is relative to the standards of living of others and being incapable of affording the commodities and services that have become generally accepted as components of a socially normal lifestyle” (Stitt, 1994, 62). Roll (1992) argues that a relative definition of poverty ultimately embodies the view that it is not just that physical needs have a social element but that social needs should be recognised in their own right.

Townsend (1979) ultimately believed that relative need, “expressed as exclusion from everyday living patterns was not a matter of mere arbitrary judgement but rather it could be objectively determined and measured” (Alcock, 1997, 80). This was to be achieved by compiling a list of key indicators of standard of living, the lack of which would be evidence of deprivation, a central component of which is poverty (Alcock, 1997). These ‘necessities’ were established through attitude surveys amongst the population and also the expert opinions from scientists on socially defined standards of living (Stitt, 1994). A list of sixty indicators was constructed by Townsend comprising the main elements of personal, household and social life. From these Townsend constructed a ‘deprivation index’ based on twelve indicators as shown in table 1.1 all of which correlated highly with low income (Alcock, 1997).

Table 1.1: The deprivation index

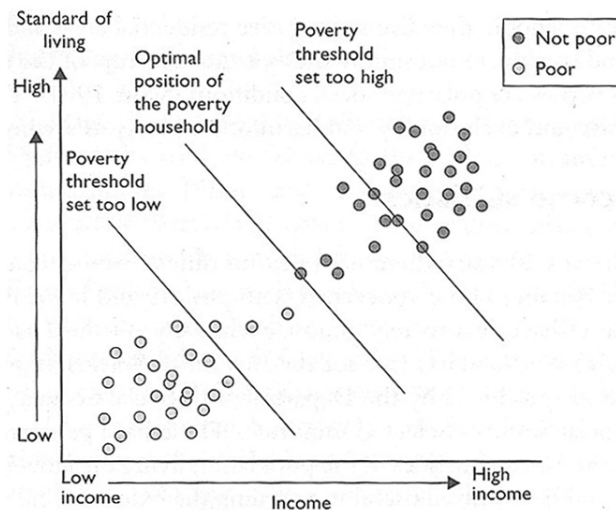
<i>Characteristic</i>	<i>% of population</i>	<i>Correlation coefficient (Pearson)(net disposable household income last year)</i>	
1. Has not had a week's holiday away from home in last 12 months	53.6	0.1892	S = 0.001
2. <i>Adults only</i> . Has not had a relative or friend to the home for a meal or snack in the last 4 weeks	33.4	0.0493	S = 0.001
3. <i>Adults only</i> . Has not been out in the last 4 weeks to a relative or friend for a meal or snack	45.1	0.0515	S = 0.001
4. <i>Children only</i> (Under 15). Has not had a friend to play to play or to tea in the last four weeks	36.3	0.0643	S = 0.020
5. <i>Children only</i> . Did not have party on last birthday	56.6	0.0660	S = 0.016
6. Has not had an afternoon or evening out for entertainment in the last two weeks	47.0	0.1088	S = 0.001
7. Does not have fresh meat (including meals out) as many as four days a week	19.3	0.1821	S = 0.001
8. Has gone through one or more days in the past fortnight without a cooked meal	7.0	0.0684	S = 0.001
9. Has not had a cooked breakfast most days of the week	67.3	0.0559	S = 0.001
10. Household does not have a refrigerator	45.1	0.2419	S = 0.001
11. Household does not usually have a Sunday joint (3 in 4 times)	25.9	0.1734	S = 0.001
12. Household does not have sole use of four amenities indoors (flush WC; sink or washbasin and cold-water tap; fixed bath or shower; and gas or electric cooker	21.4	0.1671	S = 0.001

Source: Townsend, 1979, 250.

Allocating a score of one to each indicator, a rating of five or more on the deprivation index was 'highly suggestive of deprivation' (Stitt, 1994, 64). Townsend believed that, although evidence was inconclusive, there existed a 'threshold' of income below which non- participation in community lifestyles (relative deprivation) increases significantly (Townsend, 1979, 255). Townsend (1979, 57) concluded that as "resources for any individual or family are diminished, there is a point at which there occurs a sudden withdrawal from the participation in the customs and activities sanctioned by the culture. The point at which withdrawal 'escalates' disproportionately to falling resources could be defined as the poverty line". In scientific terms, a person or household in Britain is 'poor' when they have both a low standard of living and a low income both of which can only

be measured relative to the norms of the person's or household's society (Gordon, 2000b). This is demonstrated below in figure 1.3.

Figure 1.3: Definition of poverty in terms of income and standard of living



Source: Gordon, 2000b, 29

Townsend's approach was not without criticism however. Piachaud (1981) being one of the staunchest critics, decried the presentation of an objective poverty line arguing that such a solitary cut off point between the poor and the rest of society is impractical given that poverty is relative and such diversity in lifestyles exists. A preferable alternative would be a continuum from abundant wealth to chronic poverty with a wide range of living standards within that spread (Stitt, 1994). Piachaud (1981) also criticised Townsend's list of deprivation indicators stating no account of taste had been made with for example vegetarians not eating meat on a Sunday being viewed as an indication of deprivation. Piachaud (1981, 420) charged "a large part of the variation in deprivation scores is merely due to diversity in styles of living wholly unrelated to poverty. There can be no doubt that Townsend's provisional deprivation index is of no practical value whatsoever as an indicator of deprivation". Perhaps however Townsend's true

contribution lies in the recognition of the importance of determining and disseminating those social and personal activities which those in poverty are generally excluded from.

Whilst Townsend's studies attempted to cement the dichotomous relationship between absolute and relative approaches it is vital to remember in a number of later studies both Rowntree and Booth defined poverty in relation to customary living standards. It is perhaps of more value to view Townsend as building on the work of the 'absolutists' rather than overturning it (Lister, 2004, 28). Indeed theoretically Sen (1979, 289) holds that there is an 'irreducible core of absolute deprivation' within the poverty definition debate and that relativist measurements supplement rather than supplant poverty as defined in terms of the absolute (Stitt, 1994).

Alcock (1997, 72) summarises the debate by stating "absolute definitions of poverty necessarily involve relative judgements to apply them to any particular society; and relative definitions require some absolute core in order to distinguish them from broader inequalities". The steadfastly polarised positions of absolute and relativist definitions have however finally begun to converge in the form of the UN's concepts of 'absolute' and 'overall poverty'. Following the Copenhagen summit in 1995, the UK committed to eradicating 'absolute' and reducing 'overall' poverty and to drawing up national poverty alleviation plans (Gordon et al, 2000). 'Absolute poverty' was defined as "severe deprivation of human needs" whilst 'overall poverty' was defined as "lack of income and productive resources to ensure sustainable livelihoods...social discrimination and exclusion...It is also characterised by lack of participation in decision making and in civil, social and cultural life" (UN, 1995, 57). This is clearly a predominantly relative definition of poverty, as it refers to poverty not as some 'absolute basket of goods' but in terms of the minimum acceptable standard of living applicable to a certain member state and within a person's own society (Gordon, 2006). Townsend has subsequently 'championed' the two-part definition of poverty which offers a different way of combining absolute and relative notions of poverty (Lister, 2004) and ultimately shares Sen's definition of absolute poverty which is "neither constant over time nor invariant between societies" (Gordon, 2000b, 51).

1.4.3 Attitudinal approaches to defining poverty

In a development of the relative approach Mack and Lansley (1985) adopted an innovative approach to defining poverty which has often been classed as consensual or democratic (Oppenheim and Harker, 1996). The Breadline Britain surveys conducted in 1983 and 1990 were deemed to be in the “Peter Townsend tradition” (Roll, 1992, 37) however Mack and Lansley (1985) defined poverty not in terms of an arbitrary level of income but “as a situation in which people had to live without the things which society as a whole regarded as necessities” (Oppenheim and Harker, 1996, 11).

Mack and Lansley (1985, 42) ultimately set out to “identify a minimum acceptable way of life not by reference to the views of experts, nor by reference to observed patterns of expenditure or observed living standards, but by reference to *the views of society as a whole*”. Through presentation of a list of items interviewees were asked which items they perceived as necessary in nature, that all people should be able to afford. Those chosen by at least 50% were judged to be necessities. The results for 1990 are displayed in table 1.2.

Table 1.2: Breadline Britain a measure of deprivation in 1990

Breadline Britain: A measure of deprivation in 1990		
	A	B
	%	%
A damp-free home	98	2
An inside toilet (not shared with another household)	98	-
Heating to warm living areas of the home if it's cold	97	3
Beds for everyone in the household	95	1
Bath, not shared with another household	95	-
A decent state of decoration in the home ²	92	15
Fridge	92	1
Warm waterproof coat	91	4
Three meals a day for children ¹	90	-
Two meals a day (for adults) ⁴	90	1
Insurance ²	88	10
Fresh fruit ²	88	6
Toys for children eg dolls or models ¹	84	2
Separate bedrooms for every child over 10 of different sexes ¹	82	7
Carpets in living rooms and bedrooms in the home	78	2
Meat or fish or vegetarian equivalent every other day ³	77	4
Celebrations on special occasions such as Christmas	74	4
Two pairs of all weather shoes	74	5
Washing machine	73	4
Presents for friends or family once a year	69	5
Out of school activities, eg sports, orchestra, Scouts ^{1,2}	69	10
Regular savings of £10 a month for 'rainy days' or retirement ²	68	30
Hobby or leisure activity	67	7
New, not secondhand, clothes	65	4
A roast joint or its vegetarian equivalent once a week ³	64	6
Leisure equipment for children eg sports equipment or bicycle ¹	61	6
A television	58	1
Telephone	56	7
An annual week's holiday away, not with relatives	54	20
A 'best outfit' for special occasions	54	8
An outing for children once a week ¹	53	14
Children's friends round for tea/snack fortnightly ¹	52	8

A = Proportions deeming items to be necessary
B = Proportion of households lacking each of the items

The description of items have been abbreviated

1 For families with children
 2 Not included in the 1983 survey
 3 Vegetarian option added in 1990
 4 Two hot meals in the 1983 survey

Notes This table shows households which lacked items because they could not afford them.

Poverty was defined as a lack of three of these necessities. In 1990 there were 11 million poor people according to this definition, a rise from 7½ million in 1983.

Source: Roll, 1992, 38

Poverty was thus measured and defined by a consensus of ‘public opinion’, not by experts or by observed behaviour (Stitt, 1994).

Despite criticisms aimed at the use of expert judgements on how many necessities people must lack to be considered poor and Mack and Lansley being unable to say anything about the criteria people use in determining whether items are necessities or not, one of the major achievements of Mack and Lansley’s studies was that it established a minimum covering not only the requirements for survival but also the ability to take part in society and play a social role (Pantazis, Gordon and Townsend, 2006). Indeed Mack and Lansley (1985) decree that for the first time the poor in Britain have been identified based on those who fall below the minimum standard of living as set by society. Its strength lies in including the contribution of public opinion towards defining problems and therefore needs which the other approaches lack (Stitt, 1994). Thus whilst a risk exists that the consensual approach mirrors dominant interests in society to the detriment of the poor (Walker, 1987) it “removes the concept of poverty from the arbitrary exercise of judgement by experts, politicians and governments, where up to now it has remained firmly entrenched, and opens it up to a more democratic representation of interests” (Mack and Lansley, 1985, 47).

Despite stringent criticism of consensual methods the findings of attitudinal studies show that scope exists for the valid inclusion of public perception and opinion on how poverty should ultimately be conceptualised and defined.

1.4.4 Key factors to be considered in defining poverty

As we have seen, how poverty is conceptualised can have major implications on how disadvantage is defined and measured. It should also be acknowledged that whatever view of poverty we embrace, will ultimately have a direct bearing on the public policies we pursue (Schiller, 1989). Should poverty be defined only in terms of economic insufficiency, economic inequality and economic diseconomy or should the definition incorporate non-economic variables such as prestige, power and social services? (Rein, 1970). In constructing a poverty line should, as Piachaud (1987) suggests, time be included as a variable? Should it be assumed that “the poor have, if little else, plenty of

time on their hands?” (Stitt, 1994, 74). Piachaud (1987, 157) provides the example of academics who “...enjoy inestimable life advantages in terms of the degree of control over the use of time...and the opportunities to earn additional income. By contrast, for a lone mother the degree of control over time is likely to be minute...furthermore the opportunities to supplement income with part time earnings are likely to be very limited”. Debates around definition and what should be included cannot be divorced from the political use to which they are put (Lister, 2004). Indeed the case for various policy interventions can be made or broken dependent on the received contemporary definition of disadvantage. Issues also exist around poverty at times being defined dependent on the policies being advanced to deal with it, this suggests that in a sense policy determines the problem leading to a circular argument – a kind of academic ‘chicken and egg’ conundrum (Alcock, 1997).

Furthermore in attempting to determine who is in fact living in ‘poverty’ it is vital also to be aware that “although some groups of people are particularly at risk of disadvantage, poverty is a process and not a permanent state” (Hirsch, 2004, 9). According to Gordon (2006, 33) “poverty is and always has been a dynamic concept”. It is important to acknowledge that “however unwelcome, the temporary experience of low income is, it is much less likely to damage life chances and lead to serious deprivation than is repeated or long-term exposure to low income” (Layte and Whelan, 2003, 168). Ultimately existing systems of social protection are not always of an adequate standard to cope with the life cycle of needs of individuals and groups (Dewilde, 2003). Only through an understanding of what factors influence the probability of experiencing a longer spell of poverty will it be possible to develop more effective social policy interventions (Layte and Whelan, 2003).

Another factor which must be taken into consideration in defining poverty is the rationale behind tackling the problem. As the perspective of ‘externality’ shows, poverty regarded in this way relates not so much to “the misery and plight of the poor but the discomfort and cost to the community” (Rein, 1970, 46) which the existence of poverty generates. Poverty is thus viewed as problematic in that low income creates problems for those who are not within this classification. Externality is ultimately concerned with the

social consequences of poverty for the rest of society and not directly with the requirements of those in need. It is of course prudent to not confuse “what is regarded as desirable with what is regarded as feasible” (Van den Bosch, 2001, 3). Any attempt at defining poverty and disadvantage must recognise the limitations of the contemporary dominant political economy. Whilst for radical geographers revolutionary social change is upheld as obligatory “to ignore the opportunity to improve the quality of life of some people in the short term in the hope of achieving possibly greater benefit in the longer term is not commensurate with the ethical position implicit in the problem-oriented approach of applied urban geography” (Pacione, 2003, 319).

Ultimately “until we can agree some definition of what poverty is, we cannot debate sensibly its nature, extent or, indeed, how best to improve the living standards of those experiencing it” (Middleton, 2000, 75). The same is of course true of deprivation and disadvantage. Any definition reached needs to be understood within a “wider social scientific framework concerning ‘well-being’, ‘capabilities’, ‘human flourishing’, ‘quality of life’ and ‘social quality’ so as not to ghettoize poverty in a residual category of little or no apparent import to the wider society” (Lister, 2004, 36). As the present research illustrates definition must recognise the social and psychological impacts of poverty and not be presented as “an isolated, solvable phenomenon and a problem which, when overcome by offering adequate weekly income, cures the plethora of social, economic and human ills inherent to capitalism” (Stitt, 1994, 76). Definition must be based on fact but also personal experience. Analysis equally must be based on adopting both quantitative and qualitative approaches so as to draw out all the idiosyncrasies surrounding poverty. As Silburn (1988, 13) suggests “we need sober, dispassionate even...bureaucratic analysis, but equally we need the more vivid, descriptive first hand account. The first without the second can be formal and sterile, the second without the first can be sentimental and lack theory. Together, the quantitative and the qualitative appeal to both our intellectual and fraternal selves”. This perspective informs the approach employed in the present research. It is through a combination of statistical review and qualitative study that this thesis shall demonstrate the inextricable nature of these two approaches in defining and tackling disadvantage. In the next section the

foregoing discussion of concepts in measurement of disadvantage is complemented by examination of the major theories of poverty.

1.5 Theories of Poverty

In any study of disadvantage it is vital to identify the underlying causal forces (Pacione, 2005) as ultimately as we have seen “how the state responds to the problem of poverty, mainly in terms of income maintenance/ poor relief, will be determined by its perception of the causes of poverty” (Stitt, 1994, 13). Indeed “any statement of policy to reduce poverty contains an implicit if not explicit explanation of its cause” (Townsend, 1979, 64). As shown in table 1.3, five main models have been proposed to account for the existence of poverty.

Table 1.3: Theories of poverty causation and perpetuation

	Theory	Explanation	Consequence	Root of the Problem and alternative
1	Culture of Poverty/ Individual	Issues arising from the internal pathology of deviant groups. Individual laziness and poor choice.	Competitive environment penalises those who do not work intensely and make bad decisions.	The inner dynamics of deviant behaviour. Provide access to services to help individuals overcome variety of problems.
2	Transmitted deprivation/ Generational	Issue whereby individual inadequacies are transmitted generation to generation.	Deviant values and behaviours are reinforced and communicated to next generation.	Relationships between individuals, families and groups. Use of role models out with immediate family and peer group circle to redefine values and aspirations.
3	Institutional malfunction/ Cyclical bureaucratic breakdown	Problems exist due to poor planning, management and administration.	Results in complex interaction; community scale crises can lead to individual crises and vice versa. Result in 'spirals of poverty'.	Relationship between bureaucracy and those who are disadvantaged. Joined up policy combined with community inclusion to promote trust and success.
4	Maldistribution of resources and opportunities/ The existence of spatial and specific inequality	Problems surround an inequitable division of resources. Disadvantage is concentrated within certain groups and geographical spaces.	Unequal distribution of resources and opportunities reinforces and compounds differences.	Relationship between those in need and the formal political machine. Need for redistribution and reconsideration of how resources are allocated.
5	Structural class conflict/ Political economic environment	Problems originating from the necessity of division to maintain an economic system based on private profit.	Systematic barriers prevent poor from access and accomplishment in the spheres of employment, education, housing, health and political representation.	Relationship between the working class and the political and economic structure. Need for collective action to gain political and economic power to achieve change to present system.

Source: Adapted from Community Development Project (1975) and Bradshaw (2006).

1.5.1 Individualist explanations - Culture of poverty and transmitted deprivation

The idea of there being a culture of poverty was developed by Lewis (1968). Lewis (1968) advanced the notion based originally on fieldwork in Mexico that the poor form a distinctive culture within society (Eyles, 1987). This culture is ultimately “both an adaptation and a reaction of the poor to their marginal position in a class-stratified, highly individuated, capitalistic society. It represents an effort to cope with feelings of hopelessness and despair which develop from the realisation of the improbability of achieving success in terms of the values and goals of the larger society” (Lewis, 1968,

54). A resultant cycle of despair and lack of aspiration are therefore characteristic of the 'culture of poverty' (Pacione, 2005). The poor are held to possess a number of 'trait characteristics' (Eyles, 1987). Those of an economic nature include unemployment, low wages, "a miscellany of unskilled occupations...the absence of savings, a chronic shortage of cash...borrowing from local money lenders at usurious rates of interest" (Lewis, 1965, xxvi). Whilst social characteristics include "...a high incidence of alcoholism, frequent resort to violence in settlement of quarrels...a relatively high incidence of the abandonment of mothers and children" (Lewis, 1965, xxvi). The poor are therefore viewed as hedonistic and in search of instant gratification, and as destroying their labour power through drink and drugs (Gough, Eisenschitz and McCulloch, 2006). Individual deficiencies are thus blamed for the creation of 'their' own problems and through harder work and better choices the poor could have ultimately avoided their problematic situation (Bradshaw, 2006). According to Forrest and Kearns (2001), the society of the poor is pictured either as lacking in social cohesion, or as atomised and fragmented, or as not a society at all. This causal explanation has however been subject to heavy criticism. Critics argue that "poverty is not the product of individual weakness or failure, but rather it is the result of the complex operation of social forces. Social forces which include the actions of classes, groups, agencies and institutions that interact within a particular social and economic order" (Alcock, 1997, 36). Townsend (1970, 44) propounds that "the concept of the culture of poverty concentrates attention upon the familial and local setting of behaviour and largely ignores the external and unseen social forces which condition the distribution of different types of resources to the community, family and individual". Poverty is not therefore caused by the poor themselves but rather is endemic to capitalism (Gough, Eisenschitz and McCulloch, 2006). Ultimately, the idea of 'blaming the victim' (Ryan, 1976) does not discourage the "recurrent prejudice that poverty is the fault of individuals and family or community groups rather than society itself" (Townsend, 1979, 70). A study by Coates and Silburn (1970, 166-167) however provides evidence aimed towards dispelling the myth of individual blame by finding that a sample of the poor in a Nottingham study responded to the same values and central perceptions as the rest of the community. The conclusion was reached that "far from the

lower pitch of their stated aspirations being evidence of a detachment from the accepted value system, it could simply be an expression of a 'realistic' appraisal of their possibilities, given that they had so little power at their disposal to change them". For Stitt (1994, 23) such a materialist observation destroys the validity of the subjective judgements which are at the core of the culture of poverty thesis.

The related idea of 'transmitted deprivation' or what has been often termed the 'cycle of deprivation' has at its root the belief that "deprived people are descended from deprived parents, and in turn their descendents will be deprived" (Berthoud, 1976, 106). One of the most well known advocates of such an approach is the former Conservative social Services Minister Keith Joseph (1972). It was the apparent paradox of social and economic disadvantage in the context of increasing prosperity that triggered Joseph's (1972) interest:

"Perhaps there is at work here a process, apparent in many situations but imperfectly understood, by which problems reproduce themselves from generation to generation...The problems of one generation appear to reproduce themselves in the next...Do we not know only too certainly that among the children of this generation there are some doomed to an uphill struggle against the disadvantages of a deprived family background? Do we not know that many of them will not be able to overcome the disadvantages and will become in their turn the parents of deprived families?" (Joseph, 1972)

Joseph (1966, 16) had previously postulated "problem families have a number of inter-related difficulties – of temperament, of intelligence, of money and of health. The numbers involved may be small but their difficulties tend to be chronic, to recur in the next generation and to blight the lives of the children". He also believed that "In the search for quick satisfaction they only too often form in their turn the same sort of household from which they came, and the cycle repeats itself. The pattern of poverty, dependency and delinquency bred by poor social environment and chronically inadequate incomes helps to perpetuate itself" (Joseph, 1966, 16). Those subscribing to such a theory thus believed those living in poverty were doing so "not solely, or even mainly, because of income deprivation, but because they are imbued with and accustomed to poverty and

such acclimatisation encourages them to develop and construct a...secondary value system which, in turn, is handed down through family interaction to children” (Stitt, 1994, 22). Berthoud (1976, 107) expands that the view is thus “poor people are fitted for poverty by their early experience of it, so that either through knowing their place, or through an induced sense of hopelessness, they lack the motivation to push their way up the social ladder”. The emphasis placed on intergenerational continuities was thus accompanied by recommended solutions to social problems that were predominantly behavioural rather than structural (Welshman, 2002).

Opposed to this view is research that shows that while people who have grown up poor are more likely to face adverse social and economic circumstances well into adulthood (Hirsch, 2004) a large proportion of people reared in conditions of privation and suffering do not reproduce that pattern in the next generation (Rutter and Madge, 1976). Other studies have also found little support for a theory of poverty which is based entirely on inter-generational transmission (Morgan et al, 1962). Jordan (1974) condemned the linking of poverty and maladjustment and seems to assume that parental inadequacy and neglect are purely a low-income family phenomenon. Rutter and Madge (1976) also questioned the influence of other cultural situations out with the family such as schools and inner city areas. In theoretical terms deprivation under these terms is treated as being a residual personal or family phenomenon rather than one of a structural nature (Townsend, 1979). According to Berthoud (1976, 106-107) “The only practical purpose of measures of the genetic influence on deprivation would seem to be...in justifying the *status quo* rather than in seeking to change it”.

1.5.2 Structural explanations for the existence of poverty

Such a focus on individual characteristics as the cause of poverty is according to Rank (2004, 50) “misplaced and misdirected”. Rather structural failings of the economic, political and social system are viewed as the main initiators (Rank, 2004). Alcock (1997, 39) states that if policies designed to combat or reduce poverty are not causing a reduction in poverty levels then perhaps “explanation should look not to the failings of the poor but to the failings of anti-poverty policies and to the agencies and institutions

responsible for making them work. If the victims of poverty are not to blame, then the blame must lie elsewhere”. As the present research reveals structuralist explanations ultimately turn the spotlight on what people in more powerful positions do or do not do and on the cumulative impact of their actions at a systemic level (Lister, 2004).

From the perspective of ‘institutional malfunctioning’ poverty arises from the failures of planning, management and administration (Community Development Project, (CDP), 1975). Such malfunctions can ultimately have a demoralising effect on the individuals and communities affected. This is due not only to the presence of various structural and political factors aiding the perseverance of poverty but also their compounding nature allowing for the accumulation of multiple problems with strong connections which are hard to break because each is reinforced by other parts of the failing system (Bradshaw, 2006). Indeed “all agencies, be they state, voluntary or those in the private sector, who contribute to the range of social services within the welfare state may be accused of failing in their tasks as long as poverty persists among their clients or potential clients” (Alcock, 1997, 39). Blame is therefore apportioned to the detached and consequently futile administrative structures where the isolated and disparate aims of different departments do little to diminish the multitude of factors comprising the problem of poverty. Corporate management has been viewed as the solution to such flawed institutional structures (Pacione, 1995a).

Those subscribing to the ‘maldistribution of resources and opportunities’ model point more to the issues arising from the inequitable distribution of resources. Whether it be geographically or individually focussed, this theory calls attention to the fact that certain areas and sections of society “lack the objective resources needed to generate well being and income, and that they lack the power to claim redistribution” (Bradshaw, 2006, 12). As we shall see later (chapters 5 and 6) it is interesting to note that those living in poverty themselves frequently describe their situation in terms of powerlessness and a lack of control over the conditions of their lives (Lister, 2004). However, feelings of helplessness are not the only reason that poor individuals and groups fail to influence the political system. Stitt (1994, 30) maintained that poverty can function to “reduce the prospects of alterations to the nature of society”. This is due to a social class, identifying

their structurally immediate neighbours, directly above or below as their point of reference, accordingly those just above the poor can compare their position in a favourable light and feel relatively well off and “thus any movement for social change among them is lessened” (Stitt, 1994, 30). For advocates of the ‘maldistribution of resources and opportunities’ model, the answer lies in the staunch promotion of policies of positive discrimination (Pacione, 1995a).

Conversely there are those who argue that the interaction of political will and economic forces cannot solve the problem of poverty because this very political economic structure is its cause (Alcock, 1997). Rooted in Marxist theory, supporters of a ‘structural class conflict’ explanation view poverty as an “inevitable outcome of the prevailing capitalist economic order” (Pacione, 2005, 310). For Marxists the ‘cause’ of poverty is the very existence of capitalism and therefore the ‘solution’ can only lie in the complete overthrow of the capitalist system (Stitt, 1994). Such thinking has led Rank, Yoon and Hirschl (2003 cited in Bradshaw, 2006) to assert that poverty researchers have focussed on who loses out at the economic game, instead of addressing the fact that the game produces losers in the first place. This theory ultimately suggests that poverty is produced by the operation of a “capitalist wage labour market because to operate efficiently that wage labour market needs poverty...Fear of poverty acts as a disciplinary force on workers and provides evidence that just as hard work and obedience will bring its rewards, so will idleness or inactivity lead to punishment” (Alcock, 1997, 42). According to Stitt (1994, 36) whilst causal models of poverty continue to be explained “within the confines of the existing social and economic system i.e. capitalism...then the solutions to poverty and other natural manifestations of capitalism are overlooked in favour of palliatives which, in the short term might marginally improve the standards of living of the poor, but which will, in the long term, benefit the non-poor proportionately more”. According to Brown (1983) disadvantage from a terminological perspective has become a politicised concept concerned to explain situations and to suggest interventions that implicate large, impersonal socio-economic forces, disadvantage ultimately has become synonymous with a structural inference.

Whilst structural explanations provide a valuable insight into the causes of poverty there is a danger that “they tend to be little more than statements of the obvious. Poverty is the product of an unequal or capitalist society; therefore only if we change the society will poverty cease to exist. As an explanation of the cause of poverty this tells us everything and nothing” (Alcock, 1997, 42). It is perhaps of more utility to accept that “structural as well as personal factors must play a part in both the generation and transmission of deprivation” (Brown, 1983, 2). Lister (2004) suggests while the actions of individuals in poverty may on occasion be a contributory factor, the underlying causes of poverty are to be found in the wider society. Theories of causation should thus be multi dimensional, possessing the manifold factors, individual and structural, which coalesce to establish and ensure the ubiquitous nature of poverty.

To gain an insight into the complex and multi dimensional concept of disadvantage this research shall adopt an applied geographical perspective. The following section serves to define and outline the practice of applied geography. Contested issues around the use of an applied approach and the potential policy impacts of applied geography will also be discussed.

1.6 The Applied Geographical Approach to Disadvantage

Pacione (1999a) defined applied geography as the application of geographic knowledge and skills to the resolution of social, economic and environmental problems. Central to an applied geographical perspective is the concept of useful knowledge that makes explicit the view that some kinds of research are more useful than other kinds. As Pacione (1999a, 4) points out:

“this is not the same as saying that some geographical research is better than other work - all knowledge is useful - but some kinds of research and knowledge are more useful than other kinds in terms of their ability to interpret and offer solutions to problems in contemporary physical and human environments. It is a matter of individual conscience whether geographers study topics such as the iconography of landscapes or the optimum location for health centres, but the principle underlying the kind of useful geography espoused by most applied geographers is a

commitment to improving existing social, economic and environmental conditions. There can be no compromise - no academic fudge - some geographical research is more useful than other work; this is the focus of applied geography”.

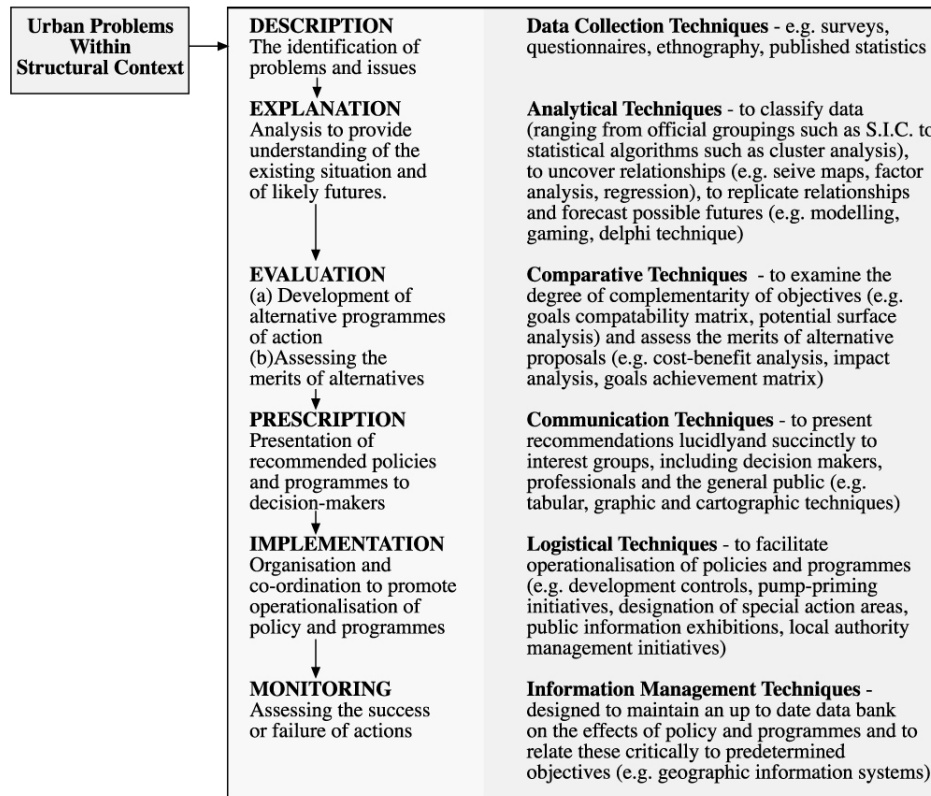
Of course there will continue to be divergent views on the content and value of geographical research. This debate raises a number of important questions for the discipline and for applied geography in particular. The concept of ‘useful research’ poses the basic questions of useful for whom?, who decides what is useful?, and based on what criteria? All of these issues formed a central part of the ‘relevance debate’ of the early 1970s (Chisholm, 1971; Prince, 1971; Smith, 1971; Dickenson and Clarke, 1972; Berry, 1972). The related questions of values in research, and the nature of the relationship between pure and applied research are also issues of central importance for applied geography. Several of these of direct relevance for the present research are addressed here but for a more detailed exegesis see Pacione (1999a).

1.6.1 Pure vs. applied research

The development of applied geography has been accompanied by debate over the relative merits of pure and applied research. Critics such as Cooper (1966) and more recently Kenzer (1989) warned against the application of geographical methods as a threat to the intellectual development of the discipline. Conversely, Applebaum (1966, 198) took the view that “geography as a discipline has something useful to contribute to man’s struggle for a better and more abundant life. Geographers should “stand up and be counted among the advocates and doers in this struggle”. In similar vein, Abler (1993, 225) considered that “too many geographers still preoccupy themselves with what geography is; too few concern themselves with what they can do for the societies that pay their keep”.

There is little merit in pursuing a false dichotomy between pure and applied research. A more useful distinction is that which recognises the different levels of involvement of researchers at each stage of the research and specifically the greater engagement of applied geographers in the ‘downstream’ or post-analysis stages (see Figure 1.4).

Figure 1.4: The practice of applied urban geography



Source: Pacione, 1990, 3.

The applied researcher has a greater interest than the pure researcher in taking the investigation beyond analysis into the realms of application of results and monitoring the effects of proposed strategies. Researcher participation in the implementation stage may range from recommendations in scholarly publications or contracted reports (a route favoured by most academic applied geographers, though not exclusively) to active involvement in implementation (more usually by applied geographers employed outside academia). Between these positions lie a variety of degrees of engagement, including acting as expert witnesses at public enquiries, dissemination of research findings via the

media, field involvement in, for example, landscape conservation projects, and monitoring the effects of policies and strategies enacted by governmental and private sector agencies. This thesis is intended to contribute to this tradition of applied geographical investigation by examining the particular problems of disadvantage in the contemporary post-industrial city.

1.6.2 The Value of Applied Geography

A fundamental question for those working within the framework of applied geography concerns the value of a problem-oriented approach. This may be illustrated by comparing the applied geographical approach with an alternative postmodern perspective. One of the major achievements of postmodern discourse has been the illumination of the importance of difference in society as part of the theoretical shift from an emphasis on economically-rooted structures of dominance to cultural “otherness” focused on the social construction of group identities. However, there is a danger that the reification of difference may preclude communal efforts in pursuit of goals such as social justice. As Merrifield and Swyngedouw (1996) observed, a failure to address the unavoidable real-life question of “whose is the more important difference among differences” when strategic choices have to be made represents a serious threat to constructing a practical politics of difference. Furthermore, if all viewpoints and expressions of identity are equally valid, how do we evaluate social policy or, for that matter, right from wrong? How do we avoid the segregation, discrimination and marginalisation which the postmodern appeal for recognition of difference seeks to counteract. The failure to address real issues would seem to suggest that the advent of postmodernism in radical scholarship has done little to advance the cause of social justice. Discussion of relevant issues is abstracted into consideration of how particular discourses of power are constructed and reproduced. Responsibility for bringing theory to bear on real world circumstances is largely abdicated in favour of the intellectually-sound but morally-bankrupt premise that there is no such thing as reality. As Merrifield and Swyngedouw (1996, 11) express it “intriguing though this stuff may be for critical scholars, it is also intrinsically dangerous in its prospective definition of political action. Decoupling social critique from its political-

economic basis is not helpful for dealing with the shifting realities of life at the threshold of the new millennium". In terms of real world problems postmodern thought would appear to condemn us to inaction while we reflect on the nature of the issue.

The value of an applied geography approach to social problems can also be illuminated with the reference to the Marxist critique of applied geography. A number of Marxist theorists including Folke (1972, 13) considered that geography and the other social sciences are "highly sophisticated, technique-oriented, but largely descriptive disciplines with little relevance for the solution of acute and seemingly chronic social problems (since) theory has reflected the values and interests of the ruling class". The essence of the Marxist critique of applied social research is that it produces ameliorative policies which merely serve to patch up the present system, aid the legitimation of the state, and bolster the forces of capitalism with their inherent tendencies to create inequality. For these radical geographers participation in policy evaluation and formulation is ineffective since it hinders the achievement of the greater goal of revolutionary social change. In terms of praxis the outcome of this perspective is to do nothing short of a radical re-construction of the dominant political. Although the analytical value of the Marxist critique of capitalism is widely acknowledged its political agenda, and in particular opposition to any action not directed at revolutionary social change, finds little favour among applied geographers. To ignore the opportunity to improve the quality of life of some people in the short term in the hope of achieving possibly greater benefit in the longer term is not commensurate with the ethical position implicit in the problem-oriented approach of applied geography.

Neither does the argument that knowledge is power and a public commodity that can be used for good or evil undermine the strength of applied geography. Any knowledge could be employed in an oppressive and discriminating manner to accentuate inequalities of wealth and power but this is no argument for eschewing research. On the contrary, it signals a need for greater engagement by applied geographers in the policy-making and implementation process provided, of course, that those involved are aware of and avoid the danger of co-optation by, for example, funding agencies (Pacione 1999a). Furthermore, access to the expertise and knowledge produced by applied geographical

research is not the sole prerogative of the advantaged in society, but can be equally available to pressure groups or local communities seeking a more equitable share of society's resources.

As Frazier (1982, 16) commented, applied research “involves the formulation of goals and strategies and the testing of existing institutional policies within the context of ethical standards as criteria. This should not imply a simple system maintenance approach to problem solving. Indeed, it is often necessary to take an unpopular anti-establishment position, which can result in a major confrontation”. For practical examples of this we need only refer to the pragmatic radicalism practised by the Cleveland City Planning Commission (Kraushaar, 1979); the recommendations of the British Community Development Projects which advocated fundamental changes in the distribution of wealth and power and which led to conflict with both central and local government; as well as more recent policy-oriented analyses of poverty and deprivation in which the identification of socio-spatial patterns is used to advance a critique of government policy (Pacione, 1990b; 2004).

1.6.3 Values in Applied Geography

At each stage of the research process the applied geographer is faced with a number of methodological and ethical questions. Decisions are required on defining the nature of the problem, its magnitude, who is affected and in what ways, as well as on the best means of addressing the problem. All of these require value judgements on, for example, the acceptability of existing conditions (what is an acceptable level of air pollution or of child poverty?). Values are also central to the evaluation and selection of possible remedial strategies, including comparative analysis of the benefits and disbenefits of different approaches for different people and places. In some cases the applied geographer may seek to minimise such value judgements by enhancing the objectivity of the research methodology (for example, by employing statistical evidence to inform anti-poverty policies). In most instances, however, it is impossible to remove the need for value judgement. As Briggs (1981, 4) concluded, “whether objectivity is ever achieved is a moot point. In most cases the subjectivity is merely transferred from the client (for

example the politician or the planner) to the research designer”. The impossibility of objective value-free research is now axiomatic.

1.6.4 A Protocol for Applied Geography

There is no single method of doing applied geographical research. One procedure advanced by Pacione (1999a) may be summarised as description, explanation, evaluation and prescription (DEEP) followed by implementation and monitoring (Figure 1.4). The “DEEP” procedure represents a useful analytical algorithm. However, the apparent clarity and organisation of the scheme does not imply that simple answers are expected to contemporary social, economic or environmental problems. Normally, in order to understand the nature and causes of real world problems it is necessary to untangle a Gordian knot of causal linkages which underlie the observed difficulty. In many instances the cause of a problem may be more apparent than real. Thus while the immediate cause of the problems faced by a poor family on a deprived council estate in Glasgow may be a lack of local employment opportunities following the closure of a factory, the root cause of the social and financial difficulties confronting the family may lie in the decisions of investment managers based in London, New York or Tokyo.

As Figure 1.4 indicates, as well as describing the nature and explaining the causes of problems the applied geographer also has a role to play in evaluating possible responses and in prescribing appropriate policies and programmes which may be implemented by planners and managers in both the public and private sectors, or by the residents of affected communities. As the present research reveals, in performing these tasks the applied geographer will be confronted with a variety of potential responses for any problem. The selection of appropriate strategy is rarely straightforward. The decision must be based on not only technical criteria but also on a wide range of conditioning factors including the views and preferences of those affected by the problem and proposed solution, available finance, and externality considerations or how the strategy to resolve a particular problem (such as sub-standard housing) may affect other problems (such as break-up of local communities).

1.6.5 Policy Impacts

The range of research undertaken by applied geographers is impressive (see Pacione 1999a) but there are no grounds for complacency. While applied geographers have made a major contribution to the resolution of real world problems, particularly in the context of the physical environment, in terms of social policy formulation in the post-war era the influence of applied geography has been mixed and arguably less than hoped for by those socially-concerned geographers who engaged in the relevance debate over a quarter of century ago. Massey (2001) suggests that as geographers 'we may be underplaying our hand'; while Martin (2001) questions why geographers play 'second fiddle' to other academics in areas where we should be making the main impact.

Several reasons may be proposed to account for this 'impact deficit'. The first refers to the eclectic and poorly-focused nature of Geography. Clifford (2002) refers to a 'bewildering and burgeoning array of 'geographies''. The very breadth of the discipline, which for many represents a pedagogic advantage, may blur its image as a point of reference for decision-makers seeking an informed input. The changing content and shifting emphases of human geography during the last quarter of the twentieth century has also limited the social impact of applied geography. As Pacione (1999) explained, over the period the replacement of the earlier land use focus in applied human geography by questions relating to the geography of poverty, crime, health-care, ethnic segregation, education and the allocation of public goods brought applied geographers into direct confrontation with those responsible for the production and reproduction of these social problems. Unsurprisingly, since policy-makers are resistant to research which might undermine the legitimacy of the dominant ideology social policy remained largely impervious to geographical critique.

A further explanation for geography's marginality in policy debate and formulation is the tendency for geographers to target our communications primarily at one another (Murphy, 2006). Geographers need to speak more clearly and communicate with 'ordinary people' in straightforward language without jargon and arcane vocabularies (Blomley, 1994). It must be recognised that successful academic research alone is no longer sufficient. To ensure appropriate use of findings by public and private

agencies and decision-makers, researchers must seek to develop direct channels of communication to link scientific findings to policy objectives. As Lees (2003) observes, 'what is the point of a substantial, critical and rigorous academic literature...if it is not actively disseminated to those in a position to influence and make the policies we seek to inform'.

Applied geography is an approach whose rationale is based on the particular philosophy of relevance or social usefulness and which focuses on the application of geographical knowledge and skills to advance the resolution of real world social, economic and environmental problems. Applied geography is a socially-relevant approach to the study of the relationship between people and their environments. This is the perspective that informs the present research.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter has served to highlight the difficulties and complexities in defining such concepts as poverty, deprivation and disadvantage. Through an examination of the various approaches to defining and theorising poverty it has been possible to gain an understanding of the necessary considerations prior to creating policy responses to disadvantage. Dependent on what is deemed to be an 'acceptable' level of income and living standards and where the 'blame' lies for the existence of disadvantage determines the level and format of response. Building on these discussions of definition and causation, chapter 2 will assess the differential approaches to measurement and assess the relative merits and demerits of each. Which elements of disadvantage should be measured will be discussed and the question of the appropriate spatial scale of measurement will be considered. Taken together the conceptual comprehension of disadvantage discussed in chapter 1 and the discussion of measurement methods in chapter 2 inform investigation into the lived experience of disadvantage undertaken in chapters 5 and 6.

CHAPTER 2: MEASURING DISADVANTAGE

2.1 Introduction

Just as conceptualisation of the constitution and causes of disadvantage are beleaguered with debate and uncertainty so too is the question of measurement fraught with difficulties and disagreements (Alcock, 1997). Such complications can be attributed mainly to there being no single measure that can be used in all circumstances (Bradshaw, 2001). As shown in chapter 1 (section 1.4.4) the choice of measure depends partly on the broader conceptualisation, the definition which is being utilised and on why a researcher wants to measure disadvantage (Lister, 2004). According to Veit-Wilson (2000) there are a number of distinct reasons why researchers or policy makers may want a measure of poverty. Normative approaches are top-down, “we the non-poor want to do something to or about them, the poor, and need a measure to identify them” (Veit-Wilson, 2000, 143). Empirical approaches such as that adopted by Townsend (1979) were based on an interest in what empirical social surveys would reveal about what the population as a whole say about conventionally defined needs and deprivation. Such approaches also aimed to discover the essentials deemed necessary to lead a ‘minimally decent life’ and that no one should be without to be identified. Those approaches coming from a policy making perspective reflect the role of government as holding ultimate power over net income distribution and are based on the premise that governments desire measurements which are politically credible and exact. Veit-Wilson (2000) further identifies approaches which are prescriptive, that is although describing or counting the poor may superficially be a purpose for social scientists, the underlying question is who for?

In view of this it is vital to consider not only why the measurement of disadvantage is desirable but also what should be measured, what methods of measurement are available and the validity of measurement at different scales. Following on from the issues surrounding definition and theories of disadvantage discussed in chapter 1, this chapter will examine the various indicators available for the measurement of poverty. An overview of the debate surrounding the use of objective and subjective methods to determine the existence of disadvantage will also be presented prior to an

outline of the measurement methods available. Discussion will subsequently move on to the variety of spatial scales at which the measurement of disadvantage occurs. This examination of the measurement of disadvantage will inform the choice of appropriate methods to determine the study area that will be the focus for detailed investigation of the many manifestations of disadvantage in local context.

2.2 Indicators of Poverty

Once it has been established 'why' measurement is desirable it is vital to consider 'what' it is that is being measured. At the centre of the debate over what indicators of poverty should be utilised in measurement, is the issue of income. Should measurement be calculated solely on income or should other factors such as living standards (quality of life) or expenditure also be factored in? According to Ringen (1987, 146) there are two main ways of measuring poverty – direct and indirect, as such “poverty is defined indirectly through the determinants of way of life...directly by way of life.” Indirect measures thus rely on income whilst those of a more direct nature focus on living standards. For Ringen (1987 cited in Lister, 2004, 39) the common usage of indirect income measures to operationalise a direct living standards definition is problematic. Ringen's (1988) main concerns centre on the premise that income cannot be used as a proxy for consumption since a number of aspects of consumption are not determined singularly by income for example the consumption of non-commodified welfare services. According to Gordon (2006) it is much easier to accurately measure deprivation than income. Furthermore growing evidence now suggests that low income may in fact be an imperfect indicator of deprivation of living standards (Lister, 2004). For Sen (1981, 26) also, the direct method is viewed as being superior to the income method as “it could be argued that only in the absence of direct information regarding the satisfaction of the specified needs can there be a case for bringing in the intermediary of income...the income method is at most a second best”.

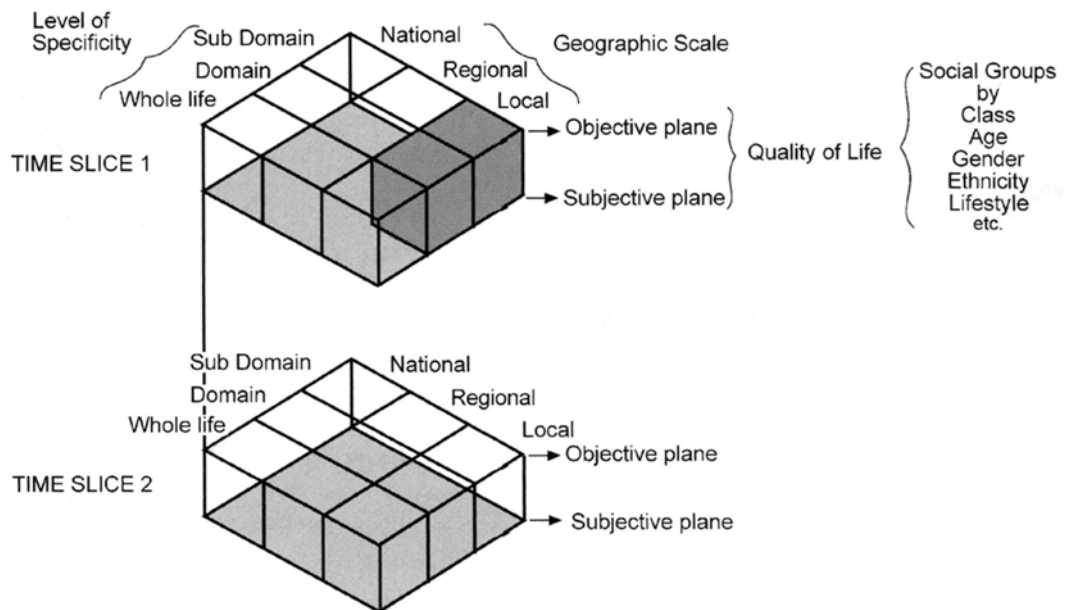
Indeed people may have a low standard of living due to reasons out with the sphere of currently possessing a low income. In attempts to avoid deprivation people may

run down savings, get into debt, gain charitable assistance or resort to begging and stealing (Lister, 2004). Therefore a measure of low income alone would not highlight the overall income poverty experienced by those in such situations, ultimately even the experience of a rise in income would not provide a commensurate increase in living standards as income is redirected to paying off debts. A further issue surrounding the use of income as a measure relates to the difficulty involved in gaining an accurate picture of income levels due to the potential for under reporting and also due to the dynamic nature of income over time. Expenditure has thus often been proposed as preferable to current income in providing an indicator of what could be termed 'normal' income and also as a better substitute for living standards. Lister (2004, 40) however points to a number of problems in the utilisation of expenditure patterns such as its "lumpy nature" due to occasional large purchases, its inability to take account of borrowing and saving and the expenditure of one individual such as those of a parent or guardian possessing the potential to improve the living standards of all rather than being based on a purely individual basis of gain.

Clearly both expenditure and income measures are flawed and provide an incomplete representation of resources available to individuals. According to Townsend (1979) it is important to measure and take into account the full range of material resources which are distributed inequitably in society. As well as financial income these include capital assets, significance of employer welfare benefits, value of public services and private income in kind. Pacione (2003a, 19) also directs attention to the growing awareness of the importance of other factors which include the social, political and environmental health of a nation which has effectively led to "the search for indicators other than those based on GNP that will reflect more adequately the overall health of a nation and the wellbeing of its citizens". Pacione (1982, 498) from a quality of life perspective proposes the existence of objective and subjective indicators as two distinctive types of social indicators which are appropriate for "measuring societal and individual wellbeing". Objective indicators comprise hard measures detailing the environments in which people inhabit and work and attend to issues such as crime, education and housing. Alternatively subjective indicators are based on revealing the

numerous ways people perceive conditions around them. Social indicators whilst being categorised as objective and subjective can also be classified in relation to their degree of specificity or generality (Pacione, 2003a) as displayed in figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: A five-dimensional structure for quality of life research



Source: Pacione, 2003a, 20.

For example one subjective indicator may be concerned with a fairly specific experience such as the quality of the local bus service whilst at the most general level an indicator may be associated with evaluations of one's overall life (Pacione, 1982).

Whilst two diverse approaches, objective and subjective, exist towards identifying disadvantage, increasingly those involved in researching issues pertaining to poverty, disadvantage and quality of life issues have come to accept it is clearly preferable and beneficial to measure both. Analysis across spatial scales and time frames is also of value. Such research allows for determination of optimum methods of measurement at differential spatial scales and levels of accuracy in measurement from the national to the

local and those periods in life with regards to age and circumstance at which individuals become most vulnerable to disadvantage.

2.2.1 Different approaches towards identifying disadvantage

For the purposes of this thesis and in an attempt at clarity such approaches utilising what have been termed objective and quantitative approaches shall be referred to as ‘standard’ approaches. This refers to the ability of such measures to be applied in a standard fashion regardless of population characteristics and geographical context and allows linguistically for inferences of scientific rigour and exclusion of values to be avoided. Such measures often utilise indicators such as crime, housing and health with little regard for external context specific factors, for example crime may be reported less frequently in disadvantaged areas due to mistrust of the police and feelings of hopelessness this would have an effect on crime statistics which would not be picked up purely through the use of standardised measures. The use of income as a standard measure also does not pick up geographical inconsistencies such as standards of local services and proximity to employment etc. Ultimately whilst standard approaches can provide guidance for policy development they do not provide local scale, relevant information on perceptions of living conditions and well-being.

Those approaches adopting more of an emphasis on perceptual indicators and qualitative methods are often referred to as ‘subjective’. Subjective approaches are however open to criticism as constituting “soft measures of indeterminate meaning” (Pacione, 1982, 502). The use of the term subjective is perhaps in part why such measures are not regarded as being of determinate and applicable value to policy makers. Connotations of opinion, feelings and a basis of little fact and evidence have proven off putting to those in positions of policy construction. It is in an effort to avoid negative associations that for the purpose of this thesis those approaches which could be deemed to be subjective in nature shall be referred to as ‘specific’ approaches. This is in acknowledgement of the lack of generalisation of findings to whole populations and the specificity of geographical context. Use of the term ‘specific’ ultimately avoids

inferences of softness and lack of substantive support and assists in bridging the gap between political understanding and acceptance of what could be deemed approaches of a more qualitative nature. Findings from research utilising ‘specific’ methods can only validly be utilised in relation to those geographical areas or thematic groups who participated. Context is thus key in the use of specific approaches and their subsequent results.

Although a number of complex issues and inconsistencies surround the measurement of disadvantage relating to selection of indicators and method of analysis Atkinson (1989) asserts, that if care is taken to recognise the problems involved, considerable insight can be gained into the extent and depth of poverty in Britain and other advanced industrial countries also. Through a consideration of the variety of standard and specific approaches available it will be possible to determine those approaches which best suit the aims of this study.

2.3 Identifying Disadvantage from a Standard Perspective

2.3.1 Methods of ‘standard’ measurement

The most widely used standard measure of disadvantage is the Census of Population. The Census is collected on a decennial basis with the last being released in 2001. According to Pacione (2004) the most comprehensive source of local level data relating to the major dimensions of disadvantage is the Census. There are however a number of issues relating to utilisation of the Census in identifying areas suffering from disadvantage. The first of which is the acknowledgement that the relevance of census data diminishes over time. At the point this research was undertaken it could still be considered to be the most inclusive and reliable data set for identifying spaces of disadvantage. Another concern relates to the lack of an absolute measure of income in the Census. However the significance of this is “overstated” as the presence of surrogate indicators of low income in the Census including lack of employment and socio economic grouping (Pacione, 2004, 120) precluded the need for a direct measure of income. Indeed according to Hills (1995 cited in Pacione, 2004, 121) there is a clear association between the alternative measures of

income and socio-spatial patterns of disadvantage. Further criticism towards the use of Census data stems from concern regarding the modifiable area unit problem as discussed below (section 2.5). This problem can however be addressed by operating at the smallest available level of disaggregation, in the Scottish case output areas, which in the 2001 census were an average of 50 households. Issues surrounding the risk of ecological fallacy (as referred to below, section 2.5) are also of concern. It is essential when utilising Census data to recognise the meaning and significance of a variable may alter with local context (Pacione, 2004). It is vital to be aware of the danger of “inferring spurious correlations that may arise from the use of aggregate data” (Pacione, 2005, 668). This can to an extent be mitigated through research into local circumstances in order to gain contextual insight. Despite the criticism, standard approaches do possess a number of positive aspects.

For many the main advantage of standard (quantitative) methods lies in their scale and inscrutability. Statistical surveys, if large enough and possessing a carefully chosen sample, can provide in the eyes of many an objective and debatably scientific picture of the wider group or society from which the sample was drawn. Particularly if a level of statistical significance has been reached (Alcock, 1997). Another advantage of standard approaches lies in their scope for comparability whether it be intra-country or inter-country based. However in the latter instance their value in comparison may be compromised due to differing conventions over how the data is collected, analysed and collated. Indeed all statistical techniques are reliant on what information has been utilised and entered to determine a result. This means that such statistical techniques are open to abuse, as if employed uncritically without a proper understanding of their particular advantages and deficiencies (Pacione, 1995) then the results produced will be biased, inaccurate and essentially unviable. Therefore any benefits for policy making derived from their generalised nature will be forgone.

2.4 Identifying Disadvantage from a ‘Specific’ Perspective

2.4.1 Methods of ‘specific’ measurement

As discussed previously measuring disadvantage involves more than just the collection of statistics and the application of algebraic formulae, it is also necessary to encompass examination of what such dry figures mean for the real lives of real people (Alcock, 1997). It is therefore necessary to include qualitative methods as vital and equal components in measuring disadvantage. Such methods aim to highlight the ‘social’ dimensions of disadvantage in addition to those measures more ‘material’ in nature. The focus on the latter has led according to Townsend (1987, 140) to “misplaced priorities” with “the problems of isolation, fears to venture into the community...withdrawal from family or other social relationships, the breakdown or building up of community support... and lack of opportunities for education and employment” tending to be “poorly or imprecisely identified” and their distribution and measurement also rarely focussed on. Whilst quantitative measures of poverty and the collection of statistics has tended to dominate research and debate on poverty in Britain throughout the twentieth century (Alcock, 1997) and often in contemporary times also, a vibrant and creative tradition of qualitative data collection and analysis has flourished and continues to do so allowing for real insight into the lived experience of disadvantage. Such approaches rely on personal perceptions and opinions, and as is the nature of such research, are highly specific and sensitive to geographical context and individual demographics such as age, gender and ethnicity. These approaches may be identified as those of a consensual make up and those of a participatory nature.

Consensual measures referred to more commonly in recent times as ‘democratic’ measures have at their crux the belief that if society is to accept a definition of poverty and disadvantage and the subsequent financial consequences of trying to keep people out of poverty then there needs to be ‘consensus’ about what represents a ‘minimum’ (Middleton, 2000). As outlined in chapter 1 the ideal of consensual measurement originates with Mack and Lansley’s 1985 Breadline Britain Survey whereby people are asked, usually via survey, about minimum income levels and ownership of particular goods and services which they perceive as being ‘essential’ for people to possess in

today's society (Gordon and Pantazis, 1997, 71). The poverty line is ultimately constructed through determination of those services and goods which 50% of the population view as being essential creating a threshold of necessity below which people could be viewed as living in poverty. For Gordon (2006, 52) the most important advantage of such a subjective method "is that the level of poverty line is not fixed by experts but defined by society itself. The subjective method is therefore a socially realistic method". The most recent application of Mack and Lansley's approach has been the Poverty and Social Exclusion in Britain survey 1999. notwithstanding the criticisms discussed in chapter 1 Piachaud (1987, 149) applauds the fact that consensual methods seek "to cast aside self appointed, self opinionated experts" and "let the people decide" and Middleton (2000, 60) believes "they allow us to move away from expert judgements towards a more democratic understanding of the meaning of poverty".

The claim of such a measure being consensual has attracted comment as according to Lister (2004) studies that can be said to be genuinely consensual in the sense of achieving consensus through deliberation are rare. Hallerod, Bradshaw and Holmes (1994, 4) concur that "majority is not the same as consensus". According to Walker (1987) the solution in addressing such issues lies in holding intensive group discussions between people representative of a wider cross section of society to investigate the public conceptualisation of poverty and obtain a consensual income poverty line from this. The ethos of community engagement informs the present research that employed a series of interviews and focus groups with different ages and communities to explore the meaning of disadvantage in local context.

Perhaps greater clarity surrounding perception and values relating to the measurement of disadvantage can be obtained from the use of what have been termed 'participatory' approaches. Such methods sit at the most subjective end of the scale in terms of describing their content and their approach. They are also as touched on earlier highly specific to geographical and personal context. According to Lister (2004) participatory research represents less a method and more of a philosophy "committed to the principles of democracy and empowerment". Ultimately participatory poverty measures and exercises aim to "enable those people actually living in poverty to develop

and convey their knowledge and judgements about their own experience and the situation of their community” (Bennett and Roche, 2000, 26). This approach is premised on the belief people in poverty are themselves experts in poverty and therefore their ideas should be taken on board at all stages of the research process as active participants and not just as objects from which information is to be mined (Lister, 2004).

Methodologically participatory approaches most often take the form of interviews and focus groups however creativity also plays a big part in this approach. Dependent on the target group use of the arts can also be incorporated. Robb (2002, 104) postulates that engagement with the poor “leads to better technical diagnosis of problems and better design and implementation of solutions”. Participatory studies rely on qualitative methods and as a result often uncover issues relating to multiple deprivation which are qualitative in nature such as lack of dignity, lack of respect, dependence on others and hopelessness which may not be uncovered by the more ‘lack of perceived necessities’ measures (Bennett and Roche, 2000). Through the use of participatory methods evidence suggests that in the UK levels of debt would be viewed as important despite their having been ignored in the official set of indicators (Galloway, 2002). Qualitative material can provide an evocative and emotional side to ‘hard’ facts and figures (as shown in Kempson, 1996, cited in chapter 1, section 1.3).

Of course there are as in all measurement strategies a number of drawbacks in utilising participative approaches. Such studies are generally not large scale and as such “cannot claim to be representative of poverty in any scientific sense” (Alcock, 1997, 127). Dependent on aims and geographical scale this can however be a positive thing as will be discussed in the next section. This lack of representation can however make it easier for findings to be rejected by policy makers and those heavily committed to quantitative approaches. Practical difficulties in setting income levels and social necessities through this approach may also act as a barrier to utilisation. Levels of expectation and denials of poverty also prove problematic in the utilisation of such an approach. Campbell, Converse and Rodgers (1976 cited in Pacione, 1982, 508) identified issues around levels of aspiration and expectation with relatively high satisfaction being expressed by those whose objective situation is consensually poor. Campbell et al (1976

cited in Pacione, 1982, 508) also introduced the idea of accommodation whereby an individuals satisfaction may increase over time as accommodation to that situation occurs, explaining why those experiencing, on an almost permanent basis poor living conditions, express relatively high satisfaction with their surroundings. This has been referred to elsewhere as the ‘mustn’t grumble’ syndrome (Bennett and Roche, 2000). Townsend (1979) also draws attention to those who possess extremely low resources denying feelings of deprivation. Both these findings raise questions about people’s willingness to identify with the stigmatised label of poverty (Lister, 2004) and to be self reflective in terms of personal circumstance. This could prove highly problematic in a participatory research setting. Bennett and Roche (2000) also highlight the perception, and in many cases the reality, in conducting such research as being difficult and expensive to collect and the difficulty in comparison either across geographical areas or over time. Pacione (1982) has also more generally discussed issues surrounding the use of such perceptual indicator approaches and has classified these into four broad categories pertaining to validity, interpretation, completeness and utility. These concerns are summarised in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Major concerns in the use of perceptual measures

Concern	Justification
Validity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most people have not thought about their reactions and therefore cannot answer questions which talk about such reactions. • Answers may be withheld due to reasons related to privacy. • Answers provided will be biased. • Perceptions vary too rapidly and are too unstable to measure reliably.
Interpretation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The researcher cannot understand what a respondent means by an answer as each person is unique and will be influenced by differential factors. • It is not possible to compare differing cultural groups, as each group possesses its own specific criteria for evaluation. • The same group at different times cannot be compared as the criteria for evaluation may change over time.
Completeness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficulty exists in knowing when to stop trying to measure the infinite range of possible human concerns.
Utility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Even if knowledge of satisfaction or otherwise is determined it is in essence irrelevant as people may be ignorant about the true impact of various life conditions.

Source: Adapted from Pacione, 1982, 506.

In line with such criticisms, in the UK the idea of developing mechanisms to involve civil society as stakeholders in an anti-poverty strategy - assisting from the outset to define priority issues, the approaches to be utilised to tackle them and the indicators to measure success or otherwise - does not seem to have been accepted (Bennett and Roche, 2000). Lister (2004, 47) also comments on the participatory approach in 'the North' as being "conspicuous for its rarity rather than its influence". Whether this is due to unfamiliarity, ignorance or deliberate avoidance, the benefits of such approaches to the development of poverty measures are great. Nevertheless for some autobiography should replace biography not due to its greater accuracy or convincing message but as it places the power and control over the message in the hands of those experiencing the problems (Alcock, 1997). There is scope even for examining whether the identified priorities of those living in poverty should or could influence those qualitative and quantitative indicators currently in use, with the added benefits of such an approach also being found in the process itself through allowing those involved a sense of ownership and empowerment (Bennett and Roche, 2000). People living in poverty can thus drive and control the research process themselves rather than taking part in a one off purely extractive research procedure (Bennett and Roche, 2000). It is also worth noting that whilst the data gained from such an approach is highly specific in both spatial and contextual terms the richness and depth of qualitative data gained from such an approach is incomparable. Attitudinal surveys such as the British Social Attitudes Survey and consensual measures whilst inclusive of perceptions and values do not allow for explanation of replies or real life experience to be described and investigated in detail. Ultimately it is clear that self-description is and should be an important element of qualitative studies (Alcock, 1997) and indeed all studies of disadvantage regardless of approach. According to Baulch (1996) a 'walking on two legs' strategy in the measurement of poverty should be employed whereby each of the methods discussed in this chapter are supplemented by participatory methods which better recognise the more subjective elements of poverty.

