Community Enterprises, Community Assets and Processes of Urban Regeneration and Gentrification

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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June 2020

Abstract

This thesis explores the role of community enterprises (CEs), and particularly the community assets that they manage, within regeneration and gentrification. As has been well-documented, there is a long-standing debate regarding if, and how, regeneration can be achieved to benefit existing residents, while limiting the risks associated with gentrification. Existing literature has explored more nuanced conceptualisations of gentrification; the factors that can help to limit gentrification; and the role of asset-managing/owning CEs within community-led regeneration. However, further research is needed exploring the complex interrelations between CEs, their assets, regeneration and gentrification in relation to these debates. This is particularly important in the context of the *Community Empowerment* and *Localism* agendas promoted by the Scottish and Westminster Governments respectively, and nearly a decade of austerity.

This thesis contributes to these gaps and builds on a limited body of existing research in this area by exploring the extent to which the approach taken by CEs, via their community assets, to regeneration can and does affect the impacts and outcomes that can occur, including the extent of gentrification. The thesis examines the utility of a community asset-focussed analysis of gentrification, using case studies of CEs which manage community centres.

A largely qualitative methodology was adopted. Firstly, semi-structured scoping interviews were completed with 17 local and national stakeholders in Scotland and England. The second stage involved in-depth qualitative case study research (interviews and a focus group) with one CE in Glasgow, Scotland (34 participants) and one in Bristol, England (39 participants). Policy documents, organisational papers and neighbourhood statistics were also analysed. The study adopted a longitudinal, comparative approach to analyse the trajectories of these CEs over time, considering the factors influencing their approaches and impacts and outcomes arising.

The findings from the scoping interviews indicate that the potential of CEs, via their assets, to contribute to regeneration without gentrification tends to be indirect, via a commitment to 'another way' through the social economy (see Tuckett, 1988). Through this, there is potential for a more socially and

economically just future in which, while capitalism is not directly challenged, its worst excesses can potentially be curtailed, if, and only if, adequate government support is provided to enable and support such endeavours.

Data from the case study research highlights that both cases have played a key role in their communities over time, for those who engage. In different ways, the organisations and their assets have contributed to social (and to a lesser extent, economic) regeneration and community development activities; and they have sought, to varying extents and in different ways, to address varied community needs locally. Their work, via their assets, has arguably largely reflected and, at times, reinforced, neighbourhood changes, including those relating to gentrification. There are complex interrelations between organisational, local and national factors which affect each organisation's role and contribution to regeneration and/or gentrification.

However, the findings highlight that the potential for CEs to play a greater role in community-led regeneration without gentrification is intrinsically limited at present due to structural inequalities relating to housing and labour markets, compounded by austerity and so-called 'welfare reform.' These challenges create tensions for CEs over time, leading to an increasing 'need' for enterprise, potentially distracting from community aims, and being reflected in their assets.

While not seeking to detract from the social/community contributions of many CEs, including the case studies, this thesis argues that at present, these constraints are disabling this potential, and it is fundamental that these are recognised and acted upon by governments. The wider context of structural inequalities, austerity and the housing crisis, and the subsequent challenges CEs face in terms of organisational capacity, agency and scale, mean that CEs are unable to achieve their potential contribution to community-led regeneration without gentrification, without greater state intervention. This is required in areas including affordable housing and redistributive welfare policies.

This thesis thus contributes to knowledge in the areas identified, arguing that community assets can be a useful lens to explore the complex interrelations between regeneration, gentrification and community enterprise. In doing so, the findings further problematise policy narratives which often uncritically promote

the benefits of CEs and community ownership/management. The thesis therefore calls for a more realistic and nuanced understanding of the potential of this approach, and the need for state intervention to address structural inequalities and redistribute economic and social capitals to enable and support community-based efforts to reach their potential.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my participants for giving up their time so generously, and without whom this thesis would not have been possible. Particular thanks to my case studies, Community Central Hall and BS3 Community Development, for agreeing to participate in the study. Particular thanks in Glasgow to Mark, Gillian and Jackie, and in Bristol to Simon, Ruth, Aimee and Ben, for providing support, facilitating access, organising room bookings and multiple other asks. Thanks to everyone else who helped suggest contacts, facilitate meetings, provide documents etc. Thanks to Alan MacGregor for providing me with statistical data for Glasgow.

Huge thanks to my supervisors, Annette Hastings and Ross Beveridge, for always being clear and constructive, helping with my many questions throughout this project and for their support, patience, kindness and pragmatism. Thanks very much to Mhairi Mackenzie for her clear, constructive feedback throughout my annual reviews. Many thanks to my examiners, Professor Claire Colomb and Dr Andrew Hoolachan, for their extremely helpful feedback and engaging discussion. I wouldn't have had the belief that I could even do a PhD without the support of many people along the way. In particular, Mike Raco, as my MSc dissertation supervisor, provided the impetus for me to apply for a PhD, and I am extremely grateful for this. This thesis would have not been possible without the financial support of the Economic and Social Research Council.

Many thanks to those who were so kind to offer a place to stay and some companionship when conducting research in Bristol – Eva and Chris, Barbara and John, Kate and Keith and Bea and Mike. Thanks to Kevin and Annie for letting me stay when starting out in London, and for being wonderful family friends over the years.

I'm very lucky to have such wonderful friends who have all supported me over the past 3.5 years, and some for many more. Huge thanks to Emily – for being the best friend I could hope for, for always being there, for all the card games, walks, providing me with a lovely sanctuary to visit in Girona and so much more. Thanks to Martin for being a super friend, and sharing the geographical interest! Many thanks also to Anne, Ashleigh, Ben, Cathryn, Emma, Eva, Gordon, Jamie,

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

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Abbreviations

BCC	Bristol City Council
BLF	Big Lottery Fund
BS3CD	BS3 Community Development
CAT	Community Asset Transfer
CBHA	Community-Based Housing Association
CCH	Community Central Hall
CDC	Community Development Corporation
CDT	Community Development Trust
CE	Community Enterprise
CSCB	Coin Street Community Builders
DTAS	Development Trusts Association Scotland
EE&C	Early Education and Childcare Services
GCC	Glasgow City Council
GFC	Global Financial Crisis
IoD	Index of Deprivation (England)
JRF	Joseph Rowntree Foundation
OPS	Older People's Services
RQ	Research Question
SCDA	Southville Community Development Association
S&CE	Social and Community Enterprise
SE	Social Enterprise
SIMD	Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation
SNP	Scottish National Party
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States

1 Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Origins of the Research

As an undergraduate Geography student, I was saddened and angered to learn about the injustices of gentrification and displacement, reflecting the wider social and economic inequalities which manifest in the capitalist context (for example, Slater, 2009). This was a process that was becoming increasingly imbued across urban space (Smith, 2002), and which city governments were actively promoting through their regeneration and housing policies (Lees, 2003a; Paton, 2014). I thus became fascinated in the long-standing and, arguably somewhat irreconcilable, debate regarding the relationship between regeneration and gentrification (see, for example, Slater, 2006; Lees et al., 2008; Shaw & Porter, 2009). I had long been interested in urban change, particularly at the scale of the neighbourhood or community, and also had a sense of (somewhat naïve) idealism or, less cynically, optimism about what regeneration could and/or should be. Following Shaw (2005) and Shaw and Porter (2009), I was convinced that regeneration did not have to mean gentrification, and that by increasing state intervention, as part of a broader commitment to the welfare state and addressing structural inequalities, more socially and economically just outcomes could be achieved via regeneration (see Shaw 2008b; DeFilippis et al., 2010; Slater, 2014; Lees, 2014a; Gallaher, 2017).

This was the starting point for this PhD and something I reflected on whilst working in regeneration and public policy research and consultancy in the four years before returning for the PhD. During this time, the hugely detrimental impacts of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition Government's (hereafter, the Coalition) so-called 'welfare reform' and austerity agendas were manifesting (Hastings et al., 2015; Beatty & Fothergill, 2016a). Despite my noted idealism, I became increasingly concerned about the primacy given to economic, rather than social, regeneration, in this context of state retrenchment, and the likely outcomes and impacts (see O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). I was keen to contribute to this agenda and further explore potential mechanisms by which community-led regeneration could take place to benefit local residents, while gentrification could be limited, following this existing work.

This thesis is thus underpinned by a belief in the need to reduce social and economic injustice and structural inequalities via better redistributing social and economic capitals within regeneration policy and practice (see Bourdieu, 1986; DeFilippis et al., 2010). As others (for example, Slater, 2009) have argued, gentrification is the local manifestation of structural inequalities. Yet, while much of the academic research on gentrification has rightly been very critical, arguing that regeneration typically leads to, or is a 'euphemism' (Shaw & Porter, 2009:2) for, 'state-led gentrification' (for example, Davidson, 2008; Paton, 2014), scholars such as Shaw (2005), Atkinson (2008) and Shaw and Porter (2009) have highlighted that it has tended to pay less attention to either researching, or offering recommendations for, alternative, more equitable regeneration trajectories. It is argued here, following Shaw and Porter (2009), that given that the overthrow of capitalism is looking increasingly unlikely, there is a need for more research on limits and alternatives. As Lees and Ferreri (2016:22-23) have argued, the 'radical urban critique' which characterises some gentrification literature 'is no longer enough,' with a need for research on how 'true' community-led regeneration can be achieved. This thesis thus sought to contribute to these debates.

As this PhD proposal was being developed in 2014/2015, both the Scottish and Westminster governments were advocating 'community empowerment' agendas, albeit under different guises via the *Community Empowerment Act* and the *Localism Act* respectively. While community-led approaches have long been advocated in regeneration policy across the UK, there has, since the 2008 Global Financial Crisis (hereafter GFC), been a reduction in funding for urban policy, including regeneration (O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). This has been accompanied by an increasing focus on social and community enterprise (S&CE hereafter), as grant funding has reduced (for example, Scottish Government, 2009, 2011a, 2011b, 2016a; DCLG, 2011, 2012; HM Government, 2011, 2018). This has also involved the promotion of community asset ownership/management[1] by community groups (for example, Scottish Government, 2009, 2016a; DCLG, 2011, 2012). While this may be appropriate in some cases, these policies have also been critiqued for transferring risk to community groups, without sufficient

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[1] Throughout the thesis, 'community asset ownership and management' is used interchangeably with 'asset ownership and management.'

support, in the context of austerity and so-called 'welfare reform' (Moore & McKee, 2014; Hastings & Matthews, 2015; Rolfe, 2018). Such legislation seemingly seeks to formalise the types of grassroots, organic community action and community-led regeneration efforts that have been taking place for decades, without sufficient recognition or support by Government (Wyler, 2009; Aiken et al., 2011). I was interested in how far such legislative changes could be enabling or disabling for community organisations in the context of austerity (for example, Moore & McKee, 2014; Bailey, 2017). The focus here is on community enterprises (CEs) – a subsection of social enterprises (see Bailey, 2012).

Such agendas have developed since this time, with a *Local Governance Review* (Scottish Government, 2019b) currently underway in Scotland and the development of a *Civil Society Strategy* from Westminster (HM Government, 2018). Yet, despite this enthusiasm, like many other policy areas, these have arguably been side-lined somewhat, as much resource has been diverted to implementing the 'leave' result of the United Kingdom's (UK) European Union Membership Referendum in 2016 (Stewart et al. 2019).

The combination of two key factors: the increasing promotion of community enterprise and community assets[2] in policy, particularly during austerity, and an identified need for further research exploring the role of community assets, other than housing, in limiting gentrification (Ernst & Doucet, 2014), led to the formulation of the research agenda for this PhD. These ideas were developed throughout my MRes dissertation (Earley, 2016), in which I explored how the approach of Community-Based Housing Associations (CBHAs) within regeneration could limit gentrification via affordable housing provision and other factors, building on Shaw's (2005) work. While affordable housing is a clear mechanism to limit gentrification (Bailey & Robertson, 1997; Paton, 2014), this research highlighted how other community assets, both tangible and intangible, also contributed to limiting the negative impacts of gentrification in this neighbourhood (Earley, 2016); I thus sought to further explore these.

Throughout the PhD journey, the extent of this optimism and 'hope' (see Lees, 2014a:940) has certainly wavered and indeed reduced as the UK has experienced

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[2] Throughout this thesis, 'community assets' and 'assets' are used interchangeably.

what I perceive to be the detrimental impacts of the Coalition (2010-2015) and Conservative Government's (2015-present) policies. These have arguably involved a deprioritisation of various policy areas which could potentially increase socioeconomic justice, including those relating to welfare and redistribution, affordable housing and community-led regeneration, while so-called 'welfare reform' and austerity have simultaneously been implemented, likely increasing existing socioeconomic inequalities, and detrimentally affecting marginalised and vulnerable populations (Hastings et al., 2015; Beatty & Fothergill, 2016a; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). Nevertheless, through this research I aimed to provide benefit for the case study organisations, policy-makers and academia by furthering understandings of how best policy can support truly community-led approaches, while limiting gentrification. I also hoped to further highlight the continuing need to support social justice and redistributive regeneration agendas within policy.

1.2 Academic Rationale

As mentioned, there is a longstanding debate regarding the relationship between regeneration and gentrification (Shaw & Porter, 2009). Gentrification has been defined by Hackworth (2002:815) as 'the production of urban space for progressively more affluent users.' In contrast, regeneration often has more positive connotations than gentrification (see Lees et al., 2008), with Roberts and Sykes (2000:17) defining it as a process 'which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about lasting improvements in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area.' Specifically, SURF (2016:2) cites that community-led regeneration should be:

> 'rooted in the particular identity, culture, assets and connections of people and places; based on the meaningful involvement of the community of focus in both planning and delivery; a collaborative, long-term process, which takes decades rather than months; [and] a mechanism for appropriately linking local circumstances and assets to wider policies and resources.'

Yet, as discussed in Chapter Four, while debates about regeneration and gentrification can become very polarised, the understanding adopted for this thesis is that provided by Shaw and Porter (2009:2-3), in which gentrification and regeneration can be viewed:

> '…as occupying different spaces on a continuum of social and economic geographic change, where maximum disinvestment, or "filtering," is at one extreme, and "super gentrification" – where corporate executives displace university professors (Lees, 2003c) – is at the other.'

However, while there has been some research seeking to explore the nuances of the regeneration/gentrification debate and potential alternatives, particularly Porter and Shaw's (2009) edited volume and recent work by Lees and others, there is a need for further research in this area. Further, despite the growth of research on both asset-based approaches and community asset ownership/ management in regeneration, there is a need for further research on the role of physical assets in gentrification, with much existing UK research focussing on the role of social/community housing (Ernst & Doucet, 2014; see Colomb, 2009, for an exception). While there is some research on other community assets and gentrification, this has often been from a North American perspective (for example, DeFilippis et al., 2010). I therefore aim to better link up these literatures by focusing on physical assets (in the form of community centres), and exploring the role of these spaces in processes of regeneration and gentrification.

Further, while there has been some research regarding the role of long-standing asset owning/managing CEs in areas that have experienced gentrification to varying degrees (see, for example, Colomb, 2009; DeFilippis et al., 2010), there is a need for further research exploring the potential and actual role of these organisations in regeneration and gentrification in areas characterised by high levels of socioeconomic inequality (see Moore & McKee, 2014). This is particularly important in the context of a decade of austerity and the arguable challenges and constraints this has caused for community organisations when seeking to contribute to regeneration (Milbourne & Cushman, 2013; Hastings et al., 2013, 2015; Bailey, 2017). Moreover, given that some of the literature on S&CEs is written from the perspective of business or entrepreneurship studies, sometimes emphasising the benefits of this model (for example, Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Chell, 2007), there is a need for further research from a more critical standpoint, as others such as Amin et al. (2002) have argued. Furthermore, while there is some research on some forms of CE, for example, Community-Based Housing Associations (CBHAs) and Community Land Trusts

(CLTs) (see Bailey, 2012), there is a need for further research on other forms of CEs, such as development trusts (the focus here), and particularly their community assets, within processes of regeneration and gentrification (*ibid*.).

This thesis links these issues to debates within the community development literature regarding radical versus reformist approaches to community development (see Somerville, 2016). The former approach typically seeks to address the root causes of structural inequalities, while the latter often focuses on 'ameliorative small-scale neighbourhood change and piecemeal reforms' (Ledwith, 2011:17). Important considerations will include how CEs balance potential tensions between 'community' and 'enterprise' (Aiken et al., 2011; Somerville & McElwee, 2011); the potential impacts this balance can have on the approach taken to regeneration; and the subsequent impacts and outcomes that can occur, including the extent of gentrification (see Shaw & Porter, 2009). Simplistically, one could consider 'community' to be more associated with community-led regeneration, and 'enterprise' with gentrification (see Thibault, 2007), and the interrelations, contingencies, ambivalences, tensions and trade-offs between these aspects are crucial considerations for this thesis.

In recognising the tensions that can arise via the community enterprise approach, the thesis considers the challenge that while a more radical approach may typically be more community-led and focussed on addressing structural inequalities, it is potentially less likely to operate at a scale which makes a significant contribution to positive neighbourhood change,[3] while limiting gentrification (DeFilippis et al., 2010; Somerville, 2016). This can be for a range of reasons, including difficulties accessing finance and support (Fainstein, 2010; Rijshouwer & Uitermark, 2017). In contrast, a more reformist approach, typically focussed on 'ameliorative changes' (Ledwith, 2011:17), may be more likely to access funding and support, being typically more aligned with traditional public sector agendas, and thus potentially more able to operate at a larger scale and thus generate greater impacts (Somerville, 2016; Spear et al., 2017). These

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[3] Neighbourhood change is used here as the general term for processes of regeneration and gentrification.

challenges, and how far they intersect with debates about regeneration and gentrification, will be a key consideration for this thesis.

Finally, while research on place-based S&CEs has tended to focus on deprived areas (for example, Bertotti et al., 2011; Varady et al., 2015a), Chapter Three argues that there is need for further research on their roles in socioeconomically unequal neighbourhoods (see Moore & McKee, 2014). The focus here is on organisations operating in areas that would be broadly defined as a 'community,' but which have disparities in socioeconomic indicators, such as income and employment, across their geography. This is viewed as particularly important for issues of gentrification, with concern that these areas may be at greater risk of gentrification or may even be gentrifying, potentially reducing the perceived risk for investors if there is affluence nearby and they can capitalise on large 'rent gaps'[4] within a small area (see Smith, 1979; Lees et al., 2008; Paton, 2014; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). This thesis thus examines the role of asset-owning/managing CEs in regeneration and gentrification, over time (see Kleinhans et al., 2017, on the need for a longitudinal perspective), in neighbourhoods characterised by socioeconomic inequalities. This allows consideration of the ways in which, if at all, some of this affluence can be 'redistributed' (DeFilippis et al., 2010) to the more deprived parts of these communities, albeit on a small scale (see, for example, DTAS, 2012a). The following section defines other key terms for this thesis.

1.2.1 Definitions and Clarifications

Firstly, it is important to distinguish between asset-based community development (ABCD) and community asset ownership/management; while the latter is often part of the former, ABCD is much broader. Asset-based approaches, and ABCD specifically, emerged in response to the belief that focussing on communities' deficits was not helping to address their issues (Friedli, 2012:1-3). Proponents (for example, Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993; Mathie & Cunningham, 2003) argued that the focus should instead be on the community's skills, strengths, power and assets (both tangible and intangible).

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[4] This is defined as 'the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalised under the present land use' (Smith, 1979:545).

Within this, physical assets, the focus here, can provide a space for community development to take place, for example as demonstrated by pioneering CEs such as *Coin Street Community Builders*, operating on London's South Bank (see section 4.5.2).[5]

Physical community assets are varied and can include housing, green spaces, community centres, business incubators and cafes (DTAS, 2012a). They have been defined by Archer et al. (2019:3) as:

> 'land, buildings or other large physical structures for which long-term ownership rights are in place – for instance through a freehold or leasehold of 25 years or more – and where this is held by a community or voluntary organisation which operates for the benefit of local people. The decision-making body for the asset is controlled by local residents.'

Community centres are the focus of this PhD, given their widely cited role as 'hubs' in community-led regeneration (Archer et al., 2019). While the term 'asset' is arguably itself indicative of the neoliberalisation and marketisation of community development (DeFilippis, 2004; Thibault, 2007), it is used here given its adoption in policy, one of the foci of this study. However, at times, reference is made instead to community ownership or management.

While there are a wide range of organisations classified as S&CEs (see Pearce, 2003), the focus of this thesis is on Community Development Trusts (CDTs). These are defined by DTAS (n.d.1:no page) as community organisations which 'are owned and managed by the local community'; focussed on holistic, sustainable regeneration; 'independent but seek to work in partnership'; and which aim to increase organisational sustainability 'through enterprise and the ownership of assets,' with 'surpluses [being] principally reinvested in the organisation or the community' (see also Bailey, 2012). These were chosen for several reasons. As Somerville and McElwee (2011) and Bailey (2012) argue, they are supposedly more 'community-focussed' than typical private sector approaches; more grassroots and 'enterprising' than traditional public sector approaches; and more 'entrepreneurial' and financially sustainable than typical third sector approaches. They have therefore been advocated, both within

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[5] https://coinstreet.org/

policy and the sector, as a key mechanism to achieve community-led regeneration, particularly as public funding has reduced due to austerity (Bailey, 2012, 2017). CDTs have been one of the main organisations adopting community asset ownership/management (Bailey, 2017), and they are therefore appropriate case studies to explore the research agenda identified. Please note that while the definition above is adopted for this thesis, throughout the thesis, the term CE, rather than CDT, is used for clarity, as different organisations identify with different 'models' over time.

1.3 Research Aim, Questions and Objectives

Thus, building on existing work (for example, Clark, 2005; Shaw, 2005,2008a, 2008b; Atkinson, 2008; Colomb, 2009; Shaw & Porter, 2009; Lees, 2014a) and Lees & Ferreri's (2016:23) call for 'realistic alternatives' to gentrification, the overall aim of the thesis is to:

> *further explore the nuances of the interrelations between regeneration and gentrification and to contribute to understandings of how gentrification can be limited, if at all, while community-led regeneration is taking place for the benefit of local residents.*

This will be achieved by exploring the (potential) contribution of CEs, and particularly the community assets that they own or manage, in regeneration and gentrification over time, in socioeconomically unequal neighbourhoods. The thesis adopts a comparative approach to allow analysis of the different factors affecting this contribution, with case studies of one CE in Scotland (Glasgow) and one in England (Bristol). The aim will also be achieved by exploring the potential contribution of a community asset-focussed analysis of gentrification. While Philips & Smith (2018:17) discuss 'capital/asset-based analyses of gentrification,' these typically focus on housing assets, whether via home ownership or affordable housing (see also Levy et al., 2006); there is therefore a need for greater consideration of the role of other community assets (Ernst & Doucet, 2014).

The overall research questions are three-fold:

1. What is the role of community enterprises, and specifically their community owned/managed assets, in processes of regeneration and gentrification over time, in areas characterised by socioeconomic inequalities?
2. To what extent do different factors (e.g. organisational cultures, national/local policy, the local socioeconomic context) interact and affect the approach taken by asset managing/owning community enterprises and their role in regeneration and gentrification?
3. What is the (potential) contribution of a community asset-focussed analysis of processes of gentrification?

To answer these questions, the following objectives are set:

1. To examine how experts working in community regeneration and community enterprise support conceptualise and experience the role of CEs, and particularly their community assets, in regeneration and gentrification.
2. To analyse how gentrification is conceptualised, experienced and negotiated by the case study organisations and others involved in community development/regeneration efforts locally.
3. To identify in what ways, and to what extent, the rationales, organisational cultures, governance structures and operations of the case study organisations have shifted over time and why, in order to understand their (shifting) roles in regeneration and gentrification.
4. To analyse the role of each organisation's community asset(s) in regeneration/gentrification and how this has developed over time.
5. To explore the ways in which, and how far, the role of the case study CEs in regeneration/gentrification locally has shifted over time and why.

Methodologically, a qualitative approach was adopted. Following an in-depth literature and policy review, 17 semi-structured interviews were conducted with experts working in community development/regeneration and social and/or community enterprise support and/or policy in Scotland and England, at a national and local level. Following this, case study organisations were identified. The case study research largely involved semi-structured interviews with

organisational staff, board members, volunteers and beneficiaries, as well as local stakeholders and representatives. One focus group was also completed. This primary data was accompanied by analysis of organisational documents and neighbourhood statistics. A total of 39 individuals participated in the research in Bristol, and 34 in Glasgow.

1.4 Contribution to Knowledge

In identifying the contribution to knowledge of this thesis, a comprehensive literature review was completed (Chapters Two-Four), drawing on work from several disciplines, including human geography, urban studies and public policy, with the most relevant literature focusing on:

1. more nuanced conceptualisations of gentrification (for example, Shaw, 2005), and Shaw and Porter's (2009) conceptualisation of a 'continuum' of neighbourhood change;
2. the factors that can help to limit the negative consequences of gentrification, including the role of policy and resistance to gentrification (for example, Shaw, 2005; Colomb, 2009; Shaw & Porter, 2009; DeFilippis et al., 2010; Lees & Ferreri, 2016); and
3. the role of asset-managing/owning S&CEs within regeneration (for example, Amin et al., 2002; Aiken et al., 2011; Bertotti et al., 2011; Bailey, 2012).

Accordingly, this thesis contributes to knowledge in three key areas, building on existing work:

1. **The actual and potential role of (asset owning/managing) CEs** in processes of regeneration/gentrification, over time, in socioeconomically unequal neighbourhoods;

2. The **specific role of the community assets owned/managed in regeneration/ gentrification**, and specifically the extent to which they can limit, reflect or even exacerbate processes of gentrification;

3. Wider conceptual debates regarding **the interrelations between, and nuances of, regeneration and gentrification.**

The thesis thus explores the utility of a community asset-focussed analysis of gentrification, specifically focusing on physical assets, in the form of community centres, as a lens through which to explore processes of gentrification/ regeneration, over time. This involves consideration of how far the ownership/ management of community assets can/does affect the approach taken to community-led regeneration, and the extent to which this affects the types of impacts and outcomes which can occur, including the extent of gentrification.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is structured as follows. Chapters Two-Four provide the policy and literature review. These move from the broader context in terms of urban policy and the increasing focus on social and community enterprise (S&CE), and community asset ownership/management over time (**Chapter Two**); to the growing attention on S&CE, community assets and regeneration as topics for academic research (**Chapter Three**); to the specific focus of this thesis – gentrification (**Chapter Four**). While some reference is made to gentrification throughout Chapters Two and Three, literature on gentrification is explored specifically in Chapter Four for clarity.

Chapter Two therefore traces the development of urban policy, relating to S&CE, community asset ownership/management, regeneration and community (economic) development in Scotland and England, as the foundations for this study.

Chapter three explores academic debates regarding the role of the S&CEs, and their community assets, within regeneration over time, and particularly within deprived and unequal areas.