2.4.2 Need for an integrated approach

According to Moser (1998) a dichotomy has been set up between 'conventional', 'objective', 'technocratic' approaches that reduce poverty to measurable income and consumption on the one hand and participatory 'subjective' approaches grounded in the understandings of people in poverty on the other. Whilst debate still ensues over the merits and superiority of one approach over another, such arguments have become both simplistic and quite sterile (Pacione, 1982). Indeed the majority of literature on the subject concludes that no single method of measurement is sufficient let alone perfect (Lister, 2004). As Alcock (1997, 128) suggests "qualitative data can be linked directly to quantitative measures to harness the complementary strengths of measurement and description". Ultimately despite the differences in philosophical approach, both methods offer complementary rather than incompatible research agendas (Lister, 2004). Clearly the way forward lies not in "adding more measures of conventional hard statistics" (Abrams, 1973, 36) but in the acknowledgement that low income alone is "not on its own enough to condemn people to poverty" (Howarth and Kenway, 1998, 7). Without listening to what people experiencing poverty believe are the best measurement indicators, important elements of what constitutes poverty out with those factors of a more material nature will be missed. Information on everyday experiences and interactions with wider society "from the way they are talked about and treated by politicians, officials, the media and other influential bodies" is vital if non-material aspects of poverty such as "lack of voice, disrespect, humiliation... assault on dignity and self esteem, shame and stigma, powerlessness" (Lister, 2004, 7) are to be understood and tackled effectively. Silburn (1988) similarly discussed the need to document, describe and analyse the experience of poverty in all its variety and complexity to act as the necessary qualitative counterpart to the more quantitative based approaches.

The consensus is that in attempting to comprehend the changing nature and extent of poverty it is unwise to rely on a single measure (Layte, Nolan and Whelan, 2000). It is neither desirable nor realistic to rely purely on income measures as to ignore the

“indispensable” (Van den Bosch, 2001, 412) use of subjective indicators would mean “failing to examine deprivation in the context that really matters: the life of the deprived person” (Eyles, 1987, 221). Without comprehensive consideration of all aspects of disadvantage in the creation of indicators and development of approaches “it’s rather like constructing all the most marvellous buildings possible with straw” (Townsend, 1987, 132). Focus must therefore move from purely statistical approaches and studies determining what society sees as important (Howarth and Kenway, 1998) towards a process of ‘triangulation’ whereby a combination of methods are employed including those of a qualitative and participatory nature (Lister, 2004, 50). Such a strategy will result in a deeper, multifaceted and extensive approach towards measuring disadvantage and resultant policy responses.

2.5 Identifying Disadvantage from a Spatial Perspective

A further consideration in the measurement of disadvantage relates to spatial scale and the effect choice of scale can have on recorded outcomes. Prior to the 1970’s the majority of work published on measurement of quality of life was almost entirely non-spatial in content until geographers made an entrance into the field (Pacione, 2003a). Concerns over the most appropriate scale at which to measure disadvantage have stimulated debate ever since the introduction of territorial social indicators into the discipline (Pacione, 2004). Smith (1973) identified seven sets of indicators to correspond to the various aspects of social well-being. These included income, wealth and employment; living environment; physical and mental health; education; social order; social belonging and recreation and leisure. The extent and nature of spatial variations were then assessed across a variety of scales. Geographical scales of measurement of quality of life as shown in figure 2.1 can range from the individual, through the group or local scale to the city, regional, national and international (Pacione, 2003a).

From the perspective of the nation scale, whilst aggregate national statistics can be valuable for international comparison Gross (1969, 125) has referred to the problem of ‘aggregatics’. This relates to issues surrounding the use of aggregate statistics that never reach the ground “in any territorial entity any smaller than the nation itself” (Gross, 1969,

125). In such instances such information has “little more significance than would a Weather Bureau report on today’s average national weather” (Gross, 1969, 125). A further concern in using aggregate measurements surrounds the problem of ecological fallacy. This refers to the inference of characteristics of individuals from aggregate data referring to a population (Pacione, 2005). Alker (1969) also identified five other erroneous individual level inferences from analyses of aggregate figures. These have been summarised by Johnston (2000) as:

- The individualistic fallacy which assumes that the whole is no more than the sum of its parts when in actuality numerous societies are more than just the aggregation of individual members.
- The modifiable area unit problem refers to the issue that as any study space can be divided in an inexhaustible amount of ways, use of a particular ‘spatial register’ (such as census tracts) may bias results, in particular if the areal units of analysis do not reflect ‘real world’ social distributions. The problem is of greatest significance when operating at large spatial scales and “can be reduced, but not eliminated, by working at the smallest possible level of disaggregation” (Pacione, 2004, 120).
- The universal fallacy assumes that the observed pattern in a number of individuals, often not selected randomly in line with the principles of sampling, holds for its population.
- The selective fallacy whereby data from carefully selected cases are utilised to prove a point.
- The cross-sectional fallacy assumes that what is observable at one particular period of time will be so at other times.

Extreme caution must therefore be exercised in the selection of scale at which to measure disadvantage as each scale possesses a number of issues which may influence findings. Indeed Pacione (2004, 120) suggests that there is “no single best geographical scale for the analysis of social disadvantage”. It is ultimately dependent on the purpose of the

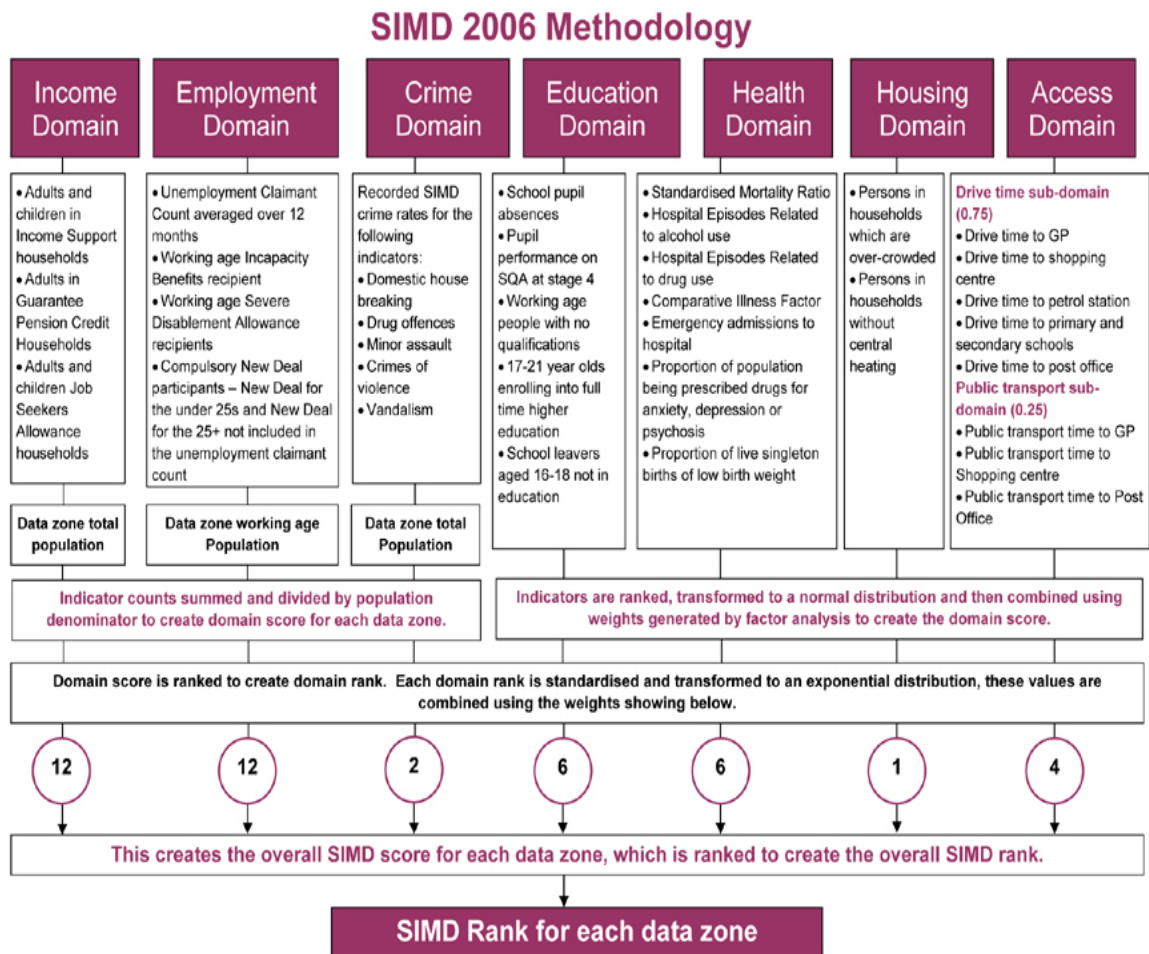
study, resources available and if utilising official data the period of time which has lapsed since collection and its subsequent publication. For example the comprehensive nature of the decennial Census of Population makes its use in studying disadvantage at varying spatial scales invaluable however if a significant period of time has lapsed since its last publication then the value of non-census data sources increases with time elapsed since the most recent census (Pacione, 2004).

As research is scaled down towards more of a 'neighbourhood' approach it is vital to also recognise the problem of scale discordance (Pacione, 1982). This relates to the issue that whilst data is collected for "well defined territorial units it is unlikely that the territorial base of an individual's perception will coincide exactly with the boundaries of the administrative unit used for the collection of objective data" (Pacione, 1982, 508). As Burrows and Rhodes (2000) postulate if existing indices are to be the basis for the identification of disadvantaged areas and if policy makers are to take residents views seriously, then it becomes crucial to know the extent to which the spatial variations in the views that residents have about their local areas coincide with the various maps of area disadvantage currently created by policy makers and social researchers. Lupton and Power (2004, 16) share concerns over delineation of neighbourhoods declaring "in reality any physical or administrative boundary is probably inadequate. While neighbourhoods may be bounded in terms of their physical characteristics, as social spaces they are not". Neighbourhoods are extremely complex in composition and connections and were identified by Massey (1994) as sets of overlapping social networks. However, area based measurements are defended by Pacione (1982, 509) on the grounds that they are "not merely a product of the geographer's peculiar perspective on the general social indicators movement but are a necessary and logical extension of any realistic system of social reporting".

Measuring disadvantage from an area based perspective has a long history in practical terms from both a UK and a Scottish perspective with the Scottish Executive and its predecessor the Scottish Office commissioning area based deprivation indices (Bailey et al, 2003). The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) is currently the Scottish Executive's official measure for identifying small area concentrations of

multiple deprivation across all of Scotland (Scottish Executive, 2005). According to the Scottish Executive (2005) the index is based on the small area statistical geography of data zones which contain on average 750 people and are built from groups of Census output areas. There are 6,505 data zones in all, covering the whole of Scotland and resting within local authority boundaries. The SIMD 2006 is based on 37 different indicators in the seven domains of 'Current Income', 'Employment', 'Health', 'Education', 'Geographic Access to Services', 'Housing' and 'Crime'. The methodology of the SIMD 2006 is summarised in figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2 SIMD 2006 Methodology



Source: Scottish Executive, 2008.

The use of such methodology provides a ranking of the data zones from 1 being most deprived to 6505 being least deprived. There are benefits to be obtained from the utilisation of ‘data zones’ as prior to their introduction various parts of the public sector were utilising differing geographies such as wards and postcode sectors whereas data zones allow the exchange of information to be made easier and for a common understanding of local areas and related issues to be possible (Scottish Executive, 2005).

Not all statistics however are suitable for release at the data zone level, due to issues relating to sensitivity or reliability, therefore a statistical geography between data zone and local authority was created in the form of intermediate zones which are aggregations of data zones within local authorities and contain between 2,500 and 6,000 people. A further positive aspect of the SIMD lies in its use of administrative data allowing for the SIMD to be updated on a continual basis. The existence of Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics (SNS), the Executive's programme to improve availability, consistency and accessibility of small area statistics also assists in improving awareness of contemporary local area conditions. As mentioned previously however issues still surround the inability of data zones to adhere to all understandings as to what constitutes "local communities" (Scottish Executive, 2005, 9). As effective measurement of disadvantage relies on the recognition of the necessity of having to deal with the complexity of social reality it could be argued that from a spatial perspective this means a move towards research at smaller geographical scales (Pacione, 1982) for instance at the level of the individual.

Measuring disadvantage at the individual level has been conducted largely by autonomous researchers and according to Bailey et al (2003) neither Scottish nor British Governments have sought to measure individual levels of deprivation. Measurement at this level relies on the gathering of a substantial amount of information about individual standards of living from both a social and material perspective. To date the main method has been through the use of the household survey however such surveys are relatively lengthy and this leads to limited numbers of interviews and as a consequence geographic detail (Bailey et al, 2003). Financial cost is another deterrent towards the use of individual based measures.

It is clear that both area based and individual measures provide valuable insights into levels and experiences of disadvantage and as yet no one measure currently provides information on all aspects of disadvantage. Although divergent in content, each approach poses important questions and deals with pertinent issues in relation to objective and subjective indicators of living standards. Ultimately, the integrated use and analysis of differing scales can provide richer information than the use of an independent scale alone.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the variety of methods of measurement available in researching disadvantage. Despite the commonly employed separation of standardised and specific approaches in description and evaluation it is clear that each complements the other. For the purposes of this research both approaches shall be employed to gain an insight into the 'lived experience of disadvantage' in chapters 5 and 6.

Before doing so however it is necessary to establish the political framework of the study by outlining New Labour's approach towards tackling disadvantage. The next chapter provides an evaluation of the key New Labour concepts of social capital, partnership and community involvement. The similarities and differences between the approach of New Labour and Scottish New Labour towards tackling disadvantage will also be explored. Chapter 3 is not intended as a protracted analysis of anti-poverty policy per se, but rather as an evaluation of key philosophical concepts that underlie New Labour's approach to tackling disadvantage.

CHAPTER 3: THE NEW LABOUR RESPONSE TO DISADVANTAGE

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to outline a number of key aspects of New Labour's approach towards tackling disadvantage as a prelude to the empirical examination of the impact of New Labour policy in chapters 5 and 6. This intention here is not to provide a protracted historical description of social policy. Whilst the importance of social legislation enacted throughout the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century is acknowledged (for example the reformation of the education system in 1944 and Family Allowances, National Insurance and National Assistance legislation based on the Beveridge report was enacted 1945-1948) it is beyond the scope of this study to discuss these literatures. Rather this chapter focuses on political thought and policy during the last quarter century as a foundation for subsequent discussions of New Labour's attempts at tackling urban disadvantage from 1997 onwards.

Structured around the rhetoric of New Labour this chapter has three purposes. The first is to provide context on New Labour's coming to power and the prevailing political ideology of New Labour (section 3.2-3.5). The second purpose of this chapter is to provide an insight into some of the key aspects of the philosophy which guide New Labour's approach towards tackling disadvantage. The key concepts of social exclusion (section 3.5), social capital (section 3.6), partnership (section 3.7) and community involvement (section 3.8). These concepts will act to inform the empirical findings in chapters 5 and 6. The final purpose of this chapter is to examine the Scottish New Labour perspective to tackling disadvantage in order to identify any deviations in approach and key similarities from UK national policy.

3.2 Policy Prior to New Labour

According to Hills (2004a) when the Thatcher government came to power in 1979 income inequality and poverty were near to an all-time low. However the decision to reduce public spending in 1981 with the value of social security benefits increasing only in line with price inflation meant that those dependent on benefits fell further and further behind general living standards and deeper into poverty. Becker (1991) referred to the

1980's as a period which experienced a rising tide of poverty and growing inequality. Interventions to reduce such inequalities were viewed by the Thatcher governments as constituting "an unwarranted interference in individual freedom" that would be "counter-productive since such intervention would invariably impede the market and thereby reduce economic growth" (Deacon, 1991, 10). Poverty and disadvantage and the policies to reduce them were not high on the Thatcher Government's agenda (Hills, 2004a). In 1989 Social Security Secretary John Moore proclaimed "the end of the line for poverty" adding it was "false and dangerous" to talk about large sections of the British population being in desperate need on the basis of poverty lines that rose in line with national prosperity (Timmins, 1995, 450). Poverty in the 1980's was politically "invisible" and the word 'poverty' "seemed to be deleted from official use for much of the decade". Instead "there was widespread toleration of public squalor amid private affluence, with a view that the 'poor are always with us' and that little could be done about them" (Becker, 1991, 2). Tiesdell and Allmendinger (2001a, 905) identified the New Right as being "based on an economic and moral critique of the welfare state and state intervention generally and, stemming from this critique, the advocacy of market mechanisms in all areas of public policy". The Thatcher governments therefore adopted "policies of privatisation, deregulation, cuts in public expenditure, and devaluation of low incomes and public services" which Townsend (1991, x) proclaimed "increased the extent of poverty and reduced the quality of life and opportunities of millions of people, in the mistaken belief that this would make Britain more economically competitive and secure". Referred to by Fielding (2003, 179) as a "laissez-faire" attitude towards the welfare state, the Thatcher government asserted that "the post-war welfare state was a moral hazard as it undermined liberty by imposing high taxes on those who worked hard while featherbedding 'scroungers' too idle to get on their bikes and look for work". The ultimate goal of conservative governments was therefore to "transform the welfare state from a universal service provider to an emergency relief station used only by those in direst need" (Fielding, 2003, 179).

The Thatcherite government perceived excessive benefits as providing a disincentive to work and therefore its policies were aimed at creating reductions in public

spending and at improving incentives to work. Ultimately the “New Right saw much poverty and deprivation as self-imposed and/or self-induced as a consequence of particular cultural and moral tendencies” in accordance with the culture of poverty model and therefore “the ability to ‘blame the victim’ lessened both the political will and necessity to address the problems” (Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2001, 317). At the 1988 Conservative Party Conference Moore (1988b) expressed an intention to “correct the balance of the citizenship equation... the equation that has “rights” on one side must have “responsibilities” on the other”. Therefore the Social Security Act 1989 required that those claiming unemployment benefit would provide evidence that they were ‘actively seeking work’ (Deacon, 1991, 17). According to Millar (1991) however it was becoming increasingly difficult to obtain a secure and adequate income through employment over this period. This was due to the increasing incidence of low paid work with in 1988 5.6 million full-time workers being classed as low paid (defined by the Low Pay Unit as less than two-thirds of median male earnings) (Parker, 1991) and also the significant growth of ‘precarious’ or ‘flexible’ employment including part-time work, self-employment and temporary or seasonal work with in 1986 about one-third of the workforce were in insecure employment (Huws, Hurstfield and Holtmatt, 1989). For Deacon (1991) the ideology of reducing dependency was a chimera as the government transferred rather than reduced dependency and was looking to make people less dependent on the state and more dependent upon the voluntary sector. It was perceived that a greater growth in living standards for those with high incomes allowed by lower taxes would ‘trickle down’ to those at the bottom (Hills, 2004a, 95). Throughout the 1980’s however little evidence existed of this happening (Bradshaw, 1990). The early part of the 1980’s saw Britain falling deep into economic recession with by the end of the decade a significant growth in unemployment coupled with a weakening in the position of unskilled workers. The number of children in lone parent families was also on the increase with families in this category much less likely to be gaining an income through work and more likely to be experiencing poverty. The general population was also aging with an increasing number of pensioners. Attempts to restrain public spending in response to such pressures without an outright decline in benefits for those in greatest poverty meant more reliance on

Supplementary Benefit and other variations of means testing (Hills, 2004a, 95). Whilst the purpose of means testing was viewed as targeting resources to those 'most in need' (Millar, 1991) for those reliant on state social security support the overall outcome was a system which for a number of claimants provided lower benefits which were less reliable and harder to gain access to (Lister, 1991). Alcock (1997, 261) states "the strategy of inequality pursued in Britain in the 1980's has failed. It did not produce sustained growth. It did not raise the living standards of all. It removed neither the need nor the support for increased state welfare".

Under John Major's leadership in the 1990's policies which served to increase inequalities were no longer being supported so strongly within the government. Deliberations of external bodies such as the Commission on Social Justice again raised "the demand for welfare policies to be used to challenge social inequality" (Alcock, 1997, 261). Major (1990a, coll 1101) stated that "Everyone is entitled to dignity and pride. The government's policies will endeavour to ensure that they can attain them". Tax rises in 1992 were felt most heavily by those in higher income brackets. This represented a shift from the Thatcher governments tax and social security priorities from 1979-1988 which led Hills (1988) to conclude that cuts in direct taxes have been paid for entirely by cuts in the generosity of benefits meaning there has been a major redistribution from those on low incomes to the wealthy. The mid 1990's thus witnessed both a fall in relative poverty rates and a cessation of growth in inequality.

From the perspective of urban renewal policy, the focus in the 1980's and early 1990's was firmly on property-led regeneration. The perceived lack of physical infrastructure to support the activities of global corporate investors led to the removal of supply-side constraints to investment in cities. This included the minimisation of local government and reduced community involvement in planning for regeneration and its implementation (Imrie and Raco, 2003). The emphasis was placed on strengthening the role of the private sector and limiting the role of the public sector, in particular that of the local authorities, combined with less direct concern with the social and economic problems of urban residents and an emphasis on private sector business realising the commercial potential of unused inner city land (Cameron, 1992). Urban regeneration

“Thatcher-style, was characterised by the use of public subsidies, tax breaks, and the reduction in planning and other regulatory controls” (Imrie and Raco, 2003, 3). According to Pacione (1993) justification for such a market-led approach centred on the ‘trickle-down’ concept with in the longer term an expanded city revenue base created by central-area revitalisation providing funds to address social needs, in reality however such funds are usually recycled into further development. The presumption that “a rising tide would float all boats” (Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2001, 319) and the concurrent economic and social agenda was responsible for what many viewed as the intensification of inequality and poverty in the cities (Imrie and Raco, 2003). The “bewildering” plethora of urban policy initiatives including Urban Development Corporations, City Action Teams, City Grants, Housing Action Trusts, Enterprise Zones and Local Employment Subsidy Schemes whilst helping to revitalise a number of city centres such as Birmingham, Manchester and Glasgow did little to deal with the challenges presented by severe job losses and deprivation and the multitude of issues existent in the worst of the public housing and peripheral estates (Carley, 2000). Tiesdell and Allmendinger (2001) assert that the Thatcher government did not have a comprehensive strategy for neighbourhood regeneration and indeed appeared to be characterised by a lack of interest in, or commitment to, the problems of particular neighbourhoods. The dominance of an economic ethos relying on the private sector to initiate regeneration was criticised as ineffectual as “private sector efforts to revitalise a social economy are founded largely upon self-interest and not philanthropy” (Pacione, 1990b, 197). The intensification of geographical inequalities between the wealthy and the poor, the advantaged and disadvantaged was palpable by the end of the 1990’s whereby despite decades of urban policy British cities were characterised by stark inequalities between rich and poor neighbourhoods (Imrie and Raco, 2003).

3.3 New Labour into Power

3.3.1 The ‘Third Way’

The election of ‘New Labour’ in 1997 was heralded by some as “the start of a new opportunity and era in politics” (Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones, 2000, 1379). New

Labour proclaimed to be seeking to “broker a new formula through which the twin imperatives of economic growth and social justice might be reconciled amidst the rise of the global economy” (Boyle and Rogerson, 2006, 201). The encapsulating term of the ‘third way’ has come to represent such an approach. For Freedman (1999) for there to be a third way there has to be a first and a second, the first appears to be the modified social democracy that typified Labour from the 1950’s to the 1980’s, the second the neo-liberalism of the 1980’s. The third according to Blair (1998) “is not the dogma of the old left, concentrating on means rather than ends. Nor is it the laissez faire of the New Right. Unlike the Old Left, we want a market economy. But unlike the New Right, we do not want a market society. Renewed social democracy... modernisation is our fundamental aim... a Britain that is strong and fair”. Anthony Giddens often attributed with being the “chief philosophical guru” (Boyle and Rogerson, 2006, 201) of the ‘third way’ postulates that whilst the left focused on the state and the right on the market the third way allows for a movement away from those on the right “who say the government is the enemy” and those on the left “who say government is the answer” (Giddens, 1998, 70). The ‘third way’ rather pushed for “synergy between public and private sectors, utilising the dynamism of markets but with the public interest in mind” (Giddens, 1998, 100). Giddens (2003) agrees with the Milibandians that classical social democracy was an unsound political venture. ‘Modernising social democrats’ in contrast stress the importance of fiscal discipline, sponsoring economic competitiveness, asserting responsibilities as well as rights and furthering social justice. It’s about rejecting imagined and now redundant oppositions, between public and private, social justice and economic efficiency (Shaw, 2005). A summary of Giddens thoughts on the third way can be viewed below in table 3.1.

Table 3.1: The Third Way

Social democracy (the old left)	Neo-liberalism (the new right)	Third Way (the centre left)
Class politics of the left.	Class politics of the right.	Modernising movement of the centre.
Old mixed economy. Corporatism: state dominates over civil society.	Market fundamentalism. Minimal state.	New mixed economy. New democratic state.
Internationalism. Strong welfare state, protecting from 'cradle to grave'.	Conservative nation. Welfare safety net.	Cosmopolitan nation. Social investment state.

Source: Giddens, 1998a, 18.

Blair's view of the third way or 'post-modern social democracy' lies in "combining a commitment to economic efficiency with social fairness. It entails accepting the reality of the global market place, balanced by government intervention to equip people and business to survive in that environment"(Painter, 1999, 94). The 'third way' "helps people cope with a more insecure world because it rejects the destructive excesses of the market and the intrusive hand of state intervention" (Blair, 1998b, 4). The 'third way' response to social and economic change is according to Blair (1998a, 3) to aim for a "dynamic knowledge-based economy founded on individual empowerment and opportunity, where governments enable, not command, and the power of the market is harnessed to serve the public interest". It has the aim "of marrying together an open, competitive and successful economy with a just, decent and humane society" (Blair, 1997). According to Driver and Martell (2000) the 'third way' deals with four main themes, those of equal worth, opportunity for all, responsibility and community. Prabhakar (2002, 51) summarises that "on the one hand, the third way aims to ensure all individuals face opportunities, especially employment opportunities" and "to ensure that all individuals have adequate access to the resources needed to realise those opportunities. On the other hand, providing individuals with resources places obligations or responsibilities on them to make full use of these opportunities". The 'third way'

aspires therefore to a contract between those who exercise power and those who are obliged to be its subjects (Rose, 2000).

Third way ideology has had a direct impact on urban policy. As Kearns (2003, 53) identifies “rather than leaving neighbourhoods to the operation and efforts of the property and labour markets, or intervening as a nanny state to shore up failing enterprises... the notion is that self-help activities undertaken within existing market and governmental structures is the way forward for disadvantaged groups and communities”.

The ‘third way’ conceptually has proven controversial. For Johnstone and Whitehead (2004) contemporary urban policy informed by ‘third way’ ideology has led to an uneasy and problematic marriage of the large-scale anti-poverty programmes of the post-war social democratic state, with the economic imperatives of Thatcherite neo-liberal urban policy. A fundamental question is whether the ‘third way’ is a new form of “centre-left politics as it claims or a somewhat disguised continuation of the neo-liberal politics of the new right?” (Fairclough, 2000, 10). Ultimately does the third way make the old politics of left and right redundant or does it just combine them in a contradictory and incoherent way? (Driver and Martell, 2000). For Painter (1999) it is symptomatic of New Labour’s lack of a distinctive philosophy and coherent principles. It is a device for papering over the cracks of an inherently unstable coalition. Rather “New Labour’s position is best seen as social-liberal, in that it embraces fundamental liberal individualist assumptions but also retains a commitment to redistributive social justice. This formulation can be explained in terms of a shift of emphasis from equality to outcome to procedural fairness as the principle of redistribution” (Buckler and Dolowitz, 2000, 102).

Giddens (2000) refutes such claims suggesting ‘third way’ politics is not a ‘capitulation’ to neo-liberalism, rather it emphasises the central importance of active government and the public sphere. Driver and Martell (1998, 1) describe New Labour as “post-Thatcherite” based on the belief that New Labour assumed a critical attitude to the policies of both ‘Old Labour’ and the Conservatives and as such embodied a new ideological configuration that cannot be reduced to Thatcherism or ‘Old’ Labour (Fielding, 2003). These debates have been well documented elsewhere (See Driver and Martell (2002), Heffernan (2001), Ludlam and Smith (2001), Smith (2003), Meredith

(2003) and Coates (1996)). Whether such attention should even be devoted to the concept however is also a matter of consideration as there is a danger of overstating the significance of the 'Third Way'. The concept is in reality "vehicular", ultimately vague and mobile allowing for whimsical shifts in meaning (McLennan, 2004, 484). It is a concept that is not only "highly contentious in its claims about political change" it has also been "very limited in its uptake – it belongs to a small group of professional politicians and academics, and has hardly caught the popular imagination" (Fairclough, 2000, 49).

Despite such assertions, with regard to welfare, as early as 1998 the third way was influencing thoughts on reform: " ... a Third Way: not dismantling welfare, leaving it simply as a low-grade safety net for the destitute; nor keeping it unreformed and underperforming; but reforming it on the basis of a new contract between citizen and state, where we keep a welfare state from which we all benefit, but on terms that are fair and clear" (Prime Ministers introduction, Department of Social Security, 1998, iv). The onus thus moves onto individual's welfare rights being matched with responsibilities with the new programmes (New Deal, Sure Start etc.) being envisaged as a way to "invigorate those responsibilities and to generate activity in place of passive recipience" (Haylett, 2001, 45). Frank Field appointed as "Labour's leading welfare guru" (Driver and Martell, 1998, 88) following Blair's election into power elaborated that in "the present welfare system... Lying, cheating and deceit are all rewarded handsomely by a welfare system which costs on average £15 a day in taxation from every working individual... it is difficult to overestimate the destructive consequences welfare now has for our society" (Field, 1995, 122). The universal provision of welfare services which "would guard against poverty, promote equality and underpin citizenship and social cohesion" (Driver and Martell, 1998, 77) were now to be provided based on the premise of "work for those who can, security for those who can't" (Blair, 2001). For New Labour employment was viewed as the "surest and best route" (Kemp et al, 2004, 24) out of exclusion and poverty. Welfare reform was therefore based on "work-centred policy measures complemented by policies to improve the financial incentive of moving from benefits to work, and minimise the risk of in-work poverty" with practical support to "ease the

transition to work in the form of the National Childcare Strategy, career guidance, and training opportunities” (Annesley and Gamble, 2004, 151).

The introduction of ‘New Deal’ in 1997 meant that entitlement to social security was made conditional on the search for paid employment. New Deal programmes initially targeted those unemployed aged between 18-24 and the older more long-term unemployed before subsequently targeting lone parents, disabled people and partners of the unemployed. The Working Families Tax Credit (WFTC), paid through wage packets, to provide continued benefits for people with families was also introduced as a mechanism to incentivise those classified as unemployed to move back into work and in doing so fulfil Labour’s objectives “of promoting work incentives, reducing poverty and welfare dependency, and strengthening community and family life” (Driver and Martell, 2003, 163). New Labour’s strategy of making ‘work pay’ has also included the introduction of Working Tax Credit (WTC) in 2003 to tackle in-work poverty amongst people without children, a national minimum wage in 1999 and a lower ten pence tax band to give low earners higher disposable incomes.

New Labour’s focus on ‘welfare to work’ as a means of moving people out of poverty and reducing reliance on the welfare state has however proven problematic. Firstly, as identified by Ellison (1997) such policies are dependent to a large extent on the willingness of the unemployed to be ‘partners’ with the state and with those who provide employment, education and training, in taking the opportunities on offer. Secondly, there have been issues around governmental programmes having been better able to help those who are reasonably ‘job ready’ (Kemp et al, 2004). Also New Deal in particular is better at getting people into jobs than it is at helping them stay in work, meaning job retention is becoming a growing issue for the policy (Kellard, 2002). Lastly, for those economically inactive due to for example severe disability, whereby paid employment is not an option then improvements in social security benefits are likely to be the most effective route out of poverty. Such a focus on work ethic is concerning, as both Lister (1998) and Levitas (1998) identify, it could stigmatise those who cannot or do not contribute to society through employment. Levitas (1998) further claims that New Labour’s focus on paid

employment does not recognise unpaid work such as parenting and caring as a legitimate contribution to society.

Whilst Labour's first term focused on moving the registered unemployed from welfare to work Labour's second term was concerned more with creating a 'Modern Welfare State' (Labour Party, 2001) which promoted work for all at working age, opportunities for those too young to work and security for those over retirement age. All benefit claimants of working age now had compulsory 'work-focused' interviews and from April 2002 claimants of incapacity benefit would be allowed to work for up to 16 hours per week and remain on benefits. The creation of Jobcentre Plus in October 2001 was also another significant development as this marked "a dramatic change in the way in which Government helps working age citizens, delivering an active service to help people move on and become independent and move from welfare into work" (HM Treasury and Department of Work and Pensions, 2001, 32). Ultimately the post-war social democratic commitment to the universality of the welfare state, that it should be available on the same terms (free at point of use) to everyone, (Driver and Martell, 2002) has been transformed under New Labour. New Labour's focus on "rights" and "responsibilities" is not so much an echo of Thatcherism as an endorsement for its values.

New Labour has also expressed a desire to tackle inequality promising to "tackle the division and inequality in our society" (Rubenstein, 1997, 342). Indeed when Labour came to power in 1997 the distribution of incomes in Britain was more unequal than at any time in recent history (Sefton and Sutherland, 2005) as indicated in Chapter 1 (Section 1.3). New Labour thus set out to increase the living standards of the poorest without detriment to the richest. Tony Blair with regard to the gap between the rich and the poor postulated "the issue isn't in fact whether the very richest person ends up becoming richer. The issue is whether the poorest person is given the chance that they don't otherwise have" (Bromley, 2003, 74). Tensions clearly exist between New Labour's commitments to social justice and social exclusion on one hand and its concerns about the economic and political consequences of pursuing a more openly egalitarian agenda on the other (Sefton and Sutherland, 2005, 233). This tension has to an extent been settled by New Labour's attempts to define the problem as an inequality of

opportunities rather than incomes. Gordon Brown (1996) further emphasised that redistribution of income was not as desirable as other policies aimed at improving the life chances of the poorest such as increasing educational attainment of those most disadvantaged, improving access to higher education and welfare-to-work initiatives. Brown (1996 cited in Powell, 1999, 17) described how “for too long we have used the tax and benefit system to compensate people for their poverty rather than doing something more fundamental – tackling the root causes of poverty and inequality... the road to equality of opportunity starts not with tax rates, but with jobs, education, and the reform of the welfare state”. Lister (2001, 67) argues that policy is thus directed “towards promoting equal worth, equality of opportunity and social inclusion rather than greater equality as such” however “many would argue that genuine equal worth and opportunity are not possible in such an unequal society”. Sefton and Sutherland (2005) contest New Labour’s approach to inequality stating too much emphasis has been placed on ‘work for those who can’ and not enough on ‘security for those who cannot’.

Overall, levels of income inequality under New Labour have not fallen (Sefton and Sutherland, 2005) however following the much lauded 1999 commitment to eradicate child poverty within a generation relative poverty has fallen amongst this group. Hills (2004) describes how a series of reforms to taxes and benefits for families with children resulted in higher Child Benefit and in the Child Tax Credit, of equal value to families out of work and to those in low-paid work with indicators of deprivation for families with children showing sharp reductions. Policies aimed at the root causes of inequality including improved childcare and making work pay policies are also believed to be taking effect (Sefton and Sutherland, 2005). Issues still exist however around the extent to which New Labour are targeting the rates of income of those at the top end of the income scale as whilst “under Labour most families with children have seen their living standards improve” due to incomes having “been rising generally, the gap between rich and poor has remained” (Harker, 2001, 63). Goodman (2001) also draws attention to the fact that whilst those with children are ultimately the biggest gainers those with no children have gained very little.

Clearly it is recognised that a vast number of issues both material and personal contribute to individuals experience of poverty whether it be poor levels of education, high levels of poor physical and mental health, fear of crime and housing issues to name but a few however it is not possible within the scope of this research to provide an overview of governmental policy in relation to each. New Labour's policy responses to such issues including "inadequate education and skills... regional industrial decline, broken down communities, public services suffering under the twin problems of chronic under-investment and outdated methods of working" (Blair, 2001) are well reviewed elsewhere (see Powell (1999) and Hills and Stewart (2005) for in depth coverage). Rather, the following section shall provide a brief overview of policy approaches taken to tackle disadvantage in New Labours first and second terms.

3.4 Tackling Disadvantage

Upon coming to power in 1997 the Labour government made a commitment to regenerate Britain's cities by promoting social inclusion, neighbourhood renewal and community involvement (Imrie and Raco, 2003). According to Newman (2001) 'reciprocity', 'inclusivity' and 'partnership' were all key concepts that implied the goal of creating a more consensual basis for interaction between the state and society. The new government placed a much bigger emphasis on the problems of deprived areas than its predecessors (Lupton, 2003). The Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) recognised the nuances of area conditions in holding families back and particularly children from opportunities and advocated targets to reduce deprivation within disadvantaged areas and more significantly recognised the complexities and interlocking problems of the worst areas (Power and Willmot, 2005). Tony Blair (1998) described how "over the last two decades the gap between these 'worst estates' and the rest of the country has grown. It has left us with a situation that no civilised society should tolerate... It shames us a nation, it wastes lives and we all have to pay the costs of dependency and social division". The solution to problems of "poor job prospects, high levels of crime, a rundown environment and no one in charge of managing the neighbourhood and co-ordinating the public services that

affect it” (Blair, 1998) was designed to be “a comprehensive and long-term approach, involving both national policies and area-based programmes, investing in both physical and social improvement, and putting communities in the driving seat, rather than imposing solutions from above” (Lupton, 2003, 141). With regards to tackling disadvantage two main phases of policy can be identified. The first of which from 1997-2000 was based on the introduction of a range of area-based policies which included a new comprehensive area regeneration programme.

3.4.1 Area Based Initiatives

Targeting specific geographical areas for improvement is an approach which has waxed and waned in popularity (Sullivan, Barnes and Matka, 2006). Power and Mumford (1999) detailed the contribution thriving neighbourhoods could make to city and regional recovery with poor neighbourhoods effectively with their unattractive and uncared for environments deterring visitors and driving families out. Lupton and Power (2005, 128) therefore identified the importance of adopting a “locally focused, delivery oriented approach in order to bridge the gap between the need for neighbourhood renewal and its reliance on wider organisational and policy changes”. ABIs were set up in effect to integrate with city and regional strategies with funds being directed to areas of need rather than on the basis of competitive bids (Lupton, 2003). A summary of those area based programmes adopted by New Labour can be viewed below in table 3.2.

Table 3.2: New Labour area-based programmes

Initiative	Finance	Purpose
New Deal for Communities (NDC)	£2 billion over 10 years	Aimed at increasing the number of people in work, improving education levels and health and reducing crime. Each scheme is comprised of a local partnership involving residents, community organisations, local authorities and local businesses with the bulk of funding only being awarded following inclusion of the local community in the development of regeneration plans (Imrie and Raco, 2003, 19).
Education Action Zones (EAZs)	Each zone received £750,000 per year topped with £250,000 private sector funds.	Designed to tackle underachievement and low standards in deprived areas – to level-up the standard of education in the most difficult areas.
Health Action Zones (HAZs)	£320 million over 3 years.	Designed to cut inequalities and deliver measurable improvements in public health and health outcomes and the quality of treatment and care. A new approach to public health linking regeneration, employment, education, housing and anti-poverty initiatives.
Sure Start	£200 million per year made available to local programmes.	Designed to work with families with children under the age of four, improving the provision of family support, advice on nurturing, health services and the provision of early learning
Excellence in Cities		Programme to raise educational standards in urban areas.
Employment Zones (EZs)		Areas of high long-term unemployment that would benefit from extra funding to get older unemployed people into work.

Source: Adapted from Lupton, 2003, 145.

The use of ABIs has proven controversial with opinion generally being divided as to whether wider “structural” or more local “neighbourhood” factors should be the focus of attention (Glennerster, et al, 1999, 5). According to Chatterton and Bradley (2000, 99) “area based policy initiatives are unable to achieve integrated local regeneration as they pay insufficient attention to wider structural reasons for deprivation”. Areas therefore “...cannot be treated as autonomous or self-sufficient in terms of either economy or culture. Their functions and distribution of prosperity are in the main decided elsewhere” (Townsend, 1979, 564). Lupton (2003) similarly identifies the ‘mistake’ of focussing on spatial concentrations of poverty “since this is only a symptom of more fundamental inequalities”. Greater redistribution of tax benefit and regional policies therefore are still of utmost importance (Lister, 2001). Area based approaches have been widely criticised for being ‘inward’ looking (Hastings, 2003). Such approaches act to focus attention on the characteristics of localities and, in particular, on the deficiencies of residents ultimately locating the “blame for disadvantage with the disadvantaged themselves” (Hastings, 2003, 87). Identifying areas for attention therefore stigmatises such places as ‘problem areas’ to be treated separately from the rest of society and bolsters pathological explanations of disadvantage with the idea of a “culture of poverty” (as discussed in

chapter 1, section 1.5) (Chatterton and Bradley, 2000, 102). The promotion of social cohesion and participation in ABIs can also be identified as inward looking and damaging through binding residents to their neighbourhood and possibly limiting the opportunities for change (Hastings, 2003) and also reducing the need for disadvantaged areas and their residents to connect into the mainstream urban fabric (Forrest and Kearns, 1999).

Further concerns relating to ABIs draw attention to the issue of there often being a great deal of deprivation out with those areas deemed worthy of specific attention (Lepine et al, 2007). The arbitrary nature of neighbourhood boundaries is also an issue as debate is ongoing as to what constitutes a neighbourhood? (Blokland, 2003). Galster (2001, 2111) sums up the confusion by stating neighbourhood is a term that is “hard to define precisely, but everyone knows it when they see it”. Tilley, Pease, Hough and Brown (1999) highlight that targeting the needs of ‘virtual’ rather than ‘spatially’ defined communities may prove of benefit in addressing disadvantage as with virtual communities it is often easier to reach meaningful levels of community participation and to identify the nature and extent of needs (Chatterton and Bradley, 2000). Attention should also be drawn to the creation of ‘spill-over’ effects as area-based policies may decrease deprivation in an area, but will not prevent the appearance of deprivation in new areas over time (Gaster, Smart, Harrison et al, 1995). According to Hastings (2003) the desire to avoid displacement seems to infer the need to manage neighbourhood renewal at a spatial scale above that of the neighbourhood level. Further tensions exist surrounding the use of ABI policy between people and place-based outcomes (Lawless, 2007). Oatley (2000) draws the distinction between area based policies being justified with regard to addressing ‘place poverty’ in the short term making a difference to quality of housing and the environment, increasing community social capital and encouraging good practice however area based policies are notoriously unsuccessful in tackling ‘people poverty’. Whilst the concentration of resources on a small number of neighbourhoods is both administratively and politically convenient such responses may mislead people into thinking the problems are being tackled when in reality palliatives are being produced to alleviate the worst symptoms (Oatley, 2000). Oatley (2000) acknowledges that ‘area

effects' do exist however given the widespread nature of deprivation in society there is a danger of stressing area effects at the expense of social and economic processes which are essentially autonomous with regards to the area. These problems have been referred to as 'spatial fetishism' and the 'ecological fallacy' (as discussed in chapter 2, section 2.5).

Institutionalising action at a local level can also have internalised operational consequences with the resultant "de-coupling of special initiatives from the mainstream activities of public agencies" (Hastings, 2003, 88). Many ABIs therefore were developed separately from mainstream services with "no thought given about how the initiatives would continue once the special funding had run out" (Oatley, 2000, 92). It is however easier to "formulate regeneration policy around local neighbourhood factors rather than wider structural factors" (Chatterton and Bradley, 2000, 107). As such many ABIs with a local focus "are likely to have little impact on the entrenched causes of the problems identified, other than to soften the damaging consequences on communities of ongoing economic restructuring" (Oatley, 2000, 93). ABIs develop solutions to local problems that according to Hall (1997) ignore the impact of macro-economic structures in promoting socio-spatial polarisation and segregation.

Power, Rees and Taylor (2005) identify the adoption of ABIs by New Labour as an interventionist response to the failings of prior administrations with ABIs acting to redress the excesses of neo-liberal policies, through targeting investment at those areas worst affected by the failures of the market. The need for a more 'outward' looking perspective towards regeneration has according to Hastings (2003) been recognised recently. The designation of city-wide partnerships may indicate a 'scaling-up' of the most appropriate territorial scales at which to identify the causes of neighbourhood issues as well as allowing for the formulation of pertinent solutions. Also, the emphasis on mainstream services and their operation beyond the level of the neighbourhood, may help reverse the trend for neighbourhood level initiatives to become isolated from strategic governance (Hastings, 2003). The emphasis on mainstream services and scaling up of governance to the level of the local authority are key aspects of New Labour's neighbourhood policy aimed at developing a strategic, multilevel approach to the

governance of regeneration which ‘superficially’ at least signals more of an ‘outward’ looking approach (Hastings, 2003, 93) as outlined in section 3.4.2 below.

3.4.2 A focus on manipulating the mainstream

The second period of New Labour policy from 2001 was marked by the introduction of the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal with more emphasis on mainstream programmes. A new commitment was made that within 10 to 20 years no one should be seriously disadvantaged by where they live (SEU, 2001). Tony Blair (2000, 3) four imperatives for successful regeneration “First, to revive the economy, without jobs and businesses creating wealth it is impossible for any area to turn itself around second to revive and empower the community, unless the community is fully engaged in shaping and delivering regeneration even the best plans on paper will fail to deliver in practice. Thirdly to improve the key public services ... Fourthly underpinning all of these is a need for leadership and joint working, not just national but local leadership”. The 2001 strategy itself therefore focused on a number of key fundamentals. The main focus was on local authority areas (a number of the most deprived calculated by the Index of Multiple Deprivation) who were obliged to create Local Strategic Partnerships (LSP’s), single coalitions of public, private, voluntary and community sectors operating as equal players (Lupton, 2003). Areas that suffer from possessing poor quality public services such as schools, health and policing would “see standards brought up to minimum floors” (SEU, 2001, 30). At a national level a Neighbourhood Renewal Unit (NRU) was established with the remit of amongst other things “overseeing and supporting the central government contribution to the National Strategy” (SEU, 2001, 54). Lupton (2003) summarises below in figure 3.1 the main elements of the Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy.

Figure 3.1 The main elements of the Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy

<p>Employment and economies</p> <p>Making the New Deal permanent; new tax and benefit measures to make work pay; creating 32 new Action Teams for Jobs in high unemployment areas, £379 million from the National Lottery for childcare; a £96 million Phoenix Fund to support business start-ups in deprived areas; more flexibility and more funding for RDAs.</p>
<p>Crime</p> <p>Drug treatment funding to increase by some 10% a year in real terms. Spending on police to be £1.6 billion higher by 2003-04. A new National Drug Treatment Agency; a new responsibility for Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships to tackle anti-social behaviour and improve reporting of racist crime, and an £18.5 million fund for Neighbourhood Warden schemes.</p>
<p>Education and skills</p> <p>Extending Sure Start to cover a third of infants by 2004; extending the Excellence in Cities programme; a new entitlement to out-of-hours Study Support for secondary pupils; a Children's Fund to work with vulnerable five- to 13-year-olds; and creating a Connexions Service to keep 13- to 19-year-olds in learning. For adults, measures include creating 6,000 new online centres, and an Adult Basic Skills strategy aimed at helping 750,000 people improve basic skills by 2004.</p>
<p>Health</p> <p>New incentives to recruit and retain primary care staff in deprived areas; 200 new Personal Medical Service schemes, mainly in deprived areas; a free national translation and interpretation service available in all NHS premises; new help for smokers, including goals for reducing smoking by 2010; and a National School Fruit Scheme to provide young school children with a fresh piece of fruit every school day. A target to halve the rate of teenage conceptions among those under 18 by 2010.</p>
<p>Poor housing and physical environment</p> <p>An extra £1.6 billion investment in housing; expanding the transfer of local authority homes to housing associations; and an extra £80 million for housing management by 2003-04. A clearer role for local authorities in preventing and tackling abandonment; Housing Corporation pilot on funding demolition to ensure supply does not exceed demand.</p>

Source: Lupton, 2003, 147.

In 2005 four years after its launch John Prescott outlined the progress of the strategy to date emphasising that the approach was based on using “hundreds of billions of mainstream government spending to achieve renewal, not just one-off regeneration cash”. Employment was reported to have increased by 1.7 % in NRF districts compared to 1.4% nationally, Education levels were also showing improvement with the average pass rate improving by 8.5% as opposed to 6.6% nationally, crime and anti-social behaviour had also decreased by 28% (ODPM, 2005, 27). On the other hand, despite reported progress having been made, the proliferation of urban policy initiatives introduced by New Labour since coming to power in 1997 has led to criticism of the “resultant policy maze” (Johnstone and Whitehead, 2004, 5) stemming from a “concern amongst ministers that they are seen to be doing something to address urban problems” (Johnstone and Whitehead, 2004, 14). Ultimately, New Labour inhabits “a diverse landscape of strategies and initiatives that cross different spaces, scales and policy arenas” taken collectively it “represents an attempt to generate what New Labour describes as a *renaissance* in urban economies, communities and metropolitan life” (italics in original) (Johnstone and Whitehead, 2004, 5). Despite the complexity of the policy environment a number of key themes can be identified which in theory punctuate New Labour’s approach to tackling

urban disadvantage. These include partnership, social capital, community involvement and social exclusion.

For Hindmoor (2005) New Labour's rhetorical lexicon is characterised by the appearance, endless repetition and eventual disappearance of a series of catch-phrases such as 'social exclusion' and 'partnership'. Is it the case that New Labour's 'new politics' for a 'new Britain' is just rhetoric in effect, just empty words? (Fairclough, 2000, vii). According to Taylor (1999) in order to understand New Labour, you have to get to grips with the 'reality-rhetoric dichotomy'. Freedon (2003, viii) views New Labour's strengths in the ability to form distinctive configurations out of political concepts, "the occasional new meanings it assigns to political words in common currency and the innovative manner in which it blends ideas both external and internal to its traditions".

In order to truly comprehend New Labour's approach to tackling disadvantage it is vital to review a number of key components of New Labour's ideology and discourse which percolate and influence governmental thinking on addressing disadvantage and the formulation of social policy. What follows is a selective overview of the fundamental components of New Labour discourse consisting of social exclusion, social capital, partnership and community involvement.

3.5 Tackling Social Exclusion

Tackling 'social exclusion' was mentioned in the first term of the New Labour government as being "one of the government's highest priorities" (Morrison, 2003a, 141). As is the case with most, if not all, New Labour rhetorical devices defining social exclusion is problematic being described by Silver (1994, 536) as "so evocative, ambiguous, multidimensional and elastic that it can be defined in many different ways". Attempts at definition have been made however with Madanipour, Cars and Allen (1998, 22) choosing to define the concept as "a multi-dimensional process, in which various forms of exclusion are combined: participation in decision making and political processes, access to employment and material resources, and integration into common

cultural processes” whilst Percy-Smith (2000) has also made an attempt to outline the varied dimensions of social exclusion which can be viewed in table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Dimensions of social exclusion

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Indicators</i>
Economic	Long-term unemployment Casualization and job insecurity Workless households Income poverty
Social	Breakdown of traditional households Unwanted teenage pregnancies Homelessness Crime Disaffected youth
Political	Disempowerment Lack of political rights Low registration of voters Low voter turnout Low levels of community activity Alienation/lack of confidence in political processes Social disturbance/disorder
Neighbourhood	Environmental degradation Decaying housing stock Withdrawal of local services Collapse of support networks
Individual	Mental and physical ill health Educational underachievement/low skills Loss of self esteem/confidence
Spatial	Concentration/marginalization of vulnerable groups
Group	Concentration of above characteristics in particular groups: elderly, disabled, ethnic minorities

Source: Percy-Smith, 2000, 9.

Perhaps however the most influential and significant definition is that provided by the SEU (2006) that defines social exclusion as:

“...a shorthand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown. When such problems combine they can create a vicious cycle. Social exclusion can happen as a result of problems that face one person in their life. But it can also start from birth. Being born into poverty or to parents with low skills still has a major influence on future life chances”.

Such a definition and the consequent policy approaches towards tackling ‘social exclusion’ have been open to a great deal of criticism. Thake (2001) draws attention to the definition employed by New Labour as describing some *characteristics* of social exclusion and not adequately describing the *experience* of social exclusion (italics in original) ultimately describing social exclusion by its symptoms rather than by the underlying dynamics that give rise to them is insufficient. Lund (2002) concurs stating the idea of social exclusion as presented by New Labour places attention on the personal characteristics of the excluded rather than the structures generating social exclusion (in line with an individual explanation of disadvantage as discussed in chapter 1 section 1.5.1) which leads to ineffective policy solutions as “you can’t end social exclusion by dealing only with the symptoms. The excluded do not simply drift out of the mainstream; somebody somewhere shuts the door” (Lund, 1999, 284). The issue of social exclusion thus appeared to be defined with regard to the ‘category of person’ (the excluded) rather than in terms of the ‘process of exclusion’ (that is institutional discrimination by schools, employers, public services and even the welfare benefits system) (Newman, 2001). Further structural explanations for the existence of social exclusion come from Byrne (1999) arguing that social exclusion is a necessary characteristic of an unequal post-industrial capitalism founded on a flexible labour market. It is inevitable then that “social exclusion, and spatial concentrations of social exclusion cannot be tackled within an overall policy framework that accepts the logic of globalisation and the free market economy”. (Lupton, 2003, 151). According to Veit-Wilson (1998) ‘weak’ and ‘strong’ versions of the concept of social exclusion exist with in the ‘weak’ version the solutions lying in changing the excluded people’s ‘handicapping’ characteristics and encouraging their integration into mainstream society while ‘stronger’ forms emphasise the role of

those who are doing the excluding and strive for solutions which reduce the powers of exclusion. Regardless of definition the governmental adoption of the term has signified a shift from existing notions of inequality and disadvantage to a wider understanding of material poverty which prioritises other social, cultural and political factors (Macleavy, 2006).

With policy response being determined by the predominant discourse utilised to conceptualise social exclusion clarification of approach is clearly essential. Levitas (1998) identified three explanatory discourses which are summarised below in table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Three discourses of social exclusion

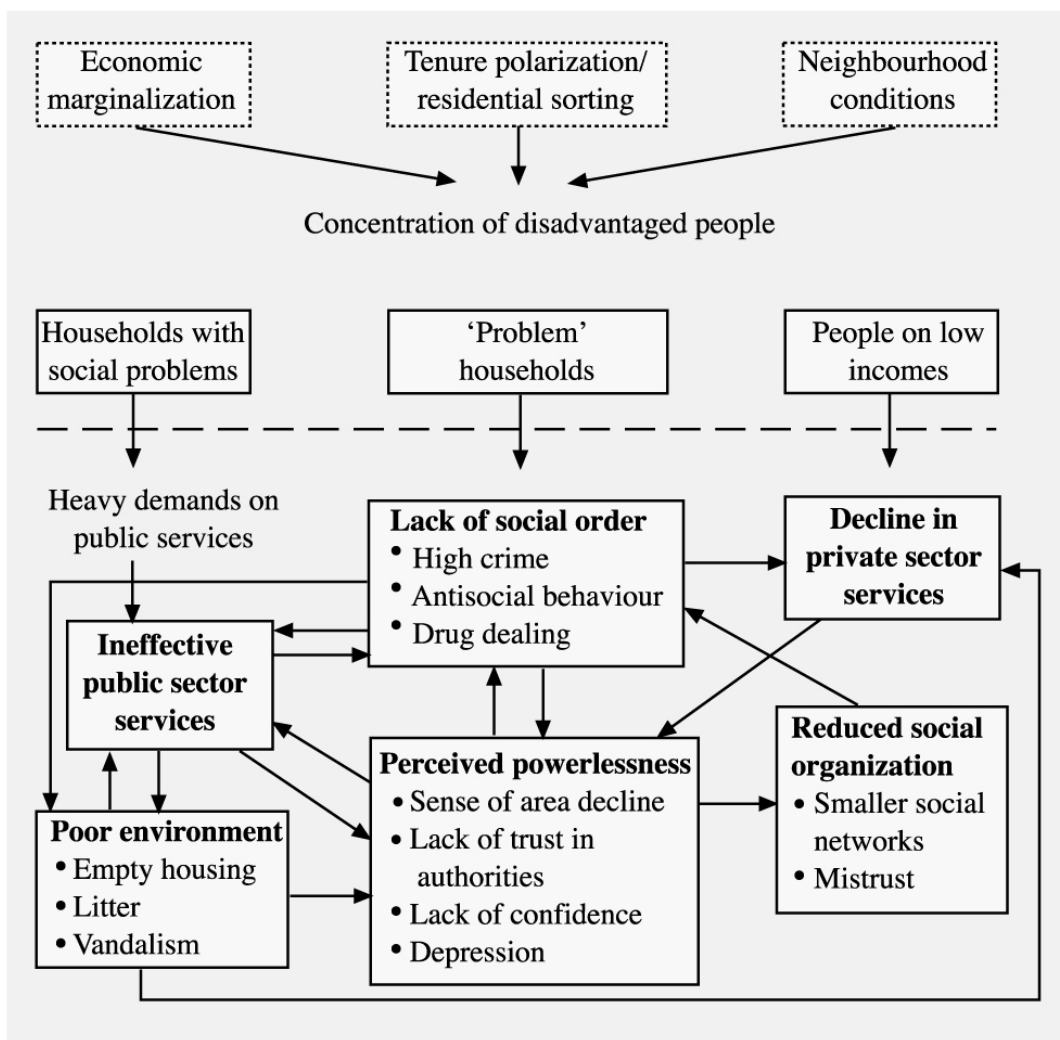
Discourse	Characteristics of Discourse	Primary Concern
Redistributionist (RED)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It emphasises poverty as a prime cause of social exclusion. • It implies a reduction of poverty through increases in benefit levels. • It is potentially able to valorise unpaid work. • It focuses on the processes which produce inequality. • It implies a radical reduction of inequalities, and a redistribution of resources and of power. 	Poverty. Contrasts exclusion with a version of citizenship which calls for a substantial redistribution of power and wealth.
Moral Underclass Discourse (MUD)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focuses on the behaviour of the poor rather than the structure of the whole society. • It implies that benefits are bad, rather than good, for their recipients and encourage dependency. • It is a gendered discourse, about idle, criminal young men and single mothers. • Unpaid work is not acknowledged. 	Centres on the moral and behavioural delinquency of the excluded themselves.
Social Integrationist Discourse (SID)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It narrows the definition of social exclusion/ inclusion to participation in paid work. • It squeezes out the question of why people who are not employed are consigned to poverty. • It obscures the inequalities between paid workers. • It is unable to address adequately the question of unpaid work in society. 	Centres on unemployment and economic inactivity, pursuing social integration or social cohesion primarily through inclusion in paid work.

Source: Adapted from Levitas, 1998, p.7-8 and p.9-27.

In relation to these discourses the key focus of New Labour's policy to tackle social exclusion focuses on New Deal as outlined above, providing 'Opportunity For All' and 'Breaking the Cycle' (SEU, 2004) with the "cycle of disadvantage" having "never been stronger" (Blair, 2004, 2). The discourse around social exclusion is consistently percolated with notions of "no rights without responsibilities" (Giddens, 1998, 65) and an emphasis on matching "rights and responsibilities" (Blair, 1998a, 13). New Labour policy therefore appears to be based on the principles of MUD and SID as displayed in table 3.4 and adheres to an individualist explanation of poverty as outlined in chapter 1, section 1.5.1.

The SEU has been tasked with reducing social exclusion in those neighbourhoods felt to be 'on the edge' (Power, 1997). The combination and persistent incidence of certain factors including high unemployment, family breakdown, drug abuse, violence, crime and disaffected youth (Page, 2000) has led to the existence of what have been termed 'neighbourhood effects' whereby living in a deprived area has an additional detrimental effect on people's life chances (Buck and Gordon, 2004). This is because the social dynamics of disadvantaged areas can foster inward-looking attitudes, stigmatisation and weak social capital (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2002). The SEU identified up to 4,000 neighbourhoods which hold "pockets of intense deprivation where the problems of unemployment and crime are acute and hopelessly tangled up with poor health, housing and education. They have become no-go areas for some and no-exit zones for others" (SEU, 1998, 9). Lupton and Power (2002) concur that the concentration of problems in particular neighbourhoods is not coincidental but rather the nature of the neighbourhood actually contributes to the social exclusion of residents in three ways. Firstly, the intrinsic character of neighbourhoods is hard to change for example location, transport infrastructure and economic base. Secondly residential sorting occurs whereby the least advantaged are concentrated in the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods partly due to public policy and issues relating to tenure. Thirdly once a concentration of disadvantage is established neighbourhoods can acquire even more damaging associations such as reputation, services and facilities and levels of confidence in the neighbourhood. The combined effects of such issues can be viewed in figure 3.2 below.

Figure 3.2: Interlinked effects of area concentration of disadvantage



Source: Lupton and Power, 2002, 136.

With a view to decreasing the economic and social segregation of particular neighbourhoods and to counter the effect of concentrating high levels of disadvantaged people together the concept of ‘balancing communities’ (Cole and Goodchild, 2001) has repeatedly been discussed in New Labour’s housing and urban policies since 1997. For

example the SEU (2000) described how communities function at their best when they possess a broad social mix. Defining what is meant by a 'balanced community' is problematic however with the term bedevilled by a lack of clarity among policy makers and academics (Minton, 2002). According to Raco (2007) for a place-based community to be in balance it needs to possess the right types of citizens, possessing the right types of skills and capacities. It also needs to possess some degree of social harmony derived from a healthy labour market and it requires the mobilisation and coordination of a range of policy fields covering areas as diverse as entitlements to housing and the provision of transport infrastructure. In terms of improvements to quality of life. Goodchild and Cole (2001) state it is difficult to identify any practical significance for poor individuals and households living in the type of balanced estates that have been developed in Britain over the past few years. Indeed where social mix has been discussed with residents of deprived neighbourhoods often a desire has been expressed to live amongst people of similar background (Goodchild and Cole, 2001) whilst the existence of a 'poverty of place' is still openly contested (Fitzpatrick, 2004).

The social economy is another area which New Labour have expressed a desire to include in the fight against social exclusion. The concept of the 'social economy' is denoted as "the market for services sold by not-for profit organisations in response to local welfare needs not met by the state or private sector" (ESRC, 2001). According to Moulaert and Ailenei (2005, 2037) the social economy "addresses the challenge of bringing social justice values back into the economy by combating social exclusion, fostering development in particular deprived localities and reinventing solidarity in production relations". Whilst the social economy can play a role in creating employment, quality jobs and the inclusion of disadvantaged groups (Lukkarinen, 2005) there is the danger that the social economy may be used by government as the low- or no-cost alternative to state funded social welfare (McMurty, 2004). The social economy according to the ESRC (2001) is increasingly being viewed as "a panacea for hard-hit communities" and "at the same time as decreasing the burden on the welfare state". Amin (2001) suggests that the social economy should not be viewed as a growth machine or an engine of job creation but rather as a differential economy based on meeting social needs

with its real potential lying in renewing democracy by encouraging capability-building and grass roots participation. Amin, Cameron and Hudson (2002) further argue that as the causes of social exclusion generally lie beyond neighbourhoods, through broader social and economic processes, the social economy cannot act as a localised solution in isolation from wider national policy.

The following section focuses on a second fundamental component of New Labour's approach to tackling urban disadvantage, the concept of social capital.

3.6 Investing in Social Capital

Social capital has consistently been a prominent theme of New Labour ideology with Blair (1999) stating from a policy perspective it is "the magic ingredient that makes all the difference". Blunkett (2002) emphasised the importance of a focus on social capital proclaiming it "is that which bonds us together and builds bridges between communities". For Szreter (1999 cited in Mohan and Mohan, 2002, 193) social capital is best viewed simultaneously as an economic, sociological and political concept and also as a geographical concept. According to Putnam (1993, 13) "because social capital is a public good, the costs of closing factories and destroying communities go beyond the trauma borne by individuals. Worse yet, some government programmes themselves, such as urban renewal and public housing projects, have heedlessly ravaged existing social networks". Blair (1999) concedes that "too often in the past, government programmes damaged social capital – sending in the experts but ignoring community organisations, investing in bricks and mortar but not in people" and as such "in the future we need to invest in social capital as surely as we invest in skills and buildings". The Performance and Innovation Unit (2002, 74) consider social capital to be important from a policy perspective as it "may contribute to a range of beneficial economic and social outcomes including: high levels of and growth in GDP; more efficiently functioning labour markets; higher educational attainment; lower levels of crime; better health; and more effective institutions of government".

The origins of the concept of social capital can be traced back as early as the 1920's however in more contemporary times a number of writers including Jacobs

(1961), Coleman (1988), Bourdieu (1993) and Putnam (1993) have been particularly influential in promoting discussion of the concept and its value. Due to the expansive and multidisciplinary nature of the work and attempts made at defining social capital it is not possible here to provide a review of such debates but rather a selection of widely cited definitions have been provided in figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3: Selected definitions of ‘social capital’

Social capital is:	
“not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within the structure”.	Coleman (1988, 96)
“the features of social organisation, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action”.	Putnam (1993, 23)
“the features of social organisations, such as civic participation, norms of reciprocity and trust in others, that facilitate cooperation for mutual benefit”.	Kawachi, Kennedy, Lochner and Prothrow-Stith (1997 cited in Kearns, 2003, 41)
“a set of informal values or norms shared among members of a group that permits cooperation among them”.	Fukuyama (1999 cited in Kearns, 2003, 41)
“the institutions, relationships and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society’s social interactions”.	World Bank (1999, cited in Halpern, 2005, 16)

Kearns (2003) attempted to make sense of the multitude of definitions by distinguishing between the core elements of social capital (components), the manifestations of social capital (outcomes) and the different scales at which social capital may operate (scales of operation) as shown in table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Social capital: components, outcomes and operation

Components	Intermediate outcomes	Scales of operation
Social networks	Quality and quantity of social interaction	Bonding capital - made up of those strong social ties amongst people with shared values, interests and backgrounds (for example family members)
Social norms	Shared objectives	Bridging capital – weaker, less dense crosscutting social ties between heterogeneous individuals such as friends from different groups and business associates.
Levels of trust	Cooperative action Reciprocity Civic engagement Access to resources and opportunities	Linking capital – vertical connections such as those between the powerful and less powerful or between social classes.