Chapter four focuses specifically on gentrification – the focus for this thesis. It explores the regeneration/gentrification debate, limiting factors, alternatives to gentrification and the role of community assets. It links the discussion to wider issues of scale, power, structure and agency, and summarises the research

agenda for this thesis. It argues the case for considering the utility of a community assets-focussed analysis of gentrification.

Chapter five details the methodology adopted to address the research questions, aims and objectives; and introduces the case study neighbourhoods and organisations.

Chapter six is the first empirical chapter, based on scoping interviews with expert stakeholders beyond the case studies. It examines how those working in community regeneration and S&CE support conceptualise and experience the role of CEs, and particularly their community assets, in regeneration and gentrification, in Scotland and England (research objective one). It also considers local policy in the case study cities.

Chapter seven provides the findings and analysis of the Bristol case study. It addresses research objectives two to five, exploring the nature of gentrification locally; the origins and evolution of the organisation; the role of the community asset over time; and the overall role of the organisation in regeneration/ gentrification over time.

Chapter eight details the findings and analysis of the Glasgow case study. This chapter follows the structure for Chapter Seven to ensure clarity in meeting the research objectives.

Chapter nine offers the comparative case study analysis. In doing so, it addresses each of the research objectives relating to the case studies, in comparative perspective.

Chapter ten concludes the thesis, summarising the findings in relation to the research questions and outlining the study's contribution to knowledge. It provides recommendations for policy and practice and highlights limitations and potential avenues for further research.

2 Chapter 2: Urban Policy Development relating to Community Enterprise and Assets in England and Scotland

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores how, and to what extent, the potential contribution of community enterprise, community entrepreneurship and community asset ownership/management to regeneration has been conceptualised in urban policy over time, given the longitudinal, historical focus of this thesis. The chapter considers the varying rationales and ideologies of different governments over time; the impact these have had on the approaches to urban policy, including how urban 'problems' and 'solutions' have been conceptualised (Atkinson, 2000; Bacchi, 2009[6]); and the origins and development of community asset management/ownership as a policy agenda. It also discusses and analyses the extent of divergence between England and Scotland over time, given the comparative nature of this thesis, which aims to explore how the role of the case study organisations in regeneration and gentrification has developed over time, in these different contexts. The purpose of the chapter is therefore not to evaluate these different policies in-depth, but rather to trace the development of key policy trends relating to regeneration, community enterprise/ entrepreneurship and asset ownership/management.

The chapter draws on key policy documents, academic analysis of these and grey literature.[7] It covers the period since the 'recognition' of 'urban problems' in the UK in the 1960s (Atkinson & Moon, 1994) to the 2019 General Election, when the Conservative Party won a large majority, as it is too early to assess the impacts of the current Government's policy. Further, while research has sought to predict the impacts of the 'leave' result of the 2016 United Kingdom European Union Membership Referendum (for example, Stewart et al., 2019), these, along with the potential impacts of the current Covid-19 pandemic, are

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[6] While the chapter draws on the work of Atkinson (2000), Bacchi (2009) and others to consider how issues are 'problematised' and 'solutions' are envisaged, a full 'What's the problem represented to be' (WPR) (Bacchi, 2009) analysis is outwith the scope of this thesis.

[7] Please note, the sections up to the 1997 General Election draw quite heavily on Atkinson and Moon (1994), as this is arguably the most comprehensive analysis of this period of urban policy.

not covered here, due to continuing political, societal and economic uncertainties. Thus, the future of community-led regeneration, community asset ownership/management and redistributive interventions more broadly is very uncertain at the time of writing (May 2020).

The chapter is largely structured chronologically and by geography. Initially, post-war urban policy is analysed, followed by Thatcherite, New Labour, Coalition and recent Conservative policy in England, with recognition throughout of the different policy context in Scotland. This is followed by analysis of Scottish urban policy since devolution in 1998, under the Labour-Liberal Democrat Coalitions and then Scottish National Party (SNP) governments. Finally, the community development approach is analysed, given its relevance to community-led regeneration policy and practice, and the concerns of this thesis.

Drawing on existing literature (for example, Wyler, 2009; Aiken et al., 2008, 2011), the chapter demonstrates how while community enterprise (CE) and community asset ownership/management have historically largely emerged from the grassroots, with CEs recognising the role of community assets for generating social and economic benefits, it is arguably only since the early 2000s that community asset ownership/management has been an explicit focus of policy (Aiken et al., 2011:1). Accordingly, following Bailey (2012) and Moore and McKee (2014), it is argued that there is a need to more specifically analyse the factors influencing approaches to community enterprise and community asset ownership/management over time, particularly in terms of the differing regeneration and urban policy contexts in Scotland and England.

2.2 The Evolution of Urban Policy from the 1960s to Scottish Devolution

2.2.1 Post-War Urban Policy: Community and Enterprise

Scholars have argued that in the period following World War II (WWII) to the late 1960s, conceptualisations of 'urban problems' by both Labour and Conservative governments were characterised by a combination of 'the physical' and 'the social pathology approach' (Atkinson & Moon, 1994:66). There was general consensus by different governments that 'urban problems,' such as inadequate

housing and concentrations of poverty, could be solved by redevelopment and 'the dispersal of urban problems' (*ibid*.:21).

However, by the late 1960s, there was increasing recognition that urban problems, such as poverty, were persisting (Somerville, 2016). While Atkinson and Moon (1994:21) argue that there had not previously been 'a coherent British urban policy,' they suggest that a more 'coordinated,' strategic and 'corporate' approach began to emerge (*ibid*.:66; see also Atkinson, 2000:216). This led to the introduction of the *Urban Programme* and the *Community Development Programme* (CDP) (Atkinson & Moon, 1994). The *Urban Programme* was an area-based initiative (ABI), whereby local authorities targeted areas of 'multiple deprivation' (Batley & Edwards, 1974:306). The CDP aimed to tackle 'poverty and improve community services in inner-city areas' (Somerville, 2016:45). Yet, both faced critique for not sufficiently seeking to address the structural causes of urban problems, resulting from the unequal structures of capitalism, exacerbated by wider global shifts (CDP, 1977; Pacione, 1997, cited in Crowley et al., 2012:7). There was criticism that the CDP had too great a focus on blaming the 'apathy' of 'deprived individuals' and 'promoting self-help' (CDP, 1977:4).

Following these initiatives, the Labour Government launched its 1977 White Paper, the *Policy for the Inner Cities*. Atkinson and Moon (1994:66) cite that this was 'the first genuine attempt by a government in the post-war era...to understand the nature and causes of Britain's urban problems.' Further, Haughton (1998:872) asserts that it was the first attempt to develop a 'genuinely integrated policy' to achieve 'locally-based, holistic forms of regeneration.' The White Paper was based on wide-ranging evidence from previous initiatives, identifying the 'problems' of the 'inner-cities' as 'economic decline, physical decay and adverse social conditions' (HMSO, 1977:1-2). Importantly, it recognised that 'urban decline and urban poverty had *structural causes located in economic, social and political relations which originated outside the areas concerned*' (Atkinson & Moon, 1994:72, emphasis in original).

The 'solutions' to these problems were argued to lie in improving 'the economic well-being,' 'community life' and 'physical fabric' of inner-city areas (HMSO, 1977:1-2). Economic regeneration was a central emphasis, for example in terms

of 'retaining existing jobs,' 'job training and an improved transport infrastructure' (Atkinson & Moon, 1994:68). The onus was on local authorities to improve 'jobs, training, the environment and…existing housing' to encourage private sector investment (HMSO, 1977:8). Crucially, the importance of involving 'local communities and voluntary bodies' in regeneration was emphasised, as well as the potential contribution of small businesses (*ibid.*). Yet, during this period, government policy made little reference to community enterprise or asset ownership (Aiken et al., 2008).

While these regeneration policies were quite economic in focus, Parkinson (1989:422) notes that until the late 1970s, both Conservative and Labour policy was characterised by a commitment to addressing poverty. There was a general view that the public sector was responsible for delivering regeneration and 'provid[ing] social and welfare support services' (*ibid.*). However, in 1979, the election of Margaret Thatcher marked a shift in approach, with neoliberal ideology drastically affecting how the 'problems' and potential 'solutions' were conceptualised (Harvey, 1989; Tallon, 2010). Neoliberalism has been defined by Harvey (2005:1) as:

> '…a theory of political economy practices that proposes that human well-being can be best advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade.'

Within urban policy, this led to an increasing role for the private sector, a greater focus on enterprise/entrepreneurship and an emphasis on individual responsibility for issues that the welfare state was originally established to address (see Berg et al., 2009).

2.2.2 Thatcherite Urban Policy in England and the Emergence of Community Enterprise

Thatcher's rise to power coincided with an increasing belief by the UK government, whether based on perception or reality, that its ability to address urban problems was increasingly constrained by the structural socioeconomic shifts arising from a globalising world (Parkinson, 1989:428-429). This period was characterised by a shift from government, whereby the state was largely

responsible for urban policy, to governance, with an increased focus on partnerships, with the private, and latterly, third sector (Harvey, 1989). Parkinson (1989:422) cites that this period was associated with an increased focus on 'urban entrepreneurialism,' as opposed to 'municipal collectivism'; an emphasis on the role of the private sector and the market in addressing urban issues; 'investment in physical capital' over 'social capital'; and on 'wealth creation' over 'the redistribution of welfare.'

Further, Atkinson and Moon (1994:165) argue that, under Thatcher, the urban was demonised, being associated with 'a variety of issues – dereliction, unrest, an underclass.' *Action for Cities*, launched following the 1987 election, sought to address these 'urban problems,' including unemployment and crime (DoE, 1988:xi). The document emphasised individual (city) responsibility, arguing that while some areas had 'revitalised' themselves, taking advantage of 'new markets and opportunities,' others had 'allowed opportunities to pass them by,' demonstrating a 'hostility to enterprise' (Thatcher, 1988a:1).

The 'solution' was perceived to lie in altering the 'ideological climate of Britain' to create 'an enterprise culture' (Parkinson, 1989:422-423) which, it was argued, 'post-war bureaucratic forms of socialism had suffocated' (Atkinson & Moon, 1994:156). Under Thatcher, 'enterprise' was viewed as representing 'the values of individualism, personal achievement, ambition, striving for excellence, effort, hard work...personal responsibility for actions' (Chell, 2007:7). Importantly, the government emphasised 'economic development over social regeneration' (Atkinson & Moon, 1994:157), as demonstrated in the largely economic aims of *Action for Cities*:

> '...to encourage enterprise and new business, and help existing businesses to grow stronger; improve people's job prospects, their motivations and skills; make areas attractive to residents and to business; [and] make inner-city areas safe and attractive places to live and work' (DoE, 1988:3).

Action for Cities called on the private sector to 'revive' the inner-cities (Atkinson & Moon, 1994:xi) by promoting 'talent, enterprise and energy' (see Thatcher, 1988b:no page; DoE, 1988). A range of policy instruments were introduced to facilitate private sector involvement, such as *Enterprise Zones* and

Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) (Parkinson, 1989). Lawless (1991:17) cites that *Enterprise Zones* provided 'a simplified planning regime, local property taxation relief, and 100% capital allowances on industrial and commercial property,' while *UDCs* were established 'to oversee the regeneration of the areas concerned,' providing the private sector with 'powers, notably the acquisition, servicing, sale and planning control of land.' The state's role was to 'create the right conditions' for private sector investment, for example in terms of 'infrastructure, training, educational and environmental improvements' (Atkinson & Moon, 1994:156).

Thatcher's approach was arguably underpinned by the 'trickle-down' thesis, focusing on 'physical regeneration and…job creation,' with the belief that this would eventually benefit those in greater need (Wilks-Heeg, 2016:11-13). However, as Parkinson (1989:437) highlights, these policies did little to address deprivation and poverty, arguably exacerbating inequality by 'creating islands of private excellence amidst seas of public squalor.' Therefore, by the late 1980s, Thatcher's approach to urban policy was increasingly criticised as the failures of 'trickle-down' became apparent (for example, Hambleton, 1989; Turok, 1992). Importantly, as Parkinson (1989:437) notes, at this time, 'many were arguing that urban regeneration required a wider vision and a broader package of programmes for finance, education, training, enterprise development and social provision.'

Academics (for example, Parkinson, 1989; Turok, 1992; Haughton, 1998) have noted how, in light of these criticisms, the Conservatives' approach to regeneration became more integrated, with a greater focus on community involvement under John Major (1990-1997). Key policies included *City Challenge* and the *Single Regeneration Budget* (SRB), which both emphasised more 'holistic' partnership approaches for addressing 'economic, physical and social' urban 'problems' (Rhodes et al., 2005:1926).

Crucially for this thesis, it was during the 1980s that the role of community enterprises, such as developments trusts and community businesses, in regeneration was first acknowledged within policy, although not always with an explicit focus on community assets (see Aiken et al., 2011). For example, in 1987, the Government commissioned 'the first detailed review of development

trusts' (see Warburton & Wilcox, 1987:1). This argued that while the impacts of development trusts thus far had been 'modest,' their strength was that they enabled 'local residents and other interests…[to] work together to improve their locality' (*ibid*.:1). Differences in the Scottish approach over this period are now discussed.

2.2.3 Scottish Urban Policy Prior to Devolution

The Scottish context has long been different, with urban policy being largely under the remit of the Scottish Office until devolution in 1998 (McCrone, 1991). Atkinson and Moon (1994:158) argue that while there was also a focus on 'entrepreneurial' approaches in Scotland during the Thatcher years, for example via the *Enterprise Allowance Scheme* and *Enterprise Zones* (Scottish Office, 1988:19), Scottish urban policy in the 1980s was arguably more effective and less divisive than in England.

Keating (1989:532) states that the Scottish Office's *New Life for Urban Scotland* (NLfUS), launched in 1988, was 'the counterpart to the English *Action for Cities*.' The document identified the problems arising from deindustrialisation and the failures of dispersal policies as 'unemployment' and welfare 'dependence'; a 'lack of industrial and commercial activity'; and 'derelict land, run-down or under-used industrial and commercial properties and environmental blight' (Scottish Office, 1988:5-9). It also recognised the problems of multiple deprivation in poor quality, social housing estates, which had inadequate access to services and 'social and recreational facilities' (*ibid*.:9). In contrast to Thatcher's focus on the inner-city, *NLfUS* established four partnerships in peripheral housing areas (Hastings et al., 1996), with the view that improvements had occurred in inner-city areas since the 1970s (Scottish Office, 1988).

Atkinson & Moon (1994:158) argue that *NLfUS* was, 'in the Scottish tradition, less hostile to local authorities,' providing 'more flexibility regarding social investment,' with greater emphasis on community involvement (see Haughton, 1998). Various social, economic and environmental interventions were proposed, including the encouragement of 'local small businesses, self-employment and community businesses' (Scottish Office, 1988:9-11). It sought to 'help prepare

residents for work,' via 'education and training,' as well as encouraging local employment within 'new commercial and retail centres' (*ibid*.:11). The policy also hoped to encourage residents to get involved in community activities, such as 'tenant cooperatives and housing associations,' emphasising the benefits that could arise by 'renew[ing] the self-confidence and initiative of people living in deprived areas' (Lloyd & Newlands, 1989:117). Importantly for this thesis, the role of local entrepreneurial activity and community economic development were seemingly given greater prominence in Scotland (Scottish Office, 1988; Murray, 2019).

Nevertheless, Lawless (2001:135) summarises that while UK urban policy in the 1980s focused on 'enterprise' and 'business,' in the 1990s, the emphasis shifted to 'community' and 'partnership,' particularly under New Labour (Imrie & Raco, 2003). This historical context and transition is important here, with Somerville and McElwee (2011:317) arguing that within policy, 'community enterprise' became idealised as a panacea for addressing local regeneration issues, delivering services and addressing disadvantage (see also Amin et al., 2002; Pearce, 2003). The next section analyses New Labour's urban policy; analysis of Westminster and Scottish Government policy are separated, given Scottish devolution in 1998 and the establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999.

2.3 Urban Policy Post-1997: Devolution and Divergence?

2.3.1 Westminster Policy

New Labour's Urban Policy 1997-2010: Communities and Assets

Pugalis and McGuinness (2013:344) argue that New Labour's (1997-2010) approach to regeneration was characterised by 'two key strands': 'Urban Renaissance,' which sought to attract (middle-class) residents back to the inner-city using 'design-led physical regeneration'; and 'neighbourhood renewal,' involving 'specific ABIs to tackle social exclusion' and inequalities, with the promotion of community involvement in regeneration partnerships (see Imrie & Raco, 2003, for further details). There was also a focus on 'sustainable communities' (see Shaw & Robinson, 2010), but there is not scope to detail this here.

Upon winning the 1997 General Election, New Labour launched its Social Exclusion Unit (SEU), which published its first major policy document, *Bringing Britain Together: A National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal*, in 1998. This identified several 'problems of the worst housing estates,' including 'unemployment and crime...poor health, housing and education' (SEU, 1998:paragraph 1). The Strategy recognised the structural socioeconomic factors which had led to decline (*ibid*.:paragraphs 3 and 5). It aimed 'to develop integrated and sustainable approaches to addressing these' (*ibid*.:paragraph 1), including via New Labour's flagship regeneration programme, the *New Deal for Communities* (NDC). The NDC aimed to address 'the structural causes of decline,' with an emphasis on community engagement and increasing 'opportunities for local people' (*ibid*.: paragraph 7).

Specifically regarding the 'Urban Renaissance,' Shaw and Robinson (2010:129) highlight that two key policies were the Urban Task Force Report, *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (UTF, 1999) and the Urban White Paper, *Our Towns and Cities* (DETR, 2000). These documents sought to promote city living, with social mix being a key emphasis (Shaw & Robinson, 2010). However, Lees (2003a:61) highlighted the contradictions between 'the socially just, mixed and inclusive city that is the government's ostensible objective' and the 'inevitably class-dividing effects' of these policies. She thus cited that this was a gentrifying agenda, as the aim to attract middle-class residents back to city centres without greater state intervention, particularly in affordable housing, would inevitably cause displacement (*ibid*.:73-74). From a slightly more nuanced perspective, Colomb (2007:1) notes the agenda's potentially 'ambiguous effects on urban communities,' particularly regarding 'gentrification and the transformation of public space.'

Further, Pugalis (2016) argues that following the 2005 General Election, New Labour increasingly prioritised economic regeneration, focusing on efficiency, rather than equity, benefits (see, for example, ODPM, 2006; HMT, 2008). Further, as Harding and Nevin (2015:15) note, DCLG's (2007) *Sub-National Review on Economic Development and Regeneration* aimed to establish 'a much stronger link between economic development and neighbourhood renewal (Housing and Regeneration) ABIs' (HMT et al., 2007:67-68). This is important context for this thesis, highlighting shifting regeneration priorities over time.

Crucially for this thesis, it was under New Labour that the role of community asset ownership and management in regeneration was emphasised, with an associated increase in policy and funding support (Aiken et al., 2011; see Thorlby, 2011, for further details). For example, in 2003, New Labour introduced the *General Disposal Consent (England)* whereby 'local authorities and certain other public bodies' could 'dispose of land and buildings to community groups' at under market value (Wyler, 2009:84). This was followed by various public and third sector support mechanisms, such as the Development Trusts Association's *Advancing Assets Programme* (*ibid*.:84-85).

In 2007, New Labour commissioned the *Quirk Review of Community Management and Ownership of Public Assets*. This aimed to explore 'how to optimise the community benefit of publicly-owned assets by considering options for greater transfer of asset ownership and management to community groups' (Quirk, 2007:4). Despite noting some risks (see also DCLG, 2008), the Quirk Review (2007) identified a range of potential social and economic benefits (see 4.5.3 for further details). Following this, community asset transfer (CAT) was mentioned in several additional policies and Acts (see Aiken et al., 2008).

In summary, then, New Labour promoted community-led regeneration and was arguably the first UK government to explicitly recognise, and provide policy and funding support for, community asset ownership/management, emphasising the potential contribution of this to wider regeneration goals (Aiken et al., 2008, 2011). Aiken et al. (2016:1676) suggest that this agenda was 'driven by a convergence of several overlapping policy discourses,' including 'devolution, civil renewal, the contracting out of public services, supporting sustainable community organisations, and creating an investment market for social goods.' However, the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) in 2008 and subsequent recession affected the political and policy climate in the UK, with a change of government at the 2010 General Election. Policy under the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition Government is now discussed.

'Austere Regeneration' (Pugalis, 2016): The Coalition Government 2010-2015

The formation of the Coalition Government in 2010 marked a significant shift for regeneration policy (O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). The Coalition emphasised the

need for austerity, with drastic cuts to local government budgets (Hastings et al., 2013; Pugalis, 2016). In contrast to the evidence-based regeneration frameworks introduced under New Labour (Pugalis & McGuinness, 2013), Pugalis (2016:65) notes that there was 'relative silence' about regeneration when the Coalition came to power, with one minimal policy document, *Regeneration to enable growth: What government is doing in support of community-led regeneration* (DCLG, 2011). This was followed by *Regeneration to enable growth: A toolkit supporting community-led regeneration* (DCLG, 2012). Pugalis (2016) cites that both were similar in content, but the latter provided details on relevant parts of the *Localism Act*, which established 'new rights and powers for local communities' (DCLG, 2011:18).

The *Localism Act* aimed, at least in rhetoric, to continue to facilitate community asset ownership/management and community delivery of public services, by 'local social enterprises, volunteers and community groups' (DCLG, 2011:18; see also HM Government, 2011), albeit with greatly reduced resources (O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). The mechanisms to do so, introduced via the *Localism Act*, included the Community Rights to Bid, to Build and to Reclaim Land, and Community Shares (DCLG, 2012). The *Localism Act* was central to the Coalition's vision for the *Big Society*, which ostensibly aimed 'to put more power and opportunities into people's hands' (Cabinet Office, 2010:1). Yet, *Localism* and the *Big Society* have been criticised for exacerbating existing inequalities, by 'empowering the powerful' (Hastings & Matthews, 2015:545) and 'disempowering the powerless' (Rolfe, 2018:594). The *Big Society* received criticism for being a cover for 'rolling back' the state (Peck & Tickell, 2002) and responsibilising communities, at the same time as austerity was being implemented, thus worsening inequalities, despite 'the efforts of local authorities to shelter the poorest people from the worst effects' (Hastings et al. 2015:117; see also Jacobs & Manzi, 2013).

Both *Regeneration to enable growth* documents emphasised the role of the market in stimulating regeneration, combined with the efforts of local communities through the *Big Society* (Lupton & Fitzgerald, 2015:33). In an echo of the past, the 'problem' was again defined as government 'bureaucracy' and 'red tape,' which were 'stifling' the innovation of communities and the private sector (HM Government, 2011:2-3; Pugalis, 2016). The Coalition emphasised the

responsibility of local people 'to identify which areas need regeneration, define what it should look like, and what measures should be used to drive it' (DCLG, 2012:4; see McGuinness et al., 2014, for a critique). Regeneration thus now relied on communities, and particularly 'local leaders,' having the capabilities 'to navigate their way through the many tools and options available to them' (DCLG, 2012:3). Other policy instruments at this time included *Local Enterprise Partnerships*, *Local Growth Deals* and *City Deals* (Lupton & Fitzgerald, 2015:4).

Importantly for this thesis, economic growth, enterprise and entrepreneurship were again emphasised as the means to 'tackle unemployment, poverty, poor health and inequality and improve standards of living' (DCLG, 2012:3). Pugalis (2016:69) notes that Coalition policy discourse virtually made regeneration synonymous with 'economic development,' meaning 'state resources' were prioritised for 'places considered to possess opportunities for growth at the direct expense of those in greatest need,' thus exacerbating inequalities. This is in stark contrast to the redistributive approach emphasised, at least in rhetoric, by New labour, with its focus on targeting the most deprived areas (see Pugalis, 2016; Rolfe, 2018). Echoing the Thatcher years, the state's role was viewed as 'strategic and supporting' (Lupton & Fitzgerald, 2015:4), with the purpose being to create the 'conditions for [private sector] growth' (DCLG, 2012:3; see also Heseltine, 2012). There was little focus on structural issues of inequality and redistribution (O'Brien & Matthews, 2016).

Relating to CAT policy under the Coalition, Gilbert (2016) conducted research into *The role of asset transfer in developing the community business market* in England, from the perspective of community businesses and local authorities. The research identified varied approaches to CAT from local authorities, with resource constraints, despite recognising the potential benefits (*ibid.*:4-5). From the perspective of community businesses, the research found that CAT tended to work best if it aligned with the Council's strategic objectives; if partnerships were built with local councillors; and where CEs maintained good relations with their communities, drawing upon 'people's skills, time and often also monetary or material resources' to support asset transfer (*ibid.*:5).

Overall, then, while the Coalition continued support, at least in rhetoric, for community-led regeneration and asset ownership/management, this was not

matched by sufficient recognition of structural inequalities or funding to effectively support and 'empower' the communities in most need of regeneration (Pugalis & McGuinness, 2013; Rolfe, 2018). The next section analyses policy developments under the Conservative majority (2015-2017) and Conservative minority (2017-2019) governments.

Recent Westminster Urban Policy: Conservative Governments 2015-2019

Despite the criticisms above, it can be argued that there was, at least, an approach to regeneration under the Coalition. Since the Conservatives won a majority in 2015, there has been increasingly less attention to regeneration (Bailey, 2017). For example, in 2017, a review by the author of the former Department for Communities and Local Government's (the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG) since January 2018) 23 policy areas did not feature the term 'regeneration' (DCLG, n.d.). At this time, a key priority was the *Estate Regeneration National Strategy*, started by David Cameron and continued under Theresa May (see DCLG, 2016a). Such a focus on physical and economic renewal, seemingly at the expense of social, redistributive agendas which acknowledge structural inequalities, is arguably likely to increase risks related to gentrification (see O'Brien & Matthews, 2016; Pugalis, 2016). This was, however, accompanied by a *Resident Engagement and Protection* document which, at least in rhetoric, sought to reduce these risks (DCLG, 2016b).

Another key focus has been a pledge to improve the safety of high-rise housing (see, for example, MHCLG, 2020) due to the Grenfell Tower fire in London in June 2017, in which an estimated 72 people lost their lives (Rice-Oxley, 2018). There is an ongoing inquiry examining the circumstances that led to this disaster, with criticism that the government has been too slow to address dangers related to similar combustible cladding used in other high-rise blocks (Ruiz, 2019).

More recently, in September 2019, the Conservatives announced a £3.6 billion *Towns Fund,* with the aim 'to level up our regions' (MHCLG, 2019:no page). *Town Deals* will be awarded to 100 places, with 45 of these being in the North and 30 in the Midlands (*ibid*.). Yet, analysis of the selected towns by *The Times* found that they tended to be 'wealthier Tory marginals,' with 'a third…not even

among the 300 poorest in England' (Kentish, 2019:no page). There has thus been speculation that this policy was a general election strategy to win votes from formerly industrial, typically Labour-voting areas (*ibid.*). Further, it is questionable how far this fund can mitigate the impacts of decades of structural inequalities (O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). Overall, there seemingly remains little focus on regeneration and the policies that do exist are arguably reactive and piecemeal.