Source: Adapted from Kearns, 2003, 41 and Woolcock, 2001.

The link between social capital, ‘Third Way’ ideas and New Labour social policy is clear (Johnston and Percy-Smith, 2002) and according to Grenier and Wright (2006) social capital is widely prescribed as an all purpose tonic for British society. Kearns (2003) perceives the main attraction of the concept to the government and policy makers as being the promises it holds for multiple social outcomes as displayed in table 3.6.

Table 3.6: The outcomes of social capital

Area of impact	Social capital mechanisms
<i>Reduced crime</i>	Improved socialisation processes Stronger local norms and sanctions
<i>Improved health</i>	Adoption of healthy behaviours Better provision of health services Higher self-esteem and less social isolation
<i>Better labour market outcomes</i>	Weak ties that offer information and opportunities Higher employment expectations Acquisition of soft skills through social networks
<i>Higher educational attainment</i>	Lower levels of truancy Parents more effective as educators Better home environment for learning
<i>More effective democracy</i>	Community more effective at expressing its needs Voluntary associations train future politicians Citizens more likely to engage and vote in politics Civic-minded citizens make policy implementation easier

Source: Kearns, 2003, 55.

New Labour policy initiatives such as the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund, New Deal for Communities, Education and Health Action Zones and Sure Start all draw heavily on social capital ideology, community capacity building and engaging communities. According to Forrest and Kearns (2001) social capital and the concept of neighbourhood are of policy interest due to a renewed interest around ideas of ‘local community’ (Etzioni, 1993) and self help as a means to tackle area deprivation. There is according to Forrest and Kearns (2001) the implication that disadvantaged neighbourhoods generally lack the necessary qualities of self help, mutuality and trust which could assist their regeneration. Increasing social capital from a New Labour perspective is viewed as primarily important for those inhabiting deprived areas.

According to Middleton, Murie and Groves (2005) New Labour view social capital as the foundation upon which social stability and a community's ability to help itself are built. Mooney and Fyfe (2006) describe how civic 'renewal' and the development of social capital are seen as crucial to neighbourhood regeneration and to the redevelopment of disadvantaged communities under New Labour. A paper on neighbourhood renewal published by the SEU (2000, 6) supports this view stating that increased fear of crime and consistent population turnover in deprived neighbourhoods is "a key factor in decline" and that a community's potential to help itself is down to "vital resources of social capital". Neighbourhood decline ultimately reduces levels of social capital which leads to disrupted and weakened networks, eroded familiarity and trust and the policy interventions attempting to halt and reverse such decline are being introduced in a context of community disengagement and disillusionment (Forrest and Kearns, 2001). Maloney, Smith and Stoker (2000) report that in some instances poor government and institutional design can actually aid the generation of social capital whilst in others and probably more frequently it can destroy it.

Halpern (2005) identifies the main objective of social capital policy as being in fact to simply avoid destroying it. Policy programmes in the past such as the urban clearance programmes, which focused on poor physical environments, ultimately acted to tear apart established social networks and lifelong friendships (Gans, 1962 cited in Halpern, 2005, 289). Halpern (2005), echoing the philosophy of balanced communities, also points to concentrations of social housing as detrimental to the formation of social capital with such areas becoming characterised by mistrust and residents lacking bridging or linking social capital to those in employment and advantaged communities beyond their boundaries. Granovetter's (1973) identification of the 'strength of weak ties' which are incredibly useful in allowing people to gain information on employment and training opportunities is of significance from a policy perspective. According to this view, policy interventions based on assumptions about neighbourhood-based social capital, may be better targeted at working with "weak 'bridging' ties that stretch across social groups and extend beyond the neighbourhood, rather than focussing on the support and strength of strong 'bonding' ties" (Crawford, 2006, 963). Forrest and Kearns (2001) also draw

attention to the importance of the quality of social interaction locally. It is possible that affluent suburban areas whilst orderly may not possess those characteristics associated with high levels of social capital whilst more disadvantaged areas may have greater degrees of neighbouring to compensate and to act as a coping mechanism for the poor physical environment.

A related concept to that of social capital is the promotion of self-help in deprived areas. This was another major theme identified in the SEU (2000, 7) publication, with funding proposed for voluntary and community groups so that residents can “take independent action to improve things”. According to Jochum (2003) voluntary organisations contribute to social capital through being primarily social networks where collective action takes place. The social interactions and norms such as reciprocity and trust which exist within these networks represent a vast source of social capital. Volunteering was identified as a key variable in increasing social capital levels in an area due to it often bringing “people into contact with those outside their normal circle, broadening horizons and raising expectations, and can link people into informal networks through which work is more easily found” (SEU, 2000, 53). For Forrest and Kearns (2001) utilisation of community organisations represents both an attractive and ultimately cheaper alternative way to tackle social exclusion and regeneration. However Kearns (2003) also fears that the prominent role placed on citizen responsibility and self-help by the social capital agenda presents the opportunity for the government to place the blame partly or largely at the feet of the communities themselves on the basis that opportunities were provided but not taken advantage of.

Whilst the focus on the creation of social capital in disadvantaged areas often concentrates on the communities and neighbourhoods themselves “policy initiatives that focus entirely on the local social dynamics within a neighbourhood will only be able to address issues of conflict and fragmentation among the residents” (Morrison, 2003, 135). There was therefore a need to ensure that policy intervention assisted the reintegration of such residents back into wider society, otherwise localised, inward-looking initiatives may act to reinforce the processes which kept the neighbourhood as a whole cut off from mainstream society (Morrison, 2003). In this context, it is vital to recognise that social

capital is context specific and that only through being sensitive to the different locations in which social capital is created or inhibited is it possible to judge its impact on governance (Stoker et al, 2004).

According to Middleton et al (2005, 1736) social capital is a product of wealth and demographics rather than something that can be artificially increased and maintained through policy prescriptions. The “poorly defined concept” supports a policy perspective which states that if social capital is increased in deprived communities “the ability of those communities to respond to opportunities for regeneration and renewal” will be improved. However policy makers should not be distracted from the influence of disparities in wealth and power on the ability of communities to gain access to employment and public services such as health, education and housing (Middleton et al, 2005, 1736). Government proclamations such as those in the White Paper ‘Respect and Responsibility’ that communities should “take a stand” (Home Office, 2003, 17) according to Crawford (2006) ignore the plight of many impoverished neighbourhoods who are constrained by failing local public services and economic exclusion by powerful vested interests. The language of social capital was felt to imply that “all parties can gain access to capital, just different forms, and that appropriate investment in social capital will compensate for gross inequities in financial capital” (Smith and Kulynych, 2002, 167), almost as if “the resources embodied in community organisations can mend what financial capital has torn” (Mayer, 2003, 125).

There are a number of issues which act to cast doubt on the credibility of New Labours infatuation with the concept of social capital. The variety of definitions available and lack of consensus led Fine (2001, 198) to comment “what is striking about social capital is not only the extent of it’s influence, and the speed with which this has been achieved, but also its ready acceptance as both analytical, empirical and policy panacea... Social capital is the missing link that can explain any aspect of social, cultural or economic (under)performance, across time and place”. Schuller, Baron and Field (2000) question whether such an ambiguous concept that can be deployed in so many different contexts and at so many different levels may be inherently incoherent or indeed trivial. For Johnston and Percy-Smith (2002, 330) the social capital debate lacks “the minimal

level of agreement about the meaning of the key operational concept to sustain meaningful debate and dialogue” rather the concept is “chaotic” and at times “operates as little more than a warm metaphor or a vaguely suggestive heuristic device”. Kearns (2003) suggested that it was in fact the nebulous nature of the term which held a great deal of attraction for New Labour as due to lack of clarity it is more difficult for critics to hold the government accountable for poor progress. Social capital as a concept was also felt to sit well with New Labour’s spin on deprivation. No longer were disadvantaged areas to be referred to as Britain’s ‘worst estates’ but rather areas with unrealised social capital assets (Kearns, 2003).

It is also important to recognise that social capital can take negative forms in communities. Portes and Landolt (1996 cited in Forrest and Kearns, 2001, 2141) identified the “downside of social capital” whereby associational activity can lead to division and exclusion. It could be argued that the stronger the social capital within a group the greater the feelings of hostility towards outsiders (Halpern, 1999). Kearns (2003) also suggested that strong communities can be oppressive and seek conformity among their members at times restricting routes out of poverty and exclusion.

A lack of attention to the influence of external power relationships has also been identified as an issue. Both Putnam and Coleman’s interpretations of social capital have been criticised due to a lack of recognition of wider power relations. Assumptions that it is horizontal linkages within often place-based communities that constitute social capital have been challenged due to the lack of consideration of vertical linkages between communities and between the State and society (Hibbitt et al, 2001).

The use of culture and the arts has also been recognised by New Labour as having a contribution to make to the social capital agenda. Since coming to power in 1997 there has been a more “concerted attempt to exploit the capacity of the arts and cultural industries to contribute to the governments wider goals of economic and social regeneration” (Griffiths, Bassett and Smith, 2003, 166). Culture is described as moving from being a “marginal and somewhat esoteric concern” to being seen as a “key resource for urban regeneration, capable of addressing the most pressing urban problems – economic development and job creation, social exclusion and community building”

(Griffiths, Bassett and Smith, 2003, 154). Table 3.7 provides an extensive overview of the evidence which pertains to cultures contribution to regeneration. Arts and sport were also described as making not only “a valuable contribution to delivering key outcomes of lower long-term unemployment, less crime, better health and better qualifications, but can also help to develop the individual pride, community spirit and capacity for responsibility that enable communities to run regeneration programmes themselves” (Policy Action Team 10, 1999, 2).

Table 3.7: An overview of the evidence of culture's contribution to regeneration

Physical regeneration	Economic regeneration	Social regeneration
<p><i>Policy imperatives:</i> <i>Sustainable development</i> Land use, brownfield sites Compact city Design quality (CABE, 2002) Quality of Life and Liveability Open space and amenity Diversity (eco-, landscape) Mixed-Use/ Multi-Use Heritage conservation Access and Mobility Town Centre revitalisation</p> <p><i>Tests and measurements:</i> Quality of Life indicators Design Quality Indicators Reduced car-use Re-use of developed land Land/building occupation Higher densities Reduced vandalism Listed buildings Conservation areas Public transport/usage</p> <p><i>Examples of evidence of impacts:</i> Reuse of redundant buildings – studios, museum/gallery, venues Increased public use of space - reduction in vandalism and an increased sense of safety Cultural facilities and workspace in mixed-use developments</p> <p>High density (live/work), reduce environmental impacts, such as transport/traffic, pollution, health problems The employment of artists on design and construction teams (Percent for Art) Environmental improvements through public art and architecture The incorporation of cultural considerations into local development plans (LPAC, 1990) Accessibility (disability) public transport usage and safety Heritage identity, stewardship, local distinctiveness/ vernacular</p>	<p><i>Competitiveness and growth</i> Un/Employment, Job quality Inward investment Regional development Wealth Creation SMEs/micro-enterprises Innovation and Knowledge Skills and Training Clusters Trade Invisibles (e.g. tourism) Evening Economy</p> <p>Income/spending in an area New and retained jobs Employer (re)location Public-private leverage? ROI Cost-benefit analysis Input-Output/Leakage Additionality and substitution Willingness to pay for cultural amenities/ contingent valuation Multipliers - jobs, spending</p> <p>Increased property values/rents (residential and business)</p> <p>Corporate involvement in the local cultural sector (leading to support in cash and in kind) Higher resident and visitor spend arising from cultural activity (arts and cultural tourism) Job creation (direct, indirect, induced); enterprise (new firms/start-ups, turnover/ value added)</p> <p>Employer location/retention; Retention of graduates in the area (including artists/ creatives) A more diverse workforce (skills, social, gender and ethnic profile)</p> <p>Creative clusters and quarters; Production chain, local economy and procurement; joint R&D Public-private –voluntary sector partnerships ('mixed economy') Investment (public-private sector leverage)</p>	<p><i>Social inclusion</i> Social cohesion Neighbourhood Renewal Health and Well-being Identity Social Capital Governance Localism/Governance Diversity Heritage ('Common') Citizenship</p> <p>Attendance/Participation Crime rates/fear of crime Health, referrals New community networks Improved leisure options Lessened social isolation Reduced truancy and anti-social behaviour Volunteering Population growth</p> <p>A positive change in residents' perceptions of their area</p> <p>Displacing crime and anti-social behaviour through cultural activity (for example, youth) A clearer expression of individual and shared ideas and needs</p> <p>Increase in volunteering and increased organisational capacity at a local level</p> <p>A change in the image or reputation of a place or group of people</p> <p>Stronger public-private-voluntary- sector partnerships</p> <p>Increased appreciation of the value and opportunities to take part in arts projects</p> <p>Higher educational attainment (in arts and 'non-arts' subjects) Greater individual confidence and aspiration</p>

Source: Evans, 2005, 971.

As is consistent with New Labour's focus on 'evidence based' policy, hard evidence is now demanded by those distributing funding, to assess the impact of cultural projects on areas such as education, health and employment. Community-based workers are however "hard pressed to collect valid and reliable data that evaluate projects against clear criteria for social inclusion" (Long and Bramham, 2006, 133). For Long and Bramham (2006, 133) there is a clear need to "bridge the gap between the current language and measurement of social inclusion and the actual activities and contribution of the cultural and sporting sectors". For an extensive review of the literature pertaining to the 'evidence base for culture, the arts and sport policy' see Ruiz (2004).

Despite the relative limitations to our understanding of the concept and the multitude of issues which surround its measurement and merit according to Kearns (2003) New Labour have firmly nailed their flag to the social capital mast in the battle against social exclusion. Described as the "contemporary equivalent of the philosopher's stone" policy makers and politicians have allegedly unpacked the mysteries of effective communities (Johnston and Percy-Smith, 2002, 332). Halpern (2005, 324) goes as far as suggesting that policy and debate which fail to acknowledge the concept of social capital are "doomed to be shallow and unconvincing". Social capital however should not be viewed as a "single magic bullet" to solve all policy problems (Performance and Innovation Unit, 2002, 74). However, for New Labour social capital remains a cornerstone of its urban regeneration anti-disadvantage policy.

The third key concept underlying New Labour's approach towards tackling disadvantage is partnership. The following section outlines such an approach as well as examining the issues which arise in taking part in such partnerships from both a public and voluntary sector perspective.

3.7 The Promotion of Partnership

Coming into power in 1997 New Labour announced its intention to move from a contract culture to a partnership culture (Balloch and Taylor, 2001). New Labour has ultimately sought to instil partnership as the new paradigm for policy-making and service delivery

forging in essence a consensual style of politics (Newman, 2001). In New Labour policy terms partnership working appears in a variety of guises including joined-up working, Compacts, and seamless services. The claim for partnership is that it can combine the contribution of various sectors to realise comprehensive change (Geddes, 2000). Blair (1997a) in this vein stated “all too often governments in the past tried to slice problems up into separate packages. In many areas dozens of agencies and professionals are working in parallel, often doing good things, but sometimes working at cross purposes with far too little co-operation and co-ordination. Joined-up problems demand joined-up solutions”. ‘Joined up’ involves looking upon the (old) problems of poverty, inequality and so on in a ‘new’ way, by targeting other societal problems that are perceived as ‘joined up’ to poverty (Morrison, 2003a).

Partnership working is not novel to New Labour however with the Conservative governments having pursued partnership based on a “macroscale corporatist link between the state and capital in order to produce an economic climate suitable for business-led urban development” (Pacione, 1992, 408). What is distinctive is New Labour’s use of partnership to act as a ‘Third Way’ which is differential from the centralised bureaucratic structures of Old Labour and the market of the Conservatives (Powell and Glendinning, 2002). A Local Government Association Urban Commission (1999) report also noted that partnership working is not new however, what is new is the emphasis being placed on partnerships and the diverse range of issues they are being asked to tackle as a result of both local initiatives and also central requirements. New Labour’s approach to partnership is one of cross-sectoral integration acting at all levels from national to local and incorporating the public, private and voluntary sector as well as communities themselves. Figure 3.4 below provides definitions of key community terms as utilised in this section.

Figure 3.4: Definitions of key community terms

Community capacity building
A process that aims to ensure that individuals, groups and communities have access to the knowledge, skills and resources they need to take action in their community.
Community development
A process that aims to promote the active involvement of people in the issues that affect their lives. It is a process based on the sharing of power, skill, knowledge and expertise.
Community group/organisation
Informal groups or more formal organisations formed by people in a community of place or interest, in order to pursue a common interest, meet a shared need, or campaign for a common cause.
Community of place
A community whose members are defined geographically by their place of residence, as opposed to a community defined by common interests or characteristics.
Communities of interest
A community whose members have common needs or characteristics (such as ethnic origin, disability, gender, and so on), as opposed to a community defined geographically.
Virtual community
Communities that emerge from the internet when enough people carry on public discussions and that operate in ways that are completely decoupled from the need to meet physically.
Voluntary organisation
Formal non-profit distributing and non-statutory organisation, usually established as a charity, with the aim of providing a service or meeting a need of benefit to the public.

Source: Raco, 2003, 240.

Partnership ultimately acts as a key theme of New Labour’s wider ‘modernisation’ programme. The Modernising Government White Paper (1999) described how “we want to encourage initiatives to establish partnerships in delivering services, by all parts of government in ways that fit local circumstances” (Prime Minister and the Minister for the Cabinet Office, 1999, 10). The White Paper deemed organisational boundaries within government as hampering solutions to public policy issues as much the divisions which persisted between the public, private and voluntary sector and identified the need for “a culture of improvement, innovation and collaborative purpose” (Prime Minister and the Minister for the Cabinet Office, 1999, 10). Partnership between internal government departments was therefore actively encouraged. Emphasis was also placed on the need for better horizontal integration (partnerships between public, private and voluntary sectors) and greater vertical integration (between central, local and community scales of government) (Newman, 2001). While Plowden (2000) has referred to the continuing existence of organisational silos, the solution was deemed to lie in partnership working which implicitly recognises the limits of individual sector or agency approaches to

tackling ‘wicked issues’ (Clarke and Stewart, 1997) such as poverty and social exclusion which require multi-sectoral approaches.

The value placed on collaborative working by New Labour was apparent from local programme initiatives such as the Health and Education Action Zones as well as at a more strategic level with the creation of the SEU a cross departmental team located in the Cabinet Office, and the PIU dealing with issues transcending departmental boundaries and undertaking reviews of government policy and services where better scope for collaboration exists (Painter and Clarence, 2001). In spite of the widespread use of the term partnership its meaning remains unclear in official discourse (Hastings, 1996).

A number of positive outcomes are claimed to be attained from New Labour’s pressure for partnership working. According to McLaughlin (2004) partnerships can potentially act in a mathematical fashion ‘adding value’ for each participant whereby the whole becomes greater than the sum of the parts with partners sharing ideas, knowledge and resources. For Cropper (1996) even after partnerships have disbanded the positive effects of association and networks live on with the potential for further pursual of ‘collective’ strategies and also the existence of a greater understanding of the interests and capacities of others. The benefits accrued from working in a partnership environment also extended to policy makers who when in a forum were able to escape from the mind sets and constraints endemic in institutions which had the potential to foster policy innovation (Geddes, 2000). A number of costs and issues have however also been associated with partnership working as it has been claimed that joint working has delivered less than it has promised (Perri 6, 1997). Edwards (1997) questions the perception that partnerships are more efficient or better at solving urban deprivation. Huxham (2000) suggests that research on partnerships deals predominantly with ideals of collective advantage to the detriment of not recognising the existence of collective disadvantage. It is vital to acknowledge that partnerships do not have an “*a priori* right to being the most effective service delivery method in all situations” (italics in original) (McLaughlin, 2004, 112). Partnership working has however in effect become “mandatory” (Audit Commission, 1998, 5).

The promotion of partnerships under New Labour according to Balloch and Taylor (2001, 8) has “threatened to become a victim of its own success, with the proliferation of partnerships and the sheer pace of change stretching agencies, service users and communities to their limits”. Newman (2001, 110) also identified the large number of partnership-based initiatives introduced by government as problematic as many organisations became “enmeshed in multiple and often interlocking partnership relationships, with different life-cycles and funding mechanisms adding extra sets of complexity and uncertainty to the work of the agencies and individuals concerned”. Failed partnerships have led to community representatives complaining of ‘partnership proliferation’ (Carley, 2000). Partnerships which are not dealing with real strategic issues were often described as ‘talking shops’ which waste partners valuable time and bring the concept of partnership into disrepute (Carley, 2000). Expectations are often an issue for partnerships as partners bring with them different expectations of what the partnership is for (Hastings et al, 1996). Leadership was also felt to be a crucial factor as to whether partnerships were a success as “without basic support the energies of partnership are easily subsumed by internal conflict and constant struggles to secure additional resources” (Carter, 2000, 51). Tett (2005) following a review of the literature identified a number of barriers to effective partnership working which included:

- Boundaries are geographically different or fragmented.
- Differences in funding mechanisms and bases.
- Differences in aims, organisational culture and procedures.
- Lack of appropriate accommodation and resources.
- Differences in ideologies and values.
- Conflicting views about user interests and roles.
- Concerns for threats to autonomy and control and having to share credit.
- Communication difficulties.
- Lack or organisational flexibilities.
- Differences in perceived power.
- Inability to deal with conflict.

Lowndes and Skelcher (1998) emphasised that partnership relationships cannot be forced and will ultimately only survive when there is a perceived need and collective will amongst participants.

Partnership has become a necessary prerequisite to accessing central government and European Union resources. Partnerships therefore may be formed with the main imperative being to garner additional funds (Painter and Clarence, 2001). Collaboration under these circumstances therefore becomes a necessary part of succeeding in a competitive environment (Edwards, 2003). Such an environment leads to extra resources going to areas competent in putting together partnership bids rather than those most in need (Rummery, 2002). Also time pressure for quick results coming from central government has been counter-productive to the partnership agenda and created a “climate not conducive to bedding down long-term collaborative infrastructure” (Painter and Clarence, 2001, 1230). Tett (2005) found partnership working to be facilitated when:

- Partners are clear about why they are collaborating together.
- Partners have agreed which areas of their work will be done together and which will still be done separately.
- The unique contribution each partner brings to the relationship is recognised.
- Staff have time to work together to develop a common sense of purpose.
- Shared ownership of the project is developed and people trust each other.
- The component organisations and individuals are committed to learning from each other and changing their own ideas as a result.

In the particular case of deprived areas partnership working was identified as most effective with the presence of empowerment, leadership and commitment, prevention being viewed as better than cure, viewing mainstream services as key, all levels of government need to be involved and central government should act as facilitator (DETR, 2000). As confirmed in the present study the building of trust was identified as the most important ingredient for success in most partnerships (Audit Commission, 1998). Trust is

most easily developed and maintained where organisations or individuals values and goals are similar however trust cannot be mandated as this can “be the death knell for partnership working” (Rummery, 2002, 236). Ultimately there can be no blueprint for successful partnerships, instead each partnership needs to find its own unique balance between the flexibility required to break new ground and public accountability for expenditure; between leadership and participation and between consensus and diversity (Balloch and Taylor, 2001, 7).

For New Labour there appears to be a number of benefits to promoting partnership working one of which is the ability to achieve objectives whilst dictating aims to other partners in turn furthering its own power and legitimisation (Rummery, 2002, 243). Stewart (2000, 6) has also argued that the difficulties which exist in managing such a complex vertical/horizontal system is that whilst the aim is to devolve power downwards in reality “the centre retains tight control” therefore whilst “integration and joining up is embodied in the rhetoric of policy, in practice few of the interests are willing or able to concede the flexibility across programmes which genuine joint action requires”. Joined up working according to Newman (2001) remains an aspiration rather than an achievement of New Labour with the new paradigm of partnership running alongside the old rather than displacing it. It is of valid consideration that the widely celebrated public-private partnerships which New Labour promote are in essence “updated and ‘rebadged’ versions of policies previously criticised as Conservative ‘privatisation’” (Powell and Glendinning, 2002, 9). New Labour has adopted the centralising tendencies of its predecessors failing to generate self sustaining local partnerships governing with control rather than by negotiation and trust (Davies, 2002, 179). For Hudson (1999) New Labour has moved from an optimistic to a realistic view of partnership with simple exhortations being replaced with an extensive array of sanctions, incentives and threats. For Geddes (1997) the partnership approach devolves a large degree of responsibility for economic and social regeneration to local agencies and communities whilst many important decisions remain exclusively within government control. Rhodes (2000, 350) states that New Labour operate a “command operating code in a velvet glove”. Local government is subject to tight controls with partnerships giving

central government greater leverage over local politics (Davies, 2002). If New Labour is serious about partnerships there is according to Davies (2002, 168) an urgent need for central government to relax “financial controls and allow much greater freedom for local people to determine the goals they wish to pursue”. This is not done at present as “central government does not trust local authorities despite the rhetoric of partnership” rather “policy has continued along an evolutionary path established by the conservatives in the early 1990’s”.

Issues also exist around interactions between the public and private sectors which are not always of positive consequence. Research suggests public sector partners view the private sector as lacking real commitment to partnership whilst the private sector criticise the public sector for its lack of urgency and entrepreneurialism (Geddes, 2000). Ward (2002, 222) states that while “the evidence of the state’s desire for ‘partnership’ with the private sector is strong. There is less evidence of the private sector having a similar desire, rather than just taking what it can get”. In some instances the gains of the private sector may be at the cost of the public sector (Rummery, 2002). A central role in the New Labour partnership agenda is also played by voluntary sector agencies. The issues which surround the involvement of the voluntary sector in partnerships are outlined below.

3.7.1 The role of the voluntary Sector

Blair as early as 1996(a) expressed a desire to “not favour simply a contract relationship with the voluntary sector” rather “something more profound: working together to pursue common objectives in the public interest”. Blair (1998c, 2) proclaimed continuing support for the voluntary sector as a valuable partnership member stating the voluntary sector “is central to the Government’s mission to make this the Giving Age. They enable individuals to contribute to the development of their communities. By so doing, they promote citizenship, help to re-establish a sense of community and make a crucial contribution to our aim of a just and inclusive society”. The influence of communitarian Etzioni (1993) on Blair who claimed that modern social problems can only be tackled when citizens act in a collective fashion in their local communities, meeting social needs through voluntary action, is clear. Partnerships which are inclusive of the voluntary sector

are ultimately central to the governments agenda of tackling social exclusion (Blaxter, Farnell and Watts, 2003).

Defining what constitutes the voluntary sector is problematic due to the scope and variety of groups in existence but attempts at definition tend to refer to certain criteria including the organisations human and financial resources. Morison (2000) points to the differentiation between large, professional, well funded 'voluntary' groups which utilise to a great degree paid labour and those which are smaller and rely on volunteers, their functions, their beneficiaries, their external relations with the other three components of the economy – the government, the private sector and private households, their legal status, their values and their fields of activity (Halfpenny and Reid, 2002). Regardless of ambiguity surrounding definition the benefits of a vibrant voluntary sector are widely espoused with the voluntary sector providing “the only possible solution to a range of problems... which are outside the reach of state bureaucracy and beyond the interests of the private sector” (Morison, 2000, 105).

The development in 1998 of the idea of Compacts between the voluntary sector and the government established a framework for partnership working. Straw (1999 cited in Hunter, 1999, 18) claimed it would “not only usher in a new era of relations between government and the voluntary sector” but “foster a shared vision of an inclusive compassionate and active society”. Morison (2000) however dismissed the Compacts as warm words and platitudes. Reluctance to “cede power and control of resources, decision making and implementation processes to communities” (Foley and Martin, 2000, 486) was described as hindering the effectiveness of Compact agreements. Often Compacts were treated as low-priority initiatives with local authorities viewing their involvement solely as a demonstration to central government that they take the voluntary sector seriously enough to warrant investment (Craig and Taylor, 2002). Alcock and Scott (2002) also draw attention to the importance of the flexibility, variability and individuality of the voluntary sector being embraced by the Compacts rather than the promotion of formalisation and professionalisation.

For Craig, Taylor, Szanto and Wilkinson (1999) from a voluntary sector perspective the two most problematic issues encountered in relation to partnership

working are power and compromise. Partnership development within existent structures, processes and frameworks of power was described as new rhetoric poured into old bottles (Craig and Taylor, 2002). Partnerships were described as frequently enforcing existing relations of social, economic and political dependency which in turn perpetuated the position of the disempowered (Stewart and Taylor, 1995). Geddes (2000) alluded to the potential for excluded social groups, even when the express targets of the partnerships activity, to be marginalised within partnership processes. Atkinson (1999) suggests that whilst partnerships may help ensure some of the benefits of regeneration touch the disadvantaged they may also act to reinforce existent relations of domination and control with the terms partnership and empowerment being constructed in a context of power which privileges official discourse(s). For Diamond (2002) an ideal of partnership working would consist of a shift in power held by professionals to a sharing of decision making between groups with differential interests but shared deadlines. According to Rummery (2002) where power is unequal at the outset of the partnership the most powerful partner will attain the greatest benefits with the least powerful bearing a disproportionately high burden of the costs. Newman (2001) postulated that historically relationships between the voluntary and statutory sectors have been blighted by difficulties resulting from power inequalities. According to Alcock and Scott (2002) the voluntary sector often is included in partnerships as a late and reluctant inclusion with unequal status and limited practical and political resources. Craig and Taylor (2002, 142) state “organisations that are well-resourced in human and financial capital, have expected... poorly-resourced voluntary organisations to engage with them on equal terms... the engagement appears tokenistic and oppressive to many voluntary and community organisations”.

According to Balloch and Taylor (2001, 8) the voluntary sector has remained at the margins of partnership processes where “the rules of the game are determined by government partners, legitimating rather than making decisions”. New Labour’s is a policy of inclusion but on terms which have been defined and set outside the community (Diamond, 2001). Partnerships thus often lack a reflection of local circumstances with state direction rather than facilitation (Deakin, 2002). Deakin (2002) claims that the third

sector does not wish to remain subservient to the other sectors however a change of role by becoming more engaged as partners may put at risk the qualities which distinguish the voluntary sector from other players. The successful inclusion of voluntary groups relies on a number of factors including the extent to which local groups are perceived as legitimate by professionals and the local community; the desire of professionals to listen and respond; the level of support available to facilitate real involvement in the partnership (Diamond, 2002). Lack of resources means often the voluntary sector are “set up to fail” with reliance on statutory partners for funding also meaning it is unlikely the voluntary sector will feel like equal partners and may stifle opinions accordingly (Balloch and Taylor, 2001, 8).

Whilst a focus on partnership with the voluntary sector is commendable, Alcock and Scott (2002) caution that regardless of opportunity and the voluntary sectors willingness to participate, participation must be backed by capability. Support and resources must also be directed towards key individuals in the voluntary sector who are put under further pressure through participation in partnerships. In essence time spent on partnerships means less time for the voluntary sector on the front line (Balloch and Taylor, 2001). Representation was also an issue as due to the scale and diverse nature of the voluntary sector it could be difficult to attain representative partners to participate in partnerships (Alcock and Scott, 2002). Attention was felt also to be needed not only in developing the capacity of local communities to effectively participate in partnerships but also to develop professionals and agencies capacity to work with local communities in neighbourhood based work (Diamond, 2002). There was a danger of excluding local groups from decision making if attempts made to engage them are defined in a language and practice shared by white collar middle class professionals but not “translated” into a process which allows the active involvement of local groups (Diamond, 2002, 303). Unequal power relations are often unwittingly perpetuated through language and procedures (Craig and Taylor, 2002). Limited time scales and the need to deliver outcomes required by government performance requirements often mean however that strong public sector leadership is necessary as opposed to the more power sharing participative models (Newman, 2001). According to Popple and Redmond (2000) the

voluntary sector has become an unwitting partner in the formulation and dissemination of Third Way politics and is also implicitly involved in promoting New Labour's notion of active citizenship. Craig and Taylor (2002, 131) refer to partnership with central government from a voluntary perspective as representing a "dangerous liaison" with the transfer of responsibility for welfare away from the state whilst allowing the state to continue to control policy and practice.

The eclectic nature of the voluntary sector in terms of size, function and coverage has consistently made it difficult for partners to relate to the sector, but it is important they do as the sector responds to the diversity of need and provides a voice for many different communities and it offers opportunities for innovation (Taylor, 1997). The voluntary sector alone and in partnership with business and government has been described as providing "the only possible solution to a range of problems, particularly relating to social exclusion, which are outside the reach of state bureaucracy and beyond the interests of the private sector" (Morison, 2000, 105). The voluntary sector should however be cautious of New Labour's enthusiastic embrace of their contribution towards tackling disadvantage. Fyfe and Milligan (2003) warn that voluntarism is being increasingly presented in political and academic discourses as a 'panacea' to the social and political problems confronting liberal democracies. For Petroni (2001) suggestions that the voluntary sector could be turned into a major source of employment in community services or could replace government in the provision of social services is misguided.

The involvement of local communities themselves is another key concept underlying New Labour's approach to tackling disadvantage, and is also a constituent element of New Labour's desire to foster 'an active civil society' (Giddens, 1998). The SEU (1998, 3) postulated "too much has been imposed from above, when experience shows that success depends on communities themselves having the power and taking the responsibility to make things better". The following section looks at New Labour's approach towards the involvement of communities in tackling disadvantage.

3.8 Involving Communities: The Quest for Engagement and Participation

As we have noted since their election victory in 1997 New Labour have been attempting to find new ways to engage citizens and encourage their participation in partnerships as well as promoting the ideal of 'active citizenship'. Blair (1998, 4) proclaimed "a key challenge of progressive politics is to use the state as an enabling force, protecting effective communities and voluntary organisations and encouraging their growth to tackle new needs, in partnership as appropriate". New Labour thus sought to bring residents into "the heart of neighbourhood renewal" (Boateng, 1999, iii) as "unless the community is fully engaged in shaping and delivering regeneration, even the best plans on paper will fail to deliver in practice" (SEU, 2000, 5). According to the SEU (2000a, para 7) there has been "too much reliance on short term regeneration" whereby governments fail "to harness the knowledge and energy of local people". Blair (2001b, 2) ultimately expressed a desire to put "communities in the driving seat". For Blair (1998d, 2) "policies, programmes and structures of governance are about engaging local people in a partnership for change and enabling communities to take a decisive role in their future". Community participation in urban regeneration partnerships has been identified as making schemes more effective and efficient through addressing issues which local people perceive as important and allowing residents to contribute new and innovative methods for dealing with a variety of problems (Atkinson, 2000). For Wilkinson and Applebee (1999, cited in Taylor, 2000, 1032) "local people know most about local conditions. They can be crucial in both the diagnosis of the systematic causes of problems and who should be engaged in their amelioration. They also know about existing community networks and how to develop these rather than having them ruptured by clumsy top-down interventions". Through its programmes for Modernising Local Government and the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal the involvement of communities to identify local problems is promoted in addition to communities working in partnership with other 'stakeholders' to improve local conditions. The New Deal for Communities and Best Value programmes represent a "new determination to place communities at the heart of regeneration policies and the design and delivery of local public services" (Foley and Martin, 2000, 483). The work of the Active Communities

Unit also acts to promote greater community involvement and empowerment and in its third term New Labour created the Department for Communities and Local Government claiming to show its commitment to community involvement and to narrowing the gap between citizens and democracy (ODPM, 2006). Such policies are central to New Labour's vision of an urban renaissance with active citizenship forming a key component (Mooney and Fyfe, 2006, 138). For New Labour community involvement is not an end in itself but rather the goal is to create a 'virtuous circle' where involvement in local initiatives leads to greater levels of interest and participation with local affairs (Lowndes and Sullivan, 2004). New Labour's emphasis on community involvement ultimately reflects a desire to rebuild trust between citizens and government, improve the policy process and to enhance the legitimacy of central and local government decisions (Newman, 2001).

Such a focus on community involvement is in many respects not a new political phenomenon. According to Dobbs and Moore (2002) the roots of such an approach to include communities lie in the 1970's Community Development Projects which stressed the importance of involving local people. Whilst throughout the Thatcher years there was a background commitment to public involvement, the involvement of business interests was of greater significance (Deakin and Edwards, 1993). The neoliberal policies of the 1980s encouraged strong central direction and limited local political autonomy therefore regeneration was led from the top and was characterised by partnerships between powerful corporate interests with little inclination to encourage community participation (Imrie and Raco, 2003). Whilst the early 1990s witnessed a move towards community participation with the recognition that regeneration was most effective when talking to the people who live and work in those areas (DoE, 1991) competitive bidding processes and little impact on those areas suffering most disadvantage led Lovering (1995) to comment that this era was characterised by little in way of resources or empowerment being devolved to community participants. For Taylor (2000) by the mid 1990's attempts to involve communities in regeneration were ineffectual due to the continued dominance of the public sector culture and inadequate resources for communities to become involved. This was despite bidding procedures for funding in theory placing a premium

on partnership and community involvement. Ultimately local engagement was never securely obtained prior to 1997 as aims at urban renewal continued to be dominated by a “top-down approach to management, delivery and evaluation” (Burgess et al, 2001, 3). A paper by the JRF in 1999 states that “to date, the impact of community involvement on regeneration has been modest and that commitment to community involvement has often been tokenistic”. According to Johnstone and Whitehead (2004, 10) “unlike Conservative urban policy of the 1980s and 1990s which mostly viewed communities as an inconvenience... New Labour has placed greater emphasis on community consultation, participation and cohesion”. For New Labour community thus acts as the “key scale of meaningful human interaction and the basis for the distribution of social obligations and responsibilities” (Imrie and Raco, 2003, 5).

3.8.1 The construction of community

Part of the difficulty however in embracing such a focus on community involvement is the “shiftness” of the term ‘community’ itself with the concept having been “contested, fought over, and appropriated for different uses and interests to justify different politics, policies and practices” (Mayo, 1994, 48). Levitas (2000a) describes the concept as being ambiguous, vague and utopian and ideological. Levitas (2000a, 194) is highly critical of the current use of the term ‘community’ as “the role of community is to mop up the ill-effects of the market and to provide the conditions for its continued operation, while the costs of this are borne by individuals rather than the state”.

A large body of literature exists surrounding the issue of defining community. For Freedman (1999, 45) there is “more than a hint” in New Labour ideology of communitarian Etzionis ideas of community whereby it acts as a form of social control with neighbourhoods regulating the conduct and morals of their members. Etzioni (1995) defines community as “webs of social relations that encompass shared meanings and above all shared values” in reality “people are at one and the same time members of several communities such as those at work and at home”. For Etzioni (1993) community is the third way between statism or old left and individualism or new right. Etzioni’s (1993) ideals that rights entail responsibilities are clearly subscribed to by Blair. For New

Labour individualism and neglect of communal obligations has led to weakened communities, for Blair (2001) if neighbourhood renewal is to succeed “individuals... have to take responsibility for the environment in which they live”. New Labour ultimately argue that citizens have obligations as well as rights and it is only through acceptance of such obligations that allows them rights, the implication being lack of acceptance of obligations will lead to withdrawal of some rights such as benefits or training (Cochrane, 2003). Successful communities “are about what people give as much as what they take, and any attempt to rebuild community for a modern age must assert that personal and social responsibility are not optional extras... we owe duty to more than self” (Blair, 1996b, 304). Third way urban policy therefore adheres to the view that whilst residents of disadvantaged communities may be casualties of capitalist restructuring, they bear responsibility in their response. The state can help but communities need to learn irresponsible behaviour has a cost which someone has to pay (Boyle and Rogerson, 2006). The third way according to Rose (2000) aims to create a contract between those who exercise power providing conditions of the good life and its subjects deserving to inhabit it by building strong communities and exercising active responsible citizenship. Newman (2001) suggests that communitarianism provides an alternative to neoliberalism and acts to distance New Labour from its post-war social democratic past. New Labour’s take on communitarianism has however been criticised by Driver and Martell (1997) as being morally prescriptive and conservative rather than redistributive and progressive. Etzioni, according to Hale (2006), has also explicitly criticised New Labour for being insufficiently communitarian. For Hale (2006, 166) Blair and New Labour never have been communitarian “despite frequent references and appeals to community... consorting with known communitarians and... the adoption of language and even whole discourses used by communitarians”. Rather New Labour’s communitarianism has been a “myth” which arose from “the perceived need to attribute some philosophy or ideology to the party’s new direction, and a process by which poorly or partially understood ideas, by repetition and (re)circulation develop their own credibility, almost independent of the evidence” (Hale, 2006, 166).

For Levitas (2000a) there is a sense of promiscuity in the way New Labour utilise the term 'community' in policy debates. Young (1990) has gone so far as to criticise the very concept of community as it privileges unity over difference, generates exclusions and is an unrealistic vision. Despite such a recognition geographical communities still tend to be viewed as homogeneous single entities by New Labour to be consulted with, and capable of accepting some forms of delegated power (Newman, 2001). Raco (2003) questions the wisdom of policy makers establishing community boundaries and asks if local people using their own imaginations and frames of reference would be more appropriate? Also should the focus be on geographical communities at the expense of communities of interest? Continued focus on geographically convenient spaces is reminiscent of prior political eras. Attempts to align the concept of community with geographical spaces suggests a harmonised set of interests within them however this is not the case with geographical spaces not necessarily being "the spatiality of the internally coherent, spatially contiguous, local community" (Massey, 1997, 112). In reality the concept of a "community perspective" made up of "a neat homogeneity of views... is rarely, if ever, realised" (Newman, 2001, 138). For Levitas (2000a) the term community is subject often not only to internal dispute regarding who defines its boundaries, rules and sanctions, but also to contestation from external sources if communities act in ways which are inconvenient to government. In addition to the issues surrounding definition and motivation for its use, there are a number of barriers which impact upon how effective and meaningful community involvement can be in reality. A selection of barriers are outlined below.

3.8.2 Barriers to effective community involvement

With a particular focus on deprived areas Beresford and Hoban (2005) identified a number of barriers to participation in partnerships which included time and effort involved, literacy problems, a formal meetings culture which is not conducive to dialogue with hard to reach groups, lack of trust and a legacy of 'them and us', consultation fatigue and lack of visible outcomes. Lack of feedback, predetermining agendas and little transparency in public bodies, which made it hard to determine where responsibility lay,

were also identified as issues. A number of disadvantaged communities have become in effect victims of “consultation overload” due to the abundance of partnership activity overlapping in their area (Lowndes and Sullivan, 2004, 63). Communities have been described as reaching “saturation point” in terms of their ability to respond to the increasing number of partnership initiatives. There is therefore the need to provide adequate resources for infrastructure to facilitate training, outreach and accountability as well as resources to compensate for their involvement to ensure their front-line work can be sustained (Craig and Taylor, 2002).

In attempting to engage with disadvantaged groups it is was felt to be important by Smith and Beazley (2000) that a number of considerations were taken with regards to language used, accessibility of location and the time of the meetings all of which are often designed as appropriate to the statutory sector rather than for those whose involvement is desired. It is increasingly important that decision makers learn how to understand the voices of citizens instead of expecting citizens to learn the modes and languages of policy making (Tooke, 2003). It is still assumed that the skill deficit belongs to communities rather than partner institutions (Taylor, 2000).

In promoting community involvement it was also identified as vital to keep in mind that “local people rarely speak with one voice and their influence is not unambiguously positive” indeed “communities can be deeply fragmented and many local people support policies which would exacerbate rather than combat social exclusion” (Foley and Martin, 2000, 486). With the ‘community’ being pre determined from above in many regeneration partnerships this naturally increases the difficulty of representing the differential interests which exist in a locality (Craig and Taylor, 2002). Community representation whilst central to New Labour’s focus on community involvement is open to controversy based on selection of representatives and their experience of the participation process. Barnes, Newman, Knops and Sullivan (2003) suggest that discursive practices, competence, skills and the practices of participation all impact on who can and cannot take part in public participation initiatives. Present opportunities to participate according to Burton (2003) deter all but the most knowledgeable and enthusiastic members of society. For Macfarlane (1993) participation is best viewed as a

minority sport. Indeed community representatives can often be atypical due to the fact that unlike most local people they are willing to become involved (Foley and Martin, 2000, 486). Skidmore Bound and Lownsborough (2006) claim that the assumption that the creation of structures for community participation will create beneficial community social capital is false rather community participation tends to be dominated by a small group who are disproportionately involved in a great number of governance activities. Miller, Dickson and Stoker (2000) suggest that the contemporary focus on participation favours vocal minorities over the silent majority. It is perhaps of more interest to question which members of the community are absent from partnership forums and does this in itself produce new exclusions? (Barnes, Newman, Knops and Sullivan, 2003). According to Tett (2005) if local action is to reduce social exclusion, new ways of thinking about representation are necessary, giving priority to those with least power who nevertheless are the most expert at identifying the needs of their own communities. Whilst partners often complain about the 'usual suspects' the partnership process in reality creates them due to the requirement for community representatives to "hit the ground running and to commit to a heavy workload which rules many people out" (Taylor, 2003, 194). Benefits derived for those community representatives involved are also open to debate.

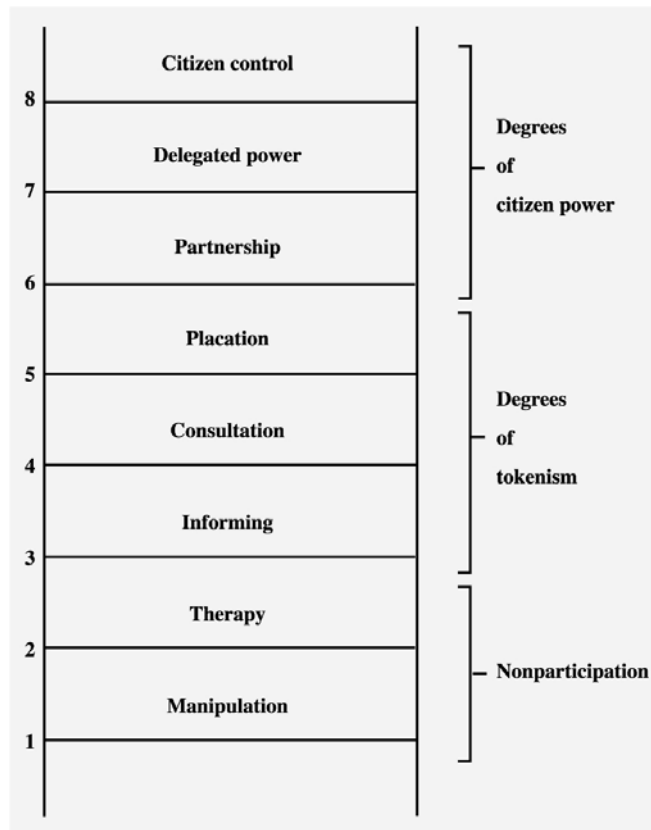
The role of community leader was characterised by Purdue et al (2000) as time-consuming and exhausting while also destructive of personal life. 'Burn out' was identified as an issue for community representatives with the emotional and physical costs of being involved meaning many felt it was not worth the effort to continue involvement (Purdue, 2007, 137). Whilst it is recognised that some form of financial recognition for community participation should be awarded, government benefit regulations make this difficult to implement (Taylor, 2000, 1026). Taylor (2003a) suggested the human and material resource costs of being involved in partnerships frequently fall disproportionately on one partner, often those in the voluntary and community sector instead of being shared equally. Local residents adopting positions of responsibility can also find themselves in a position whereby residents see them losing touch whilst regeneration professionals doubt their technical ability (Burton, 2003). Community representatives legitimacy is often challenged whilst those from the public

and business sectors are rarely questioned in the same way (Craig and Taylor, 2002). A further issue surrounds the speed and complexity of partnership working making it difficult for community representatives to maintain links with those they represent (Taylor, 2000). According to Taylor (2000) there are a number of examples of community leaders climbing Arnstein's ladder (see figure 3.5) and then pulling it up after themselves. Power is an issue which consistently impacts upon how effective community involvement can be. Issues surrounding the balance of power in partnerships are outlined below.

3.8.3 The balance of power

Partners in partnerships rarely come from equal positions of power which proves often to be problematic (Mayo and Taylor, 2001) as does resource asymmetry which was attributed as being at the root of struggles over power in the majority of local partnerships (Tett, 2005). Inherent difficulties thus exist with the "citizen as partner" concept due to the "inbuilt imbalance of power and capacity between citizen representatives and partners from other sectors" (Lowndes and Sullivan, 2004, 70). Public sector power holders often assume "that communities will not understand the complexity of the decisions that have to be made... that they will not be willing to make the sacrifices that are dictated by limited budgets and the need for fairness and that they will be ruled by self-interest" (Taylor, 2003a, 125). According to Rummery (2002) it is impossible for communities to be empowered through partnership working unless the public sector is willing to let go of some of its power and there is little evidence that New Labour is willing to do that. A fundamental issue surrounding community participation is that of how much power should be devolved to citizens. Arnstein (1969, 217) devised a 'ladder of citizen participation' as can be viewed in figure 3.5 to demonstrate the various levels of power which citizens can possess and the associated level of influence.

Figure 3.5: Arnstein's ladder of participation



Source: Arnstein, 1969, 217.

With regard to the sub-categories non-participation represents false perceptions of power, degrees of tokenism relates to top heavy consultation and placation whilst only the top three rungs represent genuine citizen power. Whilst there are consistent calls for power to be devolved “outwards and downwards” there will always be an issue around balancing public accountability with “flexibility and risk” (Taylor, 2000, 1024).

For Raco (2003, 241) despite the rhetoric, there has been very limited devolution of power to communities due in part to the “tendency of communities to come up with ‘wrong answers’ (in the government’s terms) and a lack of trust in the representational legitimacy of community representatives”. Consequently if communities are positive in attitude to development projects they are labelled as responsible bodies “representing community perspectives and needs in a positive and constructive manner” whereas when communities challenge or are excessively critical of programmes then they are

“dismissed as unrepresentative and motivated by other political agendas” (Raco, 2003, 241). According to Mayo and Taylor (2001, 46) those community members accepted into partnership environments are those “whose demands can be relatively easily accommodated and who learn to speak the same language as the power holders” as “those whose demands and/or demeanour are defined as less acceptable tend to become labelled as ‘unrepresentative’ and are excluded from further influence”. According to Raco (2000) pressure on local community groups to co-operate is a form of depoliticisation of local decision making resulting in restricted political debate and the stifling of critical view points. North (2003, 135) argues that throughout the partnership process community groups are “effectively disarmed and then silenced through a rhetoric of partnership that regards disruption, objection, raised voices and organisation as illegitimate forms of action” therefore whilst “friendly disagreement about a certain regeneration strategy is permissible, fundamental critics are not seen as ‘good partners’”. Purdue (2007, 137) described a situation where much of the time community leaders find themselves stuck in partnerships of “dependency and conflict, where short bursts of dissenting voice alternate with grudging loyalty”. Tett (2005, 10) describes partnership as a means by which governments have attempted to work “with an iron hand in a velvet glove” by giving the illusion of devolving decisions down to local communities whilst simultaneously retaining power and control over the scope within which decisions can be made. It is suggested that those who come to the table with most power and resources will leave with the most (Mayo and Taylor, 2001).

Mayo and Taylor (2001) suggest that power is like an iceberg, not only to be judged on what can be seen. Lukes (1974) argued that those aspects of power not completely evident may be just as, if not more, significant as those clearly identifiable. Beneath the most visible elements of power Lukes (1974) suggested a further two dimensions. The first of which was described as ‘non-decision making’ ultimately the ability to dictate the range of alternatives to be considered, in effect to shape agendas ensuring that some issues never emerge. For example the public and private sectors can also determine what is possible for consideration, set time frames and restrict resources. The second was made up of those ‘common sense’ assumptions which are not challenged

for example the private sectors need for profitability is viewed as not requiring explanation. Tett (2005) suggests that power sharing is best gauged by determining whether the community is only involved in implementation or also agenda setting and policy development. Coates and Silburn (1970, 11) claim that “the solution to poverty involves, of course, the redistribution of income, but more than that, it requires the redistribution of effective social power. Self-confidence, no less than material welfare, is a crucial lack of the poor, and both can only be won by effective joint action”. A need was identified to “start with local people and *enable and support them* to shape their own agenda for regeneration” (Hoban and Beresford, 2001, 318). For Foley and Martin (2000, 481) the real test of New Labour’s commitment to community involvement comes in the form of to what degree “national government is willing to trust communities and local service providers with policy space, resources and greater autonomy”.

Participation in partnership should not always be assumed to be empowering for the community as it can be equally disempowering and disillusioning (Atkinson, 2000). Lowndes and Sullivan (2004) state that many community representatives in partnerships still perceive themselves to be on the margins of power. Taylor and Roe (1996, 6) concur describing the “despair” felt by community members of ever “breaching the real power structures” as “while they might be able to make a difference at the edges, they still feel excluded from the real decision making. What they mean by partnership is very different from what the authorities mean”. Forrest and Kearns (1999, 13) suggested that there was often the feeling that professionals were “on top” rather than “on tap”. Atkinson (2003) suggests that communities may restructure themselves to show they fit in with government requirement. Combined with the monitoring and audit culture present in public sector operations this may act to “professionalize” the way communities operate ultimately “putting at risk their distinctive contribution” (Tett, 2005, 10). For Tett (2005, 10) rules and regulations regarding partnership can seem “expressly designed to replace trust rather than foster it”. Community leaders described feeling “undervalued”, “not able to make any significant decisions” and to be “just making up the numbers” on the partnership board (Purdue, 2007, 139). According to Newman (2001, 112) many exercises in participation are more about “presentation and legitimacy” as they are about

“a genuine willingness to transform decision-making processes”. Raco (2000) suggests that the devolving of decision-making power for minor aspects of policy implementation to communities means this adds legitimacy for action as communities are perceived to have had input regardless of how little they may have had. Communities can therefore be used to obtain legitimacy for public sector programmes whilst having a minimal influence on decision-making processes (Raco, 2000). Community involvement can act as “a means to an end for policy makers” through playing “a key role in legitimising and facilitating regeneration programmes” (Raco, 2003, 235). Partnerships with local communities have been described as fostering consensual politics whereby the community would rather be part of an unequal partnership than not have the opportunity to participate (Taylor, 1995). This is in contradiction to the proclamations of “a new era characterised by networks which operate across boundaries on the basis of trust and mutual understanding, with government steering and enabling rather than controlling and with more participative forms of governance that give people more control over their lives and their neighbourhoods” (Taylor, 2003, 190).

Imrie and Raco (2003, 12) argue that despite persistent claims that urban policy is now “community-focused, and oriented towards the involvement and activation of local knowledge in the policy process, the practices of urban governance remain highly centralised and output-focused”. New Labour’s commitments to bottom up approaches are consistently incongruent with its strong centralising tendencies (Foley and Martin, 2000). Whilst New Labour may perceive communities doing things for themselves as the ‘ideal’ there exists the dilemma of centrally controlled evidence based policy-making and allowing communities discretion over use of resources and the ability to make mistakes (Pearce and Mawson, 2003). New initiatives come with central regulation which is “risk-averse, often inappropriate and inflexible” (Taylor, 2000, 1021). Raco (2000) draws attention to the use of such terms as ‘appropriate’ community involvement and ‘relevant’ community interests in official discourse to demonstrate the continued dominance of the public sector in deciding who and what fits into each category. The emancipatory potential of community participation may therefore be limited through the establishment of centrally defined parameters within which alternative courses and discourses of action

can be developed (Raco and Imrie, 2000). Indeed the LGA (2000) refers to 'disincentives' existing to radical thinking and action. Burgess et al (2001) lament such centrally imposed solutions, rigid monitoring and evaluation frameworks as inhibiting local innovation and sustainable solutions. Rather risk taking should be encouraged as making mistakes is a crucial part of the process in changing the way people and institutions act (Burgess et al, 2001). Demos (2003) blamed a heavy audit culture for breeding an atmosphere of risk aversion encouraging uniformity in programme design. New Labour's claims for a more inclusive policy process have therefore been twinned with intensified central control over government policy meaning "its new inclusions were more than matched by its new exclusions" almost a "command and control style of governing" (Newman, 2001, 163). Raco and Imrie (2000) proclaim discourses of community mobilisation and empowerment need to be understood in context. Emphasising the responsibilities of communities and individuals to play an active part in local governance was described as representing "a particular set of government techniques to structure the conduct of policy recipients in ways that can be regulated, controlled, calculated and shaped to meet specific ends" (Raco and Imrie, 2000, 2202).

3.8.4 The reality of community involvement

If community involvement is to make any real impact on mainstream policy making it will need to be embraced by partners across the spectrum of public, private, voluntary and community (Foley and Martin, 2000). It is not realistic to expect community level action to have an impact on the structural causes of exclusion such as private sector investment decisions. It is in reality "questionable" whether communities have the power and resources required to address those factors which have spawned and bred urban decline (Atkinson, 2003, 102). Imrie and Raco (2003, 30) postulate that "the political narrative of community and individual responsibility is one that deliberately deflects attention from the causes of poverty". Current attempts to address urban social exclusion and disadvantage are based on the premise that "developing the 'right' structures of governance and forms of social capital" will "reverse years of decline caused by wider structural forces beyond the control of local areas... responsibility for these problems has

been assigned to those experiencing the effects of decline” (Atkinson, 2003, 101). Through offering greater responsibility to communities for their own regeneration they have accepted simultaneously responsibility for the success or failure of policy. They are in effect “condemned as the authors of their own ‘failure’”. The response to which may be either “one of abandonment by national government or a new round of more intrusive forms of intervention by the centre” (Atkinson, 2003, 102). A failure to fully embrace community involvement and its subsequent failure will according to Foley and Martin (2000, 485) lead ministers to conclude that “though a laudable objective, community involvement does not deliver the anticipated benefits and since ‘what matters is what works’ the policy pendulum will swing back once again towards the imposition of ‘top-down’ programmes”.

Imrie and Raco (2003, 25) also draw attention to New Labour’s particular focus on “individual deficiency” whereby there is the belief that poor communities will only progress when citizens become knowledgeable, enabling them to take the decisions to conquer whatever problems they may have. The poor are therefore viewed stereotypically as a problem because they are dependent and deviant (Imrie and Raco, 2003, 25). Residents should not however be portrayed as the perpetrators of a ‘problem’ that professionals have to deal with but rather their agency should be recognised in the solution to the problem of deprived neighbourhoods (Hull, 2001). There is validity however, in querying whether the belief that communities want to become more actively involved in their own renewal and governance, has solid theoretical and empirical foundations. Pearce and Mawson (2003) question the assumption by New Labour that citizens ‘aspire’ to play a more active part in decision making and the delivery of services. Communities’ interest in neighbourhood renewal can be low and as such the subject is unlikely “to engage with disengaged and disaffected people” (The Audit Commission, 2002, 3). Dinham (2005) comments on the ‘naivety’ amongst policy makers to assume that participation will transform previously passive individuals into active citizens, make the socially excluded included and ensure a renewal of local democracy.

In reality Clarke and Combe (2001) proclaim that since 1997 whilst the rhetoric was inspiring the experience has often been underwhelming, and lacked coherence. A

focus on community inclusion is according to Jessop (2002 cited in Raco, 2003, 243) “a flanking, compensatory mechanism for the inadequacies of the market mechanism” and “a compensatory mechanism for the growing inadequacies and under-funding of the welfare state, particularly in urban areas”. For The Audit Commission (2002) New Labour’s emphasis on community involvement in regeneration represents more of the same whilst Tiesdell and Allemendinger (2001a, 917) claim that Labour’s policies represent a “pragmatic evolution rather than radical change”. The community as partner has according to Allen (2001) led to little tangible gains for those who live in the regeneration areas while Hoban and Beresford (2001, 315) claim that despite its efforts, New Labour’s approach to community involvement ultimately repeats earlier mistakes. The adoption of a permutation of regulatory prescriptive communitarianism is viewed by Allen (2001) as a continuation of previous Conservative policies. Geddes (2000) also suggests that the experiential knowledge of poverty and exclusion which the excluded can offer is still not valued by partners preferring to recognise only the ‘expert’ knowledge of formal institutions. New Labour’s focus on ‘evidence based policy’ and ‘what matters is what works’ has also led to unparalleled levels of top down evaluation. For Taylor (2003a) it is of note that the community even when involved in determining agendas and design have little part in the monitoring and evaluation criteria utilised to assess the success of the programme. Evaluation of community initiatives which are “done *to* the community, not *by* the community” (italics in original) create a paradoxical situation whereby “new initiatives are founded on the assumption that local communities are best placed to determine what is needed to regenerate a locality; yet the knowledge of outside professionals is assumed to be the only legitimate means of evaluating the policy choices that arise from this bottom-up approach to regeneration” (Wilks-Heeg, 2003, 219). The focus in evaluations of partnerships has tended to be on outcomes achieved with few examples of evaluations based on participants own perceptions of their experiences (Mayo and Taylor, 2001). The inclusion of communities in the research process itself should also be recognised as of value. It is also crucial, however to recognise that more strength can come from a combination of top-down and bottom-up initiatives (Geddes, 1998) and it is therefore of utmost importance and urgency that New

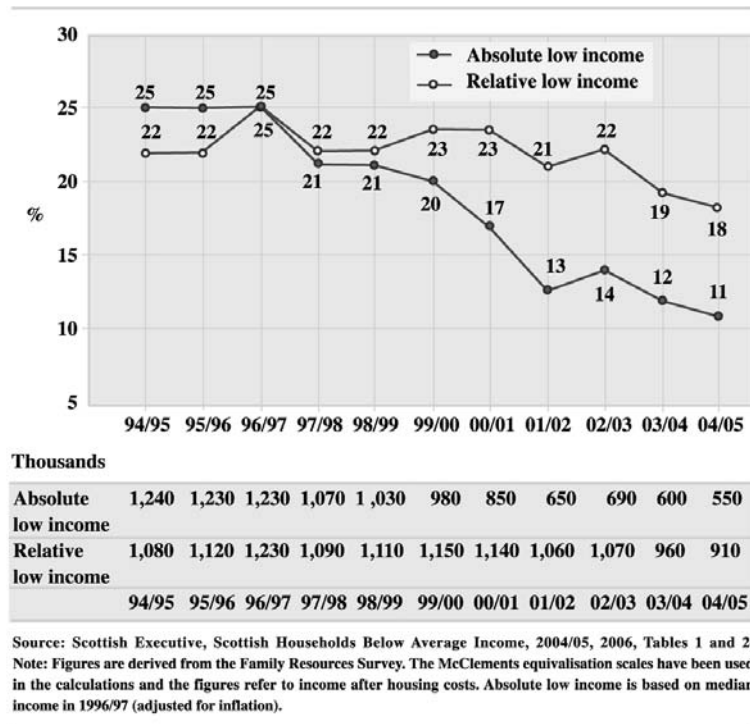
Labour recognise that community engagement is not a panacea and has various costs which must be set alongside the benefits (Burton, 2003).

Building on the discussion of key concepts of New Labour urban regeneration strategies, we conclude this policy analysis with an examination of New Labour's attempts to tackle disadvantage from a Scottish perspective. The following sections provide a brief insight into Scotland's poverty levels and the similarities and differences between New Labour policy and Scottish specific approaches towards tackling disadvantage. The purpose of the following section is not to provide a protracted discussion of Scottish anti-poverty policy rather to outline the similarities and differences in philosophical approach between New Labour and Scottish New Labour.

3.9 Devolved Scotland in perspective

According to Paterson, Bechhofer and McCrone (2004, 78) despite witnessing rising prosperity over the past two decades "a considerable proportion of Scotland's citizens are not sharing the benefits, and around one in five are in real poverty, if one adopts a relative definition" a situation which appears "even more scandalous in light of the improved conditions of many". Poverty is ultimately deeply entrenched within Scottish society (Mooney, 2007). As can be viewed in figure 3.6 almost one in five individuals in Scotland (18%) live in relative poverty whilst more than one in ten (11%) live in absolute poverty (Kelly and McKendrick, 2007, 27).

Figure 3.6: Number of individuals living in poverty in Scotland



Source: Kelly and McKendrick, 2007, 27.

With regard to benefit claims in 2004 almost one in six people in Scotland claimed a key benefit such as jobseeker’s allowance and incapacity benefit making claimant rates in Scotland (17.1%) significantly above the average for the UK (13.6%) (Kelly and McKendrick, 2007, 32). Table 3.8 displays levels of key benefit claims for other parts of Great Britain to provide context for the Scottish figures.

Table 3.8: Claimants of key benefits in Scotland and other parts of Great Britain, May 2004.

	All		Men		Women	
	000s	%	000s	%	000s	%
Scotland	538	17.1	289	17.9	249	16.2
Wales	322	18.4	169	18.9	153	18.0
England	3,985	13.0	2,063	13.0	1,922	13.0
North East	292	18.9	157	19.8	135	18.1
North West	712	17.3	377	17.8	335	16.8
West Midlands	464	14.4	243	14.4	222	14.3
Yorkshire and the Humber	439	14.4	236	15.0	203	13.8
London	694	14.2	341	13.5	352	14.9
East Midlands	319	12.3	166	12.3	153	12.3
South West	311	10.5	164	10.6	148	10.4
Eastern	325	9.8	162	9.4	163	10.3
South East	430	8.7	218	8.5	212	8.9
Great Britain	4,845	13.6	2,521	13.7	2,325	13.6

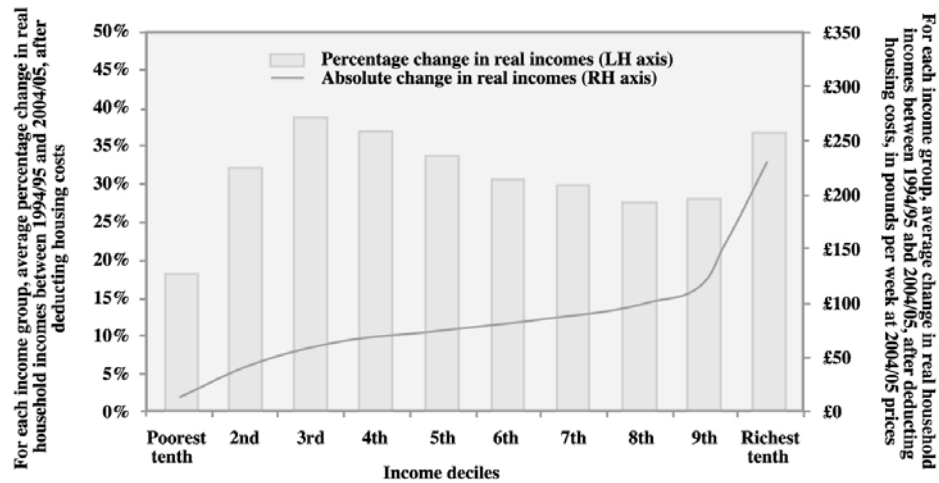
Note: Key benefits are jobseeker's allowance, incapacity benefit, severe disability allowance, disability living allowance and income support.
Denominator for percentages is all adults/males/females of working age.