Therefore, this shift in government, combined with the potential impacts of nearly a decade of austerity (see Rolfe, 2016b, 2018), appears to have led to the deprioritisation of policy agendas traditionally concerned with redistribution, including some types of regeneration. While the Government announced 'the end of Austerity' in September 2019 (see Inman, 2019:no page), it is important to recognise the impact this policy had from 2010-2019 and its legacy in terms of increasing inequalities (Hastings et al., 2015), with a need for policy measures to address this (for example, Marmot et al., 2020, regarding health inequalities).

Regarding CAT, Bailey (2017:235) highlighted that only minor initiatives to support CAT were introduced under May's leadership, including a £20 million *Local Sustainability Fund*. He thus emphasised the continuing role of the Big Lottery Fund (BLF) in supporting 'community-led projects,' particularly through *Power to Change*, 'a £150 million investment programme...to support new or existing "community businesses" wishing to expand' (*ibid.*). Approaches in Scotland since the establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999 are now analysed.

2.3.2 The Scottish Approach: 1999 to Present

Since devolution, there has been much debate regarding how far the Scottish approach to public, social and urban policy has diverged from England (for example, Scott & Mooney, 2009; Scott & Wright, 2012; Pugalis et al., 2012). While some were sceptical about the extent of policy divergence in the early days of devolution (for example, Mooney & Johnstone, 2000), divergence has seemingly increased over time, reflecting the increasingly different political contexts in England and Scotland (McGuinness et al., 2014). As Tomaney and

Colomb (2013:371) cite, 'Scottish political culture' has often been viewed as 'more consensual, corporatist and egalitarian' than England.

First and Second Parliaments: Labour-Liberal Democrat Coalitions 1997-2007

The Labour-Liberal Democrat Coalitions (1999-2003 and 2003-2007) followed New Labour's focus on 'social inclusion' (MacPherson, 2006:184). Upon coming to power, the first Coalition outlined its approach to 'community regeneration in Scotland's most deprived neighbourhoods' in *Closing the Opportunity Gap* (Scottish Executive, 2002:1). The 'problem' was identified as 'poverty and disadvantage,' leading to socioeconomic inequalities (*ibid*.:13). The 'solution' was perceived as increasing the effectiveness of public services, enabling individuals and communities to capitalise on opportunities (*ibid*.:6) and to 'contribute to…the community in which they live' (*ibid*.:13), thus improving and reinforcing social capital. A key policy mechanism was *Social Inclusion Partnerships*, introduced in 1999 (see MacPherson, 2006).

The Scottish Executive's later (2006) *People and Place Regeneration Policy Statement* also defined the problem as disadvantage, combined with a lack of economic growth (*ibid*.:3). It promoted generating sustainable 'prosperity' to achieve 'a fairer society…social justice, and…equal opportunities for all' (*ibid*.:3). Importantly, at this time, the Scottish Executive's agenda largely reflected New Labour's increasing focus on economic imperatives, while remaining committed to reducing inequalities (MacPherson, 2006).

Specifically regarding CAT, the Scottish Executive initially focused mainly on rural areas (Wyler, 2009). The *Land Reform Act 2003* introduced the 'community right to buy' for rural community organisations to 'register an interest' to buy 'land/buildings [when they] come up for sale' (*ibid*.:84). Additional funding was also provided, including the £15m BLF-funded *Scottish Land Fund*, launched in 2003, to help communities with 'preparatory costs, acquisition and development' (*ibid*.:84); and the BLF's *Growing Community Assets* programme, launched in 2006, which provided £50m to support 'communities to acquire… develop and manage' assets (Thorlby, 2011:14). Yet, this agenda has expanded to urban areas under the SNP government since 2007 (see below), with a need

for more research in this regard (DTAS, 2012a); research in Scotland has thus often focussed on rural areas (for example, Skerratt & Hall, 2011a, 2011b), given the origins of CEs in these areas (Cooke, 2010). Overall, then, despite devolution, the objectives of both governments with regards to regeneration were arguably similar until the SNP formed a minority government (see Roy et al., 2015).

Third, Fourth and Fifth Parliaments: SNP Governments 2007-present

Since the SNP formed a minority government in 2007, there has arguably been an increased focus on social justice and reducing inequalities in Scottish public policy, with an explicit effort to diverge from Westminster policy, at least in rhetoric (Scott & Wright, 2012; Pugalis et al., 2012; McGuinness et al., 2014). CAT and asset-based approaches, originating in health, have been promoted in various policy areas, including regeneration (Scottish Government, 2011a, 2011b).

The Scottish Government's (2009) *Community Empowerment Action Plan* (CEAP) recognised the potential economic and social benefits which could arise from CAT of land and buildings. These included being a source of 'revenue for community organisations,' enabling them to be 'more sustainable'; and increasing the ownership communities feel towards 'the places they live and work,' increasing community pride (*ibid*.:21; see also DTAS, 2010; Thorlby, 2011). The *Christie Commission on the Future Delivery of Public Services* (Christie, 2011) also advocated this approach.

More recently, the *Community Empowerment Act* (2015) has sought to further these aims, including 'a right for community bodies [to request]…any land or buildings they feel they could make better use of' (Scottish Government, 2016b:no page). Other interventions introduced as part of this include support for participatory budgeting and participation requests, allowing 'communities… to participate in decisions and processes which are aimed at improving outcomes' (Scottish Government, n.d.1:no page). Another key part of the *Community Empowerment* agenda is the ongoing *Local Governance Review*, launched with the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities in 2017 (Scottish Government, 2019b). The aim of this is to consider 'how powers, responsibilities

and resources are shared' and 'to devolve more power to local levels' (*ibid*.:no page).

The Scottish Government (2016c:1) cites various potential benefits which can arise from CAT, such as enabling 'activities and services' to be offered which may otherwise not be accessible, and potential economic benefits, such as 'job training' and 'income to the local area.' Rolfe (2018:583) notes that importantly, in contrast to *Localism* which emphasised the 'withdrawal' of the state (DCLG, 2010), *Community Empowerment* allows 'communities…to choose their own level of empowerment,' working in partnership with the state (Scottish Government, 2011c; see also Scottish Government, 2019a).

An asset-based approach is also advocated in the Scottish Government's (2011b) *Regeneration Strategy* as part of the proposed 'solution' to problems of disadvantage and inequality. The strategy's vision is for 'a Scotland where our most disadvantaged communities are supported and where all places are sustainable and promote well-being' (*ibid*.:9). It highlights the importance of empowering communities to identify their 'economic, physical and social' assets, so that these can be used to develop community-led 'solutions' (*ibid*.:12). It also emphasises continued support for the 'enterprising, asset-based approach' of community enterprises, such as development trusts (*ibid*.:44). The Scottish Government (2011b:37) thus pledged to work with partners to 'develop a Scotland-wide implementation programme for asset management activity.'

Yet, there is uncertainty about what the impacts and outcomes of the *Community Empowerment* agenda may be, for example in terms of inequalities and the degree of empowerment (for example, Moore & McKee, 2014; Rolfe, 2018). While the rhetoric may be more supportive than in England, SURF, the Scottish Regeneration Network, has cautioned of 'the inadequacy of resources to sufficiently enhance historically unfounded community capacity,' with a risk that this agenda could increase inequalities between the high-capacity communities which are often, but not always, associated with successful examples of this approach, and those that are not (Milne, & Cooper, 2015:323; see also O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). Despite the Scottish Government's commitment to reducing inequalities, Rolfe (2018:594-595) cautions that 'the fiscal bulldozer of

austerity' may limit its aims to diverge from Westminster policy and address 'inequalities between communities at a local level' (Keating, 2005; Rolfe, 2016a, cited Role, 2018:594-595; see also McGuinness et al., 2014). An evaluation of the *Community Empowerment Act* is underway; the summary findings for Part 5 (Asset Transfer Requests) and Part 3 (Participation Requests) remain inconclusive thus far in terms of the impacts on inequalities (Hill O'Connor & Steiner, 2019a, 2019b).

More generally, there has been an increasing focus on 'inclusive growth' in Scotland under the SNP, promoted via the Scottish Government's *Economic Strategy* (2015) which has 'two key pillars: increasing competitiveness and tackling inequality' (*ibid*.:7). While the strategy makes little mention to S&CEs, the Scottish Government's later (2016a) *Social Enterprise Strategy 2016-2026* emphasises the contribution of S&CE to the 'shared vision of a fair society and inclusive economy' (*ibid*.:6). It also emphasises the particular contribution of CEs to community-led regeneration and promotes CAT (*ibid*.:18).

Overall, then, there has arguably been a more supportive approach to community-led regeneration, community enterprise and CAT over the years in Scotland, both prior to and post-devolution (see Wyler, 2009; Thorlby, 2011; Moore & McKee, 2014; Rolfe, 2016, 2018; Murray, 2019). The following section traces the origins and evolution of community development in the UK. This is important when analysing community-led regeneration, given the cross-over in terms of policy imperatives around community participation, empowerment, community enterprise and community asset ownership/management (Lloyd, 2002). While focussed on the UK context, this section also draws on American literature, where similar trends are evident, albeit with a traditionally greater role for the state in the UK (Bailey, 2012).

2.4 The Community Development Approach

While recognising that community development is a greatly contested term, Craig (2007:340) has defined it as both 'a practice, involving skills, a knowledge base, and a strong value base,' and an aim, 'self-evidently the development of communities.' While the rationale behind, and implementation of, community development has evolved over time, Somerville (2016:44) argues that a continual

and primary objective has been a focus on community empowerment and social justice.

2.4.1 The Origins and Evolution of Community Development

Somerville (2016:44) notes that, in the UK, community development policy emerged in the post-war period, with the aim of helping to 'rebuild communities' after WWII and addressing the 'urban problems' discussed previously. Ledwith (2011:17) explains that from the 1960s to the early 1970s, much community development work was 'radical,' being done in 'a context of hope and optimism,' with a belief 'that a better world was possible for all' and that 'class, patriarchal, racist and heterosexist traditions' could be contested and addressed (*ibid.*:197). Thus, the aim was 'transformative change for social and environmental justice,' tackling 'the structural causes of oppression,' rather than 'local symptoms' (*ibid.*:xi).

However, in line with the broader urban policy trends outlined, an increasingly neoliberal approach to community development was adopted from the late 1970s in the UK, challenging traditional communitarian values (Somerville, 2016). Ledwith (2011:17) highlights some of the tensions experienced by community development workers at this time as they became positioned 'in and against the state,' for example when 'working with local people to demand better public services,' while also 'being employed by the local state which provided those services.' Further, scholars have highlighted how neoliberalism led to community development becoming increasingly 'marketised' (Ledwith, 2011; Kirkpatrick, 2012; Somerville, 2016). As DeFilippis (2004:12) cites, writing from the American context, 'increasingly, the community development world has accepted the individualist/ free-market/ small government perspectives of the dominant, neoliberal political economy.' There has since been much debate regarding how far community development approaches should engage with both the market and the state (and potentially reduce their 'radicalism') or seek to work outside of these (and potentially reduce their impact) (for example, Ledwith, 2011; Somerville, 2016).

However, more recently, Casper-Futterman and DeFilippis (2017) offered a more nuanced analysis of these tensions in the context of Community Development

Corporations (CDCs) in America, using the work of Kirkpatrick (2007). Drawing on a case study of the Bronx Cooperative Development Initiative, based in New York City, which aims 'to end intergenerational poverty and build community wealth among low- and middle-income residents,' they sought to challenge the typical 'neoliberal critique that markets and marketisation processes are simply a tool of oppression and wealth extraction' (Casper-Futterman & DeFilippis, 2017:179-180). They argue, instead, that CDCs can reconceptualise markets as 'a tactic, tool or strategy for those working towards spatial and economic justice' (*ibid*.:180), with a need to balance this aim with community imperatives (*ibid*.:195).

Nevertheless, academics have traced how, in the 1980s and 1990s, this increasingly market-based approach to community development continued, with community organisations and practitioners being expected to adopt more 'business-like' approaches, for example by increasing efficiency, effectiveness and financial sustainability (Kirkpatrick, 2012; Somerville, 2016). DeFilippis et al. (2010:92) caution that this can result in community organisations 'becom[ing] more…divorced from their communities.' Simultaneously, increasing responsibilities have been placed on community organisations to contribute to community development by policy-makers (Imrie & Raco, 2003; Somerville, 2016), thus potentially challenging their original ethos and aims (Clay & Jones, 2009). Rothe and Caroll (2012) highlight how this increasing focus on community development within policy has made it more difficult for it to maintain its radical focus. Thibault (2007:874) summarises that increasingly:

> '…community development consists of an environment where funding restrictions undermine community power, community development trumps community organising, professionalisation creates a disconnect between community development staff and community members, and competition for funding forces organisations to spend more time on funders' needs than the needs of the communities they serve.'

While this is based on the US context, these challenges are also apparent in the UK context (see Somerville, 2016), although perhaps to a lesser extent. These challenges have arguably been exacerbated as public funding has reduced since the GFC in 2008 via the period of 'austerity localism' or 'austerity urbanism,' discussed in detail at 3.5.1 (Peck, 2012; Featherstone et al., 2012; Hastings et

al., 2017). The next section outlines different perspectives on community development.