Source: Kelly and McKendrick, 2007, 34.

With nearly one in every four households in Scotland claiming income-related benefit (23%), a notably higher figure than the UK average (19%) Kelly and McKendrick (2007, 36) have commented that “poverty is more widespread in Scotland than in most other parts of Great Britain”. Paterson, Bechhofer and McCrone (2004, 74) estimate that around one in seven of Scotland’s population are severely disadvantaged and are unlikely to escape from such a situation to improved circumstances. Lone parents, the disabled and children (23% live in relative poverty in Scotland whilst 13% live in absolute poverty) (Kelly and McKendrick, 2007, 23) are all at higher risk of experiencing extreme poverty in Scotland. Working age adults without dependent children and low paid workers (one in three Scottish workers are paid less than £6.50 an hour) are also bearing the costs of poverty (Scott, 2006). The gap between the wealthiest and most deprived in Scotland is also a major issue with Peat and Boyle (1999) drawing attention to the fact that in 1977 the gap between the richest and poorest regions was 18 per cent. By 1995 it had grown to 62 per cent. Scotland is ultimately an unequal society with regards to both income and wealth (Paterson, Bechhofer and McCrone, 2004). According to Palmer, Macinnes and Kenway (2006) since 1996 the richest tenth of the population have seen

their incomes increase the most whilst the poorest tenth have seen their incomes increase the least as can be viewed in figure 3.7.

Figure 3.7: Income inequalities



Source: Palmer, Macinnes and Kenway, 2006, 19.

It is not possible here, nor the purpose of this discussion, to provide a protracted statistical picture of poverty and disadvantage in Scotland. The Social Focus on Deprived Areas (2005) produced by the Scottish Executive and Palmer, Macinnes and Kenway (2006) portray the facts and figures required to provide an accurate picture of the multitude of social, political, economic and cultural challenges that confront contemporary Scotland. Rather, the following sections examine whether devolution has led to a differential approach towards tackling disadvantage in Scotland and whether such scope for divergence exists.

3.10 Scottish solutions to Scottish problems?

Devolution in 1999 was ultimately heralded as a new era representing ‘Scottish solutions for Scottish problems’ (Mooney and Scott, 2005). Elections to the Scottish Parliament in 1999 and again in 2003 resulted in a Labour-Liberal Democrat coalition. The coalition

deal between New Labour and the Liberal Democrats was guided by the joint document 'A partnership for a better Scotland' which had two overarching themes - tackling poverty and disadvantage and a determination to improve public services and that this process be accountable and measurable (Stewart, 2004). It was hoped devolution would usher in a new brand of participative culture. The Scottish Parliament, it was hoped, would make politics "accessible, relevant, and ultimately more democratic" (McInternan, 2000, 138).

Following the alleged neglect and undermining of social welfare in Scotland by the UK's Conservative administration of the 1980's and 1990's (Stewart, 2004) there was the perception that devolution would allow Scotland to follow a more 'left-wing' policy agenda than appeared to be acceptable to voters in England (Adams and Robinson, 2002). However, rather than diverging significantly from New Labour, Scottish New Labour approaches towards tackling disadvantage have remained strikingly similar. The following section outlines those strategies which have been adopted by the Scottish Executive and evaluates how much of a divergence they represent from UK New Labour philosophy.

3.11 Tackling Disadvantage from a Scottish New Labour Perspective

The Scottish Parliament clearly faces "a tough challenge" when it comes to tackling poverty and social exclusion (Alexander, 1999, 157). Following devolution a shared commitment was made between the relatively new New Labour government and the new New Labour dominated Executive in Scotland, to tackle poverty and social exclusion through a clear anti-poverty strategy (Scott, Mooney and Brown, 2005, 85). The Scottish Executive presented the attack on poverty as a "central organising principle" of the new Parliament (Brown, Scott, Mooney and Duncan, 2002, 7). With regards to the creation of anti-poverty policy in Holyrood, there has been greater emphasis on social inclusion rather than exclusion, with partnership, equality and social justice also being focussed upon (Brown, Scott, Mooney and Duncan, 2002, 7). McConnell (2002 cited in Stewart, 2004, 18) told the newly formed Scottish Centre for Research on Social Justice (SCRSJ) that we should aspire to "a Scotland where we use the riches we inherit and the wealth we

create to pay attention to those who need our commitment and our energy most. Those whom the accident of birth or circumstance has left excluded and isolated. The young person in care, the old person in poverty, the family struggling against debt. Each of them with dreams and hopes, each with talent and ability... Because in that Scotland, we understand that social justice for any one of us only comes through social justice for all". Scott, Mooney and Brown (2005) view the consistent recognition of social justice, as providing a more explicit commitment to equality strategies than Westminster-based anti-poverty work. However, Stewart (2004a, 108) asserts that "while Scottish Labour does indeed use the rhetoric of social inclusion and social justice, by the same token the language of wealth redistribution is, by and large, absent". Ultimately "wealth redistribution is not a phrase that readily slips off the New Labour tongue" (Stewart, 2004, 57). This is in line with criticisms of New Labour's UK wide approach whereby "New Labour has abandoned any commitment to redistribution and to tackling the main sources of income and wealth inequality in favour of an approach which stresses individual responsibilities and equality of opportunity" (Mooney and Johnstone, 2000, 157).

According to Mooney and Scott (2005, 7) the 'new Scotland' is "constructed first and foremost, in the language of the Scottish Executive, as a 'smart, successful Scotland', with greater emphasis on wealth creation as opposed to wealth distribution". Both the UK government and the Scottish Executive have made it "clear that their concerns are with social exclusion and poverty, not inequality" (Scott, Mooney and Brown, 2005, 90). While McConnell (2002) described social justice in Scotland as being "founded on the values of fairness, equality and opportunity" what was crucially missing was any obvious reference to wealth distribution (Stewart, 2004, 18). The focus in Scotland, as in Westminster, tends to be on ensuring equality of opportunity. Alexander (1999, 158) purports Scottish New Labour to be a government "serious about creating a fairer society, a society in which all our citizens have the opportunity to maximise their potential and all can share in that society's growing prosperity". Policies have ultimately been "aimed at increasing equality of opportunities, not equality of outcome" (Scott, Mooney and Brown, 2005, 91).

Despite a focus on ‘opportunity’ over ‘outcome’ however in Scotland the number of indicators of poverty showing improvement since 1997 is more than double those which have grown worse (Palmer, Carr and Kenway, 2004). Absolute poverty has fallen, poorer pensioners have done better and the numbers living in households with less than 60 per cent median income have decreased (Scott, 2006). There has also been a significant reduction in unemployment, in particular in the most disadvantaged areas, and a small but significant decrease in the numbers of children in poverty (Scott, Mooney and Brown, 2005). However large swathes of policy are concentrated on the most vulnerable, such as children and pensioners, meaning “it is still not the case that anti-poverty policy is effective for all of those ‘at the bottom’” (Scott, 2006, 116). Scottish Executive policy objectives therefore can have unintended negative consequences for other social groups. For example, the Executive’s attempts at placing children at the centre of all policies has in reality sharpened the division between services for children and those for adults (Stewart, 2004). Such a focus on the ‘making work pay’ component of anti-poverty policy has led to greater vulnerability for those working age adults not in employment or in low paid work (Scott, 2006).

For Stewart (2004) in investigating how a New Labour dominated Executive has viewed its role in combating poverty and social exclusion an instructive document to consult is the report on social justice published in 2000 (A Scotland where everyone matters: Annual Report 2000: Summary). Several themes are of relevant interest including (adapted from Stewart, 2004, 54):

- 1 A commitment to end child poverty, to bring about full employment by way of opportunities for all those who can work, to secure “dignity in old age” (p.5) and to build strong and inclusive communities.
- 2 A determination to break “the cycle of deprivation and disadvantage”. No “civilised nation” could afford to tolerate this “shocking waste of human potential”. Real and enduring change it was cautioned “needs a long term strategy” (p.5).

- 3 The complex and interrelated nature of these problems needs a strategy that embraces “economic, education, health, justice and communities issues” (p5).
- 4 Social progress “must be founded on a strong economy” although it was also immediately acknowledged that equally “a successful economy depends on people achieving their full potential” (p.6)
- 5 Exhibiting the New Labour fondness for targets success, (and implicitly failure) in the battle against social exclusion was to be measured, as in doing so “we have the best opportunity for delivering social justice in Scotland” (p.29)

Following the second Scottish Parliament elections of 2003 the social justice strategy was reviewed with the term to describe anti-poverty policy being changed from ‘social justice’ to ‘Closing the Opportunity Gap’ (CtOG) (Mooney, Sweeney and Law, 2006). CtOG had three main aims – to prevent individuals or families from falling into poverty, to provide routes out of poverty for individuals and families and to sustain individuals or families in a lifestyle free from poverty. The Scottish Executive’s Community Regeneration statement (2002) is also of value in providing further insight into the direction the Scottish Executive has been taking towards tackling disadvantage. Entitled ‘Better Communities in Scotland: Closing the gap’, it refers to two main strategies to “turn around disadvantaged communities” (Scottish Executive, 2002a, 6). The first to “make core public services as effective as possible in deprived areas” and the second to “make sure that individuals and communities have the social capital – the skills, confidence support networks and resources – to take advantage of and increase the opportunities open to them” (Scottish Executive, 2002a, 6). According to the statement “people in deprived communities are less likely to have access to the resources they need when things go wrong. Increasing individual skills - particularly literacy and numeracy- and building the resources and networks within a community can help people find ways of tackling problems locally” (Scottish Executive, 2002a, 11). Such statements however point to a “framing of neighbourhood deprivation in the internal dynamics and networks of neighbourhood residents” and “amounts to a pathological conception of the causes of neighbourhood decline... it amounts to an inward-looking focus on the deficiencies of

communities with little explicit acknowledgment about how these are structured by external processes” (Hastings, 2003, 87). Danson (1999, 563) concurs stating that whilst local circumstances are important “structural factors linked to broader socio-economic change can also contribute to urban decline, and the result is often an increasing incidence of poverty and multiple disadvantage at the local level”.

The New Labour fondness for ‘opportunity’ was also picked up in the 2006 Regeneration Policy Statement ‘People and Place’. The policy statement described the aims of the Executive as being “to turn disadvantaged neighbourhoods into places where people are proud to live; to turn places that have been left behind into places connected with the opportunities around them... and to build mixed and vibrant communities that sustain themselves” (Scottish Executive, 2006b, 4). Partnership working was also emphasised with the private and public sectors being brought together to “maximise their activities and investment in specific places” (Scottish Executive, 2006b, 4). Joined up working between Executive departments and agencies was also mentioned. “Successful regeneration” however was to be found on economic foundations with “the lasting transformation for the better of places and communities” being “central to achieving the Executive’s *main* goal of sustainable economic growth” (Italics added) (Scottish Executive, 2006b, 6).

As is the case with New Labour, Scottish New Labour also purport to value the input of communities, the voluntary sector and the social economy and the desire to work with them in partnership to tackle disadvantage. The following section provides an outline of Scottish New Labour rhetoric with regards to the key concepts of placing value on partnership working and community inclusion. The tensions which surround the reality of involvement, for both the voluntary sector and communities themselves, will be drawn out with regard to these claims in chapter 6.

3.11.1 Placing value on partnership

The key principles underpinning anti-poverty policies under New Labour are reflected in what can be referred to as a ‘pragmatic’ approach which is adhered to both North and South of the border whereby ‘joined-up’ policy and partnership working are encouraged with public service providers required to work in partnership with each other as well as with the voluntary and private sectors in joint planning and delivery of activities and services in the anti-poverty field (Scott, Mooney and Brown, 2005). According to Chisholm the Scottish Executive’s (2005b, 3) role with regard to the voluntary sector is one of “facilitation – removing barriers where they exist, making sure that the voluntary sector has a clear voice, spotting new opportunities for partnership working, and working with public service providers to better understand the distinctive contribution the sector can make”. In the 2005b Scottish Executive publication ‘A Vision for the Voluntary Sector: The Next Phase of Our Relationship’ four ways in which the Executive want to support the voluntary sector were outlined. These consisted of supporting the voluntary sector as a service delivery partner, in its contribution to building strong communities, in its role in advocacy and developing policy thinking and as an agent of change (Scottish Executive, 2005b, 5). The Scottish Executive (2004d) describe action to support volunteering as “action to tackle poverty and disadvantage”. To affirm their commitment the Scottish Executive along with the voluntary sector are part of the Scottish Compact which was established in 1998. Keating (2007) asserts however that despite the Scottish Executive’s proclamations of support of the voluntary sector and the voluntary sector being ‘overwhelmingly behind devolution’ since 1999 the government has not sufficiently appreciated or realised its potential and the contribution it can make to a mixed economy of service delivery.

Scottish New Labour, just as their Southern counterparts have done, also claim to recognise and support the contribution the social economy can make in partnership towards tackling disadvantage. According to Curran (2004, 2) the social economy has a crucial role to play as “social economy organisations are particularly effective in working with excluded and disadvantaged people” and therefore “the social economy should be encouraged to help tackle poverty and deprivation wherever it exists”. The Scottish

Executive (2003, 4) described how social economy organisations can “bring added value to the delivery of public services in terms of their capacity to innovate, their closeness to and ability to engage effectively with and meet the needs of their customers/clients and the communities in which they operate and their access to resources such as volunteer effort” and therefore obstacles should be removed that stand in the way of such organisations achieving their full potential and it should be ensured that the appropriate support mechanisms are in place. It has also been stressed that social welfare policy should be viewed as a totality with an emphasis on where possible a cross-departmental approach (Stewart, 2004a). A particular focus on partnership working in Scotland was demonstrated by the creation of Social Inclusion Partnerships in 1998.

As an extension of the urban programme of the 1980’s and 1990’s, SIPs were introduced to replace two Conservative strategies New Life for Urban Scotland and the Programme for Partnership and designed to “tackle the physical, economic and social decay in areas of high unemployment, low income, poor health and educational underachievement” (Mooney, 2002, 110). These partnerships were designed to meet the Scottish Executive’s social justice agenda with 48 SIPS being introduced, 34 of which were area-based and 14 of which were thematic (Bailey, Haworth, Manzi and Roberts, 2007). Lloyd, McCarthy and Fernie (2001) identify the key characteristics of SIPs as being focussed on the most needy members of society, the co-ordination and filling in of gaps between existing programmes in order to promote inclusion and an attempt to prevent people becoming socially excluded. The SIP approach stresses the need for partnership to implement policy programmes at local level with regard also to a strategic citywide regeneration framework (Fernie and McCarthy, 2001). SIPs comprise the local authority and other public agencies including local enterprise companies, health boards, the community and the voluntary and private sectors. The SIPs strategy anticipates that each of the main social inclusion partners will “bend existing mainstream budgets to the needs of each SIP area” (McWilliams, Johnstone and Mooney, 2004, 314).

The SIP innovation was not met with universal acclaim. According to Fawcett (2004, 248) SIPs were nothing new, rather “built on past policy” with the partnership structure and area-based approach to tackling deprivation being a “re-labelling of existing

structures” such as the Priority Partnership Areas (PPAs). McWilliams (2004) concurs stating that whilst SIPs argued that there is a need to involve communities in the decisions affecting them, and to support them to take on greater responsibility for taking those decisions themselves this is not too different from the New Life for Urban Scotland Partnership initiative which claimed that “plans for the regeneration of problem areas must have the full understanding, involvement and commitment of the local community”. SIPs were not devoid of the practice of area competition and value for money which were so central to Conservative urban policies (Johnstone and McWilliams, 2005). McWilliams et al (2004) also draw attention to the fact that SIPs are characterised by the same limitations as previous urban regeneration initiatives as existing power structures and decision-making processes did not change with power still lying with the Scottish Executive and not the local community. Johnstone and McWilliams (2005) believe SIPs can be viewed as a residual, poorly-funded strand of urban policy focused more on managing decline than creating any meaningful sustainable regeneration. The area based nature of SIPs has also been a point of contention with Mooney (2002, 81) expressing “serious doubts about area-based partnerships as a way to address the underlying employment base in the areas... the extent of community participation that has been developed may be minimal” and “the limited potential of the partnership approach in reducing inequalities between areas of declining and developing economic change”. Dewar (1998 cited in Turok, 2004, 117) also acknowledged that local partnerships depend on wider policies and developments elsewhere in their city ultimately “deprived neighbourhoods cannot prosper in isolation”.

Unsurprisingly, SIPs were disbanded in 2004 in favour of Community Planning Partnerships (CPPs) which were created in all 32 local authority areas. Community Planning would, it was claimed, provide a new opportunity to “improve how community regeneration is delivered in Scotland by joining up national and local priorities and by tackling the problems of deprived neighbourhoods, not alone, but as part of the wider community plan” (Scottish Executive, 2002a, 13) (for further background as to how community planning as a concept came to fruition see Lloyd and Illsley (2001)). In Scotland, Community Planning refers to “a multi-agency community planning

partnership comprising the local authority, key local public service providers and representatives of the voluntary, community and private sectors – working together at neighbourhood, local authority and regional levels” (Sinclair, 2007, 152). Community Planning is perceived to be about “promoting ‘joined-up’ working between organisations in order to develop a shared strategic vision for a geographical area, providing greater opportunities for community participation and encouraging more integrated service delivery across organisational boundaries” (Stevenson, 2002, 2). This reflects the goals of New Labour, as outlined above, to reshape the relationship between the role of the community, voluntary sector and the state in a new form of ‘partnership’ (Johnstone and McWilliams, 2005, 170). A further objective was to ensure all community planning partners tackle regeneration and local deprivation as core concerns rather than the responsibility of specialist agencies, with regeneration policy being delivered through mainstream budgets with less emphasis on funding of specific projects (Sinclair, 2007, 153). Local authorities and other providers are therefore encouraged to ‘bend the spend’ towards deprived neighbourhoods to meet their particular needs (Hastings, Flint, Mckenzie and Mills, 2005, 1).

For Carley (2004, v) Community Planning in Scotland offers “significant opportunities to improve local governance, where governance is defined as local government working closely with partners and communities”. This is achieved by “linking the agendas of social inclusion, community participation, better service delivery and modernised local government in a process of innovation and improvement” (Carley, 2004, v). The involvement of communities “as the main partner in the process” (Scottish Executive, 2002a, 14) again echoes the New Labour rhetoric prevalent South of the border. Mooney (2006) argues that whilst Community Planning appears to bring the community to the very heart of policy making, and delivery an alternative view may be that it serves as a means whereby local protest is neutralised as community activists become incorporated into management activities, the real power remaining in the hands of government and private interests. Interesting also is the tension apparent in constructing deprived neighbourhoods as lacking social capital then arguing that these deficient communities should be at the very heart of community planning (Hastings,

2003).

For the Scottish Executive consultation is claimed to be an essential and important aspect of Scottish Executive working methods (Scottish Executive, 2006c). It is claimed that the Civic Participation Research Team (CPRT) within the Scottish Executive works to improve the quality and effectiveness of consultation in the policy-making process (Scottish Executive, 2006). However according to Keating (2007, 12) whilst “the policy process in Scotland is more open and transparent than before 1999, and there is a lot of consultation... it is not always clear that this consultation is feeding policy development, rather than just expressing the interests of the participants”. Research undertaken by Nicholson (2005) also found that in reality, civic participation seemed not to have made a significant impact on public policy decision-making.

A further key principle of New Labour which has also dominated Scottish New Labour thought is an emphasis on *paid employment* as the best route out of poverty. The following section outlines briefly the issues around such a philosophy as well as the identification of a number of other key similarities in Scottish New Labour's approach towards tackling disadvantage.

3.11.2 A focus on moving from welfare to work

Alexander (1999, 158) states that “for most people of working age the best way to avoid poverty is to be in paid work... this is a government defined by its commitment to work”. The aim of both the UK and Scottish governments has therefore been to create a system which in theory would ensure ‘work for those who can and security for those who cannot’. According to Scott (2006) active-labour market policies and tax credit policies aimed at assisting adults in workless households into work dominate Scottish Executive thinking on tackling economic disadvantage as is the case at Westminster.

In their coalition statement ‘the challenge of a global society’ Scottish New Labour and the Scottish Liberal Democrats (2003) stated “growing the economy is our top priority. A successful economy is the key to our future prosperity and a pre-requisite for building first-class public services, social justice and a Scotland of opportunity” (Law, 2005, 59). McConnell (2004) suggested that in order to secure the vision of encouraging

and stimulating “economic growth to tackle poverty and disadvantage” it is “essential that we create a Scotland where enterprise can flourish, where opportunity does exist for all, and where our people have the confidence to face the challenges of a global society”. Once again it is a focus on opportunity which is notable. In the 2004a publication from the Scottish Executive ‘A Smart, Successful Scotland’ (SSS) it was stated that “economic growth and tackling poverty and disadvantage go hand in hand. If worklessness and poverty are not properly tackled, they will act as a brake on economic growth and the potential contribution to the economy of those currently inactive will remain untapped” (Scottish Executive, 2004, 29).

Scott, Mooney and Brown (2005, 98-99) put forward three criticisms of the way in which active labour market policies have developed. Firstly, the increase in restrictive controls on the unemployed has not necessarily reduced poverty for those experiencing it. Secondly, the trend towards more state control over the poor may act more to further marginalise the poor than reduce their poverty. Lastly, in those areas such as transport, health, education and personal social services where the Scottish Executive has most potential to reduce the barriers to employment “severe challenges face policy makers”. An evaluation of the welfare to work strategy, both the successes and problematic issues, is provided below in table 3.9.

Table 3.9: Evaluation of the welfare-to-work strategy

Successes of Strategy	Problematic Issues of Strategy
- It has created clearer financial incentives to work.	- Need for recognition of both the diverse needs of people with the least immediate chance of entering the labour market and the importance of local differences.
- It has made progress in tackling some key barriers to work, such as lack of childcare and of guidance for those returning to the labour market.	- Tensions between the increased focus on individual needs and the way in which tax credits and benefits treat couples as a unit rather than as individuals. Incentives for second earners have been reduced and yet having two earners in a family is the most effective way to boost family income and avoid poverty.
- Employment participation rates have risen, both generally and for specific target groups.	- The biggest single influence of whether a household is in poverty is whether any of its members are working. But paid work does not guarantee an escape from poverty and is not always an option for everyone. Some groups continue to face high poverty risk even in work and even with the availability of tax credits. Promoting paid work as a route out of poverty requires much closer policy attention not only to income levels in work but also to the sustainability of work, the quality of employment, rights at work, employment progression, equal pay issues, and the obligations and responsibilities of employers.

Source: Adapted from Hirsch and Millar, 2004, 26.

Kenway, Fuller, Rahman, Street and Palmer (2002) view a strategy to reduce poverty that is built on getting people into work the main thrust of New Labour’s welfare policy approach, as being flawed as 40 per cent of the working age poor are already in work. Further issues surround economic inactivity or ‘hidden unemployment’ which remains very high whilst poverty in employment continues to rise particularly for those households in part-time work (Scott, Mooney and Brown, 2005, 104). This according to Stewart (2004, 51) points to the historic problem of Scottish low wages and provides a further example of scepticism about the market’s role in solving social problems.

Two further Scottish New Labour approaches which mirror those of New Labour at the national level and are of relevance to this research are also worthy of note. The first is a stringent determination to adhere to evidence based working. Indeed evidence based policy making has ultimately become a Scottish New Labour mantra with the setting and measuring of indicators becoming a major feature of policy development (Scott, Mooney and Brown, 2005, 88). In the Scottish Parliament’s first session (1999-2003) the social justice and anti-poverty strategies were combined through choosing ten long-term

objectives and 29 milestones that would monitor the progress in improving 'opportunities' for those in disadvantaged communities (Scott, Mooney and Brown, 2005, 88).

The second is the proclaimed support for culture and the arts with a view to the contribution they can make to the creation and maintenance of social capital. Just as New Labour nationally have espoused the value of culture in increasing levels of social capital (section 3.6), Scottish New Labour have also recognised the role culture can play in tackling disadvantage. First Minister Jack McConnell (2003) brought culture onto the agenda stating that "culture cuts across every aspect of government" and that "it can make a difference to our success in tackling poverty... and it has a significant contribution to make towards our economy". The Scottish Executive's 'Scotland's Culture' was published in 2006e outlining the Executive's new cultural policy. Proclaiming that "culture is a vital ingredient in Scotland's success" and is also "central to the well-being of Scotland's citizens" the document also expressed a desire to reduce bureaucracy in the cultural sector and for service providers from a variety of sectors delivering their objectives through culture. The policy document also outlined "the key part culture could play in creating vibrant communities, and driving and enlivening economic and social regeneration" (Scottish Executive, 2006e, 11). The need for an increase in commitment from the public, private and voluntary sectors to partnership working and joined-up delivery in the cultural realm was also expressed.

While devolution has offered certain opportunities including a "more accessible Government and a more concentrated focus on Scottish issues" concern surrounds "the limits to the Scottish Parliament's powers to tackle poverty" (Poverty Alliance, 2000). Devolved powers are, for the most part, related to the policy fields of social care, health, housing, education and area regeneration (Mooney, Sweeney and Law, 2006, 3) whilst several key areas of policy making are 'reserved' to the Westminster Parliament including employment and social security (Mooney, Sweeney and Law, 2006, 5). The implications of which for anti-poverty policy development are discussed below.

3.12 The limits to divergence

Whilst of all the UK devolved administrations Scotland has the most extensive powers, a number of crucial policy areas which impact upon anti-poverty policy development still lie within Westminster's remit. According to Brown, Scott, Mooney and Duncan (2002) this has major 'ramifications' and 'limitations' for the formation of Scottish anti-poverty policy as policies which tackle worklessness and alter the benefits system can have significant consequences for those living in poverty. Indeed without any powers in the area of social security it is "difficult to pursue social strategies such as getting people from benefit into work or encouraging stable household patterns" (Parry, 1997, 38). The Scottish Executive ultimately can use its influence in housing, planning and local government to impact on what occurs "but otherwise has to rely on its ability to persuade the UK government to adopt policies that are compatible with the Scottish ones" (Trench, 2004, 6).

While the Executive has succeeded on occasion this has been due to "the fact that to a large degree Edinburgh and London want to do the same things in largely similar ways" (Trench, 2004, 6). The importance of control over employment and benefits legislation in tackling disadvantage cannot be overstated indeed "few countries could expect to build a credible anti-poverty strategy without being able to change these crucial elements" (Watt, 2000, 39). Wilson (1999) concurs stating an anti-poverty strategy which is not completely dovetailed with an integrated tax and benefit system is destined to be ineffective. For Paterson (2000) if a pessimistic view of the new Parliament was taken it could be argued that it cannot have any impact on social exclusion or inclusion as the tools that could address these issues remain at Whitehall. Fawcett (2004, 247) also ponders if it is in fact possible to have an effective Scottish strategy on disadvantage or "does policy-making without competence for social security mean 'doing the do-able' rather than developing coherent policy responses?" Devolution therefore "offers opportunities, but opportunities of a limited kind" (Stewart, 2004, 65).

With such limitations would it really prove possible for the Scottish Executive to forge its own path in the areas of anti-poverty policy and practice? Parry (2002a) asserts that whilst there have been several pieces of legislation passed in Edinburgh, in reality

there have only been three main policy divergences which are: student tuition fees, teacher's pay and long-term care for the elderly. Each of which have ultimately been the result of 'coalition pressure' from Scottish New Labour's partner, the Liberal Democrats (Parry, 2002b, 322).

There are a number of constraints on the Scottish Parliament in following its own constitutional path with Westminster holding ultimate sovereignty, the Treasury controlling the purse strings and imposing financial constraints and also with Scottish Labour being part of the British Labour party therefore posing a political constraint (Stewart, 2004a, 106). Parry (1997) characterises Westminster as having at its heart a 'control freak' spirit. According to Fawcett (2004) in reality, Scottish social inclusion/exclusion policy is not in conflict with that laid out by Westminster. Rather all that acts to differentiate Scottish anti-poverty policy from the remainder of the UK are "the delivery agencies rather than its content" (Scott, 2006, 113). As is the case across the UK, child poverty is at the forefront, work and enterprise are viewed as essential and inequality is hardly mentioned (Scott, 2006). Indeed New Labour in Scotland and New Labour in the rest of the UK have "huge amounts in common in policy terms and attitudes" (Stewart, 2004, 21).

As evidenced above there has in essence been a replication of New Labour "assumptions, policies and priorities North of the border" (Poole and Mooney, 2005, 47). Westminster initiatives such as New Deal for the Unemployed and Working Families Tax Credit have been included in the Scottish Executives long-term objectives (Fawcett, 2004, 239) whilst the 1999 publication *Social Inclusion: Opening the Door to a Better Scotland* contains evident New Labour discourse with references to "'integration', 'inclusiveness' and 'empowerment'. Further, there is a strong emphasis on 'opportunities' for work and lifelong learning" (Mooney and Johnstone, 2000, 176). For Mooney and Johnstone (2000) in general policies on poverty, social inclusion/exclusion and inequality remain strikingly similar in Scotland and Britain. Scotland's Parliament adheres to the same Third Way/neo-liberal policies (although referred to as the Scottish Third Way) in the areas of welfare and the public sector (Mooney and Poole, 2004, 475). For Poole and Mooney (2005, 47) New Labour as the main partner in a devolved

Scotland has had considerable consequences for Scottish social policy development with a lack of political will to create alternatives to the orthodoxy of Blair which focuses on “‘what works’, ‘best value’, partnership, PPPs and market led solutions to the problem of public service provision and performance”. Scottish New Labour early on “embraced Blairite thinking on poverty” (Mooney and Johnstone, 2000, 177) with social and welfare policies characterised by “an emphasis on individual responsibilities and opportunities” (Mooney and Johnstone, 2000, 177). Trench (2004, 6) refers to New Labour in Scotland and England as speaking a “common language” spoken “with different accents, rather than different tongues altogether”.

For Poole and Mooney (2005, 47) only when the political will exists to make use of the powers available to Scottish policy makers and the “ideological vision to carve out an alternative agenda to that broadly prescribed by Blair and New Labour with its emphasis on market solutions, individual responsibility and private interests” will genuine policy divergence occur. Overall the story of devolution is “one of strong continuity between England and Scotland” (Fawcett, 2004, 239).

3.13 Conclusion

As this chapter has shown “New Labourism is not a political phenomenon confined to England” (Stewart, 2004, 136). Indeed Raco (2002) argues the collectivism which Scotland is often portrayed as possessing, is quickly challenged by the Scottish Executive when it’s perceived as undermining New Labour’s goal of transforming Scotland into a ‘modern, flexible, knowledge-based economy’. Mooney and Johnstone (2000, 176) argue that in reality:

“there is little indication that the approach to poverty being adopted by the new Scottish Parliament is different from that of the Westminster government. While there is more emphasis on social inclusion, as opposed to problems of social exclusion, both come from the same political and ideological stable... there is little to differentiate the two parliaments in their policies”.

An over-centralising tendency and a focus on social inclusion through employment approach (Williams and Windebank, 2000) has meant that New Labour has been criticised as having “in reality never attempted to do more than ameliorate the worst excesses of capitalist society” (Rubenstein, 1997, 340). Indeed, a defining characteristic of New Labour is its “reluctance to acknowledge the power of deep structural inequalities” (Lister, 2001a, 431). Its welfare approach can be accurately described as a “paradigm shift from a concern with equality to a focus on social inclusion and opportunity, with which comes responsibility” (Lister, 2001a, 431). New Labour’s “abandonment of redistribution as a means of tackling inequality has been replaced with an emphasis on work and on individual responsibility. In the process, the structural causes of poverty and inequality which are rooted in the class character of society are obscured” (Mooney and Johnstone, 2000, 178). Poverty is to be understood as exclusion from paid employment, a philosophy which drives current government anti-poverty policy (Mooney, 2007).

Whilst the concepts of involving communities more in decision making, increasing community social capital and working in partnership are of value at a philosophical level, it is in practical application that they stumble. This chapter has served to outline a number of rhetorical devices constructed and utilised by New Labour through which to promote their philosophy and justify their practical approaches towards tackling disadvantage. The reality of New Labour’s rhetoric shall be exposed through the empirical element of this research (chapters 5 and 6).

The following chapter employs the applied geographical problem oriented perspective discussed in chapter 1 (section 1.6) to identify the case study area which is the focus of for the empirical investigation designed to gain a comprehension of the lived experience of disadvantage as well as to provide insight into those issues confronting attempts to tackle disadvantage on the ground.

CHAPTER 4: METHODS OF MAPPING DISADVANTAGE

4.1 Introduction

The main empirical aims of this research are to gain an in-depth comprehension of the lived experience of disadvantage and to investigate the barriers confronting those working across the regeneration spectrum attempting to tackle disadvantage. This chapter on research methodology contains three sections. The first outlines how the study area was identified. The second outlines the methodology utilised to gain an insight into the lived experience of disadvantage. This explains the rationale behind utilising focus groups as a method and addresses questions relating to group composition, recruitment, access, ethics and analysis of the resultant data. The third section outlines the methods utilised in carrying out interviews with people across the regeneration spectrum and contains information on access, location and the taping and transcription of interviews.

4.2 Researching the Lived Experience of Disadvantage

4.2.1 Identification of possible study areas

To appreciate the lived experience of disadvantage in all its complexity it was deemed necessary to identify an area experiencing multiple aspects of poverty and deprivation and conduct primary research into what impact this has on inhabitant's lives and aspirations.

From the outset the post-industrial city of Glasgow was identified as relevant for study due to the array of socio-economic challenges confronting the city. As Scotland's largest city with a population of 578, 970 (General Register Office for Scotland, Mid year Estimate 2005) Glasgow is a city of contrasts. Referred to by some as "an inspiring story of urban transformation and civic pride recognised worldwide" (Turok and Bailey, 2004, 35) and also as the powerhouse of the Scottish economy (Glasgow Community Planning Partnership, 2005, 1) to others Glasgow still holds negative perceptions stemming historically from the image of Red Clydeside as a militant working class city unappealing to inward investment and associated with images of overcrowded slums, violent razor gangs and heavy drinking (Pacione, 1995). Despite increases in private investment and claims that Glasgow's economic performance over the last three years is the best it has

been for a generation (Business Strategies, 2001, 22) statistically Glasgow still possesses all the scars of an area marred by industrial decline. According to the results of the SIMD (2004) 70% of those data zones with the highest concentrations of deprivation (worst 5%) are to be found in Glasgow with over half of Glasgow's residents inhabiting the worst 15% data zones. As shown in table 4.1 in relation to Scotland as a whole and its numerous cities Glasgow fares worst on almost every deprivation related variable.

Table 4.1 Mean values of deprivation-related variables for the major Scottish cities (2001)

Variable	Scotland	Glasgow	Edinburgh	Dundee	Aberdeen
% Separated or divorced	9.1	11.1	9.1	11.3	9.4
% Unemployed	7.2	12.3	5.0	10.3	4.4
% Social rented housing	26.7	39.1	16.2	31.6	26.8
% No car	33.7	55.8	39.0	45.0	33.3
% Lowest social group	23.4	34.7	18.0	28.6	18.9
% Lone parents	10.5	15.5	8.3	12.3	8.4
% Crowding	2.8	6.5	3.1	3.3	2.4
% Long term illness	21.2	27.2	17.9	23.7	18.2
% Travel to work by bus	10.0	13.0	17.3	10.7	10.5
% Never worked	5.0	9.1	4.5	6.6	3.8

Source: Pacione, 2004, 126.

Glasgow also experiences high rates of unemployment with 110,500 adults (29% of the working age population of the city) being classed as 'out of work' in 2004. Of those 'out of work' only 16,000 are actively seeking employment whilst the remaining 94,500 are not seeking work (35,000 due to being on health related benefits such as incapacity benefit and 33,000 due to receiving Severe Disablement Allowance and Income Support with Disability Premium). Such high levels of worklessness mean Glasgow possesses an employment rate of 65.5% notably below the Scottish average figure of 74.3% (Glasgow City Council, 2005b, 19).

The ubiquitous nature of drug and alcohol misuse in the city is also highly problematic. Glasgow not only has the highest prevalence rate of problematic drug users

in Scotland but deaths as a result from alcohol misuse in Glasgow are 60% higher than the Scottish average (Glasgow Community Planning Partnership, 2005, 6). Addiction to illegal substances and alcohol is particularly widespread in those communities deemed to be 'deprived'. Dubbed the 'sick city of Europe' (Turok and Bailey, 2004, 36) Glasgow's overall health record also raises a number of issues surrounding diet and lifestyle choices. The urban decline which Glasgow has experienced since the mid 20th century has ultimately in many ways been similar to that encountered by cities throughout the United Kingdom. According to Turok and Bailey (2004) the imbalanced nature of Glasgow's turnaround means that not only do considerable human and physical problems persist but they also undermine the image of transformation and consequently threaten investor and visitor confidence. This clearly poses a fundamental challenge to the Scottish Executive and their commitment to sustained employment and social justice for all. For Pacione (1985) it is inevitable that the movement of people out of the city results in physical, social and economic decay of the inner areas. It is perhaps the scale of the problems which Glasgow has faced that have led many attempts at solution to fail. A brief overview of such responses can be viewed in table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2: Historical strategies to tackle deprivation in Glasgow

Era	Issue	Response
1945	Full scale housing crisis as result of physical decay of housing stock.	The City Corporation proposed development of large housing estates on periphery of city. Many of the resulting peripheral housing developments lacked amenities and community facilities.
1954	Renewal of urban slums.	Identification of 3 Comprehensive Development Areas (CDAs) within which demolition would occur. By 1957 29 CDAs had been designated.
1960	100 000 people still on city's housing waiting list and land scarce.	Change in attitude towards multi-storey housing initially in central areas but later developed in the peripheries.
1968	Rehabilitation viewed as more appropriate than rebuilding in many areas.	CDAs replaced by designation of 'action areas' which were smaller than CDAs.
1976	Recognised development not adequate in solving city's problems.	Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal (GEAR) scheme initiated aimed at tackling physical, environmental and economic renewal to large area East of city centre. GEAR was coordinated by the Scottish Development Agency (SDA) who as time progressed looked increasingly towards the private sector for investment.
1984	Desire for increased private sector investment.	Introduction of Local Enterprise Grants for Urban Projects (LEGUP) whose criteria tended to favour city and town centre locations.
Late 1980's	Desire to improve Glasgow's image.	Formation of 'Glasgow Action' a private sector-led partnership supported by the SDA who encouraged the forum to take a lead role in developing policies for the city centre including ideas for 'image improvement'. City Council launched 'Glasgow's miles better' advertising campaign.
1990	Wider strategy to fuse culture and urban regeneration attempted.	Glasgow named European City of Culture.

Source: Adapted from McCarthy and Pollock, 1997, 137 and Pacione, 1985.

Clearly the geography of disadvantage varies across the city. Despite success in city centre regeneration many parts of Glasgow, a number of inner city areas and peripheral estates, have continued to experience high levels of deprivation and disadvantage. Keating (1988) referred to this phenomenon as the 'dual city' whereby for example those in peripheral estates remain physically and economically detached from the city centre.

In order to identify a particular geographical area within Glasgow which possessed characteristics of interest to this thesis, quantitative (standardised) methods were initially employed. Following extensive consideration, the 2001 census was deemed to be the best source of local level data on which to base analysis. Postcode sectors were utilised with a number of variables being chosen on which to base analysis. These variables were selected based on prior research as to what constitutes deprivation (Chapter 1) and disadvantage and in line with the objectives of the exercise which was to analyse spatially the incidence of deprivation in Glasgow from an urban perspective. Whilst there is no single correct mix of deprivation indicators (Pacione, 1995) care was taken to select those variables which would prove most meaningful for the research at hand. Therefore indicators such as population characteristics (lone parents, those

separated or divorced, lone pensioners), housing (social rented, owner occupied, housing type) and lifestyle factors (central heating, availability of car, employment) were utilised. A list of the final 31 variables selected can be viewed in appendix 1. Following the selection of appropriate indicators of deprivation, principal components analysis was utilised in order to extract the principal dimensions of the data. This revealed that the first five components explained 83% of the variance. Component 1 accounted for 45% of the variance and therefore clearly could be identified as denoting deprivation as shown in table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Eigenvalues and variance explained.

Component	Eigenvalue	% Variance	Cumulative %
1	14.016	45.214	45.214
2	6.030	19.450	64.665
3	3.100	9.998	74.663
4	1.468	4.736	79.399
5	1.124	3.627	83.026

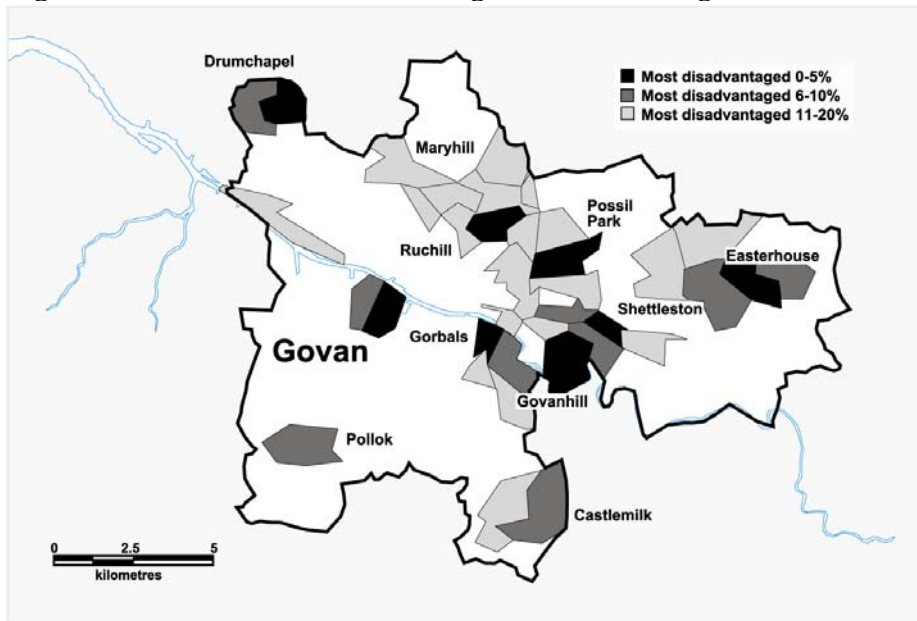
The initial matrix was rotated to attain a rotated component matrix. The resultant structure of the deprivation component is displayed below in table 4.4. A significance level of 0.35 was utilised to determine inclusion of variables in interpreting the value of each component.

Table 4.4: The composition of the deprivation component

Variable	Description	Coefficient
3	Married	-.878
4	Separated or divorced	.927
5	Unemployed	.951
6	Owner occupied housing	-.957
7	Social rented housing	.915
10	Households with no car	.959
11	Population in lowest social grouping	.905
17	One person household (non-pensioner)	.641
18	Married with 2 children	-.792
19	All pensioner household	-.593
20	Lone pensioner household	.818
23	Crowded households	.905
24	Detached or semi-detached housing	-.769
25	Flat	.762
26	Vacant housing	.464
27	Over 1.5 persons per room	.756
28	Travel to work by bus	.518
29	Travel to work by car as driver/passenger	-.902
31	No central heating	.616
32	Never worked	.834

Following the postcode sector analysis factor scores were computed for each of Glasgow's postcode sectors. These were then mapped (figure 4.1) to reveal the geography of disadvantage in Glasgow. A map was created displaying those areas which fell within the most disadvantaged 0-5%, 6-10% and 11-20%.

Figure 4.1: The most disadvantaged areas of Glasgow



High levels of deprivation exist in those areas classed as peripheral estates (Castlemilk, Easterhouse, Pollok and Drumchapel). Created originally to ease the pressure on inner city housing, by the 1980's the outer estates were characterised by overcrowding, unemployment and high numbers of lone parent households. All peripheral estates have experienced significant population decline and their own brand of similar but context dependent problems including issues surrounding transport provision. In Drumchapel demolition of substandard council housing has left large swathes of vacant land only partly redeveloped by private sector house-builders. Retail and leisure facilities are also lacking. In Pollok much of the housing stock is in need of renovation, despite investment from private house builders there remain pockets of disadvantage. Castlemilk having had SIP investment in housing renewal has experienced improvements in the residential environment however despite a vast number of economic and social initiatives and the

proclamations of Castlemilk needing only 'final steps to full regeneration' (Castlemilk Partnership, 2003) the area still experiences many aspects of disadvantage. Easterhouse similarly in spite of various economic and social interventions still displays the characteristics of an area suffering extreme deprivation (Pacione, 2004, 125).

As can be seen from the map above (Figure 4.1) a number of inner city locations also displayed high levels of deprivation. Areas such as the Gorbals and Govan both possess areas within the worst 0-5%. According to a White Paper on the inner cities (1977) such problems can be attributed to a variety of reasons. Firstly, economic decline and unemployment due to a reduced industrial base stemming from economic recession. Small dependent firms thus subsequently flounder whilst new industry is discouraged by the high cost of land, local taxes, congestion and poor opportunities for expansion. Secondly, many inner city areas suffer from dereliction and poor amenities. Land being left vacant for long periods of time following demolition and lack of investment and improvement as experienced by the Central Business District (CBD) also has a negative impact on an area. Thirdly, social disadvantage characterises those who are in poverty due to high unemployment and low paid jobs as well as the elderly, infirm and ethnic minority groups. Social disadvantage is however collective as it affects all residents arising from a sense of decay and neglect which dominates the whole area and can be related to a decline of community spirit and an increase in anti-social behaviour such as crime and vandalism (Pacione, 1990a, 49). A final component of the inner-city problem relates to the concentration of ethnic minorities in certain areas which may lead to discrimination in housing and employment and lead to racial tensions.

In the case of the Gorbals a combination of poor design and lack of maintenance led to housing suffering from damp penetration. The subsequent 1992 Crown Street Regeneration Project instigated by a public-private partnership aimed to introduce mixed land use and to recreate a sense of community spirit. Out with this flagship project much of the housing is still in poor condition and the area experiences high levels of deprivation (Pacione, 2004, 126). Govan characterised by high unemployment and extensive vacant land similarly experienced targeted success through the former Glasgow Garden Festival site which encouraged new housing, leisure and office development but

out with this restricted geographical area multiple deprivation persists. The Maryhill corridor is also notable due to the decline in Glasgow's heavy industrial employment base following global economic restructuring leading to unemployment and large areas of vacant land blighting the landscape (Pacione, 2004, 126). This issue has only grown in recent times as inter-war council housing is deemed uninhabitable and consequently demolished.

Clearly a number of areas in Glasgow were suitable for study therefore in order to select an area of both interest and relevance from those postcodes which displayed characteristics of multiple deprivation and disadvantage it was necessary to take a number of particular factors into account.

4.2.2 Factors considered in determining area of study

An interview with a senior member of the city planning team dealing with regeneration at Glasgow City Council provided some preliminary information on which areas would be best suited for study. Whilst the peripheral estates were identified as areas of interest a lot of research had previously been undertaken and also in terms of intensity of deprivation over the period 1981-2001 significant improvements had been recorded in all four peripheral estates (Pacione, 2004, 128). With regard to the inner city areas a lack of investment combined with a number of interesting initiatives made for a desirable case study choice. An area that was repeatedly mentioned was Govan, an area earmarked for significant investment and improvement.

Revered for its position as the workshop of the British Empire (The Herald, Tuesday December 20th 2005, 4) and renowned for violent gangs fighting over territory (Evening Times, Wednesday February 8th 2006, 6) Govan is an area repeatedly stigmatised by media portrayals of violence and depravity. Depicted as an area with appalling levels of "deprivation and dependence" and with descriptions of community workers dealing with the city's most disadvantaged on a daily basis (The Herald, Tuesday December 20th 2005, 4) Govan is clearly an area with great geographical potential for study. Future development and current policy also informed the decisions to be made over case study selection. With proposals to transform the derelict Govan graving docks

into part of an £150 million luxury housing development (Evening Times, Thursday April 28th 2005) and the relocation of the Scottish Media Group and BBC Scotland's headquarters into the area Govan is an area with the potential for change. The challenge will however lie in making sure that regeneration fits in with local needs (Turok in The Herald, Tuesday December 20th 2005, 4) and for this reason research in this locality would prove vital in informing what exactly those 'local needs' are. The production of the Central Govan Action Plan (CGAP) also provided an insight into planned future change in the Central Govan area. Relating to factors including employment, retail, community, leisure and recreational facilities, population issues and housing, preliminary information gained on the CGAP from involved parties allowed for an insight into regeneration proposals and also provided a contextual basis for inclusion of relevant issues within the focus group schedules.

Of further interest was the existence of an innovative arts regeneration project in the Linthouse area of Greater Govan named the LUV project (Linthouse Urban Village project). The concept of LUV was developed by Linthouse Housing Association and following initial contact and visits to the area appeared to have an interesting and original approach to local area regeneration. This involved working in partnership with the local community to improve the physical appearance and image of the area, increase job and training opportunities for local people as well as more opportunities to socialise and also to impact positively on the area's economy. This project also added to the appeal of selecting Govan as an area of study. Govan ultimately met the desired criteria for research due to persistently exhibiting characteristics of extreme disadvantage despite prior policy intervention.

4.2.3 Govan as study space

Located on the south bank of the River Clyde Govan was traditionally an area associated with heavy industry and shipbuilding. By the 1950's a combination of low investment, the emergence of new competition from the Far East and undercutting by government subsidised foreign yards had resulted in the shipbuilding industry being in extremely poor condition. The large-scale redundancies of the 1970's and 80's following the closure of

the traditional shipyards left Greater Govan struggling to cope. With only one shipyard contemporarily remaining in production the area has continued to experience a period of significant and sustained decline.

As of 2005 Greater Govan had a population of 30, 018. For the purposes of this study the Greater Govan area comprises those spaces denoted by Glasgow City Council as belonging to the Govan ward. These include Drumoyne, Govan, Ibrox, Cessnock and Kinning Park as can be seen in figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: Greater Govan area



Source: Glasgow City Council, 2007, 2.

As can be viewed in table 4.5 below Greater Govan has significant problems with regards to worklessness and unemployment.

Table 4.5: Issues surrounding employment

Indicator	Greater Govan	Glasgow	Scotland
Claimant count unemployment rate (%); 2004	10.4%	7.3%	4.4%
Workless rate (%) 2002	51.0%	22.0%	14.0%
% of resident population aged 16-74 who have never worked or are long term unemployed: 2001	12.0%	8.4%	4.2%
% of resident population aged 16-74 who are employed or self-employed: 2001	44.0%	46.0%	58.0%
% of resident population aged 16-74 who are unemployed: 2001	7.0%	6.0%	4.0%
% of resident population aged 16-74 who are economically inactive because they are looking after home/family: 2001	8.0%	7.0%	6.0%
% of resident population aged 16-74 who are economically inactive because they are long term sick/disabled: 2001	15.0%	12.0%	7.0%
% of resident population aged 16-74 who are economically inactive for 'other' reasons: 2001	8.0%	6.0%	4.0%

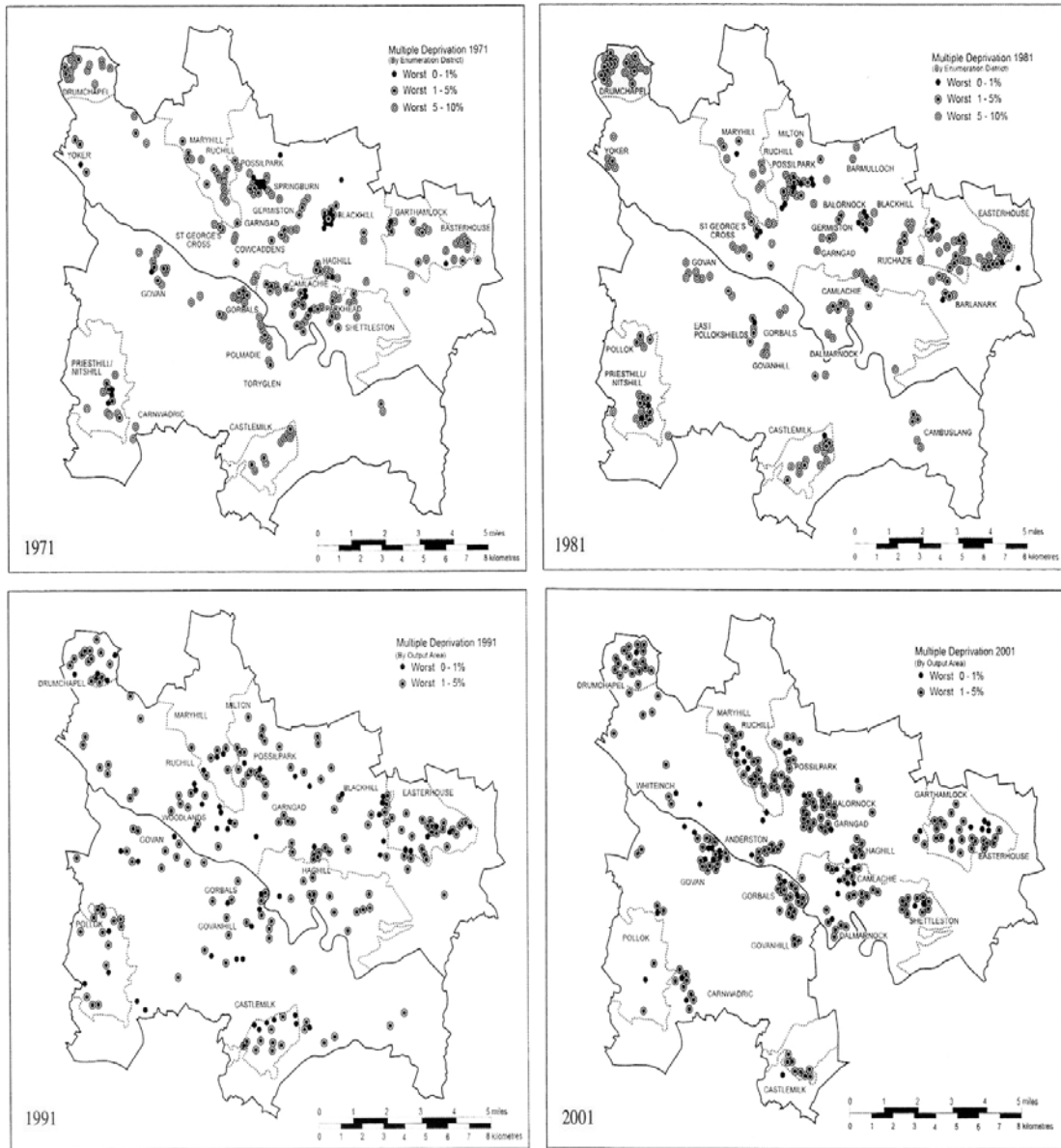
Source: Adapted from Govan Initiative, 2004, 1.

Housing is also a major issue both in terms of type and condition. With 86% of Greater Govan's housing being flats/maisonettes and an owner occupation rate of 28% as opposed to a Glasgow rate of 44% and a Scottish rate of 61% (Greater Govan SIP, 2002, 20) issues clearly surround choice and affordability in the Greater Govan area. The incidence of recorded crime particularly crimes against persons including robbery and violent abuse (35.4 crude rate per 1000 in 2003) were also above the rate for Glasgow (21.2 crude rate per 1000) (Govan Initiative, 2004, 2). Strathclyde police crime statistics also show an 81% increase in the Greater Govan area of vandalism/fire-raising incidents since 1999 whilst for Glasgow as a whole the average is 43%. The physical environment therefore suffers as a result with graffiti and vacant vandalised buildings encouraging the "spread of dereliction and poor streetscapes" (Govan Initiative, 2005, 9). As the physical, social and economic environment has deteriorated feelings of powerlessness and lack of voice have grown with 89% of Greater Govan's residents feeling they have no say in what goes on in their neighbourhood (Greater Govan SIP, 2002, 27). Low educational attainment has also proven problematic with 28% of school leavers moving into unemployment in 2003 (Govan Initiative, 2004, 2) and only 55% of fourth year secondary school pupils achieving 5+ Standard grades at a level of 1-4 as opposed to the Scottish average of 75% (Greater Govan SIP, 2002, 45). As with most areas suffering from deprivation levels of drug and alcohol misuse are high in Greater Govan. The prevalence of problem drug users in Greater Govan aged 16-54 is triple that of the

Scottish average (McGuire, 2002) and above Glasgow and Scottish average levels of limiting long term illness for those aged 16-74 (28%) exist (Govan Initiative, 2004, 2). Greater Govan ultimately possesses a concentration of 'hard core' poverty, low incomes and unemployment (Govan Initiative, 2005, 9) combined with a poor physical, social and cultural environment.

As can be viewed in Figure 4.3 Govan has consistently over decades remained within the worst 10% areas of multiple deprivation and in 2001 was one of the most severely disadvantaged in the city (Pacione, 2004, 127).

Figure 4.3: The geography of disadvantage in Glasgow 1971-2001.



Source: Pacione, 2004, 123.

The map created in figure 5.1 also clearly illustrates those postcode sectors comprising Govan as falling within the most disadvantaged 0-5% and 6-10%. Such persistent deprivation indicates an area which possesses both deep and multifaceted problems

which at present are not being tackled effectively through policy or practical interventions. A subsequent review of the media coverage of the area and its associated problems confirmed the area to be worthy of study into the lived experience of disadvantage.

Following identification of Govan as a study area it was necessary to formulate a methodology that would allow for the comprehension of the lived experience of disadvantage as well as the success of current attempts to reduce its impact and spread.

4.3 Formulating and Executing Focus Groups

In order to fully comprehend and appreciate the lived experience of disadvantage a substantial amount of primary data collection would be necessary. It was decided that the use of a number of focus groups would be most beneficial in obtaining a reflection of what it means to live in a disadvantaged community. Several considerations influenced the selection of focus groups as detailed in the following sections.

4.3.1 Methodological considerations

The first considerations surrounded the key question of how to determine the best method by which to obtain the richness of data I desired on what it was truly like to live in a disadvantaged area. There were a number of possible means of how to achieve this including interviews, participant observation and focus groups. Focus groups best suited my requirements for several reasons. Whilst in depth interviews and participant observation would have been beneficial in gaining knowledge on individual experience focus groups act as more of an efficient and interactive forum allowing insight into the ways in which “people construct social issues; share their knowledge, experiences and prejudices; and argue their different points of view” (Bedford and Burgess, 2001, 121). This method also allowed for more of an exploratory form of research as whilst individual interviews allow for issues to be discussed which the researcher deems important and significant, in the focus group setting the moderator relinquishes a certain amount of control to the group and allows the issues which concern them to be brought to the fore and discussed in a focussed way (Bryman, 2001) thus opening up new routes for

investigation and consideration. However as with all methodology a number of limitations of the focus group method were identified and taken into account.

4.3.2 Limitations of focus groups

A number of potential limiting factors are present throughout the process of data collection. Indeed according to McGrath (1982, 77) “all research strategies are ‘bad’ (in the sense of having serious methodological limitations): none of them are ‘good’ (in the sense of being even relatively unflawed)”. It was thus important prior to beginning the process of data collection to acknowledge a number of limitations in using the focus group method.

In the case of focus groups the issue of false consensus (Litosseliti, 2003) requires to be recognised. Indeed there is evidence that as a group comes to share a certain view point, group members can come to think uncritically about it and develop almost irrational attachments to it (Janis, 1982). Issues also exist around the restriction on each individual perspective coming through equally (Conradson, 2005) in a focus group setting. Focus groups can also act to reveal the nature and range of participants views but less so their strength (Sim, 1998). There is also the increased difficulty in analysing the data which the group interaction and construction of a social environment provides (Krueger, 1994). Furthermore a common criticism lies in the lack of scope for generalisation of results (Fern, 2001) however for the purposes of this research the rich conversational data which would be obtained would not be suitably quantifiable and in dealing with complex social issues generalisation would not necessarily be of benefit. The aforementioned were all equally considered and where possible and appropriate attempts were made to minimise the effects of such constraining factors as detailed through the course of this chapter.

4.3.3 Planning the study

Once focus groups had been identified as the method which afforded the most scope for obtaining the desired information it was necessary to focus on the precise issues and topics to be discussed. The primary stage of identifying topics to be discussed involved

creating a series of questions and then a process of refinement and sequencing took place. The questioning route approach was adopted (Krueger, 1994) whereby a sequence of questions in full sentences is prepared. Whilst taking longer to prepare than a topic guide, which lists words or phrases as prompts, the questioning route approach allows for a more efficient analysis as it eliminates subtle differences in language that may alter the intent. Based on the Pacione (2004, 119) anatomy of multiple deprivation model (Figure 1.1 as seen in chapter 1) and the work of Bright (2003, 7) on ‘Factors considered neighbourhood quality of life determinants’ as can be viewed in table 4.6 it was possible to work towards identifying those issues which create and compound the experience of living in a ‘disadvantaged area’.

Table 4.6: Factors Considered quality of life determinants

Factor	Features
Safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rates of violent crime and crimes against property: murder, burglary, theft. • Rates of alcohol and drug abuse: arrests for possession, dealing arrests.
Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adequacy of government services: condition of streets and pavements, presence of litter and weeds, number and condition of parks, libraries, community centres, other public facilities, frequency and types of local transit service, number of police officers per person. • Access to adequate business services: number, pay and types of neighbourhood employment opportunities, distance to employment and accessibility by transit, number and types of retail shopping opportunities, distance to grocery store, chemist and other retail shopping, number of entertainment facilities (restaurant, cinema) and accessibility by transit. • Adequacy of social services: primary and secondary education, colleges and universities (cost and accessibility by transit), emergency intervention and placement services, number of doctors per person.
Shelter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number and condition of housing units by type. • Number of abandoned, dilapidated or derelict properties. • Level of neighbourhood maintenance: level of government and private property maintenance.
Social Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence of informal networks of people (family, friends, neighbours). • Urban design that provides opportunities for meeting and being with a variety of people, discouraging crime, expressing neighbourhood heritage. • Access to city political power. • Regular contact with people of other incomes, races, ethnicities and education. • Presence of and funding for, formal networks of people (community based organisations, interest groups).

Source: Adapted from Bright, 2003, 7.

These included poor physical environment, sub standard housing, low educational attainment, crime, poor services, lack of community cohesion, poor retail facilities, feelings of powerlessness and having no say, unemployment, debt and lack of accessibility to the arts and other cultural services. After analysis of such factors, deemed to constitute multiple deprivation and responsible for degrading quality of life, it was

possible to create a number of generic topics which could be discussed. Questions were then created and placed within these headings. A copy of the interview schedule can be viewed in appendix 2.

4.3.4 Developing style and content of enquiry

In order to refine and order the questions initially general questions were identified for all groups, and then those which were specific questions were identified and placed into the correct schedule. Finally what were viewed as the critical questions for all groups were identified in bold. The schedules were thus adjusted depending on the group being conducted as issues relating to employment were clearly not as vital to those aged over 65 as they were to the groups containing the young unemployed contingent.

In sequencing the questions the ‘funnel approach’ (Litosseliti, 2003) was utilised whereby the focus moved from more general uncued enquiries at the outset of the group to more cued questions as the group progressed. This approach “fosters conversation and interaction among the participants” (Krueger, 1994, 54) and ultimately helps ease any apprehension people in the group may be feeling whilst subtly introducing the topic which has subsequently to be discussed. Attention was similarly paid to ensuring the essential questions were kept near to the top of the guide whilst those of less significance were placed nearer to the end (Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990) to ensure that in the event of running out of time the critical topics had been covered. Just as the flow of questions had to be regulated so to did the format of the questions. Throughout the process of formulating questions it was viewed as crucial to ensure that all questions were presented in an open manner so as to make sure “the answer is not implied, and the type and manner of response not suggested” (Krueger, 1998, 31). This approach in turn helps to avoid asking ‘yes/no questions’ which can ultimately stifle group discussion and lead to polarising opinions (Litosseliti, 2003). It was also viewed as vital to ensure that the questions were limited to a single dimension so as to not confuse respondents with concepts being used utilised simultaneously yet also contradictorily in their eye’s (Krueger, 1994). Jargon was also avoided replaced instead with language familiar to the target groups.

4.3.5 Duration of focus groups

According to David and Sutton (2004, 98) “Focus groups vary in duration from around 45 minutes to 90 minutes.” Here, due to the lack of financial incentive and often the time allowed by the pre existing group structure meant that a maximum of 60 minutes was placed in some instances whereas in others there was a greater degree of flexibility. In all instances 60 minutes was the stated time allotment but where it was practical participants were informed that they could talk for as long as they felt able to do so. Time management at all times played an important part in the running of the groups. Time was monitored subtly throughout the discussion and if necessary a number of questions were skipped to ensure there was sufficient time for those demarcated as key questions. Another consideration was that “preparation, outlining the ground rules and dealing with any issues that might need to be dealt with at the end of the session all add to the required time” (David and Sutton, 2004, 98). It was therefore necessary to leave 10 minutes over the estimated time it would take to answer the desired questions unaccounted for.

4.3.6 Group composition

In order to identify those groups which should be targeted, various demographics were considered including gender, ethnicity, age, class, life circumstance (e.g. lone parent) employment status and income level. It was decided after lengthy considerations that the most fruitful avenue of enquiry would lie in distinguishing groups by life stage, gender and by life circumstance. This decision was based on the consideration that older and younger people may have difficulty communicating with each other either due to different experiences or because similar experiences are filtered through different age based perspectives (Morgan, 1988). The mixing of gender groups was avoided due to some evidence that combining can lead to greater conformity in the group (Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990) but mainly due to what Krueger (1994) deems the ‘peacock effect’ whereby men dominate discussion and ‘speak more frequently and with more authority when in groups with women’. Axelrod (1975) confirms this stating, men tend to ‘perform’ for the women and vice versa. Life circumstance was also viewed as important,

as in a group there may be those who are perceived to be more knowledgeable or influential resulting in other members of the group being 'hesitant to share' (Krueger, 1994) and even deferring their opinions to those perceived to hold the social power (Litosseliti, 2003). Time available was also an issue as in groups where people perceive one another as fundamentally different then a good deal of time may be required for participants to get to know each other and build trust before they feel safe sharing personal opinions and insights if they ever reach such a level of comfort (Morgan, 1998b) further strengthening the case for homogeneous groupings. As Morgan (1988) further postulates sharing of ideas and experiences lies at the heart of focus groups, this requires a climate of 'mutual respect'. With this in mind homogeneity was attempted in selection but also verbally reinforced at the beginning of the discussion so as to highlight the similarities in participants experiences rather than allow differences in social status, educational attainment, income and the like to distort the purposes of the research. For the purposes of the research the rule for selecting participants was commonality not diversity (Krueger, 1994). Following consideration of the chosen demographics, it was deemed that nine focus groups (although in actuality 11 were conducted) would be most appropriate for this study as viewed in table 4.7. This decision was based on the limited time and resources available but was deemed to be open to modification if very little theoretical saturation occurred, whereby the point where no new or relevant data seemed to be emerging (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) was never reached. The criterion utilised by Livingstone and Lunt (1994) was thus adhered to whereby the number of focus groups was determined by continuing until patterns began to repeat and little original material was generated.

In terms of group size Morgan (1997) suggests that in the conduct of social research, groups of between 6 and 10 people work best. It is often postulated that the more participants know about or are motivated by the topic in question, the smaller the group needs to be (David and Sutton, 2004). In the instance of this research it was deemed appropriate to hold groups with a minimum of three and a maximum of eight participants. Having fewer participants allowed each one more time to share personal experiences or express strongly held opinions (Morgan, 1998b). Smaller groups also

afford the opportunity to hear more from each participant. In certain instances smaller groups were the only option as there were only a few eligible participants who were willing or able to commit to being in the same place at the same time. In those instances where there were a number of eligible participants but they were unable to meet in the same locations at the same time or were unwilling to do so the groups were ran separately so as to ensure that as rich a mix of information as possible was obtained. Once the composition of the groups was decided it was time to start the process of recruitment.

4.3.7 Recruitment

Following initial visits to the Govan area and through conversing with a number of local community workers and residents it became clear that recruiting a set of 'relative strangers' would be neither appropriate nor wise. Many of those residing and employed in the area made clear the dangers of recruiting strangers and several inferences were made regarding gender as a factor to be considered in safety terms. I was also informed and noted personally a distinct air of suspicion attached to those coming into the Greater Govan area wishing to speak with those who were unemployed and receiving benefits. A resistance to speak with those perceived to be asking peoples opinions on changing the area was also tangible. Staff of local housing associations, local community workers and local residents themselves subsequently confirmed both perceptions to be astute. It became clear that in order to conduct focus groups and obtain opinions and experiences "on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment" (Krueger, 1994, 6) then this would have to happen in the context of 'natural focus groups' (Conradson, 2005). Defined as a pre-existing social group, such acquaintance will in essence facilitate conversation and hopefully move some way to reducing the level of mistrust and unwillingness to discuss local issues. Of course there has to be the recognition that familiarity can limit the degree to which people will disagree and also interaction may err towards being based on past experiences, shared or assumed knowledge rather than on diverse perspectives on the immediate topic (Myers, 1998). However, "participants must feel able to talk to each other" (Morgan, 1988, 46) and if this is undermined by lack of trust or fear then the utilisation of 'assembled focus groups'

as described by Conradson (2005) becomes redundant. Attention thus turned to gaining access to pre formed groups which best suited the outlined characteristics of the groups.

After contact with a number of community workers in the Govan area I gained access to a copy of a directory produced by the local community forum which listed a vast number, in the region of 200, of local groups, organisations and services in the Greater Govan area which catered to a wide range of ages and interests. A lengthy process of telephone contact thus ensued. In each instance the conversation began with a personal introduction by name and institution and a statement of intent regarding the research and an enquiry as to whether the group had attendants who would fit into the criteria of the specified gender, age and life circumstance. These conversations often presented a number of issues including the directory information being out of date or the promise of a returned call from the relevant person. In order to handle the large amount of information on who was going to respond and when, individual charts were created for each group indicating who was contacted, advice and information they provided and what the next move was in terms of date of next contact and steps to take in the mean time. An example of such a chart can be viewed in appendix 3. Throughout the initial screening process as propounded by Krueger and Casey (2000, 78) “friendly and sincere calls that convey interest and enthusiasm are most effective” and certainly this was found to be the case. People responded very positively when spoken to in an informal conversational manner with limited jargon. As time went on however it became apparent that those who were considering granting me access wished to hold face-to-face discussions. Access thus became based on a process of negotiation.

4.3.8 Access

Each of the individual groups presented differing and complex issues surrounding access to the desired participants. It was discovered early on in the research process that contact via telephone was not the most effective way of gaining access to those who could assist in the recruitment process. Instead a process of ‘cold calling’ whereby enquiries were undertaken in the field through face-to-face enquiry and negotiation was found to be favourable. This was of far greater benefit than telephone conversations and email

exchanges as the personal nature of the contact meant people became more interested in what you were doing and subsequently more willing to assist. The first few trips into the field were mostly information gathering exercises in determining who was best placed to provide me with the contacts I needed to start the recruitment process. These initial contacts ultimately lead to a large amount of contact with differing individuals and groups. A process of 'snowballing' was thus set in motion. Snowballing involves using one contact to help recruit another contact whereby through this method, recruiting gains momentum or 'snowballs' as the researcher builds up layers of contacts (Valentine, 1997). Lengthy telephone conversations were often followed up with personal meetings and further referrals. In order to keep track of contacts details, progress made and the date of next contact a table was made up for each focus group to ensure all information was stored in the same fashion and kept together. A number of contacts at this stage were also recruited for individual interviews on their own personal experiences of working in a disadvantaged area.

Through a continual process of telephone exchanges and one-to-one meetings it was possible to gain access to various gatekeepers. Gatekeepers, defined by Burgess (1984, 48) as 'those individuals in an organisation that have the power to grant or withhold access to people or situations for the purposes of research' placed immense value on referrals. Indeed the use of a named contact utilised with their permission often lead to pledges of assistance which may have been denied without mention of a particular contacts name. It also often proved valuable if information regarding the research had been passed on by a contact to the gatekeeper prior to conversations being held. This seemed to provide assurance to the gatekeeper that the research was not harmful to their interests and also acted almost as a form of endorsement that the researcher was worth sacrificing time to assist. Often it was the informal relationships built up with the staff of several community resource centres in the area which lead to encounters with community workers who consequently provided access to groups they have been working with or provided access to gatekeepers. This was particularly the case in gaining access to the younger contingent of the participants. Without the recommendation from a local community worker access would never have been permitted to the training scheme

participants or in particular those groups where it was necessary to conduct them on school property within school hours. Indeed as Bloor, Frankland, Thomas and Robson (2001) point out schools are reluctant to find time for research that is not curriculum-related whilst outside school hours can be very difficult with parents more likely to withhold their consent. It was thus invaluable that the trust and permission was gained from the headmaster based on the recommendation from the local community worker and series of personal discussions on topics to be covered and the value of the research.

Access to unemployed residents of the area proved to be even more challenging. Due to a number of safety considerations it was suggested by a local development agency staff member that a colleague dealing with community learning may be able to assist in targeting participants. Resulting contact thus led to around 120 letters being distributed to local unemployed males and females, detailing in simplistic terms the nature of the research and the time and location where the group would be held. In all instances the groups were run in the same facilities which the group utilised on a regular basis. The unemployed groups proved to be very difficult to recruit for with no attendance at the lettered groups with the exception of one male individual who explained a rumour had been going around the area that "I was from the benefits checking up on people." His fears were of course allayed and he went on to be interviewed. Another barrier to obtaining access to the unemployed related to what some practitioners refer to as 'chaotic lifestyles'. This term alludes to the uncertain nature of a number of unemployed individual's lives and their inability to keep to appointments and agreements whether they be issues of unstable childcare, addiction issues or poor organisational skills. It was for this reason the unemployed participants were eventually obtained from groups which held a pre existing time, location and structure.

Access to elderly participants proved slightly easier in that there was the ability to target pensioner's lunch clubs and following several initial visits to such a club to gain the trust and acquiescence of the members it was possible in the females instance to hold the session one day following their normal group activities. In the case of the elderly males there was less of an attendance pattern at a number of the lunch clubs and so it was necessary to turn to a local reminiscence group to recruit males where a higher

percentage of attendees were males. Again this involved attending some of their own sessions to gain access to a number of participants who once became comfortable with the idea of sharing opinions and experiences participated in the focus group session.

In many respects the group which presented the most difficulty was that of the parents group. Originally designated as a lone parents group it became increasingly clear that a number of issues existed around recruiting lone parents. These revolved around there being little in way of organised groups which lone parents could attend. A local charity involved in supporting lone parents divulged that this was primarily due to extended family caring for children whilst parents attended employment or needed a break or alternatively many lone parents felt isolated and lacked the confidence to attend a support group. The next step involved targeting nurseries, schools and parent and toddler groups to try and recruit, however in many instances the sensitivity of the issue meant relying on members of nursery and school staff revealing who was a lone parent. More targeted attempts at recruitment aimed at lone parent charities and local college course operators intended for lone parents were undertaken however very few lone parents from the designated geographical research area utilised such facilities. As no one group contained enough participants who fell in the lone parent category it seemed insensitive and unrealistic given their conflicting time commitments to attempt to request suitable candidates to attend at a particular time and location. This action may have acted to stigmatise people and in turn jeopardise the whole feel of the focus group session. Instead the focus group category was designated as 'parents' whereby those attending groups qualified for inclusion provided they had children. It was subsequently discovered and explained that many issues facing lone parents were the same as those faced by all parents living in a disadvantaged area. Groups were thus held at parent and toddler groups so as to not disrupt prior child care arrangements

Whilst not always optimum in terms of levels of noise and facilities available it was not viewed as appropriate or realistic for a number of reasons to invite participants to the university in order to find a quiet space. Considerations included that people often feel more comfortable in their own 'territory' facilitating a more relaxed conversation (Valentine, 1997, 117) whereby the university setting may be viewed as formal and

ultimately lead to a more reserved, stilted discussion. Furthermore it would not have been convenient for many to travel and may have acted as a barrier to their willingness to participate. It was also vital to keep in mind that many issues surrounding territory and fears for personal safety exist in the area with a number of residents unwilling or unable to travel due to fear out with what they perceive to be their own area.

4.3.9 Pilot Group

Whilst the value of a pilot group was acknowledged in this instance it seemed redundant due to the differing nature of the groups I would be in contact with and the difficulties encountered in access and recruitment it seemed sensible to attempt the first group and then in the instance of problems arising work with a 'rolling interview guide' (Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990) which involves creating a revised schedule for each subsequent focus group on the basis of the outcome of the preceding group (Litosseliti, 2003). The difficulty of comparing groups with differential topic guides was recognised and would consequently be considered in analysis.

4.3.10 Attendance

It was clear from the recruitment process that measures would need to be put in place to encourage attendance to the group. This was primarily achieved through attending the groups at the outset to tell them honestly and personally what the research was about and how their participation was crucial in the process. Through explaining why this research was of interest to themselves in terms of allowing them to express their feelings on the area they resided in, who could benefit from the research and what could eventually be done with the results this resulted in very positive response. In order to add the 'personal touch' as a matter of course, attendance to the group one week before the pre planned focus group became a fixture, allowing for a more personal introduction of myself to those who had agreed to attend the group and also to act as a reminder of arrangements regarding the groups time and location. This visit was also used to again reassure and express appreciation at their involvement. To also ease any anxieties at no time was the term 'focus group' used instead the terms 'discussion' and 'chat' were preferred. Whilst

response seemed positive there was still a degree in most instances of what Morgan (1998a, 67) refers to as “hesitant” prospects, those who seem semi willing to attend and also “difficult” prospects who are at the least willing end of the spectrum of willingness to attend. Attempts were made to overcome this through using a number of incentives including travelling expenses, refreshments and in the most difficult of cases a token of appreciation in the form of a box of their favourite chocolates. Incentives were modified depending on the characteristics and location of each group with for example a round of drinks being most appropriate in the working men’s club whilst tea and cakes were more favourable for the elderly group.

4.3.11 Location

Due to the organisation of the groups selected being pre existing it was viewed as best to organise the sessions during those periods where the groups would be running anyway in some instances or an hour prior to or after the group’s normal running time. The focus groups would thus run in the usual location of the group, subject to consent from the group organiser or facility manager. This decision was based on a number of considerations. Primarily it would be easier for participants to agree to a time where they either normally engage in a group or may have time to spare around that time every week rather than trying to organise a separate time whereby conflicting family and educational commitments may come into play. It was also recognised that in terms of selecting locations psychological factors are important. Whilst convenience was a major concern as the majority of those recruited did not possess access to a car it was also vital to consider whether the locations chosen held ‘meaning’ for the participants (Morgan, 1998a). In terms of location in an area such as Govan particularly within the younger age groups there exists a very tangible fear of entering areas they perceive as being enemies to their own for fear of personal harm. For this reason it was viewed as best to hold the groups in familiar local facilities which they use frequently to ensure there were no feelings of intimidation or fear regarding the geographical location of the group. Where it was necessary to hold the groups within school premises there were no teachers present, no

surveillance and no interruptions sanctioned. Ultimately as espoused by Bloor et al, (2001, 39) “there is no such thing as a neutral venue for a focus group”.

4.3.12 Facilities

It was viewed as vital to ensure that the rooms where the groups would be held were where possible of optimum conditions for comfort and audio recording equipment. Prior to the focus groups the rooms which would be being utilised were checked to ensure sufficient lighting, limited sound distractions and for any other environmental factors that may significantly inhibit discussion such as poor heating and or ventilation (Conradson, 2005). Other checks included confirming that suitable tables and chairs were available to try and ensure everyone could be seen and heard throughout the session. Where necessary long narrow tables were replaced with either round tables or chairs were arranged to allow for a more conducive and equal discussion. Often long narrow layouts mean the moderator may be perceived to be at the “head of the table” (Morgan, 1998a, 123) and in this instance this was not appropriate as the research would not benefit from excess attention being placed on the researcher, indeed it was more desirable that the moderator would ‘blend in’ and facilitate rather than lead the discussion.

4.3.13 Recording of data

Due to the substantial amount of data, which would be collected, it was clear that field notes alone could not capture all the information. Audio equipment was thus utilised to ensure that no information was lost. This approach also has the added bonus of having a record of the nuances of the language used and offers the best means of capturing the dynamic of the group (Bryman, 2001), In order to ensure no data was lost through equipment faults two forms of recording were used. Both a Dictaphone and a mini disc player with an external microphone were utilised. Familiarity with the equipment was ensured prior to its use in the field. All equipment was kept in the same storage box and with an inventory of the contents. Extra batteries, blank digital recording cards, blank mini discs and an extra mini disc player were always on hand. It was viewed as best not to draw excessive attention to the recording equipment rather mention it in passing

stating recording is taking place and emphasising the confidentiality of comments made (Krueger, 1998). Recorders were placed at opposing ends of the table in an attempt to capture all comments made and minimise the problems of excessive background noise such as feet tapping, coughing and drumming of fingers which can often obscure participant's voices. By walking around the table and speaking aloud it meant equipment could be tested to make sure the levels were conducive to picking up the voices of all participants occupying various positions in the room. Prior to the beginning of recording all tapes would be checked and verified to be recording successfully. To enhance the recording it was viewed as best that "the participants be given certain ground rules that will enable the discussion to run smoothly, and to allow recording." (David and Sutton, 2004, 97) such as only one person should speak at a time and speak clearly.

4.3.14 Ethics

According to David and Sutton (2004, 94) "While focus groups offer the ethical advantage of giving the participants greater control over the direction of the discussion, the ethical downside is that given the group nature of the talk, the researcher is unable to offer the degree of confidentiality available in a one-to-one interview format." Whilst this was unavoidable in a focus group setting every attempt was made to emphasise the importance of keeping any information discussed within the group to themselves. The issue of over- disclosure whereby participants regret revealing as much as they did was particularly pertinent in this instance due to the ongoing nature of relationships between participants. An attempt was thus made to emphasise that participants were welcome to express their opinions and experiences but to remember that they would continue to be in contact with one another once the group was over. This was relayed in a light-hearted fashion so as to not create a fear of repercussions from their self-disclosure. Another ethical issue surrounding the pre formed nature of the groups would be that open discussion may be inhibited due to "the desire not to disclose sensitive information to people you know, and who may pass such revelations on to others in the participants' social networks" (David and Sutton, 2004, 95). It was also recognised that "this may have more than just ethical implications, as members of the group may not give full accounts

of sensitive issues in such a setting, thus weakening the depth validity of any data collected” (David and Sutton, 2004, 94). In Govan this was of particular relevance where a great deal of mistrust and suspicion exists surrounding discussions with people and organisations out with the local area. An attempt was thus made to temper these effects at every stage of the focus group process by assuring all steps possible were being taken to ensure confidentiality. Such actions included offering the guarantee that once the research was completed all tapes would be destroyed. Also within all transcripts, which were made, the names and any other information with the potential to identify an individual would be removed or modified (Morgan, 1998a).

4.3.15 Conducting the focus groups

All in all 11 focus groups were arranged and planned for. As table 4.7 displays the following groups formed the basis of those to be analysed. In those instances where more than one group was utilised for a category this was due to poor numbers or a desire to clarify a number of issues touched on by a prior group.

Table 4.7: Focus groups conducted

Focus Group	Gender	Location	Number of Participants	Duration
A1: Age 16-24 in training scheme.	Male	WLR Training	4	45.15
A2: Age 16-24 in training scheme.	Female	Govan High School	7	43.28
B1: Age 16-24 Youth group based.	Male	Govan High School	5	42.06
B2: Age 16-24 Youth group based.	Female	Govan High School	7	40.27
C1: Aged 25-64.	Male	Fairfield's Working Men's Club.	8	52.42
C2: Aged 25-64.	Female	Invercraig Hall.	3	68.02
		St. Kenneth's Church City Vision.	4	28.07
D1: Elderly (65+)	Male	Hills Trust Learning Academy	5	59.59
D2: Elderly (65+)	Female	Drumoyne and Shieldhall Pensioners Club	7	60.32
E: Parents	Female	Lorne Street Community Centre	4	38.12
		Ibroy Primary School	4	46.50

4.3.16 Moderating the focus groups

On the days the sessions were due to take place it was viewed as imperative to arrive early in order to organise chairs around the discussion table appropriately and test the audio equipment. Refreshments were laid out and the provided rooms were optimally lighted and aired as necessary. As each participant arrived they were welcomed and thanked individually and ensured to be comfortable. In the instances where perhaps not as many participants attended as required to constitute a group (less than three) individual semi structured interviews would take place if this was agreeable to the participants themselves. This ensured they felt their effort to attend was valued and any valuable data obtained could be utilised where deemed appropriate out with the scope of the focus group sessions. The atmosphere was at all times kept friendly and informal but especially so during the first 10 minutes or so when ‘small talk’ was encouraged “to create a warm and friendly environment and to put participants at ease” (Krueger, 1998, 20). Once refreshments had been distributed and initial conversation had ceased the group began with an introductory statement informed by Morgan’s (1998a) advice that “the best introduction is often the honest admission that you are there to learn from them”.

“First of all thanks very much for helping me out today. What I’d like to do is discuss your thoughts on Govan. What it’s like to live here and your feelings on the changes that have been taking place. It will just be like a discussion, a chat with the group. I am here to learn from you so please make any feelings you have heard – there are no right or wrong answers just differing views so feel free to share your point of view even if it’s different from other members of the group. I will be recording the discussion but its only so I don’t miss any of your comments, everything you say will be kept private and confidential. We have roughly an hour so lets begin by first telling me what area of Govan you are all from...”.

This enquiry was designed to engage all the participants one at a time in the group discussion and to “break the ice” as once the participant has spoken once it becomes easier to do so again (Krueger, 1994, 114). There were a number of techniques employed throughout the discussions to ensure that the conversation flowed and to minimise concerns about sounding dull or stupid, saying embarrassing things, saying too little or

too much or being nervous (McNamara, 1999). These strategies included being thoroughly familiar with the questioning route to ensure that at all times eye contact would be maintained and attention concentrated on the group. This familiarity with the questions would also assist in the instances whereby participants did not understand the question then a parallel question could be quickly administered with a consistent meaning.

Methods were also employed to counter issues presented by those participants classified by Krueger (1994) as 'the self appointed expert', 'the dominant talker', 'the shy participant' and 'the rambler'. On occasions where it would become necessary to handle "overly enthusiastic or aggressive participants who seek to dominate the conversation" (Greenbaum, 2000, 146) then the use of comments such as "that's very interesting, perhaps we could talk about..." would be used and non verbal signals would also be used such as looking towards the rest of the group so as to invite wider opinion. In the case of shy individuals then eye contact and the use of neutral responses like 'OK' and 'right' rather than 'good' or 'excellent' which may encourage conformity and bias within the group would be utilised to provide encouragement (Litosseliti, 2003, 75). The inclusion of Krueger and Casey's (2000, 109) 'pause and probe' technique would also prove invaluable. This involves allowing a five second pause after a participants comment to prompt further response to what has been expressed or alternatively a probe such as "tell us more" or "could you explain further?" to further clarify vague comments or those which may have multiple meanings. At all times the use of direct probes whereby individuals are asked for agreement or disagreement with the preceding statement was avoided as this could lead to defensiveness or divergence among participants (Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990). Indeed in those instances where the participants did not have much to say on a theme this can be useful data in itself (Morgan, 1998a). The recognition of 'free riding' or 'social loafing' whereby "individuals think their thoughts will be pooled along with those of others in the group...as a result their individual productivity will not stand out and they tend to ride free on the work of others" (Fern, 2001, 110) was attempted to be made early on in the group so as to halt such behaviour and get all participants productively involved in the discussion. Judgement was called for however

in those apparently 'free riding' as according to Shaw (1981) people with greater communication potential are perceived to be more important than people with less communication potential and so it was important to be keenly aware of the dynamics of the group from the outset and deal with any issues of over and under contribution early on. Serendipitous questions, prompted by comments or perceptions of participants, were viewed as valuable and would be asked at the end of the session as appropriate so as to not divert time to a potentially unproductive route (Krueger, 1994).

At all times it was kept in mind that acting as the moderator involved not primarily interviewing but rather facilitating the flow of the conversation amongst participants (Conradson, 2005). Thus a balance was attempted between taking an active and a passive role (Robson, 2002). According to Bryman (2001) the best advice is to err on the side of minimal intervention, intervening only when the group is struggling in its discussions or veering off course. This was adhered to as far as possible. Throughout the groups all efforts were made to generate enthusiasm and involvement, to listen constructively and to convey a non-judgemental air.

As the discussion approached an end the focus group was closed by thanking the participants for their time and assuring them that their comments were invaluable. Again the participants were informed how their comments would be used and that all information given would be treated as highly confidential (Litosseliti, 2003). Any questions which had been postponed during the discussion were addressed and enquiries about the research itself were welcomed. Any comments around the experience of the focus group were taken into account whether they be relating to question content or organisation of sessions. Such comments informed the content and structure of the remaining groups. Where appropriate an offer of a summary of results from the research was offered and contact details were taken accordingly. As soon as participants had left the room the audio equipment was checked to ensure the discussion had been captured. This was done immediately after the group so that if the equipment had failed extensive notes could be taken on the discussions whilst still fresh in the mind. Field notes were written immediately covering any comments made off tape which were informative, any interesting use of body language and any external incidents which could have influenced

the running of the group such as interruptions etc. The immediate recording of such experiences and reflections immediately after the groups thus “enable the researcher to transcribe more easily (especially where parts of the dialogue are unclear on the recording)” (David and Sutton, 2004, 99).

These notes were not taken throughout the discussion as it may have proved off putting to participants if they felt observations were being made as they spoke and also eye contact and the attention and interest it indicates would have been lost.

4.3.17 Acting as moderator

As postulated by O’Connell Davidson and Layder (1994, 36) “The interview is a social encounter, and how the respondent answers the questions will depend to some degree upon what the respondent and interviewer think and feel about each other”. Through moderating the groups it became apparent that personal appearance, manner and dialect all had a part to play in how comfortable the group would feel and how much they would disclose. Gender played a major part with males often excusing profanities and alluding to sensitive information relating to feelings they felt “a lassie would get”. Similarly females often took on the tone and posture of collusion and expressed emotions which if in the presence of a male moderator may have been concealed. Age also played a factor with many of the younger participants commenting it was easier to speak with someone their own age whilst many of the older participants took on the role of the ‘expert’ telling the younger generation of their experiences. It was these differing relationships which impacted on appearance and style of conduct. In liaisons with all groups with the exclusion of the elderly clothing was kept casual so as to avoid connotations of authority or formality. In the case of the elderly groups dress was smart in manner so as to reassure those who may be cautious regarding the integrity and intentions of the research.

Depending on the demographics of the groups personal dialect and manner changed accordingly. With the younger groups style was very informal with the use of local slang being incorporated into the discussions and dialect being adapted. In the instance of the older groups often the format became naturally more structured and

linguistically the style and content of speech was altered to ensure they felt comfortable in sharing thoughts and feelings in their own words.

4.3.18 Transcribing

The researcher carried out transcription personally and in full. Although time consuming and complex due to having to take account of who is talking in the session as well as what is said (Bryman, 2001) personal transcription seemed both valuable and necessary in getting to know the data. This is backed by David and Sutton (2004, 99) who concur that “the temptation to get a professional to do the transcription (to save time) should be tempered by the fact that time spent transcribing is a very useful way for a researcher to ‘get close’ to the data.” Though time intensive it was felt the arduous transcription process would pay off later in quality of analysis as “knowing every word of the conversation is a great advantage when it comes to qualitative data analysis” (David and Sutton, 2004, 99).

4.3.19 Constraints

A number of factors acted to constrain the scale and scope of this research. Limited finances meant it was hard to provide incentive to participants to give up their time. The recruitment process was also hindered by safety considerations such as it being unwise for a female to meet with participants in lowly populated areas and also to approach people in an area where a high level of suspicion exists regarding benefit fraud etc. In instances that involved meeting at night in locations such as a working men’s club a female was brought along and introduced informally as a ‘note taker’ allowing for a greater sense of personal safety.

4.3.20 Analysis of focus groups

Following full transcription of the groups a process of initial analysis was undertaken. The first step involved reading through the transcripts and forming a general impression of the text. There then followed a period of reading through the transcripts slowly, a sentence at a time, and making notes in the margin regarding content and emerging ideas.

A process referred to as 'open coding' thus ensued allowing for a deeper understanding of the data and acting as an "analytic process by which concepts are identified and developed in terms of their properties and dimensions" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 74). This procedure also helped to ensure nothing of interest was missed (Crang, 1997). As the notes became lengthy a number of 'theoretical memos' were created (Crang, 1997, 186). Acting as private notes the memos took on the form of jottings relating to thoughts and feelings on the data, ultimately suggestive and non conclusive (Dey, 1993, 89) but well labelled to allow linkage back to the material they referred to. These notes would later help to identify recurring themes and clarify worthy avenues of enquiry. Throughout the process of open coding there was a continuous pattern of questions being asked of the data such as What?, Who?, Why?, What for? (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 63). The main goal in utilising such techniques was to ultimately break down and understand the text through attaching and developing codes and categories, putting them into an order in the course of time (Flick, 2006).

Once substantive parts of the transcript relating to the research questions as well as any new topics or issues had been identified it was time to go back over all the notes and jottings and start to formalise succinct categories and codes. Whilst the benefits of using computer aided analysis were considered, such as allowing ready access to all the data previously assigned to a particular category and categories (Dey, 1993) and the ability to search efficiently using a variety of permutations (Crang, 1997) for the purpose of this research it was felt a more manual approach was beneficial. This decision was based on a number of considerations including the desire to work closely with the data and avoid the more mechanistic approach to analysis which the use of a computer can encourage whereby "the roles of creativity, intuition and insight in analysis are eclipsed in favour of a routine and mechanical processing of data" (Dey, 1993, 61). Indeed Lofland and Lofland (1995) describe the use of computer aided analysis as 'too confining'. Also for the purpose of this research it was not relevant to compute frequencies of categories but rather analyse their context and meaning. As such the manual method of analysis allowed instances of humour and disdain to be recollected and

contextualised within the discussions. It was ultimately not viewed as appropriate to utilise such a mechanical process to support an interpretative method (Richards, 2005).

4.3.21 Categorising and coding

Following extensive readings and annotating of the data it was possible to begin the process of formalising a number of categories and codes for the main issues arising from the primary analyses of the texts. Defined by Miles and Huberman (1994, 56) codes are “tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study”. Whilst the benefits of creating a set of codes prior to conducting the research were acknowledged, for the purposes of this research it was viewed as best to not pre-code any datum until collection had taken place. This was due to the desire to remain open to what the data had to reveal rather than be determined to force-fit the data into pre-existing codes (Miles and Huberman, 1994) and more scope to determine how many variations within the data there are. This approach also allowed for more of a context sensitive analysis with important local factors being recognised and coded accordingly.

Throughout the process of coding focus group data it became clear that initially codes were likely to be quite broad and then become more narrow and focussed as the analysis continued (Bloor et al, 2001, 63). This progression from broad to specific has been identified by Richards (2005) from descriptive coding the storing information stage, to topic coding which involves labelling text according to subject, to analytical coding where theory emergence and affirmation occurs. Whilst the benefits of approaches referred to as the ‘long-table approach’ (Krueger and Casey, 2000) and ‘long couch or short hall approach’ (Agar, 1986) whereby copies of the transcripts are cut up and individual coded sections are placed in piles to denote their similarity were recognised, it was viewed as best for the purposes of this research to keep the material intact and code in a differential fashion. The preferred method involved utilising coloured highlighters to initially indicate data of interest, this would be combined with annotations to signify the reasoning behind this. Once the process of coding had begun removable page markers of varying colours were marked with the relevant code and placed at the appropriate section

of the text. This allowed quick access to the necessary data also as they were easily visible from outside the closed transcript. This method was viewed as holding advantages over those which involved cutting and separating the data as there would ultimately be less chance for loss of data, less confusion over where a section of data had originated from and vitally that the coded data could be seen in the context of the transcript immediately without having to cross refer. Keeping the transcripts in full also helped to ensure that context was not compromised through the coding process itself as according to Coffey and Atkinson (1996) coding can result in the fragmentation of data so that the narrative flow of what people say is lost. Throughout coding at all times importance was placed on coding with regard to context and not taking individual 'chunks' of text as independent from the body of the transcripts themselves.

It was found that whilst analysis progressed from initial annotation to a more organised and disciplined analysis with the coding and linking of the data often it was valuable to return to annotating the data as a way of capturing "the impressions, insights and intuitions which allow for fresh perspectives and new directions for analysis" (Dey, 1993, 93). These marginal remarks also pointed to important issues that a given code may be missing or blurring (Miles and Huberman, 1994) allowing for revisions in the coding scheme. Indeed the process of coding was one characterised by revision and reformation. 'Chunks' of text which apparently referred to the same issue, later were perceived to have some differences and this had to be accordingly placed under another code or recoded altogether to form a new coding category, a process referred to by Lincoln and Guba (1985) as 'surfacing'. This recoding meant that what was originally a large category under 'open coding' became subdivided through what can be referred to as 'axial coding' where aspects and properties of each main code are teased out (Strauss, 1987) and further assessed to determine how categories cross cut and link (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). A process of 'focussed coding' (Lofland and Lofland, 1995) thus followed whereby it became necessary to winnow out less productive and useful codes and focus in on a selected number as "if a category list becomes lengthy through being excessively detailed, it may be difficult to recall all the relevant distinctions when working through the data" (Dey, 1993, 106). Codes which proved to be "inapplicable, overbuilt,

empirically ill-fitting, or overly abstract.” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, 65) were collapsed or dropped altogether.

Although at times difficult it was vital to obtain the correct degree of refinement as “how this balance is struck may affect the reliability, efficiency and flexibility of the analysis.”(Dey, 1993, 106). Refinement was thus based on the understanding that the categories created “should be developed along coherent ‘axes’ of interpretation, and develop ‘dimensions’ by constantly comparing the codes and their contents, new and old material, so all the themes and implications of the materials are drawn out” (Crang, 1997, 190). The value of the theoretical memos was most apparent at these times as they allowed for reflection on original perceptions and provided the opportunity to record the reasoning behind the changing shifts in perspective. The production of codes was thus an iterative process moving back and forth between the material and ideas through a process of analytic induction rather than enumerative testing (Crang, 1997). Ultimately in creating the codes and categories it was viewed as vital that both the aforementioned must fit the data and be ‘grounded’ from both a conceptual and empirical perspective. Categories thus must have “two aspects, an internal aspect – they must be meaningful in relation to the data – and an external aspect – they must be meaningful in relation to other categories” (Dey, 1993, 96). In creating the actual codes themselves where possible ‘emic’ codes were utilised, that is codes derived from participants expressions. However, in a number of cases it proved necessary to create ‘etic’ codes which are assigned to describe events and attribute meanings and theories (Crang, 1997). Of the two types of code the former are preferred because they are closer to the studied material (Flick, 2006) and thus accordingly where appropriate were utilised in the first instance. At all times codes were kept “semantically close to the terms they represent” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, 65). For example, ‘Provision of housing’ would be coded as ‘ProvHous’ rather than using numbers as this would allow more efficient comprehension of codes in analysing the transcripts. The process of coding and revision took place until as suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985) all the incidents could be readily classified, the categories became saturated and a sufficient number of regularities emerged. The final coding system utilised can be viewed in appendix 4. The codes acted ultimately not as an

explanatory framework in themselves but rather as a means of conceptually organising the data (Crang, 1997).

Whilst focus groups were suitable for gaining an insight into the lived experience of disadvantage, they were not deemed suitable to investigate the barriers which those individuals and organisations attempting to tackle disadvantage face. Following consideration it was decided that interviews would be the most appropriate methodology to utilise. The following section provides information on the advantages of an interview format, who was interviewed, issues around access and the content of the interviews themselves.

4.4 Interview considerations

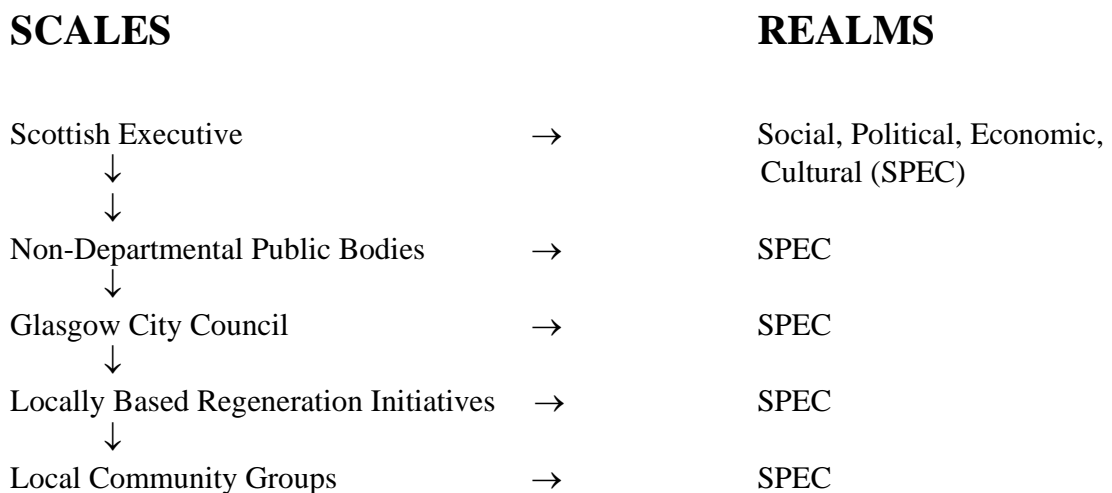
According to Eyles (1988) an interview is a conversation with ‘purpose’. Ultimately interviews provide “the opportunity for the researcher to probe deeply, to uncover new clues, to open up new dimensions of a problem and to secure vivid, accurate, inclusive accounts that are based on personal experience” (Burgess, 1982, 107). The advantage of this approach is that it is sensitive and people-oriented. It allows interviewees to construct their own accounts of their experiences by describing and explaining their lives in their own words (Valentine, 1997). It was for this degree of flexibility, insight and depth of information that interviews were viewed as being the most appropriate methodological option for the purposes of this research. The format of a semi-structured interview was viewed as best suiting research requirements. This form of interview allowed a degree of flexibility in both the order and content of questions asked. Whilst the use of an interview guide would help shape discussions, this form of interview allows the interviewee a great deal of leeway in how to reply (Bryman, 2001) and also allows for the modification of question wording and for the omission of inappropriate questions in particular cases (Robson, 2002).

All in all over the course of this research 47 interviews were undertaken, a list of which can be found in appendix 5. From the outset it was clear that the ‘top end’ of the interview scale would be the Scottish Executive. This was due to a number of reasons.

Firstly the research was interested primarily with disadvantage within a Scottish context, therefore whilst there was clearly value in interviewing those at a central governmental level, the Scottish Executive scale would provide much more value in the way of context. Also it was possible to gain a vast amount of information on policy and perspective from New Labour literature so it seemed wise due to time and resource constraints not to simply duplicate information which could be provided by the literature. This risk of duplication seemed high also as much of the information provided would follow ‘the party line’ and so when considerations around time and cost in achieving even initial access were taken into account it was deemed best to proceed with the Scottish Executive being at the top end of the interview scale.

Following on from a review of the literature it became clear that the best scale would run methodically from the more top down approaches to tackling disadvantage to those of a more bottom up nature in the form of local community groups. Within each of these scales those in the realms of the social, political, economic and cultural strategies would be targeted. This can be more clearly visualised in Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4: Scales and realms of response targeted throughout interview process



The roles and responsibilities of the organisations interviewed are synopsised in appendix 6. As the Scottish Executive's strategy towards tackling disadvantage was outlined in Chapter 3 section 3.11, appendix 6 contains information from the NDPB scale down.

4.4.1 Access

Once the structure was decided upon it became necessary to determine the most appropriate individual in each section to target. Starting from the top down this involved a vast amount of internet research, telephone contact and emails to ascertain the best person to approach regarding an interview. It was viewed as wise to achieve contact with those at the top end of the scale initially as they may have more demanding schedules in terms of fixed appointments and so the earlier contact was established the better to secure a suitable not too distant date for the interview to take place. In the case of the elites rarely was it possible to obtain contact directly with the desired individual rather it required a process of moving from one 'gatekeeper' to another. In a number of cases access was achieved through contacts in organisations allowing their names to be 'dropped' into conversations regarding access, whilst in others prior networking meant that initial contact had been made and therefore it was a case of refreshing memories regarding the research content and desired participation. In those instances where this was not the case, contact involved more of a process of negotiation with those in a position to grant access. Gaining access to some individuals could be likened to "some combination of strategic planning, hard work and dumb luck" (Van Maanen and Kolb, 1985, 11). Throughout the period of research, gatekeepers were often in the form of personal assistants who would often appear reluctant to allow access to the desired contact. This trepidation was in most cases overridden through following formal introduction and explanation of the nature of the research by adopting a more friendly tone, naming individuals known to the individual who had already agreed access and an admittance of how vital this person's perspective was to the outcome of the research.

In the case of the more bottom up contacts contact was established more often than not directly via telephone conversations and acceptance or a face-to-face visit if this was preferable to the group leader. Often the main obstacle in recruiting relevant

interviewees for the purposes of the research was attempting to ascertain who was the most appropriate person to speak with. This was overcome in some instances by as thoroughly as possible researching the organisation or group beforehand and in others through a process of 'snowballing'. This process was of value across all scales with personal introductions from prior contacts allowing for a degree of trust to be instantly achieved through recommendation and also the interviews were at times regarded as doing a friend or colleague a favour. Individuals were chosen deliberately because of some special contribution they could make, some unique insight or the position they hold (Denscombe, 2003). In all instances those selected to be interviewed were regarded as being knowledgeable about the situation and experience being researched, were willing to talk and where people working within the arena may hold differing perspectives the individuals were viewed as representing the range of points of view (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). In those instances throughout the interview and recruitment process where those holding differing views were alluded to, they would subsequently be contacted and asked if they desired to share their views on the issue. Recruitment strategy was largely dependent on the individual being targeted.

Due to the large amount of information regarding contact details and instructions regarding the next steps it was necessary to keep a diary with relevant dates and information pertaining to location and specialist instructions. Requests for information sent electronically regarding interview topics were made exclusively by those at the top down end of the research scale. These requests were granted, but only a brief overview of themes was provided to avoid as much as possible answers being pre thought prior to the interview itself.

4.4.2 Interview guides

Due to the diverse nature of the scales and realms being targeted for discussion it was viewed as essential to construct a specifically appropriate interview guide per individual. For the most part every interview guide touched on views on disadvantage, strategic goals in relation to disadvantage and partnership. The guides differed however with those interviews at the top end of the scale talking more generally about disadvantage and

current approaches towards tackling it, the move to Community Planning Partnerships and future strategy, whilst those coming from a more bottom up perspective had questions pertaining more to Govan specifically, funding issues and tackling disadvantage. A selection of interview guides exemplifying such differential approaches can be viewed in appendix 7. Regardless of the content of the guides themselves it was necessary to ensure that in their creation a number of provisions were made to ensure that in every instance it was possible to “glean the ways in which research participants view their social world” (Bryman, 2001, 317) and that there was an element of flexibility in the conduct of the interviews.

The interview guide consisted of a number of main questions with which to begin and guide the conversation. The wording of such questions were ensured to be open enough to encourage interviewees to “express their own experiences and opinions but narrow enough to keep the interviewee from wandering too far from the subject at hand” (Rubin and Rubin, 1995, 146). The existence of such an interview guide was not to have a list of preset questions which had to be methodically answered but rather to act as a prompt, delineating the main issues to be discussed. As such it consisted of a list of topic headings with key issues to be touched on under these headings, a set of associated prompts and closing comments (Robson, 2002). It was not viewed as necessary nor desirable for the interview to follow a preset structure. Indeed it was viewed as vital to follow the conversational flow of the interviewee. This often meant that questions would be answered before they were asked and it was necessary to complete “feats of mental gymnastics” (Valentine, 1997, 120) and a degree of “traffic management” (Oppenheim, 1992, 72) in order to remember which themes had been covered and which to touch on later. The interview guide was thus not stuck to rigidly, as this might restrict the benefits of openness and contextual information or encourage interruption at the wrong moment to return back to the interview guide rather than taking up the topic at hand and trying to get deeper into it (Flick, 2006). Moving from topic to topic was at all times kept fluid with transitions being “smooth and logical” (Rubin and Rubin, 1995, 147) so as to keep the interviewee on track but also to avoid any abrupt breaks in chain of thought. It was important at all times to keep in mind that “although we are tied to our own frameworks,

we are not totally tied up by them” (Jones, 1985, 47). Whilst content of questions was not predictable the sequence of the interview followed the format of introduction, ‘warm up’ whereby non threatening questions were asked to ease the interviewee in, the main body of the interview, ‘cool off’ where a few straightforward questions are included at the end to defuse any built up tension and finally closure where appropriate appreciation is displayed (Robson, 2002).

At all times in constructing the interview guides there was a conscious effort made to avoid the inclusion of leading questions which could through phrasing ultimately impose an answer on the respondent (Burgess, 1982). Rather starting enquiries with ‘tell me about’ allowed encouragement for interviewees to discuss an issue in their own words (Valentine, 1997). Questions were also kept to a reasonable length so as to not overtax respondent’s memories (Oppenheim, 1992). Jargon and technical terms were often necessary for those questions contained within the more top down interview guides but were avoided where possible within those aimed at the more bottom up respondents.

4.4.3 Location

According to Denzin (1970) where an interview is held can make a difference. Whilst it was recognised that a degree of control over arrangements would be lost in conducting interviews in the field it was felt to be of more convenience to the interviewees than requesting they travel to the university. Conducting interviews in familiar settings, their own ‘territory’ (Valentine, 1997), was also felt to allow for more of a relaxed environment and therefore facilitate more of a relaxed conversation. In order to combat an atmosphere of over formality within the interview room where possible seating was rearranged to an almost 90 degree angle to allow for eye contact but at the same time avoid the confrontational feeling which can arise when sitting directly opposite the other person (Denscombe, 2003).

4.4.4 Conducting interviews

Due to the diverse backgrounds and remits of those being interviewed there existed a varied and broad range of issues to be dealt with regarding interview strategy and

approach. From the outset it was vital to recognise the importance of positionality and being reflexive. England (1994, 84) defines reflexivity as “self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self conscious analytical scrutiny of the self as a researcher”. By adopting such an approach it was possible to be consistently conscious of the power relationships that existed between the researcher and those being interviewed. In those instances that involved dealing with those situated from more of a top down perspective a number of strategies were employed to ensure the best level of information possible was obtained. It was recognised that interviewees at the higher scale level have considerable social and political skills with which they have acquired and retained their position and potentially have much to lose by revealing personal and political data to others (Jones, 1985). Interviewees at this level are also often experienced in being interviewed and consequently know how to subvert interviews, control them or deny the interviewer access to key information (Valentine, 1997). It was therefore necessary to take steps to overcome a level of suspicion that existed in some interviewees who believed that what they have to say may be used to damage them in some way or divulged past experiences which suggested this had been the case in the past (Jones, 1985). Ultimately it was of great benefit to be perceived as powerless and non threatening (Easterday, Papademas, Schorr and Valentine, 1982) so as to allay any fears interviewees had in sharing information. Gaining access to an individual thus often involved extended assurances of confidentiality and proof of student status. However this process was assisted in part through as Easterday et al (1982) reports if a researcher is not taken seriously because she is a young female, this can often facilitate entry into an otherwise difficult or inaccessible setting. Following the granting of access in some instances it was also possible as O’Connell Davidson and Layder (1994) postulate to act ‘dumb’ in order to encourage interviewees to disclose more information than they would to an older male interviewer, whom they might assume would know how to use the information against them.

The inability to change personal attributes such as sex, age and ethnic origin has led Denscombe (2003) to assert that the data collected will be impacted upon by the personal identity of the researcher referred to also as the ‘interviewer effect’. Whilst it was not possible to change such personal characteristics it was possible to alter certain

aspects of personal appearance to influence interviewee perceptions. In all instances with the exception of interaction with local community group's professional dress was worn. This was due to the acknowledgement that interviewees "have their own preferences and prejudices and these are likely to have some impact on the chances of developing rapport and trust during an interview" (Denscombe, 2003, 170). A level of parity in appearance thus immediately allows for feelings of ease and comfort to be almost instantaneously achieved. In the case of local community groups it was viewed as more appropriate to dress in a more casual fashion as interaction with those who attended the groups often preceded the interviews and all in all, in many respects, was a less formal environment.

It was viewed as crucial to create an air of openness and trust as early as possible in the interview process. Therefore the first few minutes often consisted of informal conversation in an attempt to help establish a rapport with the interviewee. Permission to record the discussion was also obtained at this point. Throughout the interview process a number of strategies were utilised to ensure the interview ran smoothly and that the interviewee felt at ease and valued. At times when perhaps the respondent offered a reply to a question but seemed to be holding back or perhaps had not divulged as much information as desired a number of prompts and probes were used. These included allowing a short period of silence, giving an enquiring glance, saying 'mmhmm...' indicating an expectation of more or repeating back all or part of what an interviewee had just said (Robson, 2002). The spontaneity and unpredictability of the interview exchange precluded planning probes ahead of time and it was therefore necessary to improvise in the field (Valentine, 1997) As well as the verbal aspects of the interview it was crucial to also pay attention to the non-verbal components of posture, gesture, voice intonation, facial expression and eye contact through which it is possible to communicate encouragement and interest (Jones, 1985). This was vital as verbal and bodily responses following a respondents answer could have ultimately acted as a positive or negative reinforcement for the answers given and could have influenced answers to further questions (Kvale, 1996).

As well as asking the questions it was vital to listen carefully to what respondents were saying as themes could emerge which were not anticipated and it was necessary to

be “alert and quick witted to pick up on these and follow them through” (Valentine, 1997, 121). Whilst listening is vital according to Oakley (1981), it is important to interact and share information with respondents rather than treating them as subordinates from whom you are extracting information, as a cold and calculating style of interviewing only reinforces the gulf between the researcher and the informant (Denscombe, 2003). In doing this however it was at all times kept in mind that expressing personal opinions or views in a particular way could make interviewees feel unable to declare contrary opinions (Valentine, 1997). This was avoided by divulging experiences or views which hinted at in no way a particular opinion or position. Having kept an eye on the time and ensured that the required areas of discussion have been covered (Denscombe, 2003) the interviews were drawn to an end concluding with an expression of gratitude for having given up the time for the interview to take place.

4.4.5 Taping and transcribing

As was the case with the focus groups it was deemed best to record the interviews so as to allow “an accurate and detailed record of the conversation including capturing all the nuances of sarcasm, humour and so on” (Valentine, 1997, 123). In all instances permission was asked and granted to record the interview. A notebook was however carried at all times in case taping was refused. As detailed previously in section 5.3.18 two forms of recording equipment were utilised to reduce the risk of data being lost. All equipment was tested prior to entering the interview room and extra batteries and tapes were at all times carried. Prior to the interviews starting the record levels were tested to make sure the machines were working properly. In a number of cases there was little control available over choice of room in which the interview took place. The position of recording equipment at differing points on the table helped to combat any obstructions in sound. It was frequently found that as soon as the recording equipment was turned off the interviewee would continue to “ruminate on the topic of interest and more often than not say more interesting things than in the interview” (Bryman, 2001, 323). With permission notes were taken and included at the end of the transcripts. After the completion of each interview as quickly as possible notes were taken on important points and feelings

regarding the interview so as to act as a safeguard against data loss from audio equipment failure but also to allow for immediate feelings to be chronicled. Transcription was as in the case of the focus groups conducted personally. Whilst time consuming and laborious it allowed for the discussions “to be brought to life again” (Denscombe, 2003, 183) and a feeling of being ‘close to the data’. Each tape was transcribed as soon as possible following the completion of the interview as if there was a failure in recording the content would be fresh in mind and can be salvaged in note form (Valentine, 1997).

4.4.6 Ethical issues

In all instances informed consent was obtained from interviewees. Informed consent entailed informing the respondents about the overall purpose of the research, the main features of the design and content and amount of time required (Kvale, 1996). At all times it was kept in mind that the data was rich in the personal details of those from whom it was collected. To ensure confidentiality any identifiable comments or names were replaced with X in the transcripts and at all times data was stored in a safe, completely secure container to ensure that no one lacking authorisation could gain access to the data (Flick, 2006). Personal identifiers were also separated from the transcript data and stored in a separate format (David and Sutton, 2004). The respondents right to privacy and the right to refuse to answer certain questions was at all times respected and no undue pressure was placed upon them at any point to do so (Oppenheim, 1992). Attention was also given to the fact that those representing local community groups expressed anxiety at being interviewed as they envisaged a formal and factual questioning route. Fears were thus allayed through an explanation of what was entailed and consistent reassurance that they only had to answer questions they felt comfortable with. Considerations regarding dialect and appearance in these instances paid off with rapport quickly becoming established and maintained throughout the interview process. Similarly interviews involving vulnerable community members such as drug addicts who may have been intimidated by a researchers “neat appearance, (perceived to be) middle-class voice and quietly confident manner” (Jones, 1985, 50) were given every opportunity to halt the interview or not answer particular questions. By approaching such interviews

in casual dress and with a format more likened to a 'chat' it was possible to create an atmosphere of openness and comfort.

4.4.7 Constraints

Despite the positive aspects of this methodological approach a number of limitations were of course also recognised. Issues surrounding reliability with consistency and objectivity being hard to achieve due to the specificity of interviewer and context were acknowledged. The inhibitory nature of the recording equipment was also kept in mind, as was the contribution of the interviewer effect whereby interviews being based on what people say rather than what they actually do needs to be accepted.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has describes the methodology employed to conduct research into the lived experience of disadvantage and the barriers which confront those working across the regeneration spectrum attempting to tackle disadvantage.

Based on the conceptual and methodological foundations established in chapters 1-4, attention turns in chapters 5 and 6 to focus on empirical investigation of the lived experience of disadvantage in Govan and the views of anti-disadvantage actors and agents as to the main barriers to overcoming the problems of disadvantage. Chapter 5 comprises agency perceptions of the nature of disadvantage and critical assessment of New Labour's strategies relating to social exclusion, welfare to work and social capital. Chapter 6 evaluates the important complementary New Labour strategies of partnership working and community involvement. In both chapters 5 and 6 the underlying concern is to evaluate the relationship between the policy rhetoric of New Labour and the reality as experienced on the ground.

CHAPTER 5: THE LIVED EXPERIENCE OF DISADVANTAGE

5.1 Introduction

Employing the methodologies discussed in the previous chapter, this investigation into the lived experience of disadvantage and the barriers to remedial action is organised into five sections. These reflect the organisation of the corresponding conceptual discussion of New Labour policy in chapter 3. The first section examines the conceptualisation and measurement of disadvantage by those working to tackle the problem. This provides valuable insight into how disadvantage is perceived by those working towards its alleviation. The second section provides a detailed exposition of the lived experience of disadvantage with particular reference to the key dimensions of the physical environment, housing conditions, facility and service provision and fear of crime. The third section evaluates how far the New Labour discourse of opportunity has had a positive direct impact on those experiencing disadvantage. The fourth section examines New Labour's welfare to work agenda and the issues which such a strategy poses for both those living in a position of disadvantage and those working to tackle it. The fifth section examines New Labour's promotion of social capital and assesses what this means for those residing in Govan

5.2 The Perception of Disadvantage – An Agency Perspective

In order to gain an insight into how those working to alleviate disadvantage view the problem a series of interviews were undertaken with a range of actors from the public and voluntary sectors (see appendix 5).

It was clear that in many instances the identification of disadvantage was based on perceptions. It was commented that:

“It's a quite depressing prospect when you come out the subway station or you come along some of the roads into the area and when you see the condition of some of the housing or... you see some of the things happening you know people hanging around, people drunk, people fighting whatever now those things are sporadic but the trouble is those things stick in peoples minds so

people would immediately say that's a deprived area ... deprivation is always going to manifest itself in the way the area looks and also the way it feels as people walk around" (Partnership Manager, Greater Govan Social Inclusion Partnership⁴).

Govan was also described as looking "a bit like a war zone, you know when it's that kind of bunkered up look" with the majority of shops being "either a tanning salon or a pub, a bookies... I think that just sort of creates a bad look in the area" (Co-ordinator, The LUV Project).

Other agency respondents felt disadvantage could be defined through sensing the feel of an area "just the look on some peoples faces. It's just an air of knowing people that are downtrodden and tired impoverished you know. There's an air, it hangs like smog over an area of disadvantage" (Representative 2 of the Sunny Govan Community Media Group), "you can just see and feel poverty just really on the people in their physical make up and the way that they dress and the general air of despondency" (GCC, Representative of Social Economy Team), "burnt out houses, chewing gum in the streets, run down shops, flaking paint and if you just look at people walking along the streets their posture, the shape of their bodies, mobility issues, their facial expressions those kind of things... the main thing is the human face of it and these are people for whom the tide of industrialisation has fallen and they've been left behind and stripped of their context in which they can express pride in life" (Director of the GalGael).

For others disadvantage was not to be defined by general perceptions or feelings but rather the condition of the physical environment "to me the thing that makes an area look disadvantaged isn't actually looking at the people its looking at the state of the place if it's graffitied if there's litter about you'll usually find that it is an area of multiple deprivation" (Councillor for Drumoyne), "you look at the other side where you are advantaged you've got a nice surrounding, you've got trees, you've got greenery, it's pleasant it's well looked after, you've got local shops, you've got facilities. So the reverse of that is when we look at some of the areas, there's nothing locally"

⁴ As outlined in chapter 4, information on the responsibilities and focus of those interviewed can be found in appendix 6.

(Representative of FEAI). The majority of respondents chose to define disadvantage from a multidimensional perspective “it’s social, economic, physical, health related, it relates to every aspect of peoples lives and their environment. I’m sure that everyone is disadvantaged in some aspect, what we’re concerned about is where you get this multi-disadvantaged effect... I think it’s a very difficult thing to define, I suppose its about pulling people up to minimum standards of what you expect human beings to be able to have and what human beings should be entitled to in an economy like ours” (Planning Manager, Communities Scotland). Such approaches are clearly in line with the relative definitions discussed in chapter 1 (section 1.4.2) whereby disadvantage is not measured purely in material terms but also with reference to societies norms.

Lack of opportunity was also identified consistently as an important facet of disadvantage as “the quality of the neighbourhood may lead to poor schools and disadvantage of opportunity and it’s when it all clusters within those kind of cycles...” (Planning Manager, Communities Scotland). Disadvantage was also described as not being in a “position to uptake the opportunities that any other young person in a less disadvantaged area would be able to do... and their views of the future are really quite bleak... they really don’t see much of a future for themselves” (Representative of Roots in the Community).

Changes in terminology with regards to how disadvantage is conceptualised were felt to be both unnecessary and meaningless for most respondents as “they’ve been talking about social exclusion for years now I mean really it’s poverty, it’s been poverty. Social exclusion and deprivation I mean it’s all the same thing at the end of the day. There are people that are marginalised in our society” (Representative of Community Potential Implementation Group). For a representative of Govan Community Council a degree of cynicism pervaded the variations in terminology attached to past remedial actions as “people are now totally cynical about these things they’ve been through about 5 different versions of the same thing and they’ve seen absolutely nothing come to them”.

According to a representative of the GalGael the conceptualisations of disadvantage and community by decision makers are “hollow talk” as most “leaders have not realised the cognitive dissonance between how they actually live their lives and such

ideals as community”. For a representative of the Community Potential Implementation Group there was an institutional element of “snootiness and snobbery in these organisations who are supposedly doing something about poverty. There’s a real hierarchy, at the top of this profession. How the hell can you possibly have any idea what it feels like to live in poverty and be on a salary of £50,000, £60,000, £70,000?”. There was felt to be a need to “come and bloody live in that kind of poverty for a wee while and see what it feels like” (Representative of Community Potential Implementation Group).

With regard to measurement, debate existed among agency staff as to the most appropriate components of disadvantage to assess. Some propagated the measurement of quantifiable components - “that’s dead easy the Scottish Executive has a set of indicators ... you simply take the data do the calculations on everything from single parent families, levels of morbidity and mortality... different indicators and you analyse those indicators at postcode or above data zone level and say who’s worst off. It’s really that simple” (Head of Social and Economic Initiatives, GCC). While others expressed the need to measure less tangible elements of disadvantage such as lack of confidence and low self-esteem however felt there were inherent difficulties in such a task:

“the index doesn’t measure everything... this talks about concentrations of deprivation which we can cover on a map but it doesn’t cover confidence, community cohesion all that sort of stuff. I mean whether you can ever measure that properly I think there are certain things you can measure and some you can’t. The fact that you can’t measure it doesn’t mean you shouldn’t be trying to do something about it, there’s something about developing aspiration and sense of optimism in communities that they can do better... just because you can’t measure it doesn’t mean you shouldn’t have it in mind” (Representative of Social Inclusion Division, Scottish Executive).

The preference for statistical evidence was explained as “I think in a world when you’re putting money into things statistics are always hard evidence... whether it’s getting better or worse based on the money that you’re spending which means the social issues which are sometimes difficult to measure, those things create a bit of a problem” (Representative of Regeneration Unit, Scottish Executive). The cost of study into such aspects was also a factor as “there are methods for measuring but they’re very resource

intensive because they rely a lot on survey work... to get down to small areas it's extremely, extremely expensive" (Neighbourhood Intelligence Manager, Communities Scotland).

The 'slipperiness' of the 'softer' aspects of disadvantage also led one respondent to ponder "is it worth putting all that money into investigating something that's quite nebulous and difficult to get a handle on?" (Representative of Social Inclusion Division, Scottish Executive). It was also felt that statistical measurement such as the SIMD could handle the more qualitative elements of disadvantage as "these are qualitative indicators although they are gathered statistically it's statistical measurements of quality of life indicators" (Head of Social and Economic Initiatives, GCC). Practical problems in measurement of more qualitative aspects were also emphasised and included when scoring feelings of increased confidence "if you've got a figure of 20 is that twice as good as 10, half as good as 40?" (Neighbourhood Intelligence Manager, Communities Scotland). One respondent suggested that social elements were harder to measure effectively than those of a "more factual" physical nature as "building 18,000 affordable homes, now that's very quantifiable" (Neighbourhood Intelligence Manager, Communities Scotland).

It is clear that whilst there is an understanding among respondents of the importance of specific measures of disadvantage, measurement is still largely based on standard approaches capable of comparison and quantification. Disadvantage is ultimately conceptualised as multi factored, complex and based on more than a simple totting up of material possessions and basic human need however, issues clearly exist however in the contradiction between recognising disadvantage as being based on instinct and perception and the faithful attachment to statistical measurement techniques. As discussed in chapters 1 and 2 the techniques used to identify and measure disadvantage ultimately dictate the responses which are adopted in tackling it. Despite recognition that there is more to disadvantage than tangible quantifiable elements, it seems the voices of those who actually experience disadvantage have no place in official definitions. The inclusion of more qualitative approaches towards measurement, whilst acknowledged as

valuable, was still felt to be subsumed by concerns over financial cost and their lack of general applicability.

The following sections serve to outline the issues which those with the experience of disadvantage feel impact upon their quality of life and what those who work to tackle disadvantage feel are the main issues associated with doing so.

5.3 The Lived Experience of Disadvantage

As discussed in chapter 3 (section 3.5) social exclusion has been described by the SEU (2006) as “what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown” and has been identified by New Labour as being “one of the government’s highest priorities” (Morrison, 2003a, 141). This investigation of the lived experience of disadvantage highlights exactly how far New Labour still have to go with regards to tackling social exclusion. The following 5 sections outline the issues which those who have the experience of living in a position of disadvantage identify as having an impact on their lives and what those attempting to tackle disadvantage view as the barriers to their doing so.

5.3.1 Physical environment

For many of the residents of Govan, the physical environment was identified as having a major impact on how individuals felt about living in the area. The physical fabric of the area was commented upon as being “not appealing...see when I walk along to Govan I find it awful drab looking. I don’t know if it’s just the colours or what have you, like everything’s so poor and run down looking” (P1, females 25-64⁵). The number of vacant properties and underutilisation of land following demolition of sub standard properties

⁵ In those instances where more than one focus group was carried out per thematic group participants in the second group are labelled for clarity (P 1.1, P2.2 etc.). Interviews conducted out with the main thematic focus groups are denoted as (male 25-64 etc.).

was blamed for making the area look like a "pure dump" (P3, males 16-24 in training scheme) and "dilapidated" (P2, females 25-64). Empty industrial and commercial units were also identified as contributing to the derelict feel of the area. Industrial units were also perceived to be occupying every "available space". It was felt that through "building industrial units...the populations dwindling and dwindling in Govan really...they should be building more houses or whatever" ultimately "they should be dealing with the people that live here" (P1.1, females 25-64). For those with children, the close proximity of workspaces to residential areas was also felt to be an issue with greater need for "segregation" as "when it comes to family housing and workspaces you're talking about two entirely different things" (P2, parents). Safety was a major concern as "you don't want your kids to go and play out the back and it's a building site behind the wall. You want to keep an area safe for families" (P1, parents).

A recurring environmental issue surrounded levels of 'dog dirt' on pavements and communal areas. The condition of the streets was viewed as "atrocious" as "between litter and dog shit it's disgusting...I've never seen so much dog shit as much as I have round here, it's disgraceful" (P2, female 25-64). Litter and graffiti were also identified as having a negative impact on quality of life for the residents of Govan. The streets were referred to as "filthy" (P4, Males 25-64) with "a lot of cartons and bottles lying around" (P8, Males 25-64). The weekends in particular were viewed as being exceptionally bad for litter as "you'll notice the odd Bucky bottle or Mad Dog or whatever... curry containers ain't it and all that crap" (P1, females 25-64). This led to feelings of resentment with a number of participants pondering "what's the point?" (P3 and P1, elderly females) in making an effort to keep the area clean and maintained.