2.4.2 Different Perspectives on Community Development

As discussed, while community development is often idealised by policy-makers, there are different perspectives on the approach; how best it should interact with the state and the market; and what impacts and outcomes it can realistically be expected to achieve (Ledwith, 2011; Somerville, 2016). These tensions are reflected in Somerville's (2016:55) typology of 'three broad approaches to community development':

1. 'a *neo-colonial* approach,' with a top-down perspective detached from communities, focusing instead on ensuring 'good "community relations," social order and cohesion';

2. 'a *reformist* approach' which prioritises 'working with communities' to develop 'community building and social inclusion'; and

3. 'a *radical* approach' which seeks to work with communities and address structural inequalities through 'community organising and social transformation' (*ibid*.).

It is the third which Somerville (2016:55) argues is the only approach which can achieve 'real improvement in the lives of people in the poorest communities' and address social justice (see also Ledwith, 2011). Yet, it is arguably the second approach which has been most commonly adopted in the UK in recent years, with 'reformists' working within existing structures, focussing on 'ameliorative small-scale neighbourhood change and piecemeal reforms' (Ledwith, 2011:17). Regarding S&CEs, Pearce (2003:50) suggests a reformist approach may involve delivering activities which are not viewed as profitable by the private sector, and have been cut by the public sector.

These debates will be a key consideration for this thesis when exploring the role of CEs and their assets within processes of regeneration and gentrification, for example regarding the rationales behind CEs' approaches, and the potential and actual outcomes arising from these. Reflecting these tensions and debates, research has identified several sub-types of community development. The most

relevant here, community economic development (CED) and asset-based community development (ABCD), are now introduced.

Community Economic Development (CED)

CED has been defined by Locality (2016:1) as 'a process of economic development within a specific geographic area, to make the economy in that area work well for that community…led by people living, working and running businesses in that area.' Haughton (1998:874) suggests that this can include communities devising long-term economic development/regeneration strategies. However, CED has been critiqued for prioritising the economic, rather than focusing on the relationships between 'economic, social, environmental and cultural…problems and possibilities' within communities (Pearce, 2003:65). There is also a question of scale, with community-led activities arguably being constrained by structural inequalities (Somerville, 2016; Bailey, 2017; see section 4.5.4). Further, as with community development more broadly, Clay and Jones (2009:264-265) note that CED has been critiqued for failing to address the underlying structural factors causing poverty and inequality. Instead, it has been critiqued for disrupting 'existing social and political structures'; using 'market-based principles to remedy poverty'; repressing 'progressive social movements by focusing on capital inflow'; 'depoliticis[ing] anti-poverty advocacy'; and exacerbating gentrification (*ibid.*; see also Haughton, 1998; Ledwith, 2011). These concerns are of particular importance for this thesis, which will examine these tensions in relation to CEs and their assets.

Nevertheless, Somerville (2016:141) suggests that where CED involves the following 'policies and practices, the advantages outweigh the disadvantages':

1. 'A living wage to every worker and guaranteed decent income for non-workers;

2. Community enterprises that are non-exploitative and economically, socially and environmentally sustainable and culturally rich;

3. Provision of quality affordable services – for learning, health, social care, housing, safety – based on open and inclusive communities of co-producers;

4. Development of more strategic approaches to meet the needs of different communities in different places' (*ibid*.).

The role of CEs in CED is particularly relevant, with their potential to contribute to points 1, 3 and 4 above (see Bailey, 2012). This potential contribution is discussed in further detail in Chapter Three. The other relevant sub-type of community development (ABCD) is now introduced, highlighting the distinction between an asset-based approach, and asset ownership/management, the latter being the focus here.

Asset-Based Community Development

Developing from the broad community development tradition outlined previously, ABCD emerged in America in the 1980s and 1990s, with Kretzmann & McKnight (1993) being widely acknowledged as developing this approach (see MacLeod & Emejulu, 2014, for a historical account). As Friedli (2012:1-3) notes, ABCD was developed in response to the view amongst some that policy approaches, particularly in health, were not working, as focussing on 'the problems, needs and deficiencies within communities' was ineffective and had caused 'a culture of dependency' (see also Foot, 2012). ABCD thus sought to shift the emphasis towards 'community skills, strengths and power or assets' (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993; Mathie & Cunningham, 2003, cited MacLeod & Emejulu, 2014:431).

The potential and actual assets that can be incorporated into ABCD are wide-ranging (Friedli, 2012; GCPH, 2012). Foot and Hopkins (2010:20-21) identify different types of assets: those of the individual, family, community, of associations, of organisations, and the physical, economic, cultural and social assets of an area. Yet, despite this broad conceptualisation of assets, Friedli (2012:2) notes that, in practice, asset-based approaches tend to emphasise 'individual and collective psychological attributes,' such as social capital, discussed in more detail at 3.4.2. Through ABCD, proponents of the approach contend that other benefits can arise, including 'increased well-being through strengthening control, knowledge, self-esteem and social contacts,' thus supposedly empowering individuals and communities (GCPH, 2012:5). Foot and Hopkins (2010:6) argue that ABCD increases a community's 'efficacy in

addressing its own needs' and its ability to attract 'external support' (see also Foot, 2012).

ABCD has been increasingly promoted in the UK, and particularly in Scotland, (GCPH, n.d.1; Friedli, 2012). The Glasgow Centre for Population Health (GCPH) has conducted much research in this area (for example, GCPH, 2011, 2012, 2014a; McLean & McNeice, 2012; GCPH/SCDC, 2015). This approach has also been applied to various other policy areas, including 'social welfare and public sector reform' (MacLeod & Emejulu, 2014:438) and regeneration (see Scottish Government, 2011a, 2011b). Yet, while the rationale for ABCD is promoted within policy, MacLeod and Emejulu (2014) highlight the risks of uncritically adopting this approach, particularly in the context of austerity, citing a need instead to address the underlying structural inequalities.

While this is important context, the focus of this PhD is instead on the physical community assets (specifically community centres) owned or managed by CEs, using these as a lens through which to analyse processes of regeneration and gentrification. Nevertheless, it is important to note that physical assets cannot be separated from other assets, for example by providing a space for the delivery of services and activities that can develop social, cultural or economic assets (Wyler, 2009; Aiken et al., 2011). The following section briefly outlines critiques of community-led approaches.

2.5 Critiques of Community-led Approaches

There is a plethora of literature highlighting the challenges of community-led approaches to regeneration and community development (see for example, Cochrane, 1986; Imrie & Raco, 2003; Craig, 2007). Despite a growth in support for such endeavours under New Labour, Craig (2007:335) provided three critiques of community-led approaches: firstly, that governments often use different terminology to obscure their continued inability to effectively empower local communities to develop 'bottom-up' regeneration interventions; secondly, that community capacity-building focuses on the 'deficits,' not fully valuing community and individual 'skills, knowledge and interests'; and, finally, that such approaches obfuscate 'the structural reasons for poverty and inequality' (*ibid*.; see also McConnell, 1993). Macleod and Emejulu (2014:446)

argue that the latter is a key failure of ABCD in Scotland, arguing that focusing on assets rather than deficits can 'undermine collective oppositional action to address these problems' (see also Ledwith, 2011).

These critiques echo historical analysis undertaken by Somerville (2016) which suggests, time and time again, that there is only so much community development and regeneration can do, with the need for local interventions to be matched by wider efforts by government to address structural inequalities (see also Jones & Evans, 2008; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). As Nathan (2016:78) argues, even under the larger regeneration investments of the New Labour period, these interventions were 'microsolutions for megaproblems.' These challenges around structural inequalities, resources and scale have arguably been exacerbated in the context of austerity (see Hastings et al., 2015; Bailey, 2017; Rolfe, 2018; see section 3.5.1). These issues are of critical importance to this thesis and will be returned to throughout.

Other challenges include defining 'community,' with Imrie and Raco (2003:29) arguing that policy-makers often wrongly assume that 'latent communities exist which can be identified, targeted and incorporated into government policy.' Yet, communities may not wish to engage in regeneration inventions, thus complicating these agendas (Jones, 2003; Atkinson, 2003a). Further, research by Hastings et al. (1996:32-35) highlighted challenges for community participation in regeneration partnerships (some of which included CEs) focussed on 'employment, training and economic development' initiatives, with it generally being more effective in relation to housing and social/community issues, suggesting that community-led approaches are more challenging for certain types of regeneration (see also Hayton, 1996).

Regarding ABCD in Scotland specifically, Macleod and Emejulu (2014:446) argue that ABCD may 'advantage the already influential and cohesive communities' that are well-practiced in evidencing their strengths. Thus, despite GCPH's (2012:4) argument that ABCD should never be 'a replacement for investing in service improvement or attempting to address the structural causes of health inequalities,' MacLeod and Emejulu (2014:447) argue that, overall, given the potential for ABCD to 'further individualise and privatise social problems' within

the context of welfare state retrenchment, it 'provides the wrong answer, but asks some of the right questions.'

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has situated community enterprise, and specifically community asset ownership/management, within its historical and contemporary regeneration and urban policy context in the UK. It also considered differences between the policy approaches adopted in Scotland and England, and how the extent of divergence has shifted over time. This context is important for this thesis, given its longitudinal focus and the aim to explore how the case study organisations have evolved over time in these different contexts.

The chapter has emphasised how, at least in rhetoric, there has been generally greater acknowledgement of the structural causes of 'urban problems' under Labour and SNP governments and a more market-driven approach, emphasising the role of enterprise and entrepreneurship, under the Conservatives (Harvey, 1989; Atkinson & Moon, 1994; Cochrane, 2007). Specifically regarding community asset management and/or ownership, the chapter highlighted, following Aiken et al. (2008, 2011) and Wyler (2009), that while this has a long history amongst S&CEs, it largely became an explicit regeneration policy emphasis under New Labour. While the Coalition continued to emphasise community-based approaches via the *Big Society*, regeneration has seemingly been deprioritised in England since the Conservatives formed a majority government in 2015 (Rolfe, 2018).

In contrast, the chapter highlighted that there has been a continual commitment by the Scottish Government to address issues of poverty and inequality, and to support 'enterprising,' community-led approaches to regeneration (Hastings et al., 2013; Rolfe, 2016a, 2018). Nevertheless, as McGuinness et al. (2014) and Rolfe (2018) argue, while there is divergence in the rhetoric of the Westminster and Scottish Governments, austerity has potentially challenged the Scottish Government's aims, with approaches in both countries being at risk of exacerbating socioeconomic inequalities and potentially gentrification (Moore & McKee, 2014; Hastings & Matthews, 2015; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016; Rolfe,

2016b). The role of policy and community-based efforts in affecting socioeconomic inequalities is a key consideration for this thesis.

The chapter has argued that there is a need for further research exploring the effect of these different policy frameworks in affecting the contribution of CEs, and their community assets, in regeneration/gentrification over time, in comparative context in the UK, and within and between different communities (Bailey, 2012; Moore & McKee, 2014; Kleinhans et al., 2017; see Rolfe, 2016a, 2016b, 2018 for exceptions). In Scotland, there is a particular need for research regarding urban CEs, with rural areas typically being the focus (Cooke, 2010). This PhD thus aims to contribute to these gaps, using one case study CE in Scotland and one in England. The next chapter builds on this contextual chapter and examines literature exploring the relationships between community enterprise, community assets and regeneration agendas over time in more depth. This again takes a historical approach, given the longitudinal nature of this thesis.

3 Chapter 3: Community Enterprise, Community Assets and Regeneration

3.1 Introduction

Building on the contextual policy review in Chapter Two, this chapter explores the relationships between community enterprise (situated within the wider 'social economy'), community assets and regeneration within academic literature. Specifically, it considers the extent to which, and in what ways, CEs and their physical assets can contribute to 'redistributive' regeneration agendas concerned with reducing socioeconomic inequalities, over time; and the constraints they face in this regard (DeFilippis et al., 2010).

This chapter argues, following Bailey (2012), Moore and McKee (2014) and Varady et al. (2015a), that while much existing literature has explored the role of social and community enterprise (S&CE) in deprived communities, there is a need for further research exploring the potential and actual role of asset-owning/managing CEs in regeneration and gentrification in neighbourhoods characterised by high levels of socioeconomic inequality. This is particularly important in the context of a decade of austerity and the arguable constraints this has caused for community organisations when seeking to contribute to regeneration (Milbourne & Cushman, 2013; Hastings et al., 2013, 2015).

This chapter is structured as follows: the next section briefly introduces the social economy and the origins and nature of S&CEs, including definitions and issues of governance. This is followed by an exploration of conceptualisations of community enterprise and entrepreneurship. The potential and actual role of S&CEs within regeneration is then examined, particularly regarding their role in deprived/unequal areas, the focus of this thesis. Finally, the chapter considers the challenges facing S&CEs when seeking to contribute to regeneration, including the impacts of austerity.

The chapter analyses literature on both social and community enterprises, reflecting where the majority of the existing literature lies, with a limited body of work focusing specifically on CEs. Further, it must be noted that much of this

literature emerged in the New Labour period. While the austerity period is discussed at 3.5.1, research from this period is seemingly more limited than the New Labour period. Finally, while this thesis focuses on CEs that own/manage assets, this chapter draws on literature regarding S&CEs more broadly, including those without physical assets. Yet, where research focuses on asset ownership/management specifically, this is noted.

3.2 Introducing the Social Economy

The 'social economy' is the umbrella term used to describe the subsection of the economy in which CEs operate (see Pearce, 2003; see Figure 3.1). Amin et al. (2002:vii), note that while the 'social economy' is wide-ranging, it can be defined as comprising 'non-profit activities designed to combat social exclusion through socially useful goods sold in the market and which are not provided by the state or the private sector.' Pearce (2003:26) notes that S&CEs are underpinned by key 'principles of self-help and mutuality, of caring for others and of meeting social needs rather than maximising profit.'

Figure 3.1 'Three Systems of the Economy' (Pearce, 2003:25)

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Source: Taken directly from Pearce (2003:25)

3.2.1 Defining Social and Community Enterprise

While the focus of this thesis is on CEs, it is important to define both social and community enterprises and their varying organisational types, with Bailey (2012:3) highlighting that CEs are 'a sub-set of social enterprise.' Social

enterprises have been defined as 'businesses with a social or environmental purpose, and whose profits are reinvested into fulfilling their mission' (Scottish Government, n.d.2:no page).

Pearce (2003:29) identifies that while SEs operate at a regional, national or international level, CEs (the focus here) operate at the neighbourhood, local or district level (see Table 3.1). Different S&CE types have varying roles in community-led regeneration, depending on their purpose (see Bailey, 2012). Bailey (2012:4-6) highlights the difference between SEs and CEs as follows:

> 'social enterprises engage in business...to meet a particular need in the market, without being bounded by geographical limits, whereas the community enterprise is primarily oriented to meeting the needs of a community or sub-groups in a defined geographical area where residents are also well-represented on the board.'

The core characteristics of CEs have been defined by Kleinhans (2017:3), drawing 'on the work of Pearce (2003), Peredo and Chrisman (2006), Teasdale (2010), Somerville and McElwee (2011), Bailey (2012), Pierre et al. (2015) and Healey (2015),' as being:

- 'Established by people living and/or working in a (spatially) defined community;
- Independent, not-for-profit organisations, which are owned and/or managed by community members; locally accountable and...committed to delivering long-term benefits to local people, by providing specific goods or services;
- Seeking to generate a surplus through, at least in part, engaging in trade in the marketplace, and reinvest the surplus in the business or community;
- Bearing economic risks related to their activity...committed to involving local people and other partners in their activities' (Kleinhans, 2017:3).

While CEs also represent communities of interest (see Tracey et al., 2005), the area-based definition (see Pearce, 2003; Bailey, 2012) is adopted here, given the place-based nature of regeneration and gentrification, recognising that there will also be 'communities of interest' within area-based communities (Somerville, 2016).

Table 3.1 Organisations defined as community and social enterprises

Community Enterprises	Social Enterprises
Community ownership company	Building society
Community-based housing association	Charity trading arm
Community benefit corporation	Consumer retail society
Community business*	Credit union
Community co-operative	Fair trade company
Community credit union	Housing association
Community development corporation*	Intermediate labour market company
Community development finance initiative	Marketing co-operative
Community housing trust*	Mutual co-operative society
Community interest company	Public interest company
Community trading organisation	Social business
Community development trust*	Social firm
Community land trust*	
Employee-ownership business	
Housing co-operative	
(Local) development trust	
Local exchange trading scheme	
Neighbourhood co-operative	
Neighbourhood enterprise*	
Social co-operative	
Social firm	
Community-owned village halls	
Time bank	
Voluntary enterprise	
Workers' co-operative	
Source: Pearce (2003:29); Bailey (2012:6) *Those with a * after are those that were analysed as part of Bailey's (2012) research.*	

Different CE types have received varying levels of attention within the regeneration/gentrification literature. For example, there has been much research on Community-based Housing Associations (CBHAs) (for example, van Gent, 2013; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015), although some of the Scottish literature is now quite dated (see, for example, Maclennan, 1985; Bailey & Robertson, 1997; GWSF, 2014; McKee, 2010, 2012); Community Development Trusts (CDTs) (for example, McCulloch, 2000; Colomb, 2009; Bailey, 2012); Community Businesses (for example, McArthur, 1993; Hayton, 1996; Leeming, 2002; Johnstone & Lionais, 2004); and Community Land Trusts (CLTs) (for example, Wernstedt & Hanson, 2009; Thompson, 2015). Attention is also given to CDCs in the American context (for example, Scally, 2012; Varady et al., 2015a, 2015b). These varying roles are returned to in Chapter Four.

3.2.2 The Origins and Nature of Social and Community Enterprises

Research has traced how some CEs emerged in the post-war period in response to the perceived failure of public sector approaches to address poverty and inequality, for example via campaigns to resist the demolition of public housing (Bailey, 2012). Scholars have suggested that these emerged as communities felt that they knew best how to address their own issues (*ibid*.; Somerville, 2016). Specifically analysing the evolution of CDTs, Wyler (2009:84) notes that several emerged in the 1980s, with a belief that 'enterprise and assets were the means to sustainable regeneration,' so that surpluses could be generated from 'community-based economic activities' and 'reinvested in social goals.' In contrast to these 'grassroots' origins, research has highlighted how more recently, and particularly since the implementation of austerity in 2010, some CEs have been established as a response to the threatened closure of local services, activities and/or assets (Hastings et al., 2013; Findlay-King et al., 2018; Rolfe, 2018).

While the origins of CEs have shifted over time, with a generally increasing, albeit varying, role for policy in their establishment, research has highlighted how CEs generally seek to respond to local needs, such as 'deprivation, poor health, inadequate housing or a lack of community facilities' (Bailey, 2012:27). Scholars have thus sought to develop typologies regarding the rationales for establishing (asset-owning/managing) CEs (see Aiken et al., 2011; Bailey, 2017). Spear et al.'s (2017:42) typology regarding the emergence of S&CEs is useful here: this includes the 'market perspective,' in which S&CEs emerge due 'to the non-existence, withdrawal or failure of private enterprise (Teasdale, 2012)'; the public service perspective, in which CEs emerge due 'to the withdrawal of the public sector as a deliverer of services'; and the 'alternative perspective,' where CEs develop due to 'a rejection of capitalism' (Spear et al., 2017:42). Yet, while the organisational origins and ethos influences the role of CEs in neighbourhood change, expanding upon these typologies is not the focus of this PhD.

Reflecting the growth of S&CEs since the 1980s, academic literature on the topic increased (for example, McArthur, 1993; Hayton, 1996). This literature then expanded again from the early 2000s, in response to New Labour's support for S&CEs (see, for example, Amin et al., 2002; Bertotti et al., 2011). Key themes within this literature include debates about definitions and the varied organisational forms of S&CEs (for example, Pearce, 2003; Bailey, 2012); the governance and organisation of S&CEs, including issues of representation and accountability (for example, Bailey, 2012; Moore & McKee, 2014); the potential and actual contribution of S&CEs within regeneration (and the role of community asset management/ownership within this) (for example, Thorlby, 2011; Bailey, 2012); and the opportunities and challenges S&CEs face when seeking to contribute to regeneration (for example, Bailey, 2012; Cornelius & Wallace, 2013). The remainder of this chapter analyses these themes and highlights relevant gaps. The focus here is on CEs concentrating on regeneration, specifically community development trusts.[8] The next section discusses issues of governance, participation, representation and accountability.

3.2.3 Governance, Participation, Representation and Accountability

Issues of participation, representation and accountability are of vital importance for the governance of CEs (Somerville & McElwee, 2011; see Buckley et al., 2017, for a detailed review of accountability within CEs). One of the key strengths of CEs is cited as their localised governance structures, for example in terms of their community-led boards and other methods of engagement (Amin et al., 2002). These are argued to ensure community representation and participation, providing the opportunity for residents to be involved, and thus supposedly increasing the democratic accountability of CEs to their community (Tracey et al., 2005; Bailey, 2012; Henderson et al., 2018).

However, the challenges to ensuring community participation are well-known, as discussed at 2.5 (see Arnstein, 1969; Barnes et al., 2003; Dargan, 2009). For example, not all members of any 'community' will wish to be involved in community-led regeneration efforts and even less so in their governance

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[8] As mentioned previously, the term CE (and the associated definition set out in Chapter One) is used throughout this thesis for clarity, as organisations identify as different 'models' over time.

(Atkinson, 2003a; Jones, 2003). There are also issues around who has the time, resources and skills (i.e. social, economic and cultural capitals) to be involved, and how this impacts community governance and the approach taken over time (see, for example, Bailey, 2012; Somerville, 2016), discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Bailey (2012:14-15) highlights the need for a 'strategic,' 'pragmatic' and 'opportunistic' individual with 'personal contacts and local networks' to lead CEs, requiring a relatively unique set of attributes (see also Kleinhans, 2017):

> '…the skills of the entrepreneur to identify opportunities and ways of exploiting them…a clear vision about the social, economic and environmental objectives of the organisation, and an ability to motivate staff, the directors and the wider community…' (Bailey, 2012:14-15).

Given this, Somerville and McElwee (2011:327-328) argue that there is often a 'continuum of participation,' with particular 'activists or entrepreneurs' leading, supported by others. This can potentially limit the extent of wide-ranging community engagement in CEs (Henderson et al., 2018). For example, DeFilippis' (2004:146-147) research on a range of collectives found that 'decision-making processes' were controlled by 'the management, staff and boards…rather than the workers, members and residents.' While 'residents/ members/workers' all had a presence on these boards, the findings suggested 'that their presence did not yield a process in which they were in positions of power' (*ibid.*).

These challenges have arguably increased with the professionalisation of the third sector, leading to increasingly managerial approaches (DeFilippis et al., 2010). Osbourne (2006) notes how, in the UK, there has been a shift from traditional public administration, whereby 'the state was confidently expected to meet all the social and economic needs of the citizenry,' to New Public Management (NPM), practices, emerging in the 1980s and 1990s (*ibid.*:378). NPM practices have also seemingly been advocated by some within the third sector (Thibault, 2007), with an emphasis on learning from the private sector, such as the focus on 'entrepreneurial leadership,' 'inputs and output control and evaluation,' 'performance management and audit,' 'cost management' and 'the

growth of use of markets, competition and contracts for…service delivery' (Osbourne, 2006:379).

As discussed later, this focus on entrepreneurial attributes may constrain the potential to develop CEs in deprived communities, which *tend* to have lower levels of social capital (see Bailey, 2012; Moore & McKee, 2014). The next section summarises literature on (community) enterprise and entrepreneurship.

3.3 (Community) Enterprise and Entrepreneurship

Academic literature on (community) enterprise and entrepreneurship has grown in the UK since the 1980s (see, for example, Deakin & Edwards, 1993; Oatley, 1998; Greene et al., 2008), partly in response to the increasing emphasis on these issues within policy, as discussed in Chapter Two. This research has emerged from various fields, including entrepreneurship studies (for example, Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Chell, 2007; Thompson, 2008); public policy (for example, Somerville & McElwee, 2011; Somerville, 2016); and urban planning (for example, Frank, 2007; Raco & de Souza, 2018).

Somerville and McElwee (2011:317) define 'enterprise' as '(an) activity that produces or aims to produce value that can be expressed in monetary terms,' with entrepreneurs being those 'responsible for producing such value.' Further, Frank (2007:637) identifies several intangible 'personal characteristics, attitudes and skills' commonly associated with enterprise and entrepreneurship, including 'problem solving, leadership, communication, self-awareness and…business and managerial competencies.' Yet, in the context of CEs, Peredo & Chrisman (2017:153) cite that:

> 'the study of social entrepreneurship has largely inherited the tendency of traditional entrepreneurship studies to assume ventures are created by an entrepreneur acting solely or part of a small team of individuals.'

Thus, it has traditionally been associated with economic imperatives and an individualist, neoliberal mindset. The next section analyses these definitions in relation to community enterprise, highlighting potential tensions.

3.3.1 Community and Enterprise: A Contradiction in Terms?

Somerville and McElwee (2011:317) highlight that community enterprise is often idealised in policy as an approach which can neatly bring together discourses around 'community' and 'enterprise' favoured by governments since the 1980s, providing 'entrepreneurial' solutions to local regeneration issues. Yet, tensions can exist between social/community aims and the values of enterprise and entrepreneurialism, thus complicating these agendas (*ibid*.: see also Chell, 2007; Thompson, 2008; Thompson & Williams, 2014). These tensions can lead to 'mission drift' if they cannot be reconciled in a synergistic manner, and economic imperatives are prioritised over social ones (Thompson & Williams, 2014:111; see also McBrearty, 2007; Thibault, 2007). For example, Thompson and Williams (2014:109) found 'a negative relationship between [charities increasing their] income from trading activities and achievement of objectives,' based on the 2008 *National Survey of Third Sector Organisations*. Balancing these imperatives is arguably even more challenging during austerity, as CEs may increasingly have to rely on 'enterprise,' as public funding has been cut (see Milbourne & Cushman, 2015; Bailey, 2017). It is therefore vital to consider how the shift from a greater degree of public sector funding to that generated via enterprise may affect, whether directly or indirectly, the capacity of CEs to act locally for the benefit of residents who are most in need (see, for example, Thompson & Williams, 2014; Hastings & Matthews, 2015; Rolfe, 2018).

However, some scholars are less critical, often those writing from a business/entrepreneurship studies perspective (for example, Chell, 2007). For example, while acknowledging some of the challenges, Peredo and Chrisman (2006:309) argue that 'community-based enterprise (CBE)' offers 'a potential strategy for sustainable local development in poor populations.' They argue that through CBE, 'a community [can] act corporately as both entrepreneur and enterprise in pursuit of the common good' (*ibid*.:310).