Vandalism was also felt to be a serious issue with graffiti on walls and damage to cars commonly referred to. For females in the 25-64 group and parents the vandalism of a new play park in Govan was of particular concern. Feelings of hopelessness prevailed across groups as to how to deal with the associated problems of vandalism. Due to the consistent nature of the vandalism one participant despaired and felt it was down to "this whole culture of let's just hang about the street corners and I don't know how you break that down but...that's the whole problem because then they just go out vandalising so

anything good that's done they just destroy it" (P2, females 25-64). The "attitude of people" (P2.2 females 25-64) was alluded to as also being an issue as was the lack of parental control and consideration as "the mothers let their weans first thing in the morning away out and play and don't bother me and that's it. Away and do what you's like, don't care" (P2.2, Parents). For the younger male contingent graffiti and vandalism was not viewed as a big issue as "round at the shops there's the occasional stuff but they just wash it off and then it gets done again, then they wash it off. It's not really a problem I don't think" (P1, males 16-24 youth club based). Others felt wronged as the graffiti they had spent time doing had been removed. One participant alluded to it being unfair as "you go and do a big masterpiece on the wall and then they go and scrub it off" (P2, males 16-24 in training scheme). An example of such 'tagging' in the area can be viewed below in figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1: Example of 'Tagging'



Anti-social behaviour also played a major part in how people perceived the quality of the physical environment. Fireworks were identified as being a particular problem from both a noise and safety perspective. The younger demographic were felt to "run riot" (P3.3, parents) with temporary accommodation and unstable family units often felt to be responsible for such behaviour.

It is clear that as Martin (2003) asserts area effects do not in isolation affect individual life chances. Factors such as parent's education, income and household tenure also play a part. Such factors can be cumulative and act to create a 'family effect' which can have both positive and negative outcomes for those within such familial and wider social networks. A number of participants mainly in the female and parental categories felt that a lot of the social problems the area was experiencing were down to a lack of positive family influence and parental responsibility as "it all depends on what your family morals and principles are. What your family life is like rubs off on you" (P3.3, parents).

Attempts at improving the physical environment such as that in one area of Greater Govan, Linthouse through the LUV project has however been met with a mixed response. The LUV project (further information on which can be found in appendix 6) aimed, through the introduction of a bistro style café and the renovation of shop fronts in the area, to create a more attractive physical environment for those living, working and visiting the area. For some the project was viewed as a positive move making the area "look nicer, the appearance and that" (P6, females 16-24 involved in training scheme). There were hopes that "Linthouse is really going to hopefully look really really nice" with new shop fronts described as "appealing and eye catching". An example of the improved shop fronts can be viewed below in figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2: Example of improved shop fronts in local area



It was felt that “it might bring people into Govan so the business is then coming into the area rather than...going to Asda or going to Braehead or going to the town. People may tend to stay in”. It was hoped that as the shop fronts improve this would provide “the incentive to go, right let’s get the inside of it done you know what I mean?” (P1, females 25-64). The image of the area was also perceived to be lifted by the improvements as “if you’re driving by and you’re not from the area...it’s eye catching isn’t it? The lovely colours the brightness, it lifts that kind of depression” (P1, females 25-64). It was believed that such a project would have an “economic effect” both on “individual businesses” and Linthouse “as a place to live.... as it makes a significant difference and that difference can translate into an economic difference in terms of how people feel about the area” (Representative of Clyde Regeneration Team, Scottish Enterprise Glasgow). The positioning of the café and art gallery on prominent corners clearly visible

from the main road used regularly by commuters to the city centre was also identified as making a “huge difference” (P2 females 25-64) as “it’s right in their face” (P1, females 25-64). The shop fronts element of the LUV project was felt to provide a purpose in changing perceptions “both for people locally and people who come through that area”.

To others the perception of the café was that it was “all very posh” (P4, males 25-64). One participant described how it looks “quite kinda posh from the outside, I wouldn’t dream of going into it” and perceived the general opinion in the area to be the same stating most would probably “cause it looks posh...look at it and go hmmf” (P5, females 16-24 youth club based). One participant jokingly referred to it being “£4.99 for a cup of coffee” (P3, males 25-64) to emphasise what were felt to be excessive prices whilst another described how they felt “it looks dead kind of upper class people that go into it and that’s why I wouldn’t want to go into it” (P1, females 25-64). The LUV café was felt by some to cater to those on higher incomes in the area and as such being exclusionary “that LUV café encourages all the usual suspects who go in for their carrot and coriander soup. It alienates people in the community. It creates a gap between the haves and the have-nots and creates a ghetto society” (Representative 2 of the Sunny Govan Community Media Group).

The art gallery was also perceived to not appeal to local people as “half the time you walk past you don’t even know anybody in it, it’s people from different areas that’s in it” (P2.2, females 25-64). The art gallery and café can be seen below in figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3: The LUV art gallery and café



Linthouse Housing Association was however persistently recognised as “really making an effort” (P2, females 25-64). The accessibility of the housing association premises was commented upon as positive as “you can go in there across from that gallery and you can see about your housing and all that” (P3, males 25-64). For one participant Linthouse Urban Village was “the way all Govan should be but it will never be like that cause you’ve got all these fuckwits, pardon the phrase. People that will not want to create anything all they want to do is destroy all the time. Cause that’s the only thing they know. They don’t know, nobody’s ever shown them kindness or whatever, took time to sit and talk to them or they don’t want people to talk to them, I don’t know what it is but I reckon that should be Govan, all the way along Govan Road, that’s the way it should be and that’s the way everywhere should be” (unemployed male, 25-64). It was feared that if the “artistic footprint” created by LUV was not continued into central Govan in the near future then a sense of “isolation” may pervade so therefore an effort should be made “to draw the arts the whole way through the community” (Representative of Roots in the Community).

Linthouse was felt to be different from central Govan as the “streets are all clean” (P7, males 25-64) and the housing association was perceived to “spend more money than the Govan Housing Association” (P2, males 25-64). This perception of Linthouse as doing more for the local area led one participant to describe how Linthouse has got as much young ones and hooligans as anybody but they seem to respect the place there because there’s more getting done...plus the fact that there’s more people telling when they see somebody doing something wrong because they don’t want to see it all getting wasted. They’re pulling them up. You better stop that or I’m going to do this or that” (P3, males 25-64).

One participant however alluded to the superficiality of simply improving the physical environment as ‘it looks seedy and dirty. It’s like getting a black eye and putting a bit of foundation on top of it. You’re just trying to hide it, and not very well” ultimately “it does look out of place cause everything else is run down and having one modern thing

in a row of rundown shops, do you know what I mean?” (P1, parents). The LUV project was also not welcomed by a number of representatives of local groups. Whilst some perceived the shop fronts project as wasteful of resources “a lot of those shops that have been done up have been owned for years. Would it not have been better to use the money to encourage 16-30 years olds to start a new business in a shop that's empty?” (Representative 1 of the Sunny Govan Community Media Group). Others felt that the money would have been better spent on giving the “kids... somewhere to go... something to convince the kids the only way to interact with each other is not by hitting each other with bottles... everyone's segregated they could maybe have spent that money bringing them together... they're trying to get people to take pride in their community by painting it blue and green and yellow does that make you feel a bit more proud to be in that area? I don't think so” (Representative of Govan Youth Club). A representative of Greater Govan Community Forum described how “OK it's a good idea to try and regenerate an area but... it doesn't just mean painting the outside of shop fronts that isn't regenerating an area that's making it look more aesthetically pleasing that isn't regeneration”.

According to a representative of the Cultural Policy Division of the Scottish Executive if people are sceptical about the benefits the arts can bring in a project such as that devised by LUV “it's the responsibility of those who are not to demonstrate to them what's in it for them... if those who have been involved and enjoyed it are given the opportunity to articulate what its done for them maybe hearing that at a public meeting or whatever there's ways to demonstrate what the benefits are... I don't think they have an obligation to be impressed I think it's down to a lot of the projects who have that challenge to try and bring them on board”.

Following discussion of the physical environment, the following section examines the issues surrounding the provision and condition of housing in the Greater Govan area and the impact this has on individual's quality of life.

5.3.2 Housing

The provision of housing is a contentious issue in the Govan area. A key issue is the perception of there being little choice of where to live other than a flat, “you’ve got flats or flats” (P3, males 16-24 in training scheme), “you’ve got closes or red sandstone buildings or flats. Just different sets of flats. Clean ones and there’s junkied out ones” (P2, males 16-24 in training scheme). Houses were felt for most to be a more desirable choice to inhabit however “you cant get a house for love nor money...There’s no decent housing...they sold off all their housing stock so they’ve left themselves with nothing...they need more houses. People would rather be in...houses” (P1, parents). Indeed one participant proclaimed that “any talk of regeneration in Govan means building decent housing, attractive affordable housing” (P5, elderly males).

Another concern consistently raised was the excessively long period of time to wait for a move to a more desirable property “it’s no fair...in Ibrox what is it 10 year? You need to stay in Ibrox 10 year to even qualify for a house. Well you can move from a dump to another dump then” (P2, males 16-24 in training scheme). For others the problem was not lack of housing but rather the poor condition of existing housing stock, “there’s enough houses but people don’t want to stay in them because of the state they’re in” (P2, males 25-64). Decline in the internal condition of housing association property was felt to be an issue due to lack of long term solutions to problems such as dampness but rather short term solutions “we’re in the high flats and I wouldn’t say it’s in good condition you’ve got dampness every year, every room in the house and they won’t stop the dampness by planning, by treating it, they just wait and then paint over it every year” (P1, parents).

Any attempts made to improve housing provision were felt to often be pointless as “the houses they’re going to build are meant to be nice but they’re just going to be moving like see people who stay in the council housing back in so it will become a dump again. So there’s no point in pulling them down. They should just do up the houses they stay in” (P2, males 16-24 in training scheme), “see the people that’s in here that’s ruined it, see when its built, if they put the same people in, it will go the same way” (P1.1, parents). Lack of sufficient household income was consistently recognised as playing an

important part in the poor condition of some housing “quite a lot of the families don’t have the money to do up their house I think that’s it” (P2, females 16-24 involved in training scheme).

The condition of housing had a major effect on how people perceived Govan as a place to live. The derelict appearance of the area was identified as detrimental to any attempts at encouraging people to move into the area. One participant pointed to the visible stages of decline over time as being responsible for discouraging movement into the area “over the years you saw the concierge going, the fire escapes were blocked up you’d see the doors going up at the end of the balconies then there was the cameras, so you saw it going downhill and it was because junkies were getting in. People didn’t want to live high up so they put the junkies in and it went right through the flats and now nobody wants to live there” (P3, parents). Properties left vacant awaiting demolition or renewal played a major part in fostering negative perceptions.

Issues surrounded the number of vacant and sub standard properties in the area, which almost bred vandalism, and left those inhabiting the area feeling demoralised and at risk. Described as “just lying like no man’s land” (P1.1 females 25-64) often empty houses had their windows smashed or set on fire (P2.2, females 25-64). One participant described how a well known street in Govan, Elder Park street was also known as “...Rambo road. It’s like Beirut down there. Elder Park’s about the worst one”. An example of the condition of the physical environmental conditions in the area can be viewed below.



Figure 5.4: Example of local physical environmental conditions

Empty properties were also utilised as bases for drug and alcohol misuse with one participant describing breaking into a disused property for bonfire wood and in “the close was pure hundreds of bottles everywhere and fucking junkie needles everywhere” (P2, males 16-24 in training scheme).

One participant drew attention to the difference in condition between owner occupied housing and that controlled by the local housing associations giving the example that Drumoyne “didn’t really look that nice until they’ve started to build bought houses and that up there and it looks much nicer now compared to what it used to look like” (P2, females, 16-24 involved in training scheme).

The reality of environmental and housing conditions in areas like Govan represent a real challenge for the New Labour philosophy of creating ‘balanced communities’. New Labour’s belief that “communities function best when they contain a broad social mix” (SEU, 2000) has led to the propagation of the ideal whereby for disadvantaged areas, great benefits would be derived from introducing a range of incomes, household types, housing and facilities into the locale.

In Govan the high concentration of social rented housing and void properties due to “anti social behaviour issues” has led to consistent calls for more of a “mixed tenure approach with good quality social rented properties for families but also included an element of owner occupation as it brings higher earning households into the area to

support facilities and amenities and you do get a better balance” (Community Regeneration Manager, Communities Scotland). For the Executive Director of the local housing association the aim of regeneration in Govan should be to have “from the top business man or rich person in a village down to the village idiot and everybody in between staying in the area... rather than just people who are unemployed or labourers or low skilled type thing... there’s just not that mixture and balance that you need to make a real vibrant community”. The Chief Executive of Govan Initiative identified the value of providing more choice in housing provision as at the moment:

“The balance on the mix is one of the big issues in Govan you don’t really have a stepping stone from social rented up to affordable to more expensive to very expensive over 48% of housing in Greater Govan is socially rented so you’ve got large pockets of deprivation... so if you’ve got lots of people who are on income benefits who are located within socially rented housing then the whole infrastructure for role models and for breaking out of that cycle is quite challenging also when somebody does break out of that cycle the opportunities to trade up and remain in the area are few so one of or big challenges going forward is how do we lock in people who are starting to do well and as opposed to them leaving the area and going to some of the estates out with Glasgow or some of the leafy suburbs how do we lock them into a more progressive neighbourhood?”.

With Central Govan being described as “a sort of den of inequity” (Co-ordinator, The LUV Project) the creation of the CGAP has prompted debate over how best to regenerate the area. The key objective of the plan has been to “pull in more population to balance the area and to improve the area” (Representative of DRS, GCC). For a representative of McNally Associates the introduction of private sector housing could only be beneficial to all aspects of the community:

“If we bring in 500 brand new houses that are private what have we done? We’ve created 500 people going in that can afford, get better products in shops that have got an investment in their community that will fight for better policing... the gentrification of Govan is a fear factor that is totally unrealistic... private landlords buying property in Govan are buying it cheapo so they can

rent it out to some down and out who's on the brew with the social paying his rent now if we could increase the price of that house then his mortgage will be more than what the DHSS can pay and it won't be worth his while buying a house in Govan to rent it out to somebody so it's going to actually create a more positive profile for investment in Govan which will then get people looking after the place better".

For some the area was viewed as "desperately needing a bit of gentrification" (Representative of Citizen's Panel, GCC). According to a representative of the Social Economy Team, Govan Initiative, Govan would only see improvement through acceptance of change and the introduction of diversity "it takes a multi type of community to actually make up a community... so I think people need to recognise that a mix needs to happen... if you put 100% social rented housing in where's the economic kick back from people investing in the area and investing in the shops and putting up with the standards we've talked about as well? So I think there's a fear whereas when you actually speak it through you recognise it needs this mix... and that's what makes it a balanced community and certain people need to realise that's what needs to happen for Govan to be regenerated... I think people need to understand the balance of things to come".

According to the partnership manager at Greater Govan SIP "it's not about whether there should be mixed tenure it's about how much say they have and that's actually very important". It was felt that fear existed in the locality based on perceptions of what regeneration meant for them and their surroundings. A representative from the GalGael explained that "what people are frightened of here is a kind of bourgeois clearances there's a feeling that, or the fear that, local communities are not being listened to sufficiently and that the property developers are basically moving in and are going to squeeze out the native Govan people". It was deemed to be vital that throughout the regeneration process the indigenous population were retained whilst also attracting people back into the area due to the current lack of "good balance" (Community Regeneration Manager, Communities Scotland).

The introduction of a greater social mix of residents through the construction of more houses and luxury flats was not felt by all to be of help to those currently living in

the area however as “what’s the point of bringing outsiders in?...you’d end up with all these wee snobs that turn their nose up at everybody here’ (P1, females 16-24 involved in training scheme). There was also the perception that those properties being demolished would be rebuilt and “sold to the yuppies” (P2, males 25-64). Some residents felt that what was wrong was too much private sector involvement leading to the “young one’s not being able to get a foothold” (P7, males 25-64). This has led to people leaving Govan to “try and buy a wee house and get their foot on the ladder” (P4, males 25-64). One participant described a sense of “alarm” as “I’ve seen lots of houses getting built but no for working class people. Its all luxury flats and you see even along the waterside there... So where’s the houses for working class people, where’s these houses that first time buyers can afford. Young couples just starting out, where’s the houses for these people to buy?” (Unemployed male 25-64).

Lack of affordable and decent housing was also consistently mentioned as a concern for the local community. A representative of Govan Youth Club lamented “You know they’re building flats brilliant but they’re £130,000. Look at Drumoyne the houses there are £130,000 you tell me who can afford one of them? You know low-income families just can’t afford them you know so where do they move? They get moved into the flats maybe at... Ibrox where the same problems that they’re trying to move away from are there only they’re more rife now you know?”. The concentration of individuals and families with multiple issues through housing allocations policy in areas of low demand such as multi storey stock was felt to be a major issue “you do tend to get a concentration of people who are multiply deprived women fleeing domestic violence, ex offender’s you get a concentration of people with particular social issues so there’s the physical fabric regeneration issues in the area and there’s the social issues as well and economic issues link with all of those” (Community Regeneration Manager, Communities Scotland).

According to a representative of the Citizens Panel, Glasgow City Council, the creation of a particular profile due to allocations policy can only be “broken when you have diversity and diversity of tenure”. This diversity is lacking due in part to the increased cost of housing and many of the jobs available to residents being low paid “and

consequently the proportion of wage that you would have to pay towards housing is smaller so this has meant that you've had a kind of loss of what you could call a balance of population and a concentration of people who are for one reason or other very poor, who are not at work, who have never had a job or who are old and that has consequently intensified problems" (Representative of Govan Community Council).

Concern exists however that the inclusion of social rented housing will not ensure interaction between social groups as it is feared that "what will emerge will be a situation where you've got enclaves of expensive housing that will be separated off from what remains of the old housing and I don't think people that are coming into the area will be sending their children to local schools... you will get a divided community" (Representative of Govan Community Council). It is difficult however to ensure a mix as "how do you create owner occupier markets in areas where people don't necessarily want to live?" (Planning Manager, Communities Scotland)". For a representative of Govan Community Council regardless of future investment in housing, segregation was inevitable as "it's almost certain that the people that are building and selling relatively expensive housing will want to separate from what they see as the undesirable elements of Govan so I don't think it will bring about an integration in terms of a mixed and balanced community".

The New Labour promotion of 'balanced communities' is based on an ideal rather than a realistic comprehension of the dynamics of an area such as Govan. Whilst the theory behind increasing the variety of housing type and tenure in disadvantaged areas is sensible with regards to leading to local environmental improvements, there cannot be assumed to be a direct link to social integration and improvement in circumstance for all. It is apparent, as outlined in chapter 3 (section 3.5), that 'balancing' communities does not automatically result in a reduction in the levels of social exclusion experienced by the most disadvantaged individuals in a community.

5.3.3 Facility and service provision

With regard to the provision of facilities Govan was consistently portrayed as an area with “nothing” to do (P3, P1, males 16-24 youth club based) particularly for the younger residents, “there’s fuck all to do at night... except to get mad with it” (P1, males 16-24 in training scheme). It was believed across all population groups surveyed that there were not enough facilities and activities which in turn led to “young ones running about the streets with nothing to do...it’s all boredom” (P2, males 25-64). Despite leisure facilities being geographically nearby a number of participants still felt they were out of reach by foot as “there are quite a few schemes to go through” (P1, males 16-24 youth club based) which means “you end up in trouble” (P2, males 16-24 youth club based). By contrast transport was perceived to be good in and out of the area “you get the subway then you’ve got all the buses...you can get a bus to basically anywhere from Govan” (P4, females 16-24 involved in training scheme). The cost of existent facilities was also identified as an issue “I mean the science centre... if me and my husband and two kids go it probably costs us about £50 for the four of us to go in and then you’re talking about whatever else” (P3.3, females 25-64). There is also a sports centre “up at Bellahouston and they do swimming lessons, gymnastics and all that but that costs you money. If you’re a single parent or not even a single parent if you’re on a low income then you can’t afford to spend £18 for swimming lessons for 8 weeks. You know that’s a lot of money when you’ve got social money or whatever every week and if you’ve got other kids you’ve got to get something for them as well” (P1, parents).

Retail facilities particularly in the shopping centre were also felt by all to be of poor selection and standard unless “you like the pound shop, that’s all that’s down there” (P1.1, Females 25-64). Also “there are quite a lot shut down. The ones that are still open are Farmfoods and the sort of discount shops... It’s a bit kind of dilapidated. I wouldn’t say the selection of shops in Govan is all that great” (P1, parents). Further concerns surrounded the presence of the ‘social’ in the shopping centre itself “there’s always a crowd waiting to get in there and hanging about smoking and drinking there” (P4, elderly females).

The quality of local schooling and policing were also felt to be an issue for those living in Govan. A number of participants told how despite there being a number of local secondary schools in the area often “when they get older they go to the Renfrew schools because they don’t want to go to the schools here” (P4, elderly females). In terms of satisfaction with the service the police were providing to the area, very few participants expressed positive opinions. The relationship between the police and those in the younger groups was perceived as poor with suggestions that the younger members of the community often felt victimised by the police “see as soon as they see like a gang of people they just automatically stop and ask you questions... I think sometimes they’re dead stereotyping” (P2, females 16-24 involved in training scheme). Such experiences had fuelled resentment towards the police “when they stop you a lot and they’re looking out at you all the time, when they’re driving by you checking you and all that and you’re like for God’s sake” (P3, females 16-24 involved in training scheme). In the male categories particularly there was the belief that the police were targeting them in an attempt to “jail you for nothing” (P3, males 16-24 in training scheme). It was believed that the police “see everybody our age as just wee nuisances... they see us as just hooligans” (P1, males 16-24 youth club based). Amongst the adult population one problem was perceived to be a lack of police presence “because we don’t see any police presence in the streets really and you know you always hear about oh they’re trying to increase numbers and they’re undermanned, the point is they’re not visible so there’s no deterrent you know?” (P2, females 25-64). Fear of crime was an issue consistently identified as impacting on individual’s health and happiness in Govan.

5.3.4 Fear of Crime

A predominant theme running through all survey groups was that of fear, particularly the fear of violence and crime. Elder Park was an area consistently mentioned as experiencing issues relating to vandalism and improper activities which lead to fear regarding its use. This was identified across all age and gender groups as being a particular area of concern. There was a general feeling that the park was out of bounds at certain times particularly “after 4 o’clock now, cause its getting dark and you’re like, I’m

no going through there” (P3, females 16-24 in training scheme). The park was described as “well used at night-time” (P1.1, parents) as “12, 14 year olds” are “walking about with bottles of Buckfast” (P2.2, parents). One participant alluded to the existence of problems during the day also however as “they’re sitting there drinking bottles of wine and this is during the day...and then fighting each other” (P3, males 25-64). Drug and drink problems persist as one participant described “you’re too scared to go...in case there’s gangs...or junkies or something” the park’s “really for people who want to get drunk” (P1, females 16-24 in training scheme). For most the park was viewed as a communal space synonymous with gang fighting and drink as that’s where “all the schemes fight against each other” (P4, females 16-24 youth club based) and fear as “the gangs go in there to drink at night but during the summer people use it for the kids and that to go up the swing park but a lot of them cannae, a lot of the gangs come and disrupt them” (P6, females 16-24 in training scheme). One participant described how “every other day I take her for the chute and that but I don’t kind of linger you know what I mean? I’ll play in it with her and I’ll take her to the chute but that’s it” (P4, parents). “Decent people” were felt to be excluded from use of the park as “you don’t know what you’re going to run into” (P2.2, parents). For the younger children inhabiting the Greater Govan area used needles were felt to be an important issue as “all the junkies leave their needles lying about and then the wee weans end up touching them” (P3, males 16-24 in training scheme). Fear also played a part for the elderly in utilising the park as one participant commented “if you walk through yourself they look at you as if to say you’re mugged” (P4, elderly males).

One participant told how in a more general sense “a lot of people are frightened. Well you just lock your doors the minute you get in your house now... I think folk that live in flats and all that are just really frightened” (P2, parents). Descriptions of “people hanging around the streets, drunks and untoward folk and junkies” (P1, parents) were common as were fears for personal safety after dark in particular. For those in the elderly groups a lot of fear surrounded the younger residents in the area as it was felt there are a lot of young uns’ walking about and they’re looking for trouble” (P5, elderly females). The elderly also expressed feelings of being targeted as “they know that the old ones

can't hit them back or canny out run them or anything like that" (P2, elderly females). There was a palpable fear and sense of hopelessness as "what you're getting is teenagers and even if you chase them...they've got teams, gangs of boys and even girls the next minute they're going to stick a knife in you" (P3, elderly males).

Whilst crimes against property were perceived to be common "I walk by motors all the time and they've got smashed windows and that, just already been done, motors and all that opened" (P1, males 16-24 in training scheme), crimes against persons such as "people getting battered" (P2, males 16-24 in training scheme) were felt to be of a more ubiquitous nature. Many expressed fear over what was believed to be a growing "knife culture" (P2, females 25-64) as "they're all carrying weapons... so it's not even a case of you're from that area slap, it's a case of you're from the wrong area and it could be a knife" (P1, females 25-64), "put it this way I'd say 3 out of 5 people carry a weapon" (P1, males 16-24 involved in local media group), "2 out of 5 people are going to kill somebody" (P2, males 16-24 involved in local media group).

Further concerns related to the high prevalence of drug use within Greater Govan. The area was perceived as being blighted by "junkies" (P1, parents). Some participants pointed to the high availability of drugs as being the reason behind the high concentration of drug users in the area "cause its pure easy to stay here. There's junkies everywhere. It's so easy to get smack here" (P1, males 16-24 in training scheme). Such accessibility also brought "junkies that come from other areas to go to this mad dealer" (P3, males 16-24 in training scheme) which acted to intimidate local residents. The late night culture which exists in the area was often commented on as playing a big part in the problem "you know it's like interview with a vampire there's nobody during the day and then at night everybody's hanging out windows and all that at 12 o'clock at night, weans are out playing at 12 o'clock at night. I said Jesus Christ what are we in here is it a ghetto or something?" (Unemployed male, 25-64). Reporting of crime to the police was according to some younger male participants linked with intimidation and accusations of being a 'grass'. It was deemed to be the case that "no cunt grasses in Ibrox cause if you grass then your windows go in" (P3, males 16-24 in training scheme).

A recurring theme discussed consistently throughout the research was that of territory and the existence of gangs. For most participants out with those in the elderly groups gang related incidents were viewed as a daily occurrence. A number of those in the younger thematic groups claimed that each area had certain ‘allegiances’ with other areas and that certain spaces were not ‘owned’ by a particular area. One participant summed up the situation “starting at the very bottom with Drumoyne, Drumoyne fights with Linthouse, Linthouse fights with Crossy, Crossy fights with Govan, Govan fights with Teuchy, Teuchy fights with Cardonald and all that fight at the front of the road and Ibrox fights with KP, KP fights with the Gorbals and the Gorbals fights with Brigton and it’s a big line” (P2, males 16-24 involved in local media group). Fear of “getting stabbed” for entering another area had created a sense of being “locked in, you walk 50 paces and you’re in another scheme... you’re all trapped in your own wee thing and you go to your invisible border” (P1, males 16-24 involved in local media group).

There was a perceived need for personal protection against “people coming in from other areas” (P1, males 16-24 in training scheme). This was achieved through carrying “a blade about with you” (P3, males 16-24 in training scheme), making sure “you’ve got at least 4 locks on your door” (P1, males 16-24 in training scheme) owning “a baseball bat” (P3, males 16-24 in training scheme) and getting “a big dog” (P2, males 16-24 in training scheme). The majority of the younger female participants believed the situation was worse for males as “girls can walk through any scheme... but boys cannae” (P6, females 16-24 youth club based).

Feelings of hopelessness were pervasive as many felt “its not as if you can choose where you stay” (P6, females 16-24 in training scheme) and that moving to another area was not an option as “you can’t go anywhere else or you might get a doing” (P2, males 16-24 in training scheme) and “it depends where you used to stay afore it and if you’ve been fighting for them. Like if you’re still going to hang about with where you used to stay” (P2, males 16-24 in training scheme). For many the fear of moving to another area was palpable as recent Local Authority suggestions of moving Ibrox residents to other areas whilst homes were renovated was met with anger and resentment “that’s what they were trying to do in Ibrox, they tried to put us down into the scheme mostly we fight

with. I'm like, that will be right, fuck off" (P2, males 16-24 in training scheme), "the families from here couldn't go down there to stay cause their kids would get battered. Know what I mean? It's like a gang warfare. You know it's territory" (P2.2, parents). Most indicated their preference to return to residing in the same house following renovation rather than being placed somewhere else even within the same area, an ideal situation was felt to be "see if they camp you out for a while and they'll do up your building and then move you back in" (P2, males 16-24 in training scheme).

The issues identified by those residing in Govan are all contained within Percy-Smith's break down of the dimensions of social exclusion (table 3.3). It is clear that a commitment to tackle social exclusion by New Labour has a long way to go before it has a practical impact in an area such as Govan. New Labour's focus on the characteristics of what makes individuals socially excluded rather than the structural explanations for their causes means that any attempts to reduce social exclusion can at most be superficial, skimming only the surface of the deep inequalities which exist in disadvantaged communities.

New Labour, as outlined in Chapter 3, have promoted their ideals of a 'third way', 'equal worth' and equality of 'opportunity for all'. New Labour have moved away from redistributionist discourse and now appear to be relying on the provision of opportunities. What the present research has highlighted is that those living in the most disadvantaged of circumstances are often not in a position to take advantage of such 'opportunities' as pre defined by New Labour. The following section looks at the rhetoric of opportunity and aspiration as espoused by New Labour and assesses whether the new era of equality of opportunity rather than outcome is a chimera.

5.4 Opportunity and Aspiration

From both a policy and practical perspective it became clear throughout this research that a great deal of attention and resources were viewed as necessary if the combined and consistent problems of low opportunity and aspirations were to be addressed. Despite New Labour's proclamations of 'Opportunity for All' and Scottish New Labour's

claimed commitment to 'Closing the Opportunity Gap' in reality there is still a sense of hopelessness and lack of opportunity which permeates Govan.

The persistence of poverty in the area was felt by some to have an almost cyclical effect leading to negative outcomes reinforcing one another as:

“where you’ve got poverty you’ve got low wages, you’ve not got the opportunity of getting out of the area. Where you’ve got poor housing you will tend to get people abusing alcohol, abusing drugs, you will tend to get kids with no other outlet trying to find excitement on the streets and that’s by and large what it is, they’ve got nothing else to do and it’s exciting breaking windows and having fights with other gangs... So I don’t think you can separate the material base of the disadvantage that people feel in a whole number of different ways from the various other forms of disadvantage that occur either in terms of various forms of abusive behaviour or in terms of people just more or less giving up any hope that things could ever be any better for themselves” (Representative of Govan Community Council).

High levels of poverty were for a representative of the Social Economy Team in Glasgow City Council, reminiscent of the culture of poverty model (chapter 1, section 1.5.1), being attributable to “a lack of aspiration. I think there’s a general feeling... we’re from Govan, we don’t deserve any better and turning that around that’s something that’s created over decades and to turn that around is a very difficult thing”. A representative of Operation Tag, Community Police felt it was akin to a “poverty trap” as “they’re in that position, there’s no way out, they’re stuck in it so they may as well just get on with it”. According to a representative from Govan Community Council the lack of aspiration felt by many in Govan was due to a variety of factors including:

“education where very few kids who go to school in Govan end up getting any form of higher education... the number of people that are on housing benefit, they’re on income support they get clothing grants when their children go to school... you have a situation where peoples expectations in terms of jobs that they can hopefully secure and the kind of life that they can hope to live in Govan are reduced... there has been the overall deterioration in the fabric of the community... by and large the level of poverty of the remaining population is such that they find

it very difficult to sustain adequate housing and so it has deteriorated... deterioration in services at a very considerable level particularly youth services... therefore you have a great deal of gang disorder, violence... along with the poverty you've got a great deal of drug dealing in the area so an overall deterioration of the community".

Aspirations were felt to be low due also to the lack of positive role models in disadvantaged areas (a sentiment underlying New Labour's thrust for balanced communities) as "there has been a certain amount of flight, those who got the jobs and those who were doing OK left and that's almost another definition of deprived even when somebody gets the break they still - so long suckers" (Representative of Citizen's Panel, Corporate Policy Division, GCC). According to the Executive Director of a local housing association the LUV project provided a great example of an attempt to challenge and raise the aspirations of those residing in what could be termed a disadvantaged area. In marked contrast with the views of many locals indicated in section 5.3.1 above he viewed the LUV café in a positive light – "rather than having polystyrene cups, a 10p cup of tea for your community café always looking down the way" serves "a cappuccino, a latte whatever you want and it wouldn't look out of place in the west end I think that idea of aspiring and trying to do something rather than what I see in community cafés in places like Castlemilk and Easterhouse is the Formica tables with the plastic stacking chairs... and really not giving any vision or aspiration to people". The Councillor for Drumoyne felt that "people have got this perception of how Govan should be. Why shouldn't Govan aspire? I mean Govan's always aspired... it's a beautiful café you would think just by looking at it you were in Brussels or France why wouldn't people want it? I'm from Govan and I don't want to sit in a boiler suit for the rest of my life, if you want to do that that's fine but don't criticise people because they want to sit in a café that they're snobs or yuppies... if they want a greasy spoon... well excuse me well I'm a Govan boy and I'm not a greasy spoon".

Opportunities available were also felt to play a big part in dictating what aspirations individuals in disadvantaged areas possess. Opportunity was felt to best present itself in the form of employment as work offers "the opportunity to spend time involved in something and to develop a career, opportunity to be involved with others,

opportunity to get out the house, financial opportunity in general, opportunity to improve your housing, opportunity to improve your quality of life” (Representative of Social Economy Team, Govan Initiative). For Scottish Enterprise challenges surrounded presenting “the employment opportunities that have come in particularly the knowledge economy... somebody who has maybe not done terribly well at school or didn’t come from a background of education and we’re describing jobs as knowledge jobs. Is that not off putting?... so how do we excite people, young people particularly?” (Head of Inclusion, Scottish Enterprise National).

Fundamentally however for particular groups residing in Govan it’s not just a lack of opportunity that is an issue. Rather even where ‘opportunities’ exist to take up employment for example they do not have the necessary qualifications or skills to do so. If New Labour are going to focus on equality of opportunity then they must also address the tension which exists between providing opportunities and ensuring those most in need are equipped to take advantage of them. To date there is little evidence of New Labour clearing this hurdle.

Linking opportunities with those most in need is another area which does not seem to have been mastered. According to the Head of Inclusion, Scottish Enterprise National, while “in Scotland we are very good at building business parks, science centres, we can do that stuff its easy... but we’re not very good at making the connection between the benefit of that type of development and more disadvantaged areas... we don’t connect opportunity and need very well”. This was perceived amongst policy professionals to be a wide reaching problem as “one of the big mistakes we make in regeneration is thinking we can tackle the economic issues of unemployment and inactivity within the boundary of disadvantaged areas we can’t, you can do some of it but the big trick is making the connections... essentially how you make the big inroads into economic activity in disadvantaged areas is by getting them connected to the outside world” (Head of Inclusion, Scottish Enterprise National). As “growing the economy on its own will not help the most disadvantaged areas and groups in Scotland” there is a need to link “the opportunities that are made through economic growth” with those areas which possess

“high levels of inactivity” (Head of Inclusion, Scottish Enterprise National). This ultimately involves making connections with employers early on and:

“striking a deal that says if we produce 30, 50, 100 people that meet your specifications in terms of the jobs you are creating will you guarantee them an interview? So we will bring people to your door trained in exactly the kind of skills you are looking for if you will guarantee an interview and that way you’re actually training people for real jobs and jobs that are actually going to happen not for supply... so working with employers and getting them to help design the training and recruitment interventions that are needed” rather than “going with a begging bowl to a company, would you recruit locally?” (Head of Inclusion, Scottish Enterprise National).

The concept of Linking Opportunity And Need (LOAN) promoted by Scottish Enterprise was felt to lack clarity for the Chief Executive of Govan Initiative. Creating connections between economic growth and local disadvantaged communities was not being “delivered on” (Chief Executive of Govan Initiative) and Scottish Enterprise in this respect were felt to be a “big disappointment”.

Compared to the focus of Scottish Enterprise on growing the economy through large scale business the Chief Executive of Govan Initiative, the local development company, felt “concerned that the focus of Scottish Enterprise will at the moment be, leave all of that behind... what I see is a big shift away from how do you connect that economic growth to local people and local communities... I think we’re failing miserably at the moment”.

The provision of opportunity is for New Labour viewed almost as a panacea for the problems of those living in disadvantaged areas. As this research has shown for those living in Govan a number of constraints operate against take up of opportunity in deprived areas. A major obstacle refers to gang allegiance and violence. Fear of travelling to other areas to gain employment and training was consistently identified as an issue for those concerned about gang reprisals, with many young people from Govan for example only knowing “their own immediate neighbourhood and one route into a bit of the city centre” (Representative of Social Economy Team, GCC). A representative of EAS felt the answer to tackling worklessness for those who are in fear of crossing boundaries

could be in “job centres, Careers Scotland, and training organisations... using local facilities and local organisations much more to do outreach work”. Despite the Scottish Executive’s claims that they will work to “make sure that individuals and communities have the social capital – the skills, confidence support networks and resources – to take advantage of and increase the opportunities open to them” (Scottish Executive, 2002a, 6) for those experiencing disadvantage progress towards this goal has been slow to negligible.

It is perhaps more pertinent to question whether, with the inbuilt structural inequalities in society, will a focus on providing opportunity ever really be the answer to those in a position of disadvantage? Rather is the provision of opportunity a ‘get out clause’ for those claiming that it is the individual’s fault for not taking advantage of the opportunity to better their own situation rather than the fault of those in power. Effectively this element of New Labour policy represents another attempt to ‘blame the victim’. This is also evident in the related New Labour policy of welfare to work.

5.5 From welfare to work

New Labour’s commitment to moving individuals from welfare to work (the successes and problems of which are outlined in chapter 3, table 3.9) and reliance on employment as the best means to tackle poverty has had a number of consequences for those living in Govan and for those attempting to tackle disadvantage.

The drive to move people in Govan from benefits into employment has been hindered by a variety of factors. The main issue around assisting individuals into employment has been around the multiplicity of problems which combine to constitute major barriers as “people don’t just have a mental health problem or a childcare problem or something like that quite often they’ve got elderly dependent relatives, they’ve got debt, they’ve got damp in their house... so quite often the problems are multiple in the one person and you can’t deal with all that in a linear fashion, you have to look at the whole person” (Representative of Social Economy Team, GCC). The multiplicity of issues which individuals face from disadvantaged areas was felt to be a major challenge for agencies. According to a representative of EAS “there will be childcare, there will be

transport issues there will be no jobs around, I don't have the right skills, there will be the benefit trap perceptions... debt issues, physical health, mental health issues".

It was felt necessary that people were given a "package" of help rather than just bits and pieces (Representative of Social Economy Team, Govan Initiative). Multiple issues were deemed to require co-ordinated and multiple solutions from social work to health to housing ultimately "it has to be addressed on all fronts" (representative of FEAI). It was felt to be important that transitions between differing specialist agencies dealing with health, addiction and employability were "smooth" as they are "the really critical moment for people when they're moving from one thing to another" and the time at which it is most crucial to ensure "they don't fall through the cracks" (Representative of Skills and Learning, Scottish Enterprise National).

The importance of efficient transitions was emphasised often, however it was recognised "it is very difficult and it's also not a linear process because people will have setbacks for a whole variety of reasons and I think the system needs to recognise that and the people in the system need to recognise that and have a sense of patience but also keeping on supporting people and not losing touch with them, not losing faith in them" (Representative of EAS). Co-ordination between agencies was viewed as essential to ensure that the process was as uncomplicated as possible for the individual "you might be working with maybe half a dozen different agencies each of which has something to contribute to helping somebody to stabilise their lives, to move forward, to get the skills, to gain the confidence, gain the contacts and the networks as well as the work experience to move into work and stay in work" (Representative of EAS). For a representative from Careers Scotland dealing with Govan with regard to effective transitions it was helpful to think in terms of how "the person who sort of walks in the door how do they perceive it? It should be quite clear and I think at the moment its probably quite confusing for them why are there all these different people that seem to be doing the same thing... and they don't want to have to deal with a lot of different people".

It was observed by a representative of EAS that for individuals across all service sectors to promote the benefits of employment and provide accurate and relevant advice there would need to be "a little bit of training with an awful lot of people" as:

“overall the frontline workers say in the health and social care side yes they want to talk to people about employment they know it should be part of their job... but confidence is an issue for them they don’t feel confident to talk about employability and they don’t have the competence either they know they don’t they don’t have the skills they don’t know who are the appropriate organisations to refer to and equally on the employment and training side people are saying yes they would like to be more aware of the health and social care issues they are aware they are seeing more people coming with issues of addictions or homelessness or health issues of various sorts and they don’t know enough about them to have the confidence or the competence... to be able to sign post appropriately and refer appropriately” (Representative of EAS).

The most effective way of tackling such problems was to be found in the “spirit of co-operation... saying OK you’ve got a childcare problem, someone’s holding your hand and saying OK I’ll take you through that minefield you don’t just then pass them on to someone else its about bringing the right professionals together at the right time so you’re trying to help that person breach those barriers simultaneously if you can” (Representative of Social Economy Team, GCC). Childcare was often identified as acting as a barrier to those wishing to enter employment. For a representative of the Social Economy Team, GCC childcare should be “at the centre rather than at the margins because it is recognised a lot of woman want to go back to work yet access to affordable childcare is a huge barrier”.

The Head of Inclusion, Scottish Enterprise National felt that a further barrier to work for those residing in disadvantaged areas lay in the fact that “the vast majority of jobs are word of mouth you have to be in work to find out about jobs and if you’re not on those networks then you are not getting information about intelligence, about employment”. It was felt the importance of “word of mouth” was underestimated by both the public and private sector as they “don’t think enough about how do people actually make decisions to do something?... Do they respond to adverts? Do they respond to letters of invitation? Or do they respond to somebody a next-door neighbour or a brother in law who says I was down at somewhere and I was dead impressed” (Representative of EAS). A representative of EAS described the necessity of a system for people who want

to enter employment which “actually helps them and doesn’t get in their way and we actually need to realise the practical issues of the lack of trust and the suspicion”. Difficulties were also due to perceptions of individuals as to the consequences of expressing interest in employment as “the biggest challenge for people who are engaging with any type of public organisation is am I now going into a system where as soon as I register its going to have a whole lot of triggers meaning its going to require me to do a, b, c and d or its going to result in reduction in benefits so it’s a threatening environment and it’s an unknown environment” (Chief Executive, Govan Initiative).

In Govan use of local employment services was described by many participants as low with a number of participants having never been in the job centre. Most participants cited the presence of “security guards at the door hanging about” (P4, males 16-24 in training scheme) as putting them off using the facilities describing how “the first time I went into the job centre I was kind of wary I mean there’s security guys they’re asking what you’re wanting you felt intimidated” (unemployed male, 25-64). Others believed that the job centre was “just there for people to sign on” (P2, males 16-24 youth club based). One participant described how suffering from depression and being unemployed had left him feeling “alienated” as “I never seen people from one day to the next... when I was really kind of down I wouldn’t go out at all. I couldn’t face going out for whatever reason... I’d just go to the shop on the corner and away back up the stair again... when you’re out you’re just wanting in. You’re out, in, that’s it, you’re no wanting to stray too far” (unemployed male, 25-64). This was deemed to be a common experience “it seems to be a lot of people just sort of existing... Whether it’s a fault of their own or no their heads never really above water... I think people are left to rot in this country if you’re no ultra bright in school then you get left behind... I think there’s a lot of people wanting an opportunity and they’re no getting it” (unemployed male, 25-64). For such people New Labour’s rhetoric around providing opportunity for all seems fictional.

For those attempting to get into employment it was felt the job centre’s were neither knowledgeable nor helpful “they’re just going through the motions, I mean I could train a chimp to do that... A machine could make these people obsolete... a lot of them couldn’t give a shit to be honest” (unemployed male, 25-64). There was felt that the

job centre should possess knowledge to allow relevant referrals to be made to more suitable organisations “they should have like special circumstances, health problems, depression, we’ll refer him to so and so” (unemployed male, 25-64). It was felt that often it was more an issue with “confidence” and self esteem that held individuals back from entering employment but the standard medical tests did not cover this “can you stand up, sit down, can you walk from one room to the next... they don’t even look at you, looking at a screen ... I think the governments got it in its head that you’re coming off benefit, you can walk, sit down, you can do something at your work”. It was perceived that the job centre staff should provide support as well as advice in seeking employment “all some people need is just a wee push, someone to take a wee interest in what their problems are. A lot of peoples they’ve had a hard life and a lot of problems, a lot of people in there they just want you in and out. You get filed under fuckwit. You know what I mean that’s you”. It was felt by many respondents that a lack of qualifications meant that it was assumed that “you’re a scrounger and that’s your put into that category... for people that’s not got any qualifications it’s hard. Cause they’re only going to get shovelled into the same jobs. Unskilled, no qualifications? Factory for you, security for you... that will do you son pat on the head there you go... could they not say well would you not like to be a bit better than that would you no like to aspire to this or that?... if the government or the job centre just see you’re in a job that’s good enough for them. Do people just grin and bear it or what?” (unemployed male, 25-64). This experience is surely in direct opposition to New Labours claims of raising people’s aspirations?

It was viewed by a representative of the Social Economy Team at GCC as vital that if the move from benefits to employment was to be viewed as a positive life transition, an aspiration, then more than equivocal wage levels and the opportunity for career progression were essential as:

“there’s no point in getting someone who’s getting all their housing benefit and everything paid and they’re getting several hundred of pounds a week in terms of income from the state and you put them through this process you build them up and then they find themselves flipping burgers in

McDonalds or something like that and they're actually materially a lot worse off and it's a rubbish job that they're in who needs it? So its about not replacing benefits with lower wages... It's about instilling a sense of personal responsibility self determination in people so they're taking more control over there own lives and then they realise OK I've got a job in McDonalds but if I stick with Castlemilk Economic Development Agency or whatever in addition to that I can add more strings to my bow and I can start to move up the employment ladder" (Representative of Social Economy Team, GCC).

A key issue in Scottish Enterprise being viewed as aiming to help people from disadvantaged areas obtain entry level jobs which "people themselves don't see those as having a future" rather "they're interested in how can I get to the moon... these people have the same aspirations that you would have... they want to have really successful and fulfilling lives so they want to get into things that interest them greatly, not to get a routine job" (Senior Director Employability, Scottish Enterprise Glasgow).

Despite New Labour's emphasis on work as the surest route out of poverty and a focus on the provision of opportunity (as outlined in section 5.4), for the younger male groups in particular opportunities for employment or further education were felt to be poor. Getting a job in Govan was described as being "fucking savage" (P3, males 16-24 in training scheme), wages were described as being "shite" (P3, males 16-24 in training scheme). While in terms of training opportunities within Greater Govan a number of participants felt that in their training schemes they did "fuck all" (P2, males 16-24 in training scheme).

The availability of training, employment and education was felt to have a profound and lasting impact on an individuals life chances "it affects their whole life... it affects their future, it affects their life chances if they can get you know the right job or training or education to lead to the right job then that's going to have a big effect on their income level, mental health, their happiness really" (Representative from Careers Scotland dealing with Govan). With regards to Govan "the unemployment rate for the youngsters is very high. It's one of the worst in Glasgow... it's not just there's no jobs it's that they're not ready for the jobs they're not able to take advantage of anything even if there were because they're not ready for them they've not got the skills". It was also

the quality of those jobs available which was for many an issue as “at the end of the day probably no young person wants to work for peanuts and that’s what they want to hand the weans now. I know you’ve got to start off somewhere but they need to give them an incentive they need to give them something to say well there you go, you know to encourage but that’s not the case” (P1, females 25-64).

Temporary contract work was also identified as being undesirable “I cant stand agency work cause you don’t get paid the right money for it” (P4, males 16-24 youth club based). Uncertainty over location and length of employment in a temporary contract environment was also discussed “they could go, oh you’re working there for a day and then it changes. It could be in England. They shift you all over the place” (P5, males 16-24 youth club based), “you could work for the day then they say cheers we don’t need you anymore’ (P2, males 16-24 youth club based). Such a lack of stability was identified as a deterrent to making the move off state benefits “they can pay you off on the Friday that saves them paying holiday pay and that sort of thing and then they invite you back on the Monday. 13 weeks then they pay you off invite you back on the Monday” (P4, males 25-64), “all I know is if you come off benefits and you go into agency jobs you’re going to get basically nothing. You would get more on benefits than you would in agency work” (P5, males 16-24 youth club based).

Another problem with welfare to work in practice is with a number of private organisations such as Working Links and Manpower competing for profitable contracts to get people into employment such as there is now the fear that the “agenda to deliver value for money and be efficient” is at “a cost in the sustainability” so rather “looking at the sustainable agenda which is what career are you going to move into as opposed to just a job” it is a short term gain approach with not enough after care rather there should be “more of a focus on what is the right job and being more people centred” (Chief Executive of Govan Initiative). This “competitive environment” getting people into work includes not only the public and private sector but also the voluntary sector “and they’re all competing really for the same people so its about the people and resources everyone’s competing for and that tends to undermine the spirit of co-operation in many instances” also the profit orientated nature of the private sector means “they will go for the easiest

people to get into work so they get someone who's almost job ready anyway. That's their main target, flip them into work get the money and they're off now if that persons still in work after 13 weeks or 3 months or 6 months or whatever is really of no concern to them unless that's stipulated in their contract".

Issues around individuals lacking soft skills were consistently identified by many respondents as a barrier to particularly those in the younger contingent gaining training or employment. A representative of Skills and Learning at Scottish Enterprise National elucidated employers are "happy to train people in the relevant skills of their particular industry but they've got a problem of new recruits in that they don't have an appropriate level of soft skills around time keeping and attendance and working on their own and communicating with others all of those basic skills, particularly with school leavers they had an issue".

Provision of training in soft skills was viewed as essential to employers needs and expectations however it was viewed as difficult to get employers to spend time or money on soft skills (Head of Social and Economic Initiatives, GCC). Whilst it was acknowledged soft skills were important there appeared to be issues around who would be responsible for providing them "I think Scottish Enterprise has a role to play but I think there need to be other agencies which need to be involved in that as well... we see our intervention as being the vocational skills bit with maybe a bit of soft skills included where its needed but primarily about vocational skills" (Representative of Skills and Learning, Scottish Enterprise National). This question will be discussed in greater depth in section 6.2.1.

For those who gained employment a further issue which was identified as requiring attention was that of after care as "often when somebody whose not been in work for a while gets into a job the slightest wee thing can blow them off course so... helping the new employee settle into the job... is important" (Head of Inclusion, Scottish Enterprise National). The Chief Executive of Govan Initiative expressed concern that "there is some measure of aftercare but I don't think its anything like it could be and I think a lot of the DWP programmes are incredibly volume driven so its about lets get people into jobs at all costs and obviously if the fit between somebody's capabilities in

that job is not good often the sustainability of the employment is not good in terms of their career agenda". For a representative of the Social Economy Team, Govan Initiative the lack of focus on after care was due to there being "somebody on the ladder already". For a representative of the ETLLD, Scottish Executive getting an individual into a job should not be seen as "the end game" as "there are people in work who are still in poverty... tackling exclusion through employment and economic opportunities really is a bit of a pipeline I don't see the end pipeline as the first job... you need to develop people, you need to move them on".

A basic question concerns how much after care is desirable and the best means of providing it. With people remaining vulnerable to redundancy or "dropping out for a variety of apparently trivial reasons" during the initial period of entering employment a period of after care of thirteen weeks was not viewed as sufficient rather "a year might be realistic, now its not a year of intensive support necessarily but its very much sufficiently proactive that you're keeping in touch without singling out people and saying you still have a problem" (Representative of EAS). Provision of after care was viewed much more in the realm of the public sector as "an employer has got to run their business and you've got to let them run their business, they're not a part of the social care organisation" (Representative of ETLLD, Scottish Executive).

The levels of those on incapacity benefit in the city were also viewed as a major challenge for the welfare to work initiative. The Chief Executive of Govan Initiative estimated that out of the 119,000 economically inactive people residing in Glasgow the largest group are those on incapacity with numbers anywhere between 45,000 to 65,000 at a cost to the city close to £1 billion a year. Described as "the hidden unemployed or the workless" there were felt to be a number of structural constraints to such individuals entering employment as "they're in receipt of large benefits yet in terms of an economic group the opportunity for them to connect with the labour market seems restrained by what's called the benefits trap and the structural challenges are quite simple. If you do any more than 16 hours of training or working then you start to lose your benefits so there's a very simple cost and benefit analysis which is if I go back to work in a precarious working environment how better off will I be than being in receipt of

benefits?”. Representative 1 of The Preshal Trust elaborated “one parent mothers trying to bring kids up... don’t want to go into employment because if they went in to employment they would lose their housing benefit to work for maybe £15 extra a week so they say leaving your wean into nursery and going out for £15 there’s no incentive to do that they’re better off on the brew than working and I think that is a big factor”. There was a recognised need to “make sure that the benefits system isn’t disincentivising people” (Representative of ETLLD, Scottish Executive).

It was perceived as extremely “challenging to take somebody from incapacity onto employment” due to the “inflexibility of the benefits system” and the “raft of health indicators that go along with incapacity benefit”. The Chief Executive of Govan Initiative felt that the social economy (as discussed in section 5.5) could represent “an ideal environment as a phase to returning to work... maybe they’d like to operate in an environment that’s not as threatening as a full private company so could a social economy organisation represent the next step?”. Issues surrounding benefits would have to be cleared up however as “it could be a lot of people would like to work 2 or 3 days a week so how do you allow the benefits system to deal with that?”. For a representative of the FEAI there was a case to be made for “community benefit” whereby “instead of having people on benefits and doing nothing we have to get them plugged in... actually saying to them its part of their benefit” to do some voluntary work “so we’d like you to put in four hours a week doing something else something you want to do but its recognised, its allowed for and maybe there’s even some additional money onto the benefit... there are other ways we can make people feel better about themselves, feel they’re inputting to society and recognise that input” (Representative of FEAI).

For a representative of EAS it was also apparent that too little impetus was placed on the social benefits of undertaking employment with a rather greater focus on financial gain. For example for many people, entering employment was about “meeting new people, the social aspects of work it was about getting a structure in your life, it was about being a role model for your kids it was about having a sense being able to contribute and being valued in society and being valued for what you were capable of doing and these are all dead important” (Representative of EAS).

As the empirical evidence of the lived experience of disadvantage in Govan suggests New Labour, rather than focussing on structural inequalities, are attempting to patch up the damage caused by market forces. The so-called 'third way' is undermined through a failure to meaningfully marry together an 'open' and 'competitive' economy with a "just, decent and humane society" (Blair, 1997). If the 'third way' is meant to "ensure all individuals face opportunities, especially employment opportunities" and "to ensure that all individuals have adequate access to the resources needed to realise those opportunities" (Prabhakar, 2002, 51) then it is not operating as New Labour intended. Rather individuals, where opportunities are available, are held back through financial concerns over loss of benefits, lack of soft skills and lack of fluid support from those in organisations positioned to do so. These deficiencies within the welfare to work approach are acknowledged in New Labour's support for the concept of social capital.

5.6 Social capital

With social capital being viewed by New Labour as the "magic ingredient that makes all the difference" (Blair, 1999) as outlined in chapter 3 (section 3.6), this section serves to evaluate whether the rhetoric of New Labour, with regard to social capital, and the reality in fact correspond.

Within Govan itself, for a representative of Govan Youth Club, social capital was felt to be not "totally gone or people like ourselves and other clubs in the area wouldn't be doing what we're doing" although it was being "worn away" and had over time "diminished". This was reflected in people "getting more and more isolated you know they're not interested in what other people are doing so therefore that has a knock on effect in the community that worrying about myself but I think that's a society thing in general people are more interested in number one" (Representative of Govan Youth Club). For the residents of Govan, across all ages and gender groups there was the suggestion that Govan was an area where "people keep themselves to themselves... In general people do come home and lock themselves in" (P2, females 25-64). One participant commented on "a lack of humanity in the place. See in my street I've stayed

there all my life and I barely know anybody that stays there” (P1, females 16-24 in training scheme). This appeared to be a common experience “you’re lucky if you know somebody two doors along from you” (P1, females 25-64) and it was generally believed “that’s the type of society we’re living in now” (P4.4, females 25-64). A number of participants identified that they felt a lack of personal safety and security of possessions in not knowing who lived around them as “we’ve got awful neighbours... my kids aren’t allowed in the landing to play they get to go as far as my front door and that’s it and if they start walking up to other peoples doors you don’t know who’s going to appear” (P1, parents), In general however the area was perceived to be “friendly enough”, “there isn’t really a problem see when you go into shops and stuff when you pass people and they’ll talk to you... I mean people always give you directions I mean the people might look rough but you know...”(P1, parents), “you still get a lot of people saying oh hello how you doing? Nice to see you and all that” (P2, elderly females).

Many felt that Govan in the past had possessed a sense of community which had been eroded through population movement and social change “when I grew up I knew everybody in the full scheme do you know what I mean? Whereas now there’s that many people come and go from the area’ (P1, females 25-64), “the thing we had in Govan was a community that all knew one another... the whole close were a family community... It was all a community but what the hooligans up at George Square done they pulled down all the buildings and the community was scattered then they brought in strange folk and they totally ruined it” (P1, elderly males). It was felt that the very practice of implementing physical ‘improvements’ to the area had in fact been detrimental to the creation and maintenance of social capital.

Social capital it was felt extended into all areas of people’s lives with low levels impacting on areas such as employment opportunities. A representative of the Citizen’s Panel, GCC explained “for example if you become unemployed how strong are the networks around you to allow you to get back into employment, are the people round about you employed do they have connections? What strengths does the community have... are they passive recipients or are they empowered in some respect?”. If the social capital agenda was to be effectual in building the capacity of a community then attention

should not just be focussed on measuring things like participation in voluntary groups but rather looking at the levels of those excluded who do not have any integration into wider society. Those individuals involved in voluntary groups or linked in to social works activities were in fact not those most in need of assistance in disadvantaged communities but rather it is those in “the really difficult groups to reach...because they are not in groups” (Arts Development Officer for Social Inclusion, GCC) who need the most attention. If those most excluded are not included in the debate around social capital in communities and its associated value then New Labour’s aims of generating and maintaining social capital in deprived communities will be undermined.

For New Labour the possession of social capital helps communities to help themselves (section 3.6) providing funding to voluntary groups so that residents can “take independent action to improve things” (SEU, 2000). This is however not borne out in reality as whilst in theory social capital in New Labour’s eyes is equated with empowerment, for a representative of the Glasgow City Council’s Citizen Panel individuals in deprived communities attempting to improve their area feel they are “bumping your head up against the brick wall” ultimately “people try for a while but if they’re not supported they’re not assisted in trying to better themselves and their community then they’ll give up and worse than give up they become disenfranchised and alienated” (representative of the Citizen’s Panel, GCC). Others within Govan were in agreement feeling there were a number of barriers to overcome in attempting to promote community activity including lack of funding, excessive bureaucracy and pressure to become financially sustainable.

One major issue is related to funding “I mean we could run a lot of good clubs down here ... you know we did like majorettes or what have you, the nights we’re quiet... but we’re not getting any encouragement off the council and its costing us for likes the heating, lighting we’re still in debt but its costing us electricity putting staff on at the door and what have you and we’re not getting a help” (P2, males 25-64). Further issues were felt to be around the bureaucracy of form filling to obtain funding. Funding application forms were felt to be overly complex and confusing “you can even be pretty literate, pretty bright, we still look at these forms and go I’ve not got a clue”

(Representative of Govan Youth Club). The Director of the GalGael described how in regard to form filling “my time’s just engrossed in that... we’re just flat out with that all the time”. Identifying sources of funding was felt to divert attention away from the main purpose of the groups “because you’re spending half your time scrimping about for the money you can find rather than actually focussing on what your main task is” (Co-ordinator, The LUV Project). It was acknowledged by the Planning Manager at Communities Scotland that in applying for funding there is “a lot of administration” and “that there doesn’t seem to be any kind of equation between the amount of money you get and the number of forms you have to fill in... I think community groups are absolutely right to say it, I think it is overly administrative”. A tendency was also acknowledged to impose “too much bureaucracy on groups at very early stages in their development... they need to just do things and be helped to do it rather than getting into all this form filling and all the rest of it and I think there is a danger that we’ve over bureaucratized a lot of things so for people who just want to do things in their own community and just need a bit of help to do it why should they go through all those hoops?”(Knowledge and Practice Manager, Scottish Centre for Regeneration).

There was also felt to be an unrealistic pressure on groups to become financially sustainable “you always get that you must become financially self supporting. No way is that going to happen, we’re working here with the casualty cases of society” (Director of the GalGael). The co-ordinator of the LUV project also questioned the feasibility of becoming financially sustainable “it has to be sustainable but how do I make it sustainable? Do I have to start charging?... I think it is bringing the commercial business mind into projects to find ways of doing it and that’s what I think is hard to do with all projects... you’re trying constantly to make things sustainable and sometimes unless you go completely commercial it’s not going to be sustainable so it’s difficult”. Financial sustainability in community groups was viewed as “just a nonsense unless you’re going to turn yourself into a business and that is also a nonsense... saying people like me should be managing people and working them in such a way that it is sufficiently profitable to replace what we get from the SIP board and all the rest of it that’s not going to happen and why should people like me and them have to deal with societies problems

by business endeavour? I mean it's a common problem that we have to collectively own so the money that comes from taxation should be what funds it" (Director of the GalGael). According to the Partnership Manager, Greater Govan SIP the idea of moving projects onto sustainable models is "in reality despite all the talk about the sustainability of project work... is but a theory" as "in reality most projects are always going to rely on public funding in one form or another".

For a representative of the Regeneration Unit, Scottish Executive there was felt to be an incongruence between the value placed on the voluntary and social economy sectors and the amount of funding provided "whether we fund it as much as we say it, voluntary organisations and social economy organisations are much closer to the ground and people feel more comfortable with them particularly those who are disenfranchised from authority or institutions if they can help it they don't want to go near the council or job centre or whatever and sometimes that's followed through with funding and sometimes it isn't". According to a representative of Govan Youth Club often efforts made by voluntary groups are not greatly appreciated "I feel the small local groups do it basically for nothing you know they do all this work for sometimes a well done". The position of the voluntary sector was identified as being as precarious as within a "house of cards... without having solid foundations it collapses" (Representative of Govan Youth Club). Voluntary groups such as the GalGael were felt to provide a service which no Executive ran agency ever could due to a complete understanding of local contextual issues and a sensitivity to these. The Preshal Trust were described as "scooping up the people that would never even enter any of the other projects in existence... the people that the Preshal trust work with are the most disadvantaged groups of people like really on the borderline of life and trying to survive" (co-ordinator, The LUV Project). There was felt to be particular tension around council allocation of funds and the relationship between certain voluntary groups and the council. A number of groups described how they believed they were providing services on the 'cheap' which would otherwise need to be provided at a greater cost by the council and as such deserved more recognition and respect from those in the council but also the Scottish Executive and its associated bodies. Clearly a number of voluntary groups feel neither supported or valued by the state

and those charged with funding them. This runs in direct contradiction to New Labour's postulations around how much value they place on volunteering to increase levels of social capital in an area.

The social economy and the contribution it can make to the social capital agenda is another sector which New Labour proclaim to have high hopes for. However according to the Chief Executive of Govan Initiative "one of the most neglected areas both at a local level and a national level is the social economy". The social economy was felt to offer a "real opportunity" as "there's a whole raft of services that knot together communities that aren't serviced either by the private sector or the public sector and that's what social economy organisations often do and I see them as being the glue in a lot of local economies and I think they're vastly underrated and neglected" (Chief Executive of Govan Initiative). According to the Community Regeneration Manager, Communities Scotland social economy organisations "could make a major contribution to the Executive's priorities in terms of getting people back into work, financial inclusion, health issues" and if such organisations are supported "to develop and expand... they could also generate income and become more sustainable, then they also create employment which for more vulnerable people is a huge opportunity". As with the voluntary sector there is the desire that the social economy will become more self sustaining through moving towards a more "business like" approach (Community Regeneration Manager, Communities Scotland). However, for the co-ordinator of the LUV project there seemed to be a degree of incongruence in attempting to make social economy organisations more businesslike as "when you're talking about social enterprise it's just so different from commercial but they're trying to make social enterprises think more like commercial ones and saying it's OK to make money but a lot of the objectives that we're doing are with people and with things that aren't going to make you profit and if you turn it into things that are going to make you profit then they can become completely different things altogether". Tensions clearly exist between New Labour's rhetoric around valuing the social economy and the contribution it can make to the promotion of social capital and the economic realities of attempting to move the sector away from being funding dependent to self reliant. This approach however poses clear

challenges for the sector and the groups it attempts to work with, namely those who are at a distance from being labour market ready and some of the more vulnerable members of society. An emphasis on financial stability and mainstream service delivery may act to jeopardise the very characteristics which make the sector so unique and valuable.

The role arts and culture can play in promoting a growth in social capital in disadvantaged areas has also been recognised by New Labour (chapter 3, section 3.6 and 3.11.2). The benefits arts and culture can bring were to be witnessed in “community well being, community development and community regeneration and these can be economic benefits, learning skills that can be used in employment... all of which are important in individual and community regeneration” (Cultural Policy Division, Scottish Executive). New Labour’s desire to use the arts as a means of providing individuals with transferable skills for the purposes of employment and building social capital clearly influences the role which a number of those working in tackling disadvantage see the arts and culture performing in deprived communities. The Arts Development Officer for Social Inclusion, Glasgow City Council recognised the danger of only viewing the arts as a stepping stone into employment or as a means to a particular pre defined government end rather what was important was achieving a “balance between offering a really good experience with the outcomes that are required by the regeneration sector... it’s a dangerous thing to see arts solely as a tool for regeneration I think there’s danger there where you’re missing a fundamental part of what arts can offer”. For the Knowledge and Practice Manager at the Scottish Centre for Regeneration it’s a case of acknowledging that “arts for arts sake, the intrinsic value of it is valuable” but also that “it has an instrumental role because it helps... create jobs, it can involve people, it can get them thinking about how they want to see their community change and it’s a way of them taking control”.

The New Labour espoused appreciation of the role arts and culture can play in promoting social capital is undermined and contradicted when looked at in conjunction with the New Labour philosophy of ‘what matters is what works’. The controlling, over bearing means by which evidence must be provided of a particular group or strategy’s success means that it is not genuine progress in individual circumstance that is rewarded but rather evidence, however spurious, that progress towards some abstract target has

been met. It was perceived that to a great extent many “key people... don’t really get what we do” (Representative of Roots in the Community). The difficulties experienced in providing evidence based outcomes and measures of progress were felt to result in projects utilising the arts and culture to regenerate disadvantaged areas receiving “less funding and recognition than a project providing more tangible economic gains” (Knowledge and Practice Manager, Scottish Centre for Regeneration). The Deputy Chief Executive, Scottish Arts Council acknowledged the government were beginning to recognise the role culture can play in building “our national self confidence” however “it’s not enough just to say the words you have to follow that through”.

New Labours adherence to evidence based working has led to problems particularly for the third sector in demonstrating evidence of tangible improvements. This is due to a number of factors being measured, such as confidence and self esteem, being challenging to quantify. Despite lack of “hard stats” the Knowledge and Practice Manager at the Scottish Centre for Regeneration uses the example of the LUV project to demonstrate this issue stating “it creates a different sense of community and a sense of well being and a feeling of this is good how do you measure that? Cause it’s in peoples heads and it’s in their hearts and their minds and a lot of people would accept things like the LUV café are really, really good even though they might not be able to point to some hard stuff... probably the only way you could begin to measure them is just by asking people asking how people feel before and after”.

Providing evidence of meeting pre determined targets and objectives is a problem consistently identified by the voluntary sector particularly in relation to securing funding. There was felt to be an element of “institutional bureaucracy” with the whole process of application being “mechanistic” and not able to take account of the real world “you can’t explain to the European Social Fund that so and so wasn’t able to complete because the bottom fell out of their world in half a dozen different ways at once and its not our fault we invested in half their training and then they dropped out so you won’t see their outcome... but it doesn’t mean that person hasn’t benefited from the project but it gives us a huge accounting headache” (Director of GalGael). According to a representative of the Cultural Policy Division, Scottish Executive whilst there was a need to evaluate the

various interventions and projects that exist it was not viewed as best to have “a lot of people ticking a load of check boxes and say I did this and I did that” rather to ascertain “what was the actual benefit? What were the impacts for the people involved for the area? There can be a bit of a reluctance I think amongst project workers to sit back and evaluate what they’ve done but you know frankly if that doesn’t happen the next project isn’t going to be any better... So evaluation it may be an unpopular word but what it means is understanding what you’ve achieved and if it could have worked better how and then you take that forward the next time you do it”. The difficulties in measurement of progression towards improving both practical and social skills was felt to be a key issue. Much of the evidence of increased confidence was described as “anecdotal” (representative of the Cultural Policy Division, Scottish Executive). Funding bodies were felt to be looking for “harder things” however it was deemed to be possible to “look for the mixture of hard evidence... backed up with some of the softer stuff as well” (representative of the Cultural Policy Division, Scottish Executive).

For a representative of the GalGael the measurement of non tangible elements of regeneration would always be problematic as “the mainstream mindset by which I mean political and developers where the money and power is... is not good at seeing life outside of an economic framework so regeneration is understood very much in terms of thinking economic regeneration”. According to the Senior Director of Employability, Scottish Enterprise Glasgow a preoccupation with qualifications is an issue in hindering the recognition of benefits which a number of programmes provide “if you see a group of people at the beginning and a group of people at the end you can see the difference the problem is we’re obsessed with qualifications... and qualifications can only measure types of skills and knowledge and so we’re trapped into that... we need to find a different way to evidence achievement and progress and I don’t think anyone’s came up with... it’s that kind of idea for people to say well here's where I've come from, here's where I am now and here’s what I’m capable of.... and I think when you’re dealing with people from particularly disadvantaged areas who feel themselves they’ve failed education to put them into a teaching model and a qualifications model is counter productive”. A focus on targets by agencies was also condemned as “every time somebody sets a target they meet

it. It's the meaningfulness of the target. You can corrupt a lot of activities through targets as you can focus on the measures rather than what matters".

Despite these considerations evidence based policy making remains a focus of New Labour, with measurement and indicators being a necessity for determining levels of success and worth. This focus on the requirement for an evidential base on which to measure success and progress falters when dealing with the multiplicity of factors which those in disadvantageous positions experience and have to overcome.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has served to deconstruct a number of key issues with regard to the conceptualisation of disadvantage and the problems inherent in New Labour's attempts to tackle disadvantage.

The research has demonstrated the value of inclusion of the voices of those who are experiencing disadvantage. It is clear that whilst there is recognition and acknowledgement that factors such as confidence and self esteem can play a part in dictating quality of life for an individual the difficulty in measuring such elements precludes them from official measures. It is essential however that if attempts at definition and measurement of disadvantage are to be really meaningful then there must be more of an onus on including such factors and on appreciating the richness of the insight that those experiencing disadvantage can contribute to definition and debate.

From the perspective of New Labour rhetoric, the findings of this research have served to highlight the incongruence between some of their theoretical strategy and practical outcomes. As can be viewed in section 5.3, the very components of social exclusion which New Labour identified and committed to tackle, are still impacting adversely on a number of residents within Govan. Problems with the physical environment such as vandalism and litter, the condition of housing as well as the number of vacant and derelict properties, the prevalence of drug use and violence in the area and feelings of safety, with regard to both person and property all played a part in reducing quality of life for those inhabiting the area. Gang violence and territorialism were also

felt to be a major problem for the area. The continued existence of such problems ultimately acts to undermine the creation and maintenance of social capital in direct contradiction to New Labour strategy.

A further contradiction in New Labour's proclaimed commitment to social capital lies in the lack of support provided to those attempting to improve their communities independently. Those working in the third sector have consistently identified the difficulties imposed from above relating to funding and support in attempting to improve the communities in which they operate. A focus on increasing their financial sustainability has also been met with resistance by those working in the sector due to it undermining what they feel their unique contribution to the anti-poverty agenda to be.

New Labour's desire to provide 'opportunity for all' has also ultimately stumbled. Where opportunities are identified constraints still exist around individuals lacking the skills to take them up. These include those of a soft nature and also poor provision of after care support that undermines the sustainability of assisting into employment people who may be vulnerable to set backs and subsequently will drop out of employment. The quality of opportunities on offer can also act as a deterrent in their uptake as can the levels of wages being provided which in contradiction to New Labour rhetoric do not 'make work pay'. The inflexibility of the benefits system also acts to disincentivise those who may wish to take on some form of paid employment but are not yet ready to make the leap fully from being in receipt of benefits.

Through the research it became apparent on the ground that partnership and community involvement were important themes and as we saw in chapter 3 these are key components of New Labour's approach to tackling disadvantage. Having examined the other components of New Labour policy regarding social exclusion, social capital and welfare to work in this chapter, Chapter 6 complements this by focussing on two further key concepts of New Labour policy – partnership and community involvement.

CHAPTER 6: FROM RHETORIC TO REALITY: PARTNERSHIP AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN PRACTICE

6.1 Introduction

New Labour have utilised a number of rhetorical devices to frame their approach towards tackling urban disadvantage. Chief amongst these were social exclusion, provision of opportunity, welfare to work, social capital, partnership and community involvement. The first four of these concepts were examined in the preceding chapter. This chapter complements chapter 5 by interrogating the remaining key New Labour concepts of partnership and community involvement.

This chapter acts to complement chapter 5 through examining the key New Labour concepts of partnership and community involvement. Using empirical evidence the discussion seeks to evaluate the reality behind the rhetoric. This chapter is divided into two main sections. The first examines partnership working in practice and identifies the issues which have arisen for those working in such structures. A particular focus is on the problems which Scottish Enterprise and Communities Scotland have faced in attempting to work in collaboration. The move towards Community Planning Partnerships will also be discussed, as will the experience of the voluntary sector in partnerships. The second section examines the involvement of communities in local decision-making and how far the reality has matched the rhetoric for the communities themselves as well as those agencies and actors working to engage with communities. The discussion will also focus on the problems associated with over consultation and lack of feedback to those who have taken part in engagement exercises.

6.2 Partnerships in Practice

Blair's (1997a) assertion that 'joined-up problems demand joined-up solutions' has led to a focus on partnership working as both a necessity and requirement. From a theoretical perspective this is widely supported across the spectrum of those agencies and actors attempting to tackle disadvantage. Partnership was described by one agency manager as being the cornerstone of "successful regeneration" (Knowledge and Practice Manager at the Scottish Centre for Regeneration). For others the complexity of issues dealt with in

the regeneration process means partnerships are “really valuable... you’re dealing in a really complex area where you need multiple interventions, you need something that is sustained over time... you don’t have one organisation that’s got the monopoly on good ideas and you don’t have one organisation that can see people all the way through so I think partnership is absolutely fundamental” (Representative of ETLDD, Scottish Executive). For a representative of the Social Inclusion Division, Scottish Executive it was felt “everything’s got to be done from a partnership approach... you have to have a joined up approach if you’re going to solve problems because they’re all interlinked and interdependent”.

In reality, successful partnership working was felt to be dependent on a number of elements coming together. Effective partnership working according to the Head of the Community Regeneration Unit, Communities Scotland was dependent on the establishment early on of “leadership” (as Carter, 2000, 51 identified in chapter 3, section 3.7) as “it’s fundamental to the success of the partnership that there is real leadership from those people and organisations who are at the top of the strategic board or whatever the structure will be”. It must however be borne in mind that just because a Chief Executive or Senior Director signs up to a partnership on behalf of their organisation this doesn’t automatically “deliver the involvement of the whole organisation. Organisations are lousy at communicating internally both up and down so you constantly find that whilst the Chief Executive or an organisation corporately is part of a partnership and seriously committed to it, that is not changing activity on the ground and there is no awareness and no encouragement of people on the ground to actually think what does that mean about how I go about my job” (Representative of EAS).

A further aspect of partnership working, which was identified as being essential, was the presence of “a level of very open and critical debate” (Head of the Community Regeneration Unit, Communities Scotland). This was felt to be the case as:

“It can be easy for people to say well I’m quite happy for you to do this because I don’t want to upset you but if partnerships are going to be successful it requires partners to be engaged at a level of critical debate and that might mean at times partners are saying well I don’t particularly

agree with what's happening here... and the response from other partners... If you tell me I'm not doing something, well I'm going to be a bit pissed off and going to get the huff and be upset so people need to be able to engage on a level of critical debate because at the end of the day the idea of partnership is about delivering what you do better, but also delivering collectively it's the whole is better than the sum of the parts idea" (Head of the Community Regeneration Unit, Communities Scotland).

The importance of "honesty" and there being no "hidden agendas" (Representative of Community Potential Implementation Group) was consistently identified as having a big impact on whether partnership working was successful or not. Where such honesty was felt to be lacking there was deep resentment expressed.

A further element which contributed to whether partnership working was valuable or not was felt to be down to personalities and "whether they're motivated to make it work or whether you've got someone who wants to emphasise their role - ego trip" (Representative of McNally Associates). Working in partnership brought out a lot of the tensions which existed between agencies and individuals. Such tensions were particularly apparent between Govan Initiative and Govan Community Council. This was ascribed to being based on "the personalities involved and how they want their tuppence worth emphasised more than the other guys tuppence worth" (Representative of McNally Associates). The politics of the area was also perceived to hinder partnership working as three local councillors were consistently described as being territorial and not "liking each other" with "two of them ganging up on the one in the middle" (Representative of McNally Associates). Govan as an area was also referred to as suffering from a mindset which:

"always argues over the 5% out of 100% they don't agree on rather than getting on with the 95% and while they're arguing somebody goes away and nicks that 95% and nothing happens and that's wrong with Govan the mindset of people. To argue over things rather than getting on with the things they all agree on and maybe that 5% will sort itself out through having wee meetings here and there with the relevant partners about stuff we didn't agree on... and I don't mean

partner in the New Labour term I mean in the community everybody getting on board so that's my philosophy on how to get things done" (Councillor for Drumoyne).

"Financial incentive" was also felt to be an influential factor in whether partnerships are effectual (Representative of Regeneration Unit, Scottish Executive). A desire to make partnerships work "despite performance indicators, conflicting objectives, differing roles and remits" was also felt to be a major factor (Representative of Regeneration Unit, Scottish Executive). A frequently mentioned concern with regards to partnership working was around translating discussion into affirmative action. This was where a lot of conflicts could arise. It was viewed by a number of respondents as vital in forming a partnership "to plan something" and to "deliver things as sometimes people can be very good at developing a shared action plan but might not necessarily deliver it" (Representative of Clyde Regeneration Team, Scottish Enterprise Glasgow). For partnerships to function effectively it was viewed as fundamental that responsibility for practical action was delegated early on as "you need to get down to the nitty gritty pretty quickly - who is actually going to write that report?". There was felt to be an issue around "what happens is people get together, oh that's a great idea, fantastic brilliant, see if we just did that, that would be great right OK I'll meet with you again next month right eh were you not doing that? I thought you were doing that? I think it's a great idea but I really don't want to do any extra work is basically what happens in partnerships... many partnerships... fall down on that simple fact" (Executive Director of local housing association). Having too many partners involved in a partnership was also identified as being a major issue as "once you've got too many partners then it becomes diluted" (Youth Executive Officer, Govan Initiative).

Despite New Labour's fondness for partnership working there was a sense that in reality partnership was "very much a buzzword" (Representative of Social Inclusion Division, Scottish Executive) and had become "a bit of a cliché" (Representative of Skills and Learning, Scottish Enterprise National). According to a representative of the Regeneration Unit, Scottish Executive however often the benefits of partnership have been "over egged". The spirit of partnership was also felt to be undermined through

feelings of obligation to be involved rather than a genuine wish to participate. It was described as quite often the case that “agencies turn up at partnership boards... as do community groups and voluntary groups... because they need to be seen to be doing it and the way their chain of command works is oh God I've got to go to the partnership board... and it's noticed if you don't turn up. So people definitely think they should go along though it doesn't necessarily result in any change”.

The number of partnerships in existence was acknowledged to be an issue. As Balloch and Taylor (2001) identified in chapter 3 (section 3.7) the proliferation of partnerships in existence has pushed agencies and the voluntary sector to their limits. In this context partnership working was described as “a pain in the neck... and just a waste of time” (Director of Galgael) as well as being “extremely difficult and time consuming” (Head of Social and Economic Initiatives, GCC). There was also an issue around partners taking and not giving back to the process as according to the Head of Inclusion, Scottish Enterprise National sometimes the organisation could be guilty of entering partnerships without considering the help that Scottish Enterprise can give to other bodies within the partnership “we can be quite arrogant sometimes as an organisation and sometimes we don't know how to operate in partnership. Partnerships actually about giving to get, it's a two way street”.

The necessity to work in partnership as promoted by New Labour has led to the formation of partnerships based not on genuine willingness to work together towards a common goal but rather a need to present a front of partnership working to meet the requirements of funders and government. The controlling nature of New Labour was felt also to constrict what people participating in partnerships viewed as possible in creating solutions to the resolution of a problem. Formulated solutions were viewed as having to “fit within the parameters of wider government economic and social policy... the people that make these policies have to accept the wider economic policies that are laid down for them by the politicians higher up” which was felt to restrict the ability of agencies to place solutions within a local context (Representative of Govan Community Council). It was expressed by a number of respondents that partnership should be more community led. It was felt that partnership with the community was “done the wrong way round...”

the powers that be make all the decisions, decide they're going to make a partnership oh and the community really needs to be at the heart of that and then they go and impose that on the community... these partnerships never work, these things need to grow organically out of the community" (Representative of Community Potential Implementation Group). The Deputy Chief Executive of the Scottish Arts Council also feels the community has an important part to play in partnerships describing how:

"the interesting dynamic or component of a partnership is the beneficiaries, where do they show up? If you're doing work in Govan... or somewhere like that and it's the national body here being told to be inclusive, you know the local authority being told to be inclusive, what about the poor buggers that were supposed to be inclusive with, what's their say, and how is that genuine and authentic, and it's this thing about big partner wee partner so for us it might be good, we're in partnership with the community... but actually partnership implies a parity and equality of influence that isn't always the case and I think to engage that way it is hard because it's about seriously taking on the possibility that your views might be challenged, that what they want might not be what you expected them to want".

As examined in chapter 3, section 3.7, despite New Labour rhetoric regarding the value placed on communities and the voluntary sector in partnerships, lack of parity and influence can often be the reality for those involved.

This was not the case for the private sector, whose involvement in partnerships was not only valued by the public sector but was viewed as highly desirable. For the Neighbourhood Intelligence Manager at Communities Scotland in absence of private sector involvement would undermine "the sustainability of some things, because you can put in public funding up to a certain level but to make it sustainable you need to embed the private sector component much more". According to the Chief Executive of Scottish Enterprise "trickle down is real" and therefore the answer to Glasgow's deprivation problems were deemed to lie in more partnership with the private sector to ensure more "private sector growth". Such a view, was dismissed by the Head of Inclusion, Scottish Enterprise National however who argued that:

“The trickle down effect doesn’t work, never will work, never has worked... you can have growth in GDP without touching the lives of ordinary people or certainly disadvantaged people... We make an assumption that by growing the economy it will benefit everybody... that’s old Tory philosophy and if you read Smart Successful Scotland carefully there is a requirement in there for redistribution of economic benefit it says and I quote just about that the network of Scottish Enterprise will take account of the Executive’s Closing the opportunity Gap targets and objectives in the design and development of its programmes and the problem is at the minute the regime in here seems to have forgotten that”.

A fundamental criticism of Scottish Enterprises approaches towards working in partnership concerned the agencies attempts to prescribe their role in the process as being more economically focussed than bodies such as Communities Scotland deem it should be. This conflict of policy perspectives between Scottish Enterprise and Communities Scotland and the need to reframe agency responsibilities was a recurrent theme which is discussed in the next section.

6.2.1 Partnership working: Negotiating the roles and responsibilities of Communities Scotland and Scottish Enterprise

One relationship of particular interest to this research is the partnership between Communities Scotland and Scottish Enterprise. A recurring issue was that of the tension which existed between Communities Scotland and Scottish Enterprise with regards to each organisations role and purpose and delineation of responsibility within the partnership.

For the Chief Executive of Scottish Enterprise the main purpose of the agency is to “try and stimulate better and faster levels of growth in the Scottish economy, we do that by working with businesses that can make a disproportionate impact on the Scottish economy”. This focus on large-scale business was felt by Communities Scotland to represent misplaced priorities on the part of Scottish Enterprise due to Glasgow having “its own unique situation where you’ve got almost 100,000 economically inactive people in the city and... for the enterprise company to ignore that and say that’s not our bag you

know we'll just deal with the private sector, but we've got to support people back into employment" (Community Regeneration Manager, Communities Scotland).

According to a Representative of the Regeneration Unit at the Scottish Executive confusion between Communities Scotland's role and that of Scottish Enterprise was felt to stem from the fact that:

"Sometimes if you're dealing with an individual person you may be doing social stuff with them and then you get to the point when you're getting them into work potentially, so there's a blur individually and there's a blur organisationally... there needs to be a wee bit more around getting them to sit down at a local level to agree the turf kind of thing to make sure they're not duplicating each other but also to make sure people and areas aren't falling down gaps in the middle, it is a problem".

According to a representative of ETLLD at the Scottish Executive the lack of clarity over agency responsibilities was evident in the tendency to view "regeneration in silos". There is a need to:

"move away from thinking about community regeneration and economic regeneration. We need to think about regeneration and then looking at an area... and you say OK what's the issue here? Does it need a physical intervention? Does it need a community intervention? Does it need an economic intervention and you'll find it will vary from area to area... It's not just better partnership, it's actually a mindset, it's a change, it's a whole different philosophy to regeneration" (representative of ETLLD, Scottish Executive).

According to the Senior Director, Employability, Scottish Enterprise Glasgow however whilst there should be a recognition of the role Scottish Enterprise can make to the social regeneration agenda, this role must be limited as "social regeneration's not our responsibility, economic regeneration is... we work in partnership with others and the lines get very blurred sometimes... but our thing is to help people find work... Social regeneration is really the job of Communities Scotland". Significantly however the Chief Executive of Scottish Enterprise has a limited view of what type of people the

organisation should be helping into work being "unconvinced that we have a terribly valuable role to play for those who are very far from the workplace. Our best outcomes and our best results come when we work to get people into jobs which we know exist and also in upskilling existing workforces". Scottish Enterprise it was felt doesn't have "the resources to tackle social difficulties, we don't have the responsibility we don't have the expertise" rather there is a reliance on other social based organisations to be "good at what they do. We need the social provision to be good at delivering and making sure there's a constant supply of people otherwise the economies going to grind to a halt as its going to run out of people" (Chief Executive of Scottish Enterprise).

Scottish Enterprise's approach of focussing mainly on economic growth has been met with disdain, not only by those working in Communities Scotland, but also by some of those working within Scottish Enterprise itself. According to the Senior Director, Employability, Scottish Enterprise Glasgow:

"I find it very difficult to separate the social and the economic out, sometimes they're two sides of the same coin. The other thing is why are we bringing in people from overseas when we've got our own indigenous population that could be trained and could help the economy... if you've got this population it does seem a waste of human beings. I wouldn't feel any differently if I was sitting in Scottish Enterprise National up the road it's something about your own personal values about what you believe we should be doing and I guess the question is what is economic development?... What's the point in economic development if you can't help 100,000, 20% of your population, what's the point?".

There was a degree of animosity between those working in Scottish Enterprise Glasgow and those in Scottish Enterprise National as to what Scottish Enterprise's role and function should be in regard to working with those not classed as 'job ready'. It was perceived by many Scottish Enterprise Glasgow staff that they had a better realisation than their national counterparts on the inextricable links between economic and social regeneration. The Community Regeneration Manager at Communities Scotland described this as a "bit of disagreement" between "the views of Scottish Enterprise Glasgow and those of Jack Perry who heads up Scottish Enterprise National".

Scottish Enterprise's move towards the "high end of business" has also been criticised by the Chief Executive of Govan Initiative who interprets:

"Jack Perry's policy at the minute as one of abandonment" as "they want to focus exclusively on six industry sectors focus on types of companies that would be like Scottish Power of that ilk and that they want to target the resources in that space. 98% of businesses employ 25 people or less I think they're running away from what is Scotland's business base... what you've got is a very insular debate that's come out of Scottish Enterprise which clearly doesn't seem to have carried any consultation with the Scottish Executive... there's certainly been no consultation back the way to organisations like ourselves. I understand that for Jack Perry there's the view that there's no place for regeneration there's no place for economic and social cohesion and the whole social agenda... they don't feel they have a role to play so I think there's a real danger going forward... what we are going to do is create silos and they're going to be elitist silos so I think there's a real danger in that. I don't think you can separate the social and the economic".

Criticism of Scottish Enterprise's focus on the 'more employable' was echoed by the Chief Executive of Govan Initiative who pointed out that people were Scotland's biggest asset in "human capital terms". However "in Glasgow between 25 and 30% go into a NEET, (Not into Employment, Education or Training) target. Now if that was a factory making vases and you were to say 25-30% of its output was faulty people would say we need to do something serious about that... how can you disconnect people and the labour market from the economic agenda and that seems to be what Scottish Enterprise are about".

The LOAN approach as discussed in chapter 5, which is in theory backed by Scottish Enterprise, is undermined by their strategies with regards to their failure to link economic growth with those in disadvantaged areas. Thus for a representative of the ETLDD, Scottish Executive the argument that "Scottish Enterprise's only customer group is business" is flawed - "if you take regeneration... I would expect them to take a position, look if we do the waterfront we can do that in a way that creates economic opportunities for people in disadvantaged communities... I don't think you should be looking at it from a pure growth perspective... when you're actually making your growth

decisions you've got to do it in places and in ways that contribute". Scottish Enterprise's focus on what they could contribute to disadvantaged communities through economic growth was where the link between opportunity and need was felt by many other agency respondents to be broken. Taking an approach which resonates with New Labour's philosophy of work being the answer to poverty, the Chief Executive of Scottish Enterprise believes "the quickest way out of poverty is economic growth which creates jobs, employment and higher incomes" rather than "more public spending... the surest way out of poverty and deprivation is to provide new investment, new jobs that has to be the solution".

Scottish Enterprise's business focussed approach towards employment creation, with a lack of focus on provision of skills for those most in need, was identified by a number of respondents as not fulfilling their social obligations as laid out in SSS (as discussed in chapter 3 section 3.11.2) -

"Smart Successful Scotland... clearly states that there's a role for Scottish Enterprise in terms of regeneration now there might be different opinions within Scottish Enterprise and it's well documented that the Chief Executive Jack Perry has said particularly where he thinks the emphasis should be and it should be on business and it should be on growing the economy... I don't think anybody in Communities Scotland would for a minute suggest that Scottish Enterprise's role was not to lead on economic development, it clearly is about growing the economy... but it would be wrong to suggest that you can detach that from those communities which are if you like most disadvantaged because it is about getting people the skills if we accept the best way to move people out of poverty and the best way to decrease disadvantage to regenerate communities is to get people into work then it clearly has a relationship between Scottish Enterprise's role about building the economy, jobs and the people who are going to take those jobs having the necessary skills and expertise and that's the key bit of interface with Communities Scotland... I don't think there is an absolute cut where we say this is Communities Scotland's job up to here and this is Scottish Enterprises job from here on in. I think that we accept that we both have a role to play particularly in terms of the employability agenda... I personally think that Scottish Enterprise has a significant role in supporting regeneration" (Head of the Community Regeneration Unit, Communities Scotland).

In an attempt to clarify the responsibilities of Scottish Enterprise and Communities Scotland in relation to regeneration priorities a memorandum of understanding was created (see appendix 8) which it was hoped would act to set out “where respective responsibilities separate and meet together” (Neighbourhood Intelligence Manager, Communities Scotland). For the Head of the Community Regeneration Unit at Communities Scotland the creation of a memorandum of understanding was viewed as internally “quite helpful” in “defining the bits that clearly Scottish Enterprise were leading on and clearly Communities Scotland leading on and those other bits that we were expected and keen on working on jointly...” (Head of Community Regeneration Unit, Communities Scotland). For the Chief Executive of Scottish Enterprise the memorandum of understanding was perceived as providing “more clarity now than there has ever been” however “there is still some overlap there as we try and extricate ourselves from some programmes we think are not within our remit and those are taken on by others”.

The dispute over exactly what role each organisation has to play in moving the economically inactive into work has clear ramifications for New Labour’s strategy for ‘work being the surest route out of poverty’. Such confusion within Scottish Enterprise and Communities Scotland regarding their particular roles has a detrimental impact on action on the ground as gaps in provision begin to appear for those seeking work. This is particularly notable in the lack of responsibility being taken by Scottish Enterprise for the provision of soft skills. The “still little explored” (McLaren, 2005, 10) area of soft skills was consistently identified as an issue of contention between Communities Scotland and Scottish Enterprise. It was viewed as difficult to ascertain whose responsibility it was to inculcate soft skills like time keeping and communication into post school age youths. The Chief Executive of Scottish Enterprise stated that with regard to the provision of soft skills training:

“I genuinely do believe it should not be our responsibility... you can make a case for anything being economic development and you have to very careful that organisations do not lose their focus people then do not understand what it is that you do, you end up doing everything and you can’t be good at everything, we have to have... a very, very clear mission about what it is we

want to do at Scottish Enterprise for example one of our Local Enterprise Companies decided to support their local councils healthy eating campaign you know actually they gave them an awful lot of money to do it and I questioned it and I said why are you doing this? And they said well it's quite simple healthy eating means healthier people which means less absenteeism higher productivity and economic development that's the premise. I said well why don't we just run the health service then? And while we're at it why don't we run the schools, I don't want to run the health service, I don't want to run the schools it's important that we work with them where it makes sense to do so but you know there are other things that we have been given to do in terms of economic development and it's the same with where should the soft skills work be done? It generally has to be built in early in the education process... just looking at the return on the investment the public get for early intervention in these skills compared to trying retrofit... we are not good at that stuff we shouldn't be put in the position where we are doing it government ought to be spending its money much earlier in the process".

Others working in the field however felt that "if soft skills are the fundamental issue in terms of people coming to the labour market then I think that's something where Scottish Enterprise have to come in" (Representative of ETLLD, Scottish Executive).

It was apparent that partnership working between Scottish Enterprise and Communities Scotland is not based on reciprocity or trust and this poses a major question over how effective partnership working can be under such circumstances. The restructuring of partnership policy in Scotland in 2004 was designed to address some of these issues and to facilitate partnership working. This involved a move away from the Social Inclusion Partnerships (that focussed on area based regeneration) to new CPP's (with more of a focus on influencing mainstream budgets).

6.2.2 Community Planning Partnerships – A New Era of Partnership Working?

With a particular focus on the Scottish New Labour approach towards partnership working this section looks at the move away from Social Inclusion Partnerships (SIPs) to Community Planning Partnerships (CPPs) (as outlined in chapter 3 (section 3.11.1) and the impact this is predicted to have on partnership working in Glasgow. There was a general feeling amongst agency respondents that the main strength of the SIPs had been

in their being “very localised” and their being “very good at engaging local communities and often very good at delivering local projects” (Head of Community Regeneration Unit, Communities Scotland). Consistently however the flaws which have plagued SIPs such as their “narrow geographical focus” (Representative of EAS) and their inability to demonstrate a “bigger impact” (Head of Community Regeneration Unit, Communities Scotland) were identified.

The SIP structure was described as being ineffectual as people “tended to think all that it was about was making decisions on small amounts of investment, about project driven stuff but really it was more about influencing how much money a health board puts into an area or the council puts into an area to make services better. It was trying to influence housing investment too to make sure the worst areas got the most investment in a strategic way and I think that part of it was never actually realised, this aim to influence mainstream resources as well” (Community Regeneration Manager, Communities Scotland). A general consensus existed that Community Planning would be an improvement in delivering regeneration, through bringing together:

“all of the major local players and in principal it should allow you to lever more funding into the area, and it should enable you to reach a consensus about what are the big issues you need to address in an area. So you don’t get the health board is doing something and the local council is doing something which doesn’t support that... Community Planning does provide the vehicle for them all to get round the table and say this is the problem, this is what we’re all collectively going to do about it” (Neighbourhood Intelligence Manager, Communities Scotland).

While CPPs were felt to be an improvement on the SIP structure there were still felt to be a number of concerns regarding these new partnership structures.

Criticism centred around the scale of geographical areas selected to make up the CPPs. Described as a “fundamental error” CPPs are made up of “huge big areas and they call it one big area and people don’t work together in areas like that. They can’t work together in their own wee neighbourhoods how the hell are they going to have feelings for anyone who lives at the other end of these so called partnership areas, so that’s a fundamental mistake they make right from the very beginning but it’s all because it’s top

down imposed” (Representative of Community Potential Implementation Group). Further concern was expressed as to a decline in local community representation in CPPs compared to the SIPs. This is in direct contradiction to Scottish New Labour’s claims that the community will be “the main partner in the process” (Scottish Executive, 2002a, 14). This very issue was identified by the Community Regeneration Manager, Communities Scotland who stated “all of social inclusion in terms of regeneration is supposed to be about communities being at the heart of the process and... I personally was surprised at the small numbers of community representation, there’s only four people on each Local Community Planning Partnership (LCPP) so that’s quite a small number for such an increased size in area geographically”. It was acknowledged however that if Community Planning was handled properly community involvement could be made “more real” and “representative” than the current situation (Partnership Manager, Greater Govan SIP).

In order for Community Planning to be deemed a success it would need to genuinely influence “how the mainstream agencies and staff go about their business” (Representative of EAS) as “you’re missing the wood for the trees if you focus on small scale targeted investment programmes being the answer to improving deprived communities... it’s about mainstream public sector investment” (Head of Community Regeneration Unit, Communities Scotland). The effectiveness of Community Planning would also be highly dependent on how people

“interpreted it... it could be anything from a nice cuddly concept to something meaningful which is actually changing the ways services are delivered... saying we’re actually going to look at the way that organisations operate across the city and to make a difference to people on the ground. I think at the cuddly end of the spectrum you know there’s Community Planning Partnerships that are about let’s have the same priorities or let’s have the same outcomes and you think OK that’s good but does anyone actually notice any difference out there? Is it just in strategy, is it just in warm words and good wishes” (Planning Manager, Communities Scotland).

Community Planning’s responsibility to encourage partnership working and to ensure that such involvement is as inclusive as possible has major implications for the voluntary sector. Given that general issues surrounding voluntary sector involvement in

partnerships have been examined in chapter 3 (section 3.7.1), the following section looks at the reality of working in partnership for those voluntary groups present in Govan.

6.2.3 Partnership working – the voluntary sector perspective

Despite New Labour's claims that the government desired to work together with the voluntary sector to "pursue common objectives in the public interest" (Blair, 1996a) for those in the voluntary sector there was felt to be little in the way of partnership working with a gulf consistently described as existing between those working in the community and those in the public sector. Communities Scotland was described as being "away up here and we're down here somewhere and there isn't anything in between if you like so it's like climbing Mount Everest and you're constantly trying to climb to the top and that shouldn't be right" (Representative of the Greater Govan Community Forum). Communication between those working in the public sector and those in the voluntary sector was consistently identified as an issue as "you can't do nothing unless folk talk to one another" (Representative 1 of the Sunny Govan Community Media Group). This lack of partnership and communication between the voluntary sector and those in the public sector was highlighted by a representative of McNally Associates who described a situation in Govan whereby it is common that public bodies and voluntary groups can be working in "parallel without maybe knowing what each one's doing. I just found it so uncontrolled. There's too many organisations all doing the same thing". Concern was expressed that groups funded by Scottish Executive agencies such as the Scottish Arts Council did little research into what local voluntary groups exist in an area prior to establishing activities. Representative 1 of the Sunny Govan Community Media Group explained that "we do the Friday night posse and using the DJs we did lots of development work and then... we recognised... that an organisations come in that's called Impact Arts and it's obviously getting funded from Scottish Arts and they've come in without even consulting a group like ourselves... they just walked right in without consulting who's actually doing what in the area and this is where we get frustrated".

There was felt to be too much of a push for partnership working across sectors rather than within the voluntary sector. A particular desire was also expressed for greater

awareness amongst voluntary groups as to whose operating in their area so groups can “liaise and network with each other... rather than these wee individual pockets, making them a big network so that everybody’s aware” (Representative 2 of The Preshal Trust).

Rather than partnership working, the voluntary sector felt they were subject to staggered periods of consultation which were meaningless and tokenistic. Representative 1 of Gingerbread Scotland described how there was little point engaging in consultations as “we fill it in, we send it in, it’s not taken on board, file 13 or the shredder because they’ve already got what they want off of a consultancy firm... most of the decisions are made behind closed doors”. This was felt to be of detriment to the quality of the decisions which were being made regarding policy as it is the local voluntary groups working in the community that know the issues which really matter to those residing in the area. Those working in the Scottish Executive were described as “doing a 9 to 5 job and not coming home to live in a one bedroomed flat in Govan. They’re going to Bearsden, Milngavie... They’re living out in these fancy areas with their nice houses” (Representative 1 of The Preshal Trust). Throughout this research there was consistently the issue of an unequal power relationship between those making decisions and those in the voluntary sector. Described as “a divide between the people that make the decisions and the community” (Representative 1 of the Sunny Govan Community Media Group) in Govan the rhetoric of New Labour and the value placed on the voluntary sector appears to be both hollow and false.

New Labour have also consistently expressed a desire to involve communities in local decision making and to bring them into “the heart of neighbourhood renewal” (Boateng, 1999a, iii). The following section examines the reality behind the New Labour rhetoric of valuing communities and their inclusion in local decision making.

6.3 Involving communities: the reality behind the rhetoric

As the SEU (2000, 5) recognised (chapter 3, section 3.8) “unless the community is fully engaged in shaping and delivering regeneration, even the best plans on paper will fail to deliver in practice”. Many respondents agreed with this sentiment as “you’re only going to implement a workable, sensible policy with people buying into it if you have actually involved them in the process” (Representative 2 of Civic Participation and Consultation Research Branch (CPCRB), Scottish Executive). Involving people in the policy making process was felt to be essential by many respondents as this means “you will come up with better policies... Participation gives you the opportunity to bring a range of views in to the policy making process that you wouldn’t get otherwise and it’s about emphasising the openness of the process so it’s giving anybody who wants an opportunity to feed in” (R1 of CPCRB, Scottish Executive). For a representative of the Regeneration Unit, Scottish Executive there was felt to be “always more room for listening to people and making sure that what we’re saying in policy strategy land actually bears some resemblance to what happens on the ground and the things need to fit together from the top down and the bottom up somehow”. Those living in Govan felt their input into decision making on their local area was crucial as governing bodies were perceived as possessing little local contextual knowledge and therefore “it would be more sensible for the people to be making the decisions” (P2.2, parents). The impacts of their decisions made being felt mainly by local inhabitants meant that “people should have a say in what happens in your own backyard because the council can make decisions left right and centre, so can the Scottish Executive but they never ask the people who have to live with the consequences” (P1, parents).

A number of factors impacted upon whether involvement of communities in decision making was successful. There was a consistent recognition that context was an important factor to be considered from both a methodological and geographical perspective. It was viewed as vital to recognise that “one size doesn’t fit all, each area, each neighbourhood has to have a different approach” (Planning Manager, Communities Scotland). The use of means other than paper-based consultation was to be encouraged “whether it be public meetings road shows, these types of things”. (Representative 1 of

CPCRB, Scottish Executive). This was felt to “require a degree of culture change within the Executive. Some bits of the Executive are very good at doing different methods whereas others just simply resort to the sort of we’ve always done written consultation so we’ll just do the same thing every time they don’t really think enough about what’s appropriate” (Representative 2 of CPCRB, Scottish Executive). This was a consistent source of complaint with the Scottish Executive, who despite promoting Community Planning on the basis it would mean closer working between the public sector and communities (chapter 3, see section 3.11.1), seemed unsure of how and what such engagement would look like. There was perceived to be a need to focus on the skills of those conducting consultation as, according to the Head of the Community Engagement Team at Communities Scotland often, it is heard “from community representatives that it’s not their capacity that needs built to engage, it’s actually the people from the agencies who don’t have the listening skills, the understanding, or the confidence to do it.

The arts were consistently mentioned by a number of respondents as having a role to play in engaging with communities in more innovative ways. For the Executive Director of a local housing association the arts acted as “a good tool to be able to get people to engage in a way that the vocational stuff and the housing stuff leaves people cold”. The arts as a method to promote inclusion and as a means to allow consultation was welcomed as the arts were viewed as “giving people a voice” acting as a “very sort of non threatening way in for people... When reaching disadvantaged people, it’s incredibly difficult to engage people in a formal way but the arts give that environment where people can gradually express themselves and gain self confidence” (Arts Development Officer for Social Inclusion). It was deemed to be valuable when dealing with “socially excluded groups” to actually talk “to these groups or representatives from these groups about how they want to be involved rather than us just assuming what a good way might be to involve them” (Representative 1 of CPCRB, Scottish Executive).

New Labour’s focus on involving communities puts an onus on those working in the public sector to engage, however there appears to be less concern over exactly who these organisations are engaging with. It was acknowledged by Representative 1 of

CPCRB, Scottish Executive that little work had been done on “looking at the external barriers” impinging on individuals abilities to take part in consultation exercises.

The creation of the National Standards of Community Engagement (as outlined in appendix 6) by Communities Scotland was a direct response to recognition that “the notion of working with communities to influence how services are delivered to tackle poverty has been around for a long time... but what there wasn’t was any real sense that the practice was as good as it should be” (Head of Community Engagement Team, Communities Scotland). The creation of the guidelines was viewed as unnecessary by a number of respondents particularly in the voluntary sector who viewed them as “teaching your granny how to suck eggs by a different name” and it was an instance of calling “a spade a spade” ultimately “reinventing the wheel” (Representative 2 of the Sunny Govan Community Media Group). Community engagement was felt to be as simple as “hello hen have you got a light for a fag? Would you like to go on a course? That’s what I used to do when I worked on an outreach” (Representative 1 of the Sunny Govan Community Media Group). Use of terms such as “empowerment” within the standards were felt to create “major barriers” for those unfamiliar with “jargon... I mean what does empowerment mean?” (Representative 1 of the Sunny Govan Community Media Group).

Even where attempts were made by the public sector to involve the community it was often felt by local residents that what was really lacking was a “genuine” wish to include the community in decision making but rather to consult them “to tick the right boxes. Everything is about meeting targets and ticking boxes” (Representative from Drumoyne Community Council). Many of those living in Govan felt that any say they had was ignored “you get a say but I don’t think anyone takes any notice... everything just gets swept under the carpet and forgotten about” (P2, parents). The most important aspect of consultation was felt to be if it was taking a ‘bottom-up approach’ as “of course they’ll tell you we’re already doing that but you look around and say where are they doing it? It’s maybe a hasty gathered meeting, I think there were less than a dozen people at that meeting, the future layout and planning of Govan, that’s them they’ve consulted you see” (P5, elderly males). The council in particular were felt to not listen to the community effectively as “they go about asking us what we want but they just don’t

listen” (P1, males 16-24 youth club based). There was felt to be a need for more direct involvement of the council in the community rather than meetings as “people get sick of meetings. They get sick to death of them” (P1, parents). The council referred to as “the hooligans at George Square” by one participant were felt to “come down and go through the motions” but then “you see nothing” (P1, elderly males). It was felt that “if people don’t see action quickly they become disillusioned” (P2, females 25-64).

Some respondents in the younger male category felt that the council had broken their “trust” (P5, males 16-24 youth club based) and that “if somebody comes up to you and asks you what you want you just think they’re no going to do it again” (P2, males 16-24 youth club based). The use of community officers to garner local opinion was not felt to be of any use as “I mean what’s happening at the end of these community officers out asking what do you want? I mean what’s the point of asking... I would like to go somewhere like this when all they’re doing is taking statistics away ain’t they? Oh this person wants to do this, this person wants to do that they’re not taking any action to then maybe give that wean a bit of hope do you know what I mean?” (P1, females 25-64), “they’re always asking stuff like what do you want to do? What do you want us to sort out? And they never do anything” (P1, males 16-24 youth club based). A number of the younger participants felt that rather than build up hope, honesty was the best option “I’d prefer a no to a we’ll see what we can do” (P1, males 16-24 youth club based). Promises which were perceived as having been broken were one of the most discussed themes of the focus groups overall. A number of participants believed that despite verbal commitments to the improvement of the physical and social fabric of the area little change was occurring. It was felt that “these people are really at it, they come out here and they sit and talk a lot of rubbish but then they go back to the Parliament and all that aye we’ve done this for them, we were out seeing them and this and that but they don’t do nothing” (P3, Males 25-64). A feeling of hopelessness pervaded much of the discussion on the council’s contribution to the areas improvement “aye what’s the point in having an opinion to start with if you’re not getting listened to or they’re not taking any action on it?” (P1, females 25-64), (P1, females 25-64). For those undertaking consultation it was perceived to be crucial that it was clear from the outset “what’s up for

grabs... so people expectations aren't raised" (Head of Community Engagement Team, Communities Scotland). There was a danger in "offering people the moon and people thinking there's a chance if getting it because you haven't said there isn't and then them hearing that they were never going to get it, that creates a lot of bitterness" (Head of Community Engagement Team, Communities Scotland). Poor fulfilment of expectations also engenders "cynicism... disillusion, disengagement" (Representative of Citizen's Panel, GCC).

When public services are engaging with communities it was also felt by public agencies to be important that it was made clear whether "it is consultation you're wanting or is it involvement. They're completely two different things. Participation is again a different thing in my view. I mean you know what do you want from the community?" (Representative of Community Potential Implementation Group). For representative 2 of CPCRB, Scottish Executive "it comes down to being honest enough from the start if you're just going to somebody to a group to talk to them to give them information then be clear that's all you're doing that it is not a consultation or participation exercise".

There was also a sense among the people of Govan that a number of decisions had been made prior to public sector agencies opening the engagement process up to the public and as such meetings were therefore meaningless. It was felt that "you've got all these councillors, they know their plans before you, you're only going there to make it look good. They know what they're doing before they're even consulting you so what's the point in that really?" (P1.1, females 25-64). Some meetings were felt to be almost 'token gestures' to appease the local community as demonstrated in Arnstein's ladder of participation (Figure 3.5). The common perception of consultation being tokenistic was an issue which was recognised by a number of public sector respondents. For representative 2 of the CPCRB, Scottish Executive this negativity could be reduced by:

"getting the timing right and actually getting involved at an early enough stage... I think part of where this tokenistic thing comes from is that we put out a long consultation which has had a great deal of thought and an awful lot of work has gone into it and somebody in somewhere like Govan gets it and they look at it and think well they've already pretty much decided what they're

going to do so I think if you get people involved almost at the stage really where your still trying to identify what the issues actually are... people out there probably have a much better idea of what's wrong so if you get them involved at the stage of identifying the problems then identifying the solutions then I think that makes people feel much more involved I think it leads to a better product in the end as well".

The Head of the Community Engagement Team at Communities Scotland acknowledged that with regards to token consultation "there will be circumstances where that's the case, it is the case, we know it's the case" it was accepted "it's bad practice and it shouldn't happen... there's an element of almost dishonesty creeping into it. It's definitely a paper exercise and actually somewhere else a decision has been taken". For a representative of Govan Community Council the value of consultation from an outcome perspective was perceived to be questionable as "it's quite difficult really to point to any particular area of policy on which the Scottish Executive has changed as a result of pressure from below". This approach runs counter to New Labour's proclamations of the value placed on the involvement of communities in decision-making. Rather, it is the antithesis of what could be considered as valuing a local contribution to decision making. Equally damaging as little or no genuine community involvement is where communities feel over consulted as a consequence of New Labour's overzealous approach to community involvement. Often based on quantity not quality over consultation was a major source of complaint for many local residents. Lack of feedback on community involvement which had occurred was also consistently identified as a problem. The following section outlines the main concerns surrounding these points.

6.3.1 The danger's of over consultation and the importance of feedback

It was widely recognised by respondents that problems existed around 'over consultation'. Complaints of "consultation fatigue" (Representative of Social Inclusion Division, Scottish Executive) were common. Representative 1 of the CPCRB at the Scottish Executive recognised the issue of over consultation and as such felt it was important to:

“encourage a culture where people think very carefully about why they’re consulting and who they’re consulting rather than crude consultation where we’re not sure who we want to consult so we’ll consult everybody and we’re not quite sure what we’re consulting on so we’ll consult very broadly and you end up with a lot of people being consulted on something that’s a bit vague and nobody’s very happy about the outcome”.

It was hoped that a “by-product of community planning” would be co-ordination between public agencies in consultation so as to avoid duplication and reduce time taken to do such activities so “you are seen as a citizen who is asked about a range of things. You’re not the person who the police asked one week about policing, the housing association asked about housing the next week and so on and so forth and you just get sick to the back teeth of it” (Head of Community Engagement Team, Communities Scotland).

Consultation was consistently felt to be only of great value when it was “targeted and practical”, for a “purpose” (Representative of Social Inclusion Division, Scottish Executive). Individuals getting “cynical” was perceived as being a concern as “what it does is it puts up barriers, people don’t want to give their opinion, they’re fed up, they don’t want to get involved in things because they feel as if they don’t really get heard. They have their say put in all that effort and then nobody really listens. I think that’s more damaging than not getting consulted at all” (Representative of Community Potential Implementation Group).

It was recognised that often it was the same individuals and groups who consistently were involved in engagement and partnership exercises. According to a Representative of Citizen’s Panel, GCC, often agencies captured “the same faces and knowing Govan I could identify some of the same old faces, they get wheeled out, they present themselves every single time there is an opportunity for consultation they will be there, people from the community council, people from housing, people from the Labour party, but they tend to all be the same people anyway”. There was concern expressed that the methods utilised by the council to facilitate participation were non representative due to “the willingness of somebody to serve on that kind of committee” making them “atypical and therefore not representative of the rest of the citizenry” (Representative of Citizens Panel, GCC). From the Scottish Executive’s perspective there was not “a huge

amount of time spent worrying about how representative a particular person is, they're more concerned with what they're saying... however ministers are very keen to get beyond the usual suspects... there are particular communities or groups whose views are not often enough represented" (Representative 2 of CPCR, Scottish Executive). For a representative of the Community Potential Implementation Group if true representation was to be achieved it was dependent on geographical scale "you have to work in a neighbourhood and really get to know all the people in the neighbourhood and get to know the ones that are less engaged and more marginalised... it's a really long process but I think it needs to be done in small neighbourhoods a couple of streets not a huge area".

Who can be involved and act as a partner was felt to be restricted due to Executive time scales and a lack of resources (see discussion of barriers to effective community involvement in chapter 3, section 3.8.2). This was where Community Councils should play an essential role. However Community Councils in Govan were consistently identified as being nepotistic, ineffectual and dominated by personal politics. According to a representative from Drumoyne Community Council "Govan more than most areas I know about has had a political in fight since day dot". Govan Community Council was described as having lost allocated money to improve the area due to "infighting" and standing against "everything... it's total grandstanding" (Representative from Drumoyne Community Council). "Personalities" were accused of holding the area back and as such "a top down overview" was viewed as essential. A representative of McNally Associates described the Community Council as a "clique that runs an Executive that make all the decisions and only pass certain information on to the others... they restrict who can be on the community council by, if it's not one of their mates they don't get on". It was felt by a number of respondents that "just as there's a responsibility on policy makers to check that their policy is relevant... to communities there is a responsibility on community reps whether they are in a Community Council or on another community engagement structure such as Community Planning or community forums to check whether they're representative of the community they represent" (representative of McNally Associates). According to the Network Development

Manager at the Community Voices Network in reality “it would be interesting to ask any community reps... in what way do you constantly check you’re representative of the community?... Just as policy making often is dependent on the people behind the policies, community representation is also dependent on the people who are representing the people”.

It was perceived that “larger more vocal organisations” may sometimes act to hinder engagement with smaller local groups and community members due to:

“the behaviour and position of certain community organisations or groups can be one of the major barriers to broader engagement. I have personally witnessed people from agencies suggesting door to door surveys, for example, and representatives from a community forum saying, no you wont, not in my community, I get elected every year to represent my community, you can ask me what they think, so you know, there’s that thing of with some community reps... there’s a power and status thing, so if you’re an organisation who knows that your profile and your strength is maybe one of the ways you get funding then so what’s in it for you by saying please go and speak to these smaller community organisations as well thereby perhaps jeopardising your slice of the cake?” (Head of Community Engagement Team, Communities Scotland).

Lack of feedback on prior involvement in community initiatives was also consistently identified as discouraging people from engaging with opportunities presented. For a number of respondents it was viewed as vital to provide feedback on the results of consultation as if individuals “never see any progress and they never see any evidence that they are listened to, they’ll stop participating” (Representative of Citizen’s Panel, GCC). For representative 1 of the CPCRB, Scottish Executive it was felt important to feed back to people “at the end of the programme what happened as a result, where views have been taken on board and... where they haven’t allowed people to understand why not” in effect “completing the loop... I think that’s absolutely crucial and something that we know at the moment is probably a weakness... feedback is the thing that often gets put on a backburner and then doesn’t happen”. With regard to areas like Govan, it was viewed as vital that reporting back occurred due to there being “a culture of another

initiative and nothing's changed before why should this be any different?" (Representative of Social Inclusion Division, Scottish Executive).

Failings in achieving community involvement by the public sector were explained by the view that it was more of an obligation than a valuable exercise. According to a representative of the Community Potential Implementation Group there would never be a culture change in public bodies towards engagement as:

"they're doing it because they're told to do it, it's coming from up there it's the new political buzz word community engagement... as these policies change the priorities of these organisations change so I think they're doing it because they have to and they'll do it in as easy way as they possibly can to tick that box... what you have in these organisations is completely top down and it is completely run by the politics of the day so its like if the Scottish Executive said jump they would say how high? There's no principles... running through the council and basically its whatever the whim of the central government or the Scottish Executive is... and if that changes every two years they'll change every two years and if that changes every six months they'll change every six months... it's whatever the flavour of the month is".

6.4 Conclusion

It is clear that whilst New Labour have claimed to view the "citizen as partner" (Lowndes and Sullivan, 2004, 70) and the importance of all sectors working together in partnership to meet objectives, in reality there are a number of barriers which impinge upon the success of such strategies.

The emphasis on partnership working has led to a situation whereby public sector agencies are promoting the concept but not working in partnership in a way which fosters openness, trust and reciprocal benefit. New Labour's coercion has led to those across public, private and voluntary sectors to enter into partnerships based on a need to be part of something for fear of losing funding or due to obligation to do so. This is not conducive to partner's working in a way envisaged by New Labour, to find joined up solutions to joined up problems. There are also issues around either the absence or the

under valuing of local community members in the partnership process. In Govan both the voluntary and community sectors felt excluded from the partnership process.

Feelings of having 'no say' were expressed consistently in Govan. Despite New Labour in their push for community involvement providing 'opportunities' for inclusion, these opportunities are neither appropriate nor effective in capturing the needs and wants of individuals in an area such as Govan. Non-representative and politically divided Community Councils with little comprehension of the opinions of those most excluded in the community do not provide an appropriate avenue for genuine inclusion. Under New Labour the act of setting up structures to have opinions heard is automatically equated with being inclusive regardless of their effectiveness on the ground. Of equal concern is the admission from a representative of Communities Scotland that at times community engagement is known to be tokenistic as decisions have already been made. Another example of how New Labour rhetoric of the importance of 'the local' and 'community' in decision making is not matched by the reality. New Labour discourse is peppered with allusions to involvement of the 'community' in decision-making and 'partnership'. In reality New Labour control the actions of partnerships through dictating what is possible and by what means and, while promoting the inclusion of communities, acts to exclude those from the partnership process as unrepresentative when they come up with 'wrong' answers. New Labour's promotion of partnership and community inclusion while admirable from a philosophical perspective is flawed in its application.

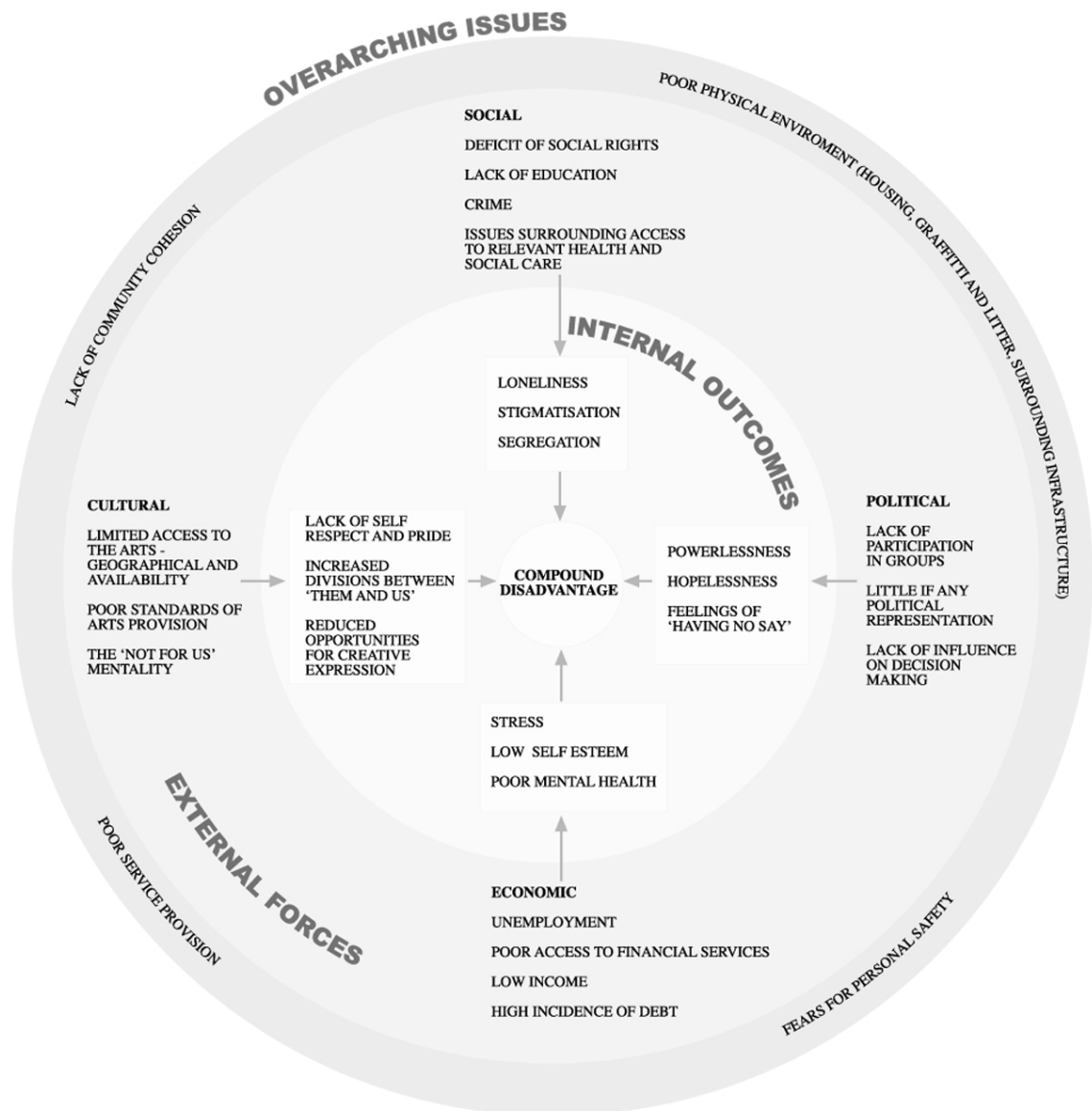
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

This research through a combination of conceptual exegesis and empirical investigation has served to elaborate a number of key issues in relation to the conceptualisation of disadvantage and the reality behind New Labour's rhetoric with regards to tackling disadvantage. The chapter is organised into three sections. The first section examines the importance of a locally contextual approach towards conceptualisation of disadvantage. The second evaluates the extent to which New Labour rhetoric and means of addressing disadvantage corresponds to the reality. Finally in section 3 the thesis concludes with a set of recommendations as to how disadvantage may be conceptualised and tackled more effectively.

7.1 The Complex, Composite and Constrictive Nature of Disadvantage

The present in-depth research into the lived experience of disadvantage enabled a number of issues to be identified in relation to definition and measurement of the concept. Fundamentally any exploration of disadvantage must acknowledge the multidimensionality of the condition and the fact that various factors combine and interact to compound the experience. Just as each individual experience of disadvantage is unique so to is the combination of social, political, economic and cultural factors informing the experience. Based on a comprehensive empirical investigation into the lived experience of disadvantage in Govan, Figure 7.1 identifies the multitude of issues which, to differing degrees, can dictate the depth of disadvantage an individual may suffer.

Figure 7.1: The complex and compound nature of disadvantage



The figure comprises a set of external forces (such as unemployment and crime) and overarching issues (such as lack of community cohesion) that impact on an individual’s ability to participate fully in society from a social, political, economic and cultural perspective. The internal outcomes of these structural constraints are manifested as personal psychological consequences (such as stigmatisation and loneliness).

A second key finding is that in attempting to define disadvantage it is essential that both demographics and life circumstance are taken into account. As shown in chapter 5 whilst territorialism, violence and gang disputes were considered by local youth to be a 'natural' part of what it was like to live in an area such as Govan, those in the elderly groups expressed more concern about a lack of local facilities and sense of community. Other differences between population sub groups in attitude and opinion on what it was like to live in Govan meant that in theory it would be both difficult and unhelpful to endeavour to identify a single definition of disadvantage. Unlike the universal definitions of poverty and deprivation reviewed in chapter 1, research in the field has highlighted that disadvantage is highly contextualised by age, gender, locality, socio-economic circumstance and individual life experience. It is vital therefore that any attempts to define disadvantage are sensitive to this and that policy makers do not base decisions which affect individuals on a collective definition.

In terms of measurement the primary research undertaken served to further highlight the need for a combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques in researching disadvantage. The use of quantitative techniques, whilst indispensable as an initial tool for identification of an area suffering from multiple disadvantage, does not provide the richness and depth that may be achieved through qualitative enquiry. Whilst objective (standard) indicators can provide useful information on socio-economic circumstance and housing condition subjective (specific) analysis can help prevent participants becoming "passive objects for attention" (Lister and Beresford, 2000, 284). Inclusion of 'hard to reach' groups, such as those who are unemployed, helps to ensure that factors such as territorialism and lack of self-confidence which cannot be effectively predicted nor recognised by objective measures are identified and investigated effectively. Only through a combination of standard and specific techniques and analysis is it possible to obtain a true measure and understanding of the lived experience of disadvantage. In essence as described in chapter 5 (section, 5.2), there is a need to move away from reliance on statistical measures alone. As this research has shown however for many within the public sector, despite an acknowledgement of the limitations of standard

quantitative measures, the resource intensiveness of ‘softer’ measurement techniques designed to assess factors such as self-esteem prohibits their widespread use in the field.

7.2 Tackling Disadvantage from a New Labour Perspective: The Rhetoric and the Reality

The preceding chapters have identified from a policy and practical perspective those strategies being employed to tackle disadvantage. Chapter 3 which ‘set the scene’ for the empirical investigation into tackling disadvantage on the ground established that a great deal of New Labour policy and strategy South of the border (e.g. evidence based policy making and a focus on equality of opportunity) has been replicated in Scotland following devolution. Consequently a number of shared New Labour concepts were identified. These consisted of a focus on tackling social exclusion, an emphasis on paid employment as the ‘best route out of poverty’, the value of social capital and the desirability of working in partnership and of engaging communities. This research has provided empirical evidence that despite New Labour’s rhetoric, in reality there are a number of serious flaws in their approach to tackling disadvantage.

New Labour’s focus on tackling social exclusion based on providing ‘Opportunity for All’ and ‘Breaking the Cycle’ has not had a major impact on the lived experience of those living in Govan. A poor physical environment and sub standard housing conditions combined with deficient public service provision and widespread fear of crime are the reality. While for New Labour the answer to concentrated disadvantage lies in the creation of ‘balanced communities’ their enthusiastic promotion of such an approach has not been manifested on the ground. In Govan there is a real need for the introduction of a range of housing types and income groups into the area. The present concentration of social rented housing and proliferation of drug and alcohol addiction issues, ex offenders and people living in temporary accommodation is detrimental to the area which is stigmatised accordingly. Residents move out of the area upon gaining employment and extra income. As a consequence local retail, recreational and educational facilities suffer through falling patronage and enrolment. This process of cumulative decline further increases the acuity of disadvantage felt by those effectively ‘left behind’ in the area. In

areas such as Govan the New Labour goal of creating 'balanced communities' cannot be viewed as a panacea for the ills of social exclusion. Rather it is increasingly likely that the more expensive housing will be separated physically from that of a social rented nature meaning that for those most excluded greater social integration is unlikely to take place. If anything, the empirical evidence from Govan revealed a deep rooted feeling that the introduction of unaffordable owner occupied housing into the area is likely to lead to a more 'divided community'.

A further aspect of New Labour rhetoric which the present empirical investigation has shown to be ineffectual in tackling poverty is the promotion of 'welfare to work' and the idea of providing 'opportunity'. As noted earlier New Labour on both sides of the border view the best route out of poverty to be paid employment. This research has shown however that New Labour's move away from a philosophy of redistribution to one of 'opportunity' has not been effective particularly for those furthest from the labour market.

From a practical perspective, as this research has demonstrated, moving people into employment is undeniably challenging due to the multiple personal barriers that affect many disadvantaged individuals including issues around addiction, childcare and lack of skills. If New Labour wish to focus on work as the best means of tackling poverty and the provision of opportunity then appropriate support structures must be in place to enable individuals with complex social and economic problems. This research has shown that this is not the case. Concerns from both an agency and local population perspective focussed on the need for soft skill training provision, but little consensus exists as to who should be responsible. This undermines the ethos of partnership working as identified by New Labour as a key priority for addressing disadvantage. A 'volume driven' approach towards progressing individuals into employment has also highlighted the need for better after care for those vulnerable to leaving employment without adequate support. New Labour's focus on joined up solutions to joined up problems has proven ineffective in ensuring that the support provided to the unemployed is fluid and seamless. Rather individuals facing the kind of multiple barriers to employment revealed in this research, do not receive a package of help to move into employment. In practice in contrast to the

rhetoric what is provided is more of a piecemeal approach with agencies failing to successfully refer the individual in a seamless way to the variety of services they may require.

A related key New Labour concept of the promotion of opportunity has also been shown by the present research to be an inadequate substitute for moves towards greater equality. The persistence and intensity of disadvantage in an area such as Govan can have an almost cyclical effect of low self-esteem, drug and alcohol issues, poor educational attainment and unemployment. Low aspirations often culminate in gang formation and anti-social behaviour. There is a stigma attached to coming from areas such as Govan and many individuals suffer from low self-esteem and hopelessness. As indicated above if the support structures are not put in place to ensure all members of society are able to access those opportunities which New Labour claim are available then this only leads to accentuate the social exclusion of already marginalised groups and individuals. Many of the disadvantaged lack the familial and public sector support needed to take advantage of those opportunities open to them. In this context social capital (discussed in section 3.6) can play an important role as often local networks of family and friends can provide support, financial and emotional, to those experiencing periods of unemployment, struggling with addiction issues and providing childcare services without charge. In reality the evidence from Govan suggests that the promotion of social capital by New Labour as a means through which to tackle disadvantage is in reality flawed. Despite the rhetoric those who live in Govan feel socially and spatially isolated within their community due to fear of crime and physical harm. The rhetoric of New Labour that the voluntary sector and social economy have a valuable part to play in 'helping communities to help themselves' and are key in building social capital in local communities is not backed up either financially or practically by New Labour. This research has demonstrated that lack of funding and the excessive level of bureaucracy which those in the voluntary sector face is not in line with New Labour's claims for the efficacy of social capital. Indeed there is a danger that 'over bureaucratisation' will discourage those attempting to make a difference in the community and in turn undermine New Labour's hopes for social capital.

The promotion of 'evidence-based working' is also an issue for those particularly in the voluntary sector dealing with less tangible issues such as confidence and self esteem. A further concern is the perception in Govan that voluntary groups and social economy organisations should become financially self-supporting. Whilst this would be an ideal situation from a fiscal perspective, the kind of work the sector undertakes and the individuals it deals with make it difficult if not impossible for the voluntary sector adopt such an approach. It is of value to question whether they should be expected to become more 'businesslike' as they are providing services at often low cost compared to if the public sector were providing those same services. Voluntary groups clearly provide a range of services which otherwise would not be available or would not be provided in such a locally sensitive way. There needs to be a much greater appreciation of the services they provide not only from a financial perspective but also with regard to supporting the sector in other non-financial ways such as provision of meeting rooms. Furthermore as this research demonstrated the lack of involvement of the voluntary sector in partnerships was in direct contradiction to New Labour's claims to value their input into the partnership process. At present in Govan many of those in the voluntary sector feel that they are either excluded from partnerships or that in those in which they are included they do not occupy an equal position.

Partnership working, has been shown to be a key part of New Labour's approach towards tackling disadvantage. Endorsed not only at policy level but also by those working on the ground to tackle disadvantage, the promotion of partnership working whilst philosophically sound presents a number of problems for those attempting to work in this way in reality. This research has identified a number of practical difficulties around working in partnership. These include; the excessive proliferation of partnerships in operation, lack of 'buy in' from senior members of agencies, lack of parity in roles, an unwillingness by partners to accept responsibility for undertaking certain tasks in relation to the partnership, and problems which arise if there is no leadership within the partnership itself. This research has demonstrated that while New Labour promotes the ideal of partnership working, the reality is that many in the public and voluntary sectors as well as community members do not value the process. Concerns were expressed

around partnerships functioning purely as ‘talking shops’ with very low levels of open and critical debate. There was also a sense that being coerced into partnerships undermined the whole idea of what such a structure is meant to be about. Whilst partnership is promoted from a policy perspective, unless it is ‘genuinely’ entered into and not just an exercise in box ticking then it will continue to be regarded as simply a ‘buzzword’ with individuals only turning up because they are required to. In reality partnership working under New Labour is not based on reciprocal trust or gain but rather on threats and penalties for not participating.

From a Scottish perspective the change in partnership structure from the predominantly area based SIPs to the wider geographical and strategic overview of CPPs (as outlined in chapter 3, section 3.11.1) has been met with optimism but also disdain. The present research found that concern existed as to the reduced level of community representation in the CPPs in comparison to the SIPs. There was also regret at the loss of a key positive aspect of SIP structure, primarily their focus on concentrations of disadvantage and their local contextual knowledge of their local areas. Nevertheless there is general support across both the voluntary and public sectors for the introduction of CPPs. Positive developments identified by the research referred to a reduction in the stigma attached to residing in SIP areas which were signified as being ‘deprived’ areas. The CPPs main strength was viewed as their ability to ‘bend’ mainstream funding, compared with the previous SIP reliance on targeted funding which was not seen as a sustainable way of ensuring the benefits brought to an area remain.

The final New Labour concept investigated in the present research concerned the rhetoric and reality of communities involvement in decision making. Despite community engagement being consistently promoted in both UK and Scottish New Labour policy and strategy documents (see chapter 3 sections 3.8 and 3.11) a number of issues still exist on the ground in relation to genuine engagement. This research has highlighted that there appears to be a major concern around consultation and participation and the differing expectations these terms conjure up. It is vital that when engaging with communities it is made clear whether they are being consulted or whether they are being asked to actively participate in making decisions. This research also highlighted the necessity of feed back

to communities on the outcomes of the process itself. When individuals do not feel their contribution has been utilised in a productive way this can cultivate feelings of resentment and an unwillingness to commit time again. New Labour's enthusiasm for involving communities has also led to a situation whereby communities can feel over consulted (see chapter 6, section 6.3.1). A fundamental concern uncovered in the research was that New Labour's promotion of community involvement has not been genuinely and honestly embraced by those across the public sector. Rather decisions have often been made prior to community involvement. This is the antithesis of New Labour's claims for what community involvement can achieve. The limited extent of community representation was another issue undermining New Labour's claims for community involvement as empowering individuals and building the social capital of a community. Those most excluded are not represented in such structures and as such still 'have no say'. It is clear that to ensure the highest quality of engagement possible is being achieved there needs to be a greater commitment on the ground with regards to the time and resources provided.

This research identified the particular role that arts and culture have in involving the most excluded members of society in effective engagement exercises. As outlined in section 3.6, New Labour have made an attempt to exploit the arts as a means of achieving the wider goals of social and economic regeneration. It is envisaged that the arts and cultural sector can play an important part in engaging communities in creative and less intimidating ways. Engagement through creative means is often not as 'cold' as other forms of involvement such as meetings and focus groups. Advantages are also to be gained from individuals not experiencing as much 'consultation fatigue' as successful creative engagement can foster positive feelings towards the engagement process. If New Labour rhetoric around community inclusion is to match up to the reality then as this research has demonstrated there needs to be more of a focus on actively engaging those community members who do not represent the 'usual suspects'. In this respect the contribution of the arts and culture may be currently undervalued.

This research has shown that shared attachments both North and South of the border to tackling social exclusion, promoting welfare to work, providing equality of

opportunity, building social capital, promoting 'joined up' working and engaging communities have not led to improvements on the ground for those living in disadvantaged areas and have not led to genuine 'joined up' working as those in the public and voluntary sectors rather grudgingly surrender to such structures as partnerships. Both UK and Scottish New Labour are also very similar in their approach towards tackling disadvantage with wealth redistribution not playing a significant part in the fight against disadvantage. Instead the focus is on individual responsibility and equality of opportunity. As Scott (2006) identified with regards to Scottish anti-poverty policy, it is directed to those 'willing to help themselves'. This conjures up notions of the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor. There is of course also the 'elephant in the room' that cannot be ignored, as a number of those in employment, but on low incomes, can still be regarded as being in a position of poverty. It would appear that employment is not the panacea to all ills experienced by those in a position of disadvantage. Whilst paid employment has a central role to play in tackling poverty, there is a need to identify other approaches which are not based solely on access to employment.

As the findings from the empirical element of this research have highlighted there are clearly a number of major issues which need to be resolved before New Labour strategy towards tackling disadvantage can have its intended impact. Fundamentally it must be acknowledged that disadvantage may never be truly tackled until structural inequalities are addressed. New Labour while busily creating policies to tackle poverty have done little to address the main sources of inequality in society. While calls for a structural transformation of society are valid, disadvantage is with us now and as such strategies that seek to ameliorate its impacts are needed until such times, if ever, structural inequalities are addressed.

To conclude this investigation of geographies of disadvantage in the post-industrial city, the final section provides a number of key recommendations as to how to move anti-poverty research policy and practice forward in the absence of structural inequalities being addressed:

7.3 Policy and Practice Recommendations

1. There is a need for more contextualised approach towards defining disadvantage. This could be achieved through not imposing definitions from above but rather through the use of quantitative measurement techniques to initially identify areas possessing a number of factors synonymous with disadvantage (such as unemployment levels, poor health, low educational attainment and housing type and tenure) and from that undertake localised analysis to determine what constitutes disadvantage for those living in the area. It is important also to take account of factors such as gender, age and ethnicity in defining disadvantage. This allows for the needs, wants and desires of different groups to be expressed and provides the opportunity for further investigation as to how best they feel their area and personal position could be improved. The ‘lived experience of disadvantage’ must be considered in all policy and practical attempts at tackling disadvantage.
2. There is a need to allow communities to set the agenda of what they feel is important to them. This is in opposition to organisations coming into their area and consulting them on pre-determined ideas. It is also vital that communities are consulted in a way they feel most comfortable with. As the present research demonstrated approaching individuals and enquiring as to their feelings and perceptions of their community can be more effective than relying on pre existing involvement structures such as Community Councils.
3. There should be greater acceptance of the role arts and culture can play in allowing for creative community engagement methods, in the provision of soft skills and in assisting those furthest from the labour market to gain confidence and realise their own talents and skills.
4. The voluntary sector must be given the resources and support it needs to flourish. This sector has the ability to reach out to and help those who would never approach ‘official’ organisations and should be respected. There needs to be an re-evaluation of the level of administrative work expected of voluntary groups and perhaps a greater element of trust with regards to the requirement of ‘hard evidence’ and reaching targets as many of these groups whilst not moving individuals directly into

- employment or completely curbing addictions provide vital services in the local communities they serve.
5. The role the social economy can play should be acknowledged to a much greater degree. Such organisations can play a vital part in providing those at some distance from the general labour market with the skills and confidence they need to move into employment. The work of the social economy should be more clearly promoted in particular throughout the public sector and actively supported in providing services.
 6. Partnership must act as the central component of all activities undertaken by those attempting to tackle disadvantage. However there must be much more of a move towards 'genuine' participation with more of a focus on knowledge sharing and having members of communities acting as equal partners providing the basis for a culture of genuine participation.
 7. There is a need to move away from more conventional ways of thinking and working. This entails organisations gaining in-depth knowledge of other sectors activities and being able to move into those 'grey areas' that are not either/or - for example, those areas which are not purely social nor economic. This would involve those working in addiction services for example, knowing enough to provide information confidently on training and employment opportunities or other services which may be of value such as childcare or relevant health services.
 8. Whilst the jury is still out on CPPs and the move away from the area based SIPs was understandable, it is important to make sure we are not throwing the baby out with the bath water with regards to area based initiatives. Whilst the efforts to influence mainstream funding and reduce the stigmatisation of particular areas are valid there remains a need for areas of concentrated disadvantage to be targeted. Only over time will it be possible to judge whether CPPs have managed to achieve simultaneously a localised and geographically overarching focus.
 9. Whilst New Labour promote the importance of work in moving people out of poverty those on low incomes can often find themselves still in poverty despite being in employment. It is vital that those in work are provided with the opportunity to

- ‘upskill’ whilst in employment to improve their ability to take advantage of training, education or work opportunities.
10. There is a need for greater flexibility in the benefits system as individuals are often reluctant to enter employment since if it doesn’t work out they fear their benefits will be affected or not processed effectively.
 11. There needs to be less of a focus on simply moving individuals into employment but rather on providing the ‘after care’ they need to ensure that they do not experience problems and leave employment with negative perceptions of returning. Support must be provided so that manageable issues do not lead to an individual leaving employment altogether.
 12. In terms of future research, several issues worthy of further examination include whether CPPs are proving to be successful in promoting partnership working and managing to influence mainstream funding. Also, whether community involvement is flourishing under these structures or if the move away from the ‘local’ has proved to be damaging to communities’ feelings of being ‘involved’. Finally as Scottish Enterprise lose responsibility for skills and learning and with Communities Scotland no longer in operation this opens up new questions around the provision of soft skills. In this context the creation of Skills Development Scotland would also be worthy of further study.

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APPENDIX 1

List of selected variables in census-based analysis of geography of disadvantage in Glasgow.

List of selected variables

1	Population
2	Percentage married
3	Percentage separated/ divorced
4	Percentage unemployed
5	Percentage owner occupied
6	Percentage social rented
7	Percentage private rented furnished
8	Percentage private rented unfurnished
9	Percentage with no car
10	Percentage population in lowest social groups
11	Percentage females
12	Percentage males
13	Percentage aged 16-59
14	Percentage aged 60+
15	Percentage one pensioner household
16	Percentage one person household (non pensioner)
17	Percentage married with 2+ children
18	Percentage all pensioner households
19	Percentage lone parent household
20	Aged 0-4
21	Aged 5-15
22	Overcrowded
23	Percentage detached or semi-detached
24	Percentage flat
25	Percentage vacant household
26	Percentage over 1.5 persons per room
27	Travel to work by bus
28	Travel to work by car (driver and passenger)
29	Travel to work on foot
30	No central heating
31	Percentage never worked

APPENDIX 2

Example of focus group schedule.

Example of focus group theme sheet

Safety

Do you feel safe walking around Govan at any time of the day or night?

Do you think the media exaggerates drug and alcohol problems in Govan?

Do you think crime is under control in this area?

Services

Governmental provision

Do you think there are enough good quality libraries, community centres and sports centres within Govan?

Do you think the streets are kept well with little presence of litter, weeds etc?

Are the parks in Govan kept in good condition? Is there anything to stop you using them?

Is transport into and out of Govan well provided and of a good standard?

Employment

Are there a number of jobs available to the residents of Govan which pay a reasonable wage?

Are there are a variety of types of jobs available?

Are jobs within reasonable travelling distance and accessible by public transport?

Entertainment

Is there a good variety of shops in Govan?

Are grocery shops, chemists etc. easily accessible by foot?

Is Govan a good place for entertainment e.g. restaurants, pubs?

Is it easy to access cinemas, shops and places to eat within the city centre from Govan by public transport?

Social services

Does Govan have a number of primary and secondary schools that are in good condition and are well run?

Do you feel that the residents of Govan have every opportunity to attend university?

Are there enough local health centres in Govan? Is it easy to get an appointment with a doctor?

Shelter

Is there a good variety of housing available in Govan? (Whether it be flats or detached houses)

Do you think housing in Govan is kept in good condition? (Whether it is privately, council or housing association owned)

Are there good facilities in Govan to provide advice and support to residents who want to move from renting to buying a house?

Do you think the demolition and renovation that is going on in Govan is adding to the look and feel of the area?

Social Capital

Do you feel Govan is a friendly place to live?

Do you think neighbours look out for each other?

Do you think Govan has enough open spaces for community events? (Fetes, gala days)

Do you feel Govan is different from other parts of Glasgow? Do you feel an attachment to the area? History?

Do you feel that you have a say in what happens in Govan?

Do you know if there are a lot of community groups in Govan? How did you find out about these? Does anything stop you using them?

APPENDIX 3

Example of focus group organisational chart.

Focus Groups

Focus Group A1: Youths, Male 16-24 involved in training scheme

Group	Meeting Times and Location	Group Contact	Telephone Number	Contacted on:	Outcome:

Due to reasons of confidentiality and anonymity, it is not possible to display an original copy with respondents personal details.

APPENDIX 4

Coding system used for focus groups.

Categorisation of codes

Physical Environment

Vandalism
Condition of physical environment
Parks and open space
LUV project

Facility Provision

Retail facilities
Evening facilities
Transport
Schools
Police
Recreational facilities
Boredom
Lack of facilities (Toilets etc.)

Social Environment

Fear
Violence
Territory
Gangs
Drugs
Crime
Employment opportunities
LUV project
Gender
Higher education opportunities
Influence of family/ parental responsibility

Housing

Condition of housing
Provision of housing

Identity

Media portrayal
Glorification of violence/crime
Heritage
Image of area
Govan as a place to live
Loyalty to Govan
Sense of identity
Govan past

Social Capital

Friendliness of area
Govan fair
Sense of community
Neighbours
Having a say

Governance

Having a say
Desired changes
Relationship with council
Promises (broken)

Coding for Focus Groups

Fear – FEA
Violence - VIO
Territory - TER
Gangs - GNG
Drugs - DRG
Media portrayal - MEDPOR
Crime - CRM
Glorification of violence/crime - GLOVC
Condition of physical environment – PHYSENV
Parks and open space - PRKS
Vandalism - VAN
Transport - TRSPRT
Employment opportunities - EMPOPP
Retail facilities – RETFAC
Evening facilities - EVEFAC
Schools - SCH
Condition of housing - CONHOUS
Provision of housing - PROVHOUS
Neighbours - NEIBRS
Police - POL
Friendliness of area - FRAREA
Having a say - HAVSAY
LUV project - LUVPROJ
Heritage - HER
Gender - GEN
Image of area - IMAREA
Desired changes - DESCHAN
Higher education opportunities - HEOPP
Govan fair - GOVFAIR
Recreational facilities - RECFAC
Relationship with council - RELCNCIL
Govan as a place to live - GOVPLCLIVE
Boredom - BDOM
Loyalty to Govan - LOLTYGOV
Lack of facilities (Toilets etc.) - LACFAC
Sense of identity - SENSID
Sense of community -SENSCOMM
Govan past - GOVPAST
Influence of family/ parental responsibility - INFLFAM
Promises (broken) - PROM

APPENDIX 5

List of interviews conducted

Scottish Executive

- Social** - Representative of Regeneration Unit.
Representative of Social Inclusion Division.
- Political** – Representative 1 of Civic Participation and Consultation Research Branch.
Representative 2 of Civic Participation and Consultation Research Branch.
- Economic** – Representative of Enterprise, Transport and Lifelong Learning Department (ETLLD).
- Cultural** – Representative of Cultural Policy Division.
Knowledge and Practice Manager, Scottish Centre for Regeneration.

Non-Departmental Public Bodies (NDPB's)

- Social** - Neighbourhood Intelligence Manager, Communities Scotland.
Community Regeneration Manager, Communities Scotland.
Head of Community Regeneration Unit, Communities Scotland.
Planning Manager, Communities Scotland.
- Political** – Head of Community Engagement Team, Communities Scotland.
Network Development Manager, Community Voices Network.
- Economic** – Chief Executive, Scottish Enterprise National.
Representative of Clyde Regeneration Team, Scottish Enterprise Glasgow.
Head of Inclusion, Scottish Enterprise National.
Senior Director, Employability, Scottish Enterprise Glasgow.
Representative of Skills and Learning, Scottish Enterprise National.
- Cultural** – Deputy Chief Executive/ Director of Arts, Scottish Arts Council.

Glasgow City Council

- Social** - Head of Social and Economic Initiatives.
- Political** - Representative of Citizen's Panel, Corporate Policy Division.
- Economic** - Representative of Social Economy Team.
- Cultural** - Arts Development Officer for Social Inclusion.

Locally Based Regeneration Initiatives

- Social** – Partnership Manager, Greater Govan Social Inclusion Partnership.
- Political** – Representative of Community Potential Implementation Group.
- Economic** – Representative of Social Economy Team, Govan Initiative.
Chief Executive, Govan Initiative.
- Cultural** – Representative of Roots in the Community (a local arts organisation)

Local Community Groups

- Social** – Representative of Govan Youth Club.
Representative 1 of The Preshal Trust.
Representative 2 of The Preshal Trust.
Representative of Park Villa Football Development.
Representative 1 of Gingerbread Scotland.
Representative 2 of Gingerbread Scotland.
- Political** – Representative 1 of the Sunny Govan Community Media Group.
Representative 2 of the Sunny Govan Community Media Group.
- Economic** - Director of GalGael.
- Cultural** – Co-ordinator, The LUV Project.

Other Informative Interviews

Representative of Operation Tag, Community Police, Helen Street, Govan.

Youth Executive Officer, Govan Initiative.

Councillor for Drumoyne.

Representative of Development and Regeneration Department, Glasgow City Council responsible for the construction of the Central Govan Action Plan (CGAP).

Representative of Community Police, Helen Street, Govan.

Representative of Govan Community Council.

Executive Director of local housing association (Linthouse).

Representative from Careers Scotland dealing with Govan.

Representative of McNally Associates who helped formulate CGAP.

Representative of Drumoyne Community Council.

Representative of Full Employment Areas Initiative (FEAI)

Representative of Greater Govan Community Forum (GGCF)

Representative of Equal Access Strategy (EAS)

APPENDIX 6

Roles and responsibilities of organisations interviewed

NDPB's

Social – Communities Scotland

Communities Scotland possesses six headline objectives:

- 1 Increase the supply of affordable housing where it is needed most
- 2 Improve the quality of existing houses and ensure a high quality of new build
- 3 Improve the quality of services to tenants and homeless people
- 4 Improve opportunities for people living in disadvantaged communities
- 5 Support the social economy to deliver key services and create job opportunities
- 6 Use our experience of delivering housing and regeneration programmes to inform and support the development of ministerial policies (Communities Scotland, 2005, ii).

Communities Scotland also established the Scottish Centre for Regeneration (SCR). The SCR has two aims – to assist in transferring knowledge and experience of what does and does not work in regeneration and to improve and develop the competencies and skills of those working to deliver regeneration at a local scale (Scottish Centre for Regeneration, undated). A Communities Scotland policy entitled 'Wider Role' is also of relevance to this research. Wider Role encourages Registered Social Landlord's (RSL's) to undertake activities over and above housing "which help to improve the economic, social and environmental conditions of individuals and communities" (Communities Scotland, 2005, 35).

Political - Communities Scotland

Communities Scotland also places emphasis on community consultation and in 2005 presented the 'National Standards for Community Engagement' (NSCE). The standards aim to set out what is expected for community engagement activity and provide guidance to assist in making community engagement effective. The 10 NSCE are as follows:

- 1 **Involvement:** we will identify and involve the people and organisations who have an interest in the focus of the engagement
- 2 **Support:** we will identify and overcome any barriers to involvement
- 3 **Planning:** we will gather evidence of the needs and available resources and use this evidence to agree the purpose, scope and timescale of the engagement and the actions to be taken
- 4 **Methods:** we will agree and use methods of engagement that are fit for purpose
- 5 **Working Together:** we will agree and use clear procedures that enable the participants to work with one another effectively and efficiently
- 6 **Sharing Information:** we will ensure that necessary information is communicated between the participants
- 7 **Working with Others:** we will work effectively with others with an interest in the engagement
- 8 **Improvement:** we will develop actively the skills, knowledge and confidence of all the participants
- 9 **Feedback:** we will feed back the results of the engagement to the wider community and agencies affected
- 10 **Monitoring and Evaluation:** we will monitor and evaluate whether the engagement achieves its purposes and meets the national standards for community engagement.

The standards were described as being created as “aspirational rather than minimum” with no enforcement as they are not compulsory rather they will be assessed when reviewing the performance of Community Planning Partnerships (CPPs) (Communities Scotland, 2005a). Communities Scotland also funds the ‘Community Voices Network’ (CVN)² established in 2005. The CVN brings people together in a voluntary capacity to “learn from each other about different approaches to community regeneration and give

² The CVN is now run by the Scottish Government's Housing and Regeneration Directorate.

them the opportunity to influence national and local policy by providing a collective ‘voice’ for community concerns and issues” (Communities Scotland, 2005a).

Economic – Scottish Enterprise

Established in 1991, Scottish Enterprise acts as the key economic development agency in Scotland. For Scottish Enterprise the ultimate aim is to create the conditions for providing long-term wealth and jobs for people in Scotland through developing business, support for new ideas, investing venture capital, developing skills and training, promoting investment in Scotland, promoting exports, developing tourism, improving the environment and promoting a more inclusive society (Scottish Enterprise Customer Charter). Scottish Enterprise is provided with its strategic direction and vision from the Scottish Executive’s ‘Smart, Successful, Scotland’ (SSS) document (as referred to in section 3.11.2). Success in realising the vision of SSS is divided into three themes: Growing Businesses, Skills and Learning and Global Connections (Scottish Executive, 2004a, 9). In the case of this thesis, the theme of skills and learning is of most interest. Scottish Enterprises Skills and Learning priorities and responses are summarised in table 9.1 below.

Table 9.1: Skills and Learning: Priorities and Response

Skills and Learning Summary				
A Smart, Successful Scotland Priority	Improving the operation of the labour market	The best start for all our young people	Developing people who are in work	Narrowing the gap in employment
The issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The labour market generally works well, but skill gaps and shortages hold back some sectors. Better information and advice required. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young people need better access to careers advice, planning, training and employment opportunities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • World-class participation rates in post school education are not matched by life-long learning, especially in small businesses. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developing relevant skills can help match individuals to job opportunities. Public sector input could be made more effective.
Our focus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Help more people make informed and realistic career choices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raise completion rates for training programmes, broaden choices and provide better advice. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encourage more employers to invest in training their employees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Help people of all ages to become economically active
Key operational activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All-age careers planning and support • Future skills Scotland 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modern Apprenticeships and Skillseekers • Get Ready for Work • Early support for young people at risk 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adult Modern Apprenticeships • Investors in People • Construction skills • Advisory services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training for Work • Local regeneration

Source: Scottish Enterprise, 2005, 24.

At the local level Scottish Enterprise operate through Local Enterprise Companies (LECs). Of most relevance to this study is Scottish Enterprise Glasgow. Scottish Enterprise Glasgow helps the unemployed into work and training through local initiatives like Route 1 (a waged option with vocational and skills related training, personal development, core skills and job search) and national programmes, a number of which are outlined below.

- **Get Ready for Work:** provides skills training and work placements for 16-18 year olds who are struggling to get into training, education or employment. The programme helps to prepare participants for the labour market and pays them a training allowance.
- **Training for Work:** provides training support for those aged over 25 who have been unemployed and looking for work for some time. Allows for individuals to go on work placements.
- **Skillseekers:** a training programme which encourages employers to train people aged 16-24 towards a workplace qualification through helping them with the cost of training. Many of those involved are in employment but there are also places for those looking for work.
- **Modern Apprenticeships:** offers people aged over 16 a chance of paid employment with the opportunity to train for jobs up to management level. They provide a worthwhile alternative to continuing education for school-leavers who want to go directly to employment (Scottish Enterprise, 2005, 27).

Cultural – Scottish Arts Council

One of the main channels for Government funding of the arts in Scotland and national arts development is the Scottish Arts Council (SAC). The SACs plans are informed by the key objectives of the Scottish Executive's 'Building a Better Scotland' including the generation of jobs and wealth through creative industries, the promotion of excellence in culture and sport, ensuring people of all ages have the opportunity to take part and

ensuring the widest possible involvement in cultural opportunities (SAC, 2007, 10). With regard to this research, the SACs desire to tackle disadvantage and social exclusion through culturally related means is of greatest interest. The SAC (2004, 5) acknowledge the “vast contribution the arts make to widening the inclusion of people with social and economic disadvantages” therefore they “will use public funds to enable people to take part in the arts in the places that have the greatest need and least opportunity” (SAC, 2007, 16). The key to making such a vision reality according to the SAC, lies in working in partnership with central and local government and through the framework of Community Planning (SAC, 2004, 5).

Glasgow City Council

Social

Within Glasgow City Council (GCC), Development and Regeneration Services (DRS) aim to “focus development and regeneration, and co-ordinate resources towards city regeneration” (Glasgow City Council, 2006, 1). The department of economic and social initiatives is based within DRS being responsible for the development, management and monitoring of a variety of programmes including the financial inclusion strategy. Of particular relevance to this research is GCCs involvement with the creation of the Central Govan Action Plan (CGAP) in 2006. Whilst the action plan is not entirely socially focussed its main themes of population and housing, economic activity and employment, retail, heritage and conservation, townscape, transport and movement, landscape and community leisure and recreation all aim to improve the social fabric of the area. Created in partnership with various other bodies including Scottish Enterprise Glasgow, Communities Scotland, Greater Govan Social Inclusion Partnership (SIP), Govan Initiative and Linthouse Housing Association, the need for an action plan had been identified in the Glasgow City Plan 2003 as a means to address the “complex urban renewal issues” present in Govan and to co-ordinate investment and regeneration activity in the area (CGAP, 2006, 1). Whilst the City Plan focuses on citywide issues the plan also identified important aims relevant to the CGAP which include:

- 1 To achieve population growth, help retain families in the City, and deliver a choice of residential development opportunities to meet the demands of all sectors of the housing market;
- 2 To provide quality, sustainable work opportunities for all residents of the City;
- 3 To continue to develop the City's infrastructure to meet current and future needs of residents, visitors and investors;
- 4 To realise the development potential of 800 hectares of vacant and derelict land by 2005;
- 5 To bring about substantial change in the nature and perception of the River Clyde, identify new functions for the river and its banks that will result in widespread sustainable regeneration and allow it to regain its place at the heart of the City;
- 6 To target planning action to stimulate and sustain regeneration activity particularly to support SIP areas (CGAP, 2006, 2).

Glasgow City Council according to the plan have a commitment to “realising Central Govan's potential, using the unique urban environment to attract investment in new development and regenerate Govan as an attractive, sustainable community and an inviting place to live, work and visit” (CGAP, 2006, 1). As such the CGAP recommended the following priorities:

- 1 Increasing the local population by maximising new housing development.
- 2 Addressing issues of antisocial behaviour identified as the major concern of the local community and potential investors.
- 3 Redevelopment of Govan Cross Shopping Centre to improve the attraction and profile of Central Govan.
- 4 The provision of additional recreational facilities for young people and other local residents.
- 5 Recognition of the important architectural, archaeological and religious heritage of Central Govan.

- 6 Maximising the advantages offered by the location of Govan in an important area of the River Clyde Waterfront (CGAP, 2006, 2).

Political

Glasgow City Council attempts to engage citizens through the use of a Citizens Panel. Established in 1999, the Citizen's Panel involves two resident's surveys per financial year among representative samples of around 1,000 people in Glasgow. The panel has been utilised to consult on a range of issues including service satisfaction, contact with and opinion on the role of councillors, neighbourhood satisfaction levels, and key priorities for the city. For Development and Regeneration Services (DRS) involvement is an "important element of the Service's approach to ensuring the provision of relevant services that help address the needs of communities, citizens, customers and other stakeholders" (GCC, 2008a). Information collated from the Panel is also published in the Glasgow Magazine allowing both participants and the public an opportunity to view the results of consultation (GCC, 2008). Area specific initiatives such as the aforementioned CGAP also contain consultative elements which act to inform GCC strategy.

Community Councils also play an important role in providing a link between local communities and local and national bodies. Community Councils are statutory institutions who have elected or co-opted local members who act as representatives of local community opinion and are consulted on planning and other policy matters which affect local areas (Raco and Flint, 2001, 593). Ultimately according to Raco and Flint (2001, 594) the creation of Community Councils was "a deliberate attempt to mollify the particular forms of place-space tensions that were created in Scotland by the establishment of geographically large strategic, regional authorities and the replacement of small burghs by new district authorities". In Govan due to consistent disagreement and animosity the area now possesses more than one community council, the number dependent on how you define Greater Govan. For the purposes of this research Govan Community Council and Drumoyne Community Council were deemed to be of most geographical relevance with regards to interview purposes.

Economic

Whilst “anti-poverty work and initiatives are carried out by many Services within the Council” (GCC, 2005a) the work of Development and Regeneration services (DRS) was felt to be of most relevance to this research, in particular the work of the Economic and Social Initiatives sector and the Social Economy Team. There are a number of economic and social initiatives which have been designed to promote social and economic inclusion and are managed by DRS. These include:

- the Social Inclusion Budget, which funds over 150 organisations or projects which address key priorities such as the anti-poverty programme, families and young people, community care, community safety/community health, Equalities, and lifelong learning/training.
- support for a wide range of voluntary bodies which provide information, advice and services to the many communities which make up the city
- support for the labour market access and training programmes operated by a number of social economy organisations in the city
- support for the development of the community credit union movement including help with the refurbishment of premises and seeking out potential locations, funding of specific employment and training initiatives and linking credit unions with potential partners and funders to develop the range of services offered.
- support to develop the social economy
- support for the many community based economic development initiatives which operate across the city, and particularly the network of Local Development Companies (LDC's)
- the provision of information on social inclusion issues in Glasgow (GCC, 2005a).

The Social Economy Team also act to monitor benefit developments and the situation for low income households aiming to reduce their in work costs (GCC, 2005a). DRS also support a range of employment and training initiatives to help tackle worklessness as a key priority for GCC is to provide opportunities particularly to the “disadvantaged” (GCC, 2005a). For the purposes of this study Equal Access Strategy (EAS) and the Full Employment Areas Initiative (FEAI) were of particular interest.

EAS was launched in May 2004. The EAS vision is that “every adult in Glasgow regardless of their age, gender, background, ethnicity, personal or health history should have the same opportunity as everyone else in the city to obtain and hold down meaningful paid work” (EAS, 2007, 4). The EAS work to 3 main goals to deliver the vision which are:

- 1 **Joining up** – aiming to build a seamless service that will enable more people, particularly those on health-related benefits to progress towards and into work.
- 2 **Building Capacity** – developing a clear understanding of the overall system and of the roles and responsibilities of different agencies within it. It’s about helping our supporting partners who work with individuals to provide an effective, person-focussed service within this overall system, playing to their own strengths and working with the strengths of others
- 3 **Mainstreaming** – this way of working must not be limited to the life of a project. Over the long term, we aim to support agencies to make this a natural way of working (EAS, 2007, 4).

The key to this strategy according to Rodgers (2005, 20) is “connectivity” whereby the joining up of health and social programmes to employment and training programmes is such that “workless people get moved along seamlessly by a series of service provider ‘conveyor belts’ both towards and into the labour market”. The EAS is implemented by a team of staff seconded from a range of key partners (including GCC, Jobcentre Plus and Greater Glasgow NHS Board) with a Central Support Unit and “a remit to find out about each other and develop new ways of multi-agency joint working” (Coleman, 2007, 2).

Another initiative of interest is that of the FEAI. For Rodgers (2005, 20) in many ways the FEAI is a model of EAS at the local level. The aim of the FEAI is to “find new ways of reaching and actively engaging with workless people in Glasgow” (Scottish Executive, 2006f, 22). The FEAI pilots began in 2002 in the three deprived communities of Rosehill, Roystonhill and Wellhouse. The project objectives were to:

- Demonstrate what extra was needed to reach the ‘hidden’ unemployed
- Understand the process of moving people into economic activity
- Measure the added value of full employment in a neighbourhood
- Use existing resources – linking into the agencies, services and projects that can help people move into work and address issues holding them back and
- Continue to support people and households for as long as it takes (Scottish Centre for Regeneration, 2006).

Under the FEAI teams of “community animators” contact “workless people on their doorstep, in the shops, pubs, clubs or wherever unemployed people go and use community development techniques to engage with those wanting access to work or training” (Rodgers, 2005, 20). For those who want to work FEAI can help to find: support and advice to overcome barriers to employment such as childcare and benefits issues, integrated support from employment and counselling services and a job with aftercare support or a subsidised job with a full or training wage (Scottish Centre for Regeneration, 2006). Volunteering and community involvement are also encouraged to help build confidence (FEAI, 2005). If necessary animators will take people to interviews and sometimes advocate on their behalf (FEAI, 2005). The animators also “keep in touch” to make sure people who enter employment “stay in work, re-engaging them if they drop out” (Scottish Centre for Regeneration, 2006). The “community animators” themselves have been long term unemployed and therefore through having that experience can help to “break the culture of worklessness, to move people on and eventually into work” (Scottish Executive, 2006f, 22). Under FEAI whole households can be offered help into employment at the same time (FEAI, 2005).

DRS also provide financial support to the eight Local Development Companies (LDCs) in partnership with Scottish Enterprise Glasgow. LDCs provide a range of employment and training services in Glasgow's most disadvantaged areas and undertake activities such as making links with employers, arranging work placements, offering guidance, counselling and personal development training and business development (GCC, 2005a). According to Raco, Turok and Kintrea (2003) the purpose of LDCs was to establish "a new style of organisation that combines attributes of the public and private sectors - to adapt and integrate economic and social services to meet local needs, to champion local interests in external arenas and to act as enabling agents to promote local investment and development". The LDC of most relevance to this research is Govan Initiative, the activities of which are detailed below.

Cultural

Glasgow City Council possesses an arts and social inclusion strategy which is part of the Arts Development Team (as of 1st April 2007 the Arts Development team came under the umbrella of Culture and Sport Glasgow). The Arts Development Team acts to support the development of the arts and cultural activity in the city by supporting artists, performers and arts organisations and through actively encouraging access and participation in the arts among the widest possible range of people (Glasgow City Council, 2008b). Those projects funded with an arts and inclusion focus must work to further Glasgow City Council's key objectives including "promoting community development and social inclusion" and "promoting equality of access to the arts and culture" (Cultural and Leisure Services, 2006, 7).

Locally Based Regeneration Initiatives

Social – Greater Govan Social Inclusion Partnership (SIP)

With regards to strategies to assist those socially disadvantaged and living in Govan, a body of particular relevance is the Greater Govan SIP. Greater Govan SIP aims to develop the potential of the local community, combat poverty, support children and

families, involve young people in the regeneration of Greater Govan and to provide and sustain good quality housing in an attractive environment. Greater Govan SIP set up implementation groups tasked with improving the area from a number of perspectives including Health, Arts and Regeneration, Housing, Children and Families and Community Implementation.

Political - Community Potential Implementation Group (CPIG)

The Greater Govan SIP established the Community Potential Implementation Group (CPIG) to represent and promote local views and interests. The CPIG aimed to develop the confidence, self-esteem and skills that would allow the community to participate fully in the Partnership, in managing and controlling public services and in undertaking community led projects to tackle exclusion. The CPIG also aimed to look beyond the SIP and encourage participation in the wider community.

Economic - Govan Initiative

Govan Initiative⁴ was the first LDC to be established in 1986 as a company limited by guarantee with the principal objective to “activate employment by promoting industry and commerce and stimulating economic development activity in the Govan area” (Govan Initiative, 1989, 1). Originally Govan Initiative had a restricted economic remit providing business-support services, employment advice and training however over time there has been a move towards more of a socio-economic remit with programmes related to local health care and targeted training programmes for the unemployed (Raco, Turok and Kintrea, 2003, 285). Govan Initiative’s key goals are to:

- 1 Encourage and support an informed community to participate fully in the life of the City.
- 2 Establish a technology rich and sustainable economy.
- 3 Create a lifelong, learning community.

⁴ Govan Initiative merged with another LDC ‘Equip’ in 2007 to create a Local Regeneration Agency (LRA) Glasgow South West Regeneration Agency, one of GCCs five new LRAs dealing with regeneration and employability and replacing the LDCs.

- 4 Build an environment that meets the current and future needs of all its communities.
- 5 To be recognised as an excellent company by our customers (Govan Initiative, 2005, 3).

Govan Initiative has ultimately been charged with the regeneration of the local economy (Govan Initiative, 2005, 8) and works in partnership with a number of public and private organisations including residents, community groups, local companies, GCC, Scottish Enterprise Glasgow and Communities Scotland (Govan Initiative, 2005, 7). Govan Initiative also has a Social Economy Team which looks to support “formal community enterprises which have social objectives” (Govan Initiative, 2006).

Govan Initiative aims to create a “highly skilled, appropriate and flexible workforce” to improve the employment prospects of local people and to “match local labour supply with local employment opportunities” (Raco, Turok and Kintrea, 2003, 289). Govan Initiative also possess a drive to “deliver higher skilled, higher waged employment opportunities” (Glasgow Local Development Company Network, 2005, 15). According to Raco, Turok and Kintrea (2003) Govan Initiative have played four roles in assisting local people into employment. Firstly, it has acted as a ‘broker’ between developers and local authorities, secondly, as a ‘negotiator’ securing benefits from planning gain for Govan, thirdly, a ‘champion’ for local companies to assist them in gaining premises and lastly a ‘recruiter’ of labour for construction and retail employment opportunities.

For those living in Govan and looking for employment or further training Govan Initiative provide a number of support services. Govan Initiative advisors assist in providing access to work experience opportunities, learning, training and employment opportunities, helping individuals to job search and develop interview skills, also offering a referral service to other relevant services and developing employability skills (Govan Initiative 2006a).

Courses ran by Govan Initiative are not always directly employment related rather more related to personal development such as the Community Learning Project which

runs courses such as first aid and keep fit. There are in essence issues around it not always being clear as to what Govan Initiative is responsible for in Govan as many of the factors that directly and indirectly impact on the local economy such as housing, transport and health are out with their specified responsibilities (Raco, Turok and Kintrea, 2003, 299).

Cultural - Roots in the Community

Roots in the community is an arts organisation based in the Greater Govan area and was set up to administer and deliver the strategy of the arts and regeneration implementation group. This group was established through the SIP to “fund and promote activity that enables individuals to develop their creativity, increase in confidence and contribute to the health of their physical and social environment” (GGCF, 2005). Roots believe that “the local arts and community organisations need to be at the centre of the regeneration of Govan” due to the “sense of fulfilment that people get from participation and appreciation of the arts and the pride gained from facilities, programmes and events that enliven the environment, all contribute a sense of vitality and confidence to a community” (Roots in the community information leaflet). Roots provide services including supporting local artists and creating relationships between local facilities such as schools and artists.

Local Community Groups

Social

In the case of Govan a number of voluntary groups are of particular interest in looking at tackling disadvantage from a social perspective. The ones I have selected for the purposes of this research are: **Govan Youth Club, Park Villa Football Development, The Preshal Trust and Gingerbread Scotland**. Govan Youth Club is a predominantly family ran group who provide in the main sporting activities for young people living in and around the Govan area. Along with football and swimming the club also organises trips for a nominal charge. Park Villa Football Development set up in 1998, provides not only football coaching but also encouragement and information on health and fitness and fast track access to a number of local colleges. Information is also provided on local

courses ran by Govan Initiative and other training opportunities. The Preshal Trust is another group aimed at helping those groups who may otherwise be vulnerable to social exclusion. The groups aim is to make a difference to the lives of those members of the community who may be isolated or excluded such as pensioners, ex-convicts, people with mental health problems and those with a history of drug and alcohol abuse. The group sees over 350 people a week in attendance and provides home visits if required. The group offers art classes, twice weekly lunch club, advice on cooking on a budget and counselling if necessary. The group also provides educational opportunities including literacy and numeracy classes and IT training, with training providers attending the centre so as to allow training in a familiar unthreatening environment. The Preshal Trust ultimately allows for some of the most disadvantaged people in the area to socialise and be supported in a safe place. Another voluntary group of interest is Gingerbread Scotland, an organisation aimed at helping lone parents. With many lone parents in Govan living “by themselves and being isolated from contact with most services and organised educational and leisure activities – apart from the doctor, the benefits office and rent payment” (Carabine, 1996, 1) Gingerbread Scotland provides a point of contact for support services. Whilst not based in Govan itself, rather the centre of Glasgow, Gingerbread Scotland is open to all lone parents in the wider area who require friendship, information and advice, moral and emotional support and practical help. Gingerbread Scotland aims to improve the social and economic circumstances of lone parent families in need. With regards to supporting voluntary groups in the Greater Govan area the **Greater Govan Community Forum (GGCF)** is worthy of note. Funded by the SIP, the GGCF offers assistance with disclosures, charitable status, free of charge meeting facilities, funding advice and assistance and training. Courses are provided on chairing and committee skills, basic book-keeping, and confidence building.

Political

Within Govan itself one of the main groups providing opportunity for local residents to have their views heard is **Sunny Govan Community Radio (SGCR)**. SGCR describes itself as a “unique grassroots not for profit company... encouraging volunteering, training

& development through the medium of community radio, and aims to encourage and support local creative talent, fostering local traditions and providing services for the benefit, entertainment, education and development of our community” (SGCR, 2008). Formed in 1998, SGCR is committed to “providing access to the airwaves to underrepresented voices, being based at grassroots level and being established and run primarily by volunteers and activists, community development rather than profit” and to being “used by our community for personal and communal empowerment” (SGCR, 2008). Local people are encouraged to join in, sharing their views on the local area and the station provides training opportunities in journalism, admin, web design, radio production, marketing and research. The web based ‘Sunny Govan Forum’ also allows for opinions to be shared and discussed at any time.

Economic

The **GalGael** Trust are a community organisation set up in the mid 1990s to reflect ‘Govan's proud heritage of shipbuilding and cultural diversity’ through producing a range of hand-crafted products from furniture and ironwork to the building of large sail boats. The GalGael Trust works with some of the most vulnerable members of the community including young people, those with mental health problems, ex-offenders and those with alcohol and substance abuse issues. According to the GalGael their method is simple “give folk a place to work, tools both attitudinal and practical and some basic respect and the rest comes naturally... through their time spent with us, we hope people will be empowered to navigate life with dignity, through expanded means of meeting their needs in life-enhancing ways and so become more socially, culturally and economically engaged with their community” (<http://www.galgael.org/index.aspx>). The GalGael hopes through the construction of items such as large sailing boats, to provide opportunities for local people to gain training in transferable skills. The GalGael are funded from a variety of sources including the SIP, Glasgow City Council and Greater Govan Key Fund who recognise the potential benefits to the local economy of the development of community enterprises of this sort.

Cultural

The **Linthouse Urban Village (LUV)** project is an arts-led community regeneration project involving local people in a number of creative projects to improve the quality of life in the Linthouse area. Linthouse is an area within Greater Govan which due to unemployment, lack of inward investment, anti social behaviour, drug abuse and deteriorating infrastructure has suffered socially and physically (www.linthouseurbanvillage.com). LUV desires to restore community spirit, raise the aspirations of local people and improve the physical look of the area using innovative approaches. The concept of LUV was developed by the Linthouse Housing Association and aims to develop the potential of greater Govan for the people who live, work and visit the area. LUV hopes to do this by:

- Developing grassroots cultural-planning based approach to the regeneration of Linthouse
- Increasing opportunities for local people to socialise
- Raising the aspirations and quality of life for locals
- Increasing job and training opportunities for local people
- Rebranding Linthouse positively and creatively
- Encouraging more footfall to, and interest in, the area
- Impacting positively on the economy of the area

(www.linthouseurbanvillage.com)

The first phase of the project began in September 2003 with funding from the Greater Govan Key Fund to design new exteriors for small businesses in Linthouse to bring up the look of the area as a whole known as the Creative Shop Front Project. The hub for the LUV project is based in a prominent corner shop front acting also as a gallery with workshop space to allow for a variety of creative activities to take place there. The Gallery also provides a learning centre with training facilities. The Learning Zone ran by Govan Initiative runs courses including those in computer skills, money-management, cookery, sewing, adult literacy and numeracy from a base in the gallery (Action, 2005,

17). LUV has also opened an innovatively designed community café in July 2004 with internet facilities and also hosts activities such as book and poetry groups, film nights as well as cookery and art classes. The café is run as a social enterprise with a healthy eating focus. The LUV gallery, café and shop fronts can be viewed in chapter 5. The LUV project developed through the Linthouse Housing Association is a good example of Wider Role in action with a housing association moving from focussing solely on housing to looking at the community as a whole.

APPENDIX 7

Selection of interview guides

Interview with Greater Govan SIP

Social

Views on disadvantage

Could you tell me how disadvantage manifests itself in Govan? That is to say the nature the extent, and the impacts it has?

How would you define disadvantage?

Do you see a lot of potential in Govan for regeneration? What sorts of things does the area have going for it?

Do you think there is a good balance of physical and social regeneration in Govan?

Overall what progress has the SIP made in reaching its objectives?

In achieving the SIPs objectives how effectively was the community involved in the process?

Partnership

What do you think about the work being done by other local agencies attempting to combat disadvantage?

Do you work in partnership with any other organisations locally? (How well)?

Generally how valuable do you see partnerships being in the regeneration of communities?

Do you feel enough is done to include local people in the decisions which are made in their own areas?

Themes of SIP

There seems to be a real problem with depopulation in Govan. What do you see to be the main causes of this (e.g. replacement of houses with warehouses)?

Do you think to attract people into Govan there needs to be a greater mix of housing provided? Such as more of a mix of flats and houses?

Do you think Govan as an area would benefit from the introduction of more private housing into the area?

Crime seems to be a recurring issue for many of the people living in Govan. What sort of work has the SIP undertaken to increase people's feelings of safety in the area and tackle the underlying causes of crime?

There also seems to be a real problem with gangs and the issue of territory in and around Govan. What in your opinion is the best way to tackle this issue?

What sorts of measures has the SIP introduced to try to encourage community involvement and development?

Obviously community groups and volunteers are important to the area. Has the SIP put in place any structures to assist existent groups (e.g. assistance in accessing funding) and to also encourage the creation of new groups?

What role do the private sector play in the SIP? Do they sit on the SIP board? Do you think the private sector has a role to play?

Obviously unemployment is a big issue for the area. What has the SIP done to increase training and further education opportunities?

There seems to be a perception that there are not many jobs available to people from Govan whether it be due to skills levels or just few jobs to be had. Is this the case in reality?

With the relocation of the BBC do you think there is the opportunity for employment creation or do you think there is the danger that little new employment is created and any which is some of the residents in Govan may not have the level of training to take up the positions?

Obviously education plays a major part in dictating whether people can access a lot of the opportunities available to them. What do you think could be done to increase attendance and attainment levels?

Health is obviously another big issue for the Greater Govan area. What measures has the SIP employed to try and promote healthier eating and lifestyles?

Do you perceive that the SIP has dramatically had an impact on poverty levels in Govan? How would you be able to measure this?

What positive changes has the SIP made to peoples quality of life and satisfaction with their area?

What moves have been made in relation to local peoples concerns relating to local drug activity?

Do you think there should be a stronger police presence in the Govan?

Community Planning Partnerships

Do you think that the Community Planning Partnerships are a step forward or are they just the same partnership based initiatives under a different name?

Is there a danger that as the SIPs are integrated into Community Planning Partnerships they may lose a degree of local control which was previously possible through the SIP?

Is there the worry that the Community Planning Partnerships may not carry on consistently the work the SIP was undertaking?

How far do you think the SIP has managed to involve young people in the regeneration of the area? What methods have been utilised?

What sorts of strategies have been used to develop the confidence and self-esteem of local people in the area allowing them to participate more fully in the life of the community?

Obviously it is important to economically regenerate the area but do you think work needs to be done primarily on developing local peoples confidence maybe through other means such as social events, using the arts and culture which will hopefully have a knock on effect in employment and training terms?

Wider Issues

Do you think the SIP boundary is practical as the problems of areas such as Drumoyne don't really stick to such lines?

Do you feel as if the views of the SIP are taken on board when the Scottish Executive are devising regeneration strategies or is there little consultation?

Do you think that geographically speaking being locally based assists you in seeing the real issues which need to be tackled?

Do you think that the push made by the Scottish Executive to include local people in decision making is matched by the reality of what actually happens?

What sorts of factors make for a community project which the SIP thinks it is worthwhile to fund? (related to SIP objectives)

Do you think the various implementation groups have made a real difference to the SIP's ability to meet its objectives?

Interview with Communities Scotland (Regeneration Division) NDPB Community Engagement team

Political

Views on disadvantage

How would you define disadvantage?

Do you think there is a good balance between physical and social regeneration in disadvantaged communities currently?

National Standards for Community Engagement

Can you tell me a bit about what prompted the creation of the national standards for community engagement?

Who was consulted in the creation of the national standards?

Why was the construction of a set of national standards viewed as so crucial?

What benefits do you think are received from consulting communities on their wants and needs for their particular area?

How is the information to be fed back to the relevant communities (newsletter etc.)?

Many disadvantaged areas may have a degree of mistrust towards people from Executive related agencies. What would be your take on using local people to help shape the participative process and even assist in chairing the event?

If people in disadvantaged communities feel disengaged and lack the confidence to become involved in the consultation process how are such groups to be targeted?

Is it really possible to measure the level of community engagement in any one area? (bums on seats)?

How are agencies then to be evaluated in their success in implementing the national standards?

If there are no strict rules on adherence how can it be ensured agencies and groups are following these national standards?

Do you have staff available to help and support the smaller community groups in using the standards?

Is there not the danger that those who present themselves for participation are in some ways atypical of those in an area? (Particularly those of a disadvantaged nature).

With the introduction of Community Planning Partnerships do you see the whole notion of community engagement gaining momentum?

Methodologically speaking what sorts of strategies are viewed as beneficial to increase community engagement? (Community visioning etc.)

As SIP's move to Community Planning Partnership's is there not the potential for a lack of consistency between organisations as they struggle to work to the latest standards at differing rates?

In disadvantaged communities it seems that many may lack the relevant skills (reading) to become actively involved in their community. Are there any solutions to this either within the current framework or that can be constructed?

How is it to be ensured that both voluntary and community groups feel their opinions have been valued and worked from so as to promote future effective participation in consultations?

Wider Considerations of NSCE

Do you think by being encouraged to get involved in influencing decision making in their own area encourages individuals to engage with their communities in different ways (e.g. participating in other consultations, volunteering)?

How vital do you see the process of consultation being in the eyes of those involved? Do you think being consulted makes individuals feel more part of the Executives activities and decisions?

Do you think that if community engagement is to succeed there needs to be clear evidence of it working as failure may make communities less willing to get involved in the future?

Do you think there is sometimes the problem of over consultation? Whereby a lot of different agencies are targeting the same areas geographical area or topic wise and people feel they see little coming out of so much consultation?

Partnership

Relating to consultation do you work in partnership with any other organisations to promote best practice in consultation processes?

Do you think there are enough opportunities for people and organisations from different areas to come together and share ideas and success stories relating to community engagement?

Do you think there is a tendency to discuss what has worked rather than also disseminating what hasn't been successful so as to avoid replication?

Local views on issues

Do you feel personally enough is done to include local people in the decisions which are made in their own areas?

How would you counter the opinion of some that Executive agencies have already made a lot of the decisions prior to community engagement and it's really just a token gesture?

What sorts of improvements if any do you think could be made to the current consultation processes?

I have spoken to a number of small community groups in Govan who work directly with a number of vulnerable and disadvantaged groups. They say they are rarely consulted with regard to developments in their area which may have an impact on the work they do. Do you think there are a lot of small groups that slip through the net of consultation?

How successful to date would you say Communities Scotland have been in engaging local communities?

Is there a mechanism whereby the findings from consultations like for example Glasgow City Council's citizen's panel can be fed to Communities Scotland to inform their policies on community engagement and regeneration?

Community engagement has taken many forms in the past such as community involvement for example. What is it about this strategy (the national standards) that makes it different and more liable to be a success where other strategies have faltered?

Interview with ETLLED Scottish Executive

Economic

Views on disadvantage

How would you define disadvantage?

Do you think there is a good balance between physical and social regeneration in disadvantaged communities currently?

Partnership

Generally how valuable do you see partnerships being in the regeneration of communities?

Would you agree that as other agencies have identified depending on the remits of the other partnership agencies it can often be difficult to work to the same objectives?

Do you think partnerships are useful but it depends on what people take from the meetings/discussions and what they do with the information and experience the partnership has provided?

Community Planning Partnerships

Do you think the introduction of Community Planning Partnerships is a positive step in the revitalisation of disadvantaged areas through the proposed better use of resources etc.?

Is there the issue that the Community Planning Partnerships may not be able to carry on consistently the work the SIP was undertaking?

With the geographical areas being covered by the Community Planning Partnerships increasing from that covered by the SIP is there an issue with the loss of a degree of local focus?

General Issues

What do you see as the main ways the Executive are attempting to improve opportunities for people living in disadvantaged communities from an economic regeneration perspective?

How is success measured (number of jobs)?

Is the focus on employability? Is it work that regenerates areas?

In SSS it sets out the priority areas in which Scotland must develop in order to achieve economic success – growing businesses, global connections, skills and learning. What area would you say there has been most success in so far?

What do you see the responsibilities of Communities Scotland being?

What do you see the role of Scottish Enterprise being?

There seems to be a real issue surrounding more what could be termed soft skills. Would you say you see it as Scottish Enterprise's responsibility to help develop these skills or does responsibility lie more with agencies such as Communities Scotland? Surely it is to the benefit to the economy to have a strong motivated pool of workers?

Clearly the key to growing the economy is increasing the ability of all citizens whom are able to take enter sustained employment. Currently there are a number of diverse and often multiple forms of disadvantage not least that many people lack soft skills. What is being done at a policy level to increase the levels of such skills and address the multifaceted nature of economic disadvantage in these communities?

Some have said you can grow the economy successfully but never touch the most disadvantaged areas and lift them out of poverty. Would you agree with this statement?

Obviously economic regeneration is viewed as vital in terms of number of jobs created etc. However in a Smart, Successful Scotland it promotes the importance of an ambitious and confident population. What importance then is placed on the more social forms of regeneration confidence etc.? How is this promoted by Scottish Executive?

Is there a difficulty that due to the lines between say economic and social regeneration often being blurred that it is often hard to ascertain whose responsibility a certain aspect of regeneration belongs to even within the Executive? E.g. whether SE or CS should be taking responsibility or both?

It is clear that the direction Scottish Enterprise are going the agency views its main role to be to grow the economy and through doing so this will in turn benefit disadvantaged areas yet the closing the opportunity gap references in SSS would seem to imply they had more of an active role to play than that. What role do you see Scottish Enterprise playing in the regeneration sector if any?

Do you think the focus placed on business by Scottish Enterprise may have a detrimental effect increasing the gap between the have and the have nots?

Do you think there is more of a need for earlier interventions even at primary school age to tackle the lack of soft skills and increase confidence of those who will in the future be entering the job market?

What do you hope the employability framework can achieve?

There are clearly a number of barriers between people in disadvantaged areas and employment do you think the re needs to be a more joined up approach in terms of tackling the different needs of the individual with a view to allowing them to take up employment? Joined up working social work, communities Scotland and employers.

Do you think the private sector need to play more of a role in supporting people back into work and providing opportunities for people from disadvantaged areas apprenticeships etc.?

Do you think there is now a growing recognition that the benefits of employment to an individual reach beyond those of a monetary nature to increases in self-esteem and feelings of control over their lives?

Do you think whilst there should be a continuing focus on worklessness there should also be an increased focus on up-skilling those in low paid low skilled jobs?

Do you think there is an issue as some have highlighted that a number of people think they are better off on benefits than working. How is this barrier to be overcome?

Do you think that many of the local community groups dealing with addiction issues, depression etc. could be better utilised in helping rehabilitated individuals in focussing on getting work and training rather than viewing curbing the addiction as the end point?

Do you think that particularly in disadvantaged areas there can be a number of initiatives designed to provide advice but that actually cause confusion through conflicting advice or an individual having to visit certain places to gain information on benefits, jobs, education, training etc.? Need for centralisation?

What role/function do you see the social economy playing in terms of the wider economy?

Do you think there is an issue with job centre plus being associated so closely with benefits which maybe makes people less open and unable to trust staff? Need for less of a statutory approach?

Obviously there are members of communities who feel so disengaged that they cannot access many of the learning and development opportunities provided by Executive based agencies. Would this be where the Executive would look to the more locally based economic regeneration groups to intervene?

Do you feel as if the views of representatives working at the different tiers of economic regeneration (Scottish Enterprise, Council, Local Development Companies and community groups) are taken on board when the Scottish Executive are devising regeneration strategies or is there room for more consultation?

At the moment do you think there is an effective level of interface between public, private and voluntary bodies in looking at the bigger picture of the regeneration of communities?

In areas suffering multiple forms of disadvantage do you think it is important that the Executive are flexible enough in their responses to allow areas with very different experiences of disadvantage receive the appropriate responses?

Do you think within the various departments of the Executive there exists a sound understanding of what each of the divisions (economic and social) are responsible for and how they work? Do you think the staff would benefit from more of an understanding of this?

The community regeneration fund seems to promote the link between economic and social regeneration “work as the best route out of poverty”. Clearly there is a lot of work to be done in the social sphere before many can enter employment. Are there integrated measures being put in place to assist those furthest from the job market struggling with addiction issues etc.?

Do you place a lot of importance on local community groups in disadvantaged areas? Do you think resources would be better spent on bigger more focussed organisations or groups more focussed on aspects of economic regeneration?

Do you think a lot of the economic regeneration efforts being made would benefit from the LOAN (Linking Opportunity And Need) structure whereby the training available is targeted to what the economy requires rather than what individual groups and organisations think a person needs?

The LUV Project
Cultural
Views on disadvantage

Could you tell me how disadvantage manifests itself in Govan? That is to say the nature the extent, and the impacts it has?

How would you define disadvantage?

Do you see a lot of potential in Govan for regeneration? What sorts of things does the area have going for it?

Do you think there is a good balance of physical and social regeneration in Govan?

Strategic goals in relation to disadvantage (aims)

Can you describe to me the sort of work the LUV project does?

What are the main objectives of the LUV project?

How was the group originally set up?

Who are the main funding bodies?

How successful would you say this approach has been to date in tackling disadvantage?

So what are the main sort of 'anti-disadvantage' strategies your organisation is employing currently?

Are there any proposed projects which you could tell me about which may be coming to fruition in the future?

What would you say still needs to be done in terms of the projects strategy?

Why do you think the work you do is so important?

How easy is it for a community group to attain funding from the Scottish Executive? Is there a lot of form filling in?

What could the Scottish Executive do to help small groups develop and grow? Is it purely financial support which is needed?

What sorts of obstacles other than financial do you think local groups meet in trying to set up a community group? (premises etc.)

How supportive are the council towards local community groups in terms of providing help in securing premises etc.?

Do you think that such a thing as “community spirit” could be said to exist in Govan today?

Do you think Scottish executive policies; the council or local groups such as yourself are making the biggest changes on the ground in Govan?

Views on governmental policy

To what extent would you say your organisation takes steer from policies and initiatives formulated by the Scottish Executive or indeed the central UK Government?

Do you think government policies aimed at tackling disadvantage are having an impact on the ground?

Do you feel as if the views of organisations such as yourself are taken on board when the Scottish Executive are devising regeneration strategies or is there little consultation?

Do you think that geographically speaking being locally based assists you in seeing the real issues which need to be tackled?

Do you feel enough is done to include local people in the decisions which are made in their own areas?

Do you think that regeneration works best from a top down or a community led perspective? Why do you think this is the case?

Partnership

Do you work in partnership with any other organisations locally?

Generally how valuable do you see partnerships being in the regeneration of communities?

Do you think that partnership working is of value in Govan?

'Transplantability' Factor

Do you think other areas could benefit from a strategy such as that employed by the LUV project or do you think it is too specific to Linthouse as it was formulated and created here? Is it too area specific?

Do you think there are enough opportunities for people and organisations from different areas to come together and share ideas and success stories relating to regeneration?

Role of the arts and the LUV project

What role do you see the arts having in helping to regenerate disadvantaged communities? An important one?

What sort of role do you see the more cultural forms of regeneration having in Govan?

How would you counter the opinion that using the arts as a means of regeneration is ineffective and it is the more economic and social issues which need to be tackled primarily?

The shop fronts certainly brighten up the area. Some people I have spoken to have said it doesn't necessarily make the actual area any safer or created any new jobs. What are the main advantages obtained through renewing the shop fronts?

The LUV Café is an attractive looking place but some locals say they feel intimidated to go in as it looks very "West end" and "posh". How would you respond to this?

Some people in relation to the shops have said they look better from the outside but they are still unattractive on the inside. Is there an incentive offered to the shop keepers to renew the interior also?

Do you think the LUV project has the potential to reach the most disengaged members of the local community?

Do you think that being a project using arts and culture as a way of regenerating an area you perhaps receive less funding and recognition than a project providing training and more tangible economic gains?

The current system of funding dictates that you are only funded for a certain amount of time. Do you think this inhibits forward planning and how far the vision can be taken?

Do you think to meet the needs of the local people and to allow the project to be accepted and embraced it needs to be consistently available rather than for a fixed period of time?

APPENDIX 8

Roles of Communities Scotland and Scottish Enterprise as outlined in Framework Agreement.

National Regeneration Priorities

Where the focus is on major investment projects –

Scottish Enterprise's contribution involves:

- Development of the overall regeneration strategy – normally in a partnership setting
- Setting up delivery vehicles with partners and the private sector to deliver the project
- Remediation of vacant and derelict land as part of the process of regeneration
- Securing the provision of industrial and commercial property
- Support for enterprise development, including business start up support and social enterprises
- Skills development linked to employment opportunities
- Place marketing to address perceptions of potential investors

Communities Scotland's contribution involves:

- Working with local authorities to agree the strategic location of affordable housing, including housing for rent and for affordable home ownership and funding the development of this housing
- Working with local authorities and others to ensure Local Housing Strategies encourage regeneration
- Supporting community-owned housing associations to lever private housing investment into disadvantaged areas.
- Improving the quality and efficiency of housing and regeneration investment by modernising procurement and promoting sustainability
- Supporting the development of the social economy.

Communities Scotland and Scottish Enterprise will work together to:

- Bring their respective investment programmes into closer alignment through the Regeneration Outcome Agreement (ROA) and other processes with a view to explicitly linking opportunity and need
- Ensure that regeneration initiatives contribute to the achievement of the Closing the Opportunity Gap target on the regeneration of the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods and support other Closing the Opportunity Gap targets.
- Help people access opportunities in regeneration and other employment areas to work with industry/ employers to fill skills gaps.

- Ensure that the housing component in mixed use developments reflects the needs of the local housing market for example through mixed tenure and provision for special needs.

Community Regeneration Priorities

Where the focus is on promoting community regeneration of the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods –

Communities Scotland operational role involves:

- Working with Ministers to set priorities for community regeneration investment which can best enable people to get out of poverty and stay out of poverty
- Strategically managing programmes of investment which are delivered through others, notably Community Planning Partnerships, through setting criteria and guidance, assessing progress against these and identifying and supporting improvement required
- Promoting adult literacy and numeracy
- Use investment in new and improved housing to benefit areas of disadvantage
- Ensuring that social economy organisations, including housing associations can be supported to provide training and job opportunities where they are needed most and can look to sources of earned income to become more sustainable in the longer term
- Through the Scottish Centre for Regeneration supporting people and organisations involved in community regeneration to improve their effectiveness
- Putting in place a range of practical measures to help support the engagement of communities in community regeneration.

Scottish Enterprise's operational role involves:

- Delivering effective skills interventions linked to specific employment outcomes
- Ensuring that appropriate business start-up support is available for targeted areas and groups
- Supporting the growth and sustainability of social enterprise through business development services aimed at increasing income from trading activities
- Ensuring that the Business Gateway is accessible to businesses in regeneration areas

Communities Scotland and Scottish Enterprise will work together to:

- Develop new and joined up approaches to improving access to employment in the context of the emerging Employability Framework and by building on the “linking opportunity and need” study
- Align the delivery of construction skills training with housing investment programmes in priority communities
- Ensure that there is a co-ordinated approach locally to support the social economy
- Support one another to improve practice, develop skills and introduce new approaches to regeneration.