More recently, Southern and Whittam (2015), based on research in Glasgow and Liverpool, argued that the critique of enterprise and entrepreneurship as neoliberal constructs is insufficient, arguing instead that S&CE can offer 'a type of political resistance' to these neoliberal constructions (*ibid*.:97). They thus argue for 'reappropriat[ing]' 'enterprise and entrepreneurship,' concluding that

'agitation is entrepreneurial, and enterprise can be political' (*ibid*.:98; see also North, 2011; Casper-Futterman & DeFilippis, 2017, discussed at 2.4.1). This will be a consideration in this thesis, for example with examination of how CEs' approaches to regeneration can offer hope for 'another way' (Tuckett, 1988; Amin et al., 2002).

The extent to which an entrepreneurial and enterprising approach complements or contradicts social and/or community aims and the potential impacts and outcomes that can arise, including the potential for gentrification (see Chapter Four), are therefore important considerations for this thesis. Further, this thesis will explore how far, and in what ways, such tensions can be managed in a synergistic manner, or whether the agency of CEs to do so is too constrained by the challenges of operating in the capitalist context (Evans, 1996; Gupta et al., 2004; DeFilippis et al., 2010). There is also a need for further understanding of the challenges arising due to the professionalisation of the third sector and, more recently, austerity, with additional responsibilities being placed on CEs, while their resources are simultaneously being cut, thus increasing the 'need' for enterprise (see Rolfe, 2016a, 2018; Bailey, 2017). The next section explores the role of CEs within regeneration.

3.4 The Role of Social and Community Enterprises within Regeneration

As mentioned previously, there has been increasing interest, within both academia and policy, about the potential contribution of S&CEs, increasingly owning/managing assets, to regeneration, with particular growth under New Labour (Pearce, 2003). Within policy, S&CEs are often idealised as an 'innovative' model, which can potentially address the commonly cited challenges of both private sector approaches to regeneration, such as a focus on maximising profits (for example, Harvey, 1989; Minton, 2012), and third sector approaches, such as resourcing and capacity issues (for example, Herbert, 2005; Taylor, 2007). The hope is that this approach can incorporate the 'best' parts of both approaches (Tracey et al., 2005), being situated somewhere between 'private and public enterprise' (Somerville & McElwee, 2011:318; see also Bailey, 2012). There are, however, several limitations to this potential, and these are reflected upon at 3.5 and 4.5.4, regarding gentrification.

A key paper was published by Bailey in 2012, entitled *The role, organisation and contribution of community enterprise to urban regeneration policy in the UK*, based on five contrasting case studies (Bailey, 2012:1). Bailey (2012:1) explored 'the diversity of the sector, and the range, scale and level of benefits it can deliver,' also considering the role of community asset ownership/management. Bailey then compared CEs to CDCs in the US, considering how UK CEs may develop in future. He found that while these approaches are similar, 'the scale, number of organisations and extent of investment is significantly greater' for American CDCs, which undertake 'some of the functions of local government and other service providers' due to 'the different political and administrative context' (*ibid*.:14; see also Varady et al., 2015a, 2015b).

Varady et al. (2015b:223-224) identify several gaps in the literature regarding CEs and regeneration that are relevant for this thesis. Firstly, they identified a need for further research on the contributions of CEs to regeneration, paying attention to the different factors affecting their roles (*ibid*.; see also Bailey, 2012). Further, Varady et al. (2015b:224) highlight the need for further qualitative research on this topic, particularly that focusses on CEs in urban areas and which takes 'a longitudinal approach' (see also Reuschke et al., 2017). Other scholars have also identified gaps. For example, while Tracey et al. (2005:328) highlight that CEs 'have been the subject of much policy-focussed research,' Bailey (2012:4) cites the need for further academic research, particularly in the context of austerity. Furthermore, regarding community asset ownership/management specifically, Somerville (2016:135) recently identified 'a small but growing literature in the UK and the US' (Aiken et al., 2011; Bailey, 2012; see Moore & McKee, 2014, for a review). Yet, Somerville (2016:135) argues that 'so far, it is difficult to draw clear conclusions from it.'

It is thus important to consider, as highlighted by Bailey (2012) and Moore and McKee (2014), how the role of CEs, and their community assets specifically, within regeneration may differ across the UK, and within different communities, depending on 'historical circumstance, geography, political and institutional cultures and sociocultural values' (Porter, 2009:241). The next section analyses literature regarding the activities undertaken by CEs in order to understand their potential and actual role in regeneration.

3.4.1 The Activities of Social and Community Enterprises within Regeneration

Academic research has highlighted a wide variety of regeneration activities undertaken, and services delivered, by CEs, being, as they are, responsive to unmet local needs (Amin et al., 2002; Aiken et al., 2008, 2011). Bailey (2012:29) highlights the potential of CEs to:

> 'contribute to neighbourhood and local regeneration strategies; keep informed of policy developments at all levels and engage and bid for resources where appropriate; be aware of the capacity of the enterprise, acquire new skills and ensure the sustainability and continuity of the organisation; be accountable to, consult, inform and involve local residents and business at all stages; [and] make connections and exploit opportunities by integrating different facilities, services and funding opportunities...'

Bailey (2012:17) also highlights the advocacy and influencing role that CEs can play in 'a variety of statutory and non-statutory procedures relating to planning, housing and neighbourhood regeneration.' This may involve contributing to 'working groups and neighbourhood forums,' and using Section 106[9] agreements to secure local benefits (*ibid*.).

Several commentators (for example, Aiken et al., 2008, 2011; Bailey, 2012; Moore & McKee, 2014) highlight the ways in which asset ownership/management is a key aspect of the regeneration activities of S&CEs. Zografos' (2007:38-39) research found that, in rural Scotland, these organisations have contributed to regeneration via:

> 'the management of vital community-owned environmental or built assets, purchase, restoration and management of derelict land... establishment of community woodlands, cleaning up of essential communal natural assets (such as common green spaces), etc.'

Yet, while this rural-focussed research in Scotland is still of relevance here (see also Skerratt & Hall, 2011a, 2011b), there is a need for further research in the urban context in Scotland, as highlighted in Chapter Two (DTAS, 2012a). S&CEs

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[9] Section 106 agreements provide 'site-specific mitigation of the impact of development' to 'make a development proposal acceptable in planning terms, that would not otherwise be' (LGA, n.d.).

thus have various potential and actual contributions to regeneration; these are now discussed.

3.4.2 The Potential and Actual Contribution of Social and Community Enterprises to Regeneration

While traditional understandings of enterprise and regeneration often focus primarily on economic benefits, proponents of the social economy typically emphasise the ways in which (asset-owning/managing) S&CEs can contribute to more intangible social, cultural and community benefits, in addition to economic ones, with a broader understanding of 'value' (for example, Amin et al., 2002; Pearce, 2003; Johnstone & Lionais, 2004; Murtagh, 2019). Somerville and McElwee (2011:322-323) use Bourdieu's (1986) conceptualisation of economic, social and cultural capitals, arguing that CEs can contribute to all of these, with this holistic contribution being the 'real significance' of community enterprise: 'creating wealth, developing community and transforming culture' (*ibid.*). While recognising the importance of cultural benefits, given the aims of this thesis, this section focuses primarily on social and economic benefits. Throughout, reference is made to the benefits of community asset management/ownership where relevant.

Social Benefits and Social Capital

As mentioned previously, one of the key potential social contributions to arise from the S&CE approach to regeneration is increasing social capital (see, for example, Somerville & McElwee, 2011; Bertotti et al., 2011). While social capital is not the focus of this thesis, it is an important consideration and is therefore introduced briefly here.

While there is much debate regarding how best to define social capital (Field, 2003), Ormston and Reid (2012) highlight that there is general agreement that relationships and networks are integral to the concept (see also Field, 2003). There is not scope here to analyse these debates from the perspectives of the three 'foundational authors' identified by Field (2003:41): Coleman, Putnam and Bourdieu. Nevertheless, Bourdieu and Wacquant's (1992:119, cited Field, 2003:154) definition is useful here in understanding both the role of social

capital for establishing and maintaining CEs, and also as a potential benefit to arise from the work of CEs:

> 'social capital is the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.'

Field (2003:15) notes that Bourdieu's work was influenced by Marxist sociology, viewing 'economic capital' as being 'at the root of all other types of capital' (Bourdieu, 1986:252, cited Field, 2003:15). Thus, economic capital is viewed as being 'combined with other forms of capital to create and reproduce inequality' in different ways (Field, 2003:15; see also DeFilippis, 2001; Savage, 2015). Examining these inequalities in social and economic capitals is crucial to research regarding asset owning/managing CEs, and particularly the focus of this thesis on unequal neighbourhoods (see 3.4.3), for example when considering the individuals and groups within particular communities who are best 'equipped' to develop 'successful' CEs or take on community asset ownership/management (CLES, 2019).

Woolcock (2001:13-14, cited in Field, 2003:41) identifies three types of social capital:

- '**Bonding social capital**, which denotes ties between like people in similar situations, such as immediate family, close friends and neighbours;
- **Bridging social capital**, which encompasses more distant ties of like persons, such as loose friendships and workmates; and
- **Linking social capital**, which reaches out to unlike people in dissimilar situations, such as those who are entirely outside the community, thus enabling members to leverage a far wider range of resources than are available within the community.'

These are all important for the operation of CEs, to varying degrees, which may involve interaction with a 'field' of local, regional and national networks (see Bailey, 2012; Hastings & Matthews, 2015).

Thus, Kay (2005:169) argues that S&CEs can 'actively create, use and generate social capital,' thus contributing to 'the welfare and the quality of life of residents.' Further, Bertotti et al. (2011:168) used qualitative research to explore 'the contribution of a social enterprise [a community café] to the

building of social capital in a disadvantaged urban area of London.' The research found that the contribution to social capital was generally quite strong, although the contribution to 'linking' social capital was minor (*ibid*.).

Other potential social benefits include improvements to social inclusion and civic participation (Amin et al., 2002). Moreover, regarding community anchor organisations more generally, Thake (2001:viii-x) notes that such organisations can provide individual benefits, such as 'personal development' through volunteering or paid work, which can involve 'engagement, trust building, skills development and onward movement,' as well as 'community building,' 'partnership-making' and 'wealth creation,' thus generating social and economic benefits.

Specifically regarding community asset ownership and management, the *Quirk Review* (2007:1-2), discussed previously at 2.3.1, identified various potential social benefits that can arise, including social cohesion and integration, feelings of 'belonging,' helping to improve 'the local environment, alleviating poverty and raising people's aspirations.' Similarly, Aiken et al. (2011:7) highlight that asset ownership can facilitate 'increased confidence, skills and aspirations locally; improved access to services and activities...; jobs, training and business opportunities,' as well as improving 'community identity and cohesion... community capacity...service delivery...community economic regeneration...the environment and enhancing democratic voice' (*ibid*.:48).

Aiken et al. (2011:54) also suggest that asset ownership/management can contribute to challenging stereotypes about neighbourhoods, potentially meaning that they 'become more attractive to outsiders.' This is an important consideration in terms of gentrification. These impacts are integrally related to economic benefits (see DeFilippis, 2001), as are now discussed.

Economic Benefits

Academics have highlighted challenges in 'measuring' the economic benefits of the social economy (for example, Amin et al., 2002; Varady et al, 2015b). Nevertheless, some research is optimistic about the economic benefits that can arise from (asset-owning/managing) S&CEs. In the European context, Lukkarinen

(2005:419-420) notes that the social economy has great potential in terms of employment (particularly for groups marginalised from the labour market), supposedly representing an estimated 10% of European employment at that time. In the UK, S&CE membership bodies have estimated their potential economic contribution. For example, 2018 research by Social Enterprise UK estimated the economic contribution of S&CE to the UK economy at £60 billion, providing an estimated 5% of all employment and 3% of GDP (SEUK, 2018; see also DTAS & Education Scotland, 2018).

Further, Bertotti et al. (2011:169) argue that as S&CEs prioritise 'social goals' over 'maximising profit,' they are more willing to work in areas unattractive to the private sector, and in which the state may have contracted, and can thus contribute to market failures. Vickers et al. (2017) summarise several ways in which social economy organisations contribute to regeneration (see Table 3.2; see also Murtagh, 2019).

Specifically regarding asset ownership/management, the *Quirk Review* (2007:14-15) identified a range of potential economic benefits. These included job creation; potential multiplier effects arising from 'wealth creation and the revaluing [of assets] through new use of an existing facility'; and improved 'viability of local businesses,' potentially leading to the attraction of new residents, improved 'land values' and further investment (*ibid*.). Further, Quirk (2007:4-5) suggested that asset ownership can help to regenerate communities, if surpluses are used to 'support innovative projects through small grants and the availability of community facilities' (see also DTAS, 2012a). It must be noted that some of these benefits, such as increasing land values, could contribute to gentrification, recognising this as a potential risk of a 'successful' community asset (Thibault, 2007; DeFilippis et al., 2010).

However, research suggests that the social and economic benefits which arise from community asset ownership/management depend on the type of asset. Archer et al.'s (2019:6) research found that 'being a community hub/hall/ centre' (the focus of this thesis) and 'operating from a location in an area of deprivation' were both 'negatively associated with excellent financial health.' Yet, these assets can generate high social benefits, again highlighting potential tensions between community and enterprising aims (McBrearty, 2007; Somerville

& McElwee, 2011). While this thesis does not attempt a formal evaluation or impact assessment, the potential and actual contribution of CEs and their assets to regeneration is an important consideration.

Table 3.2 'Social economy contributions to inclusive growth' (Vickers et al., 2017:7)

'Creating jobs, strengthening skills and employability:
• Providing employability support services and/or direct job creation for the most disadvantaged in the workforce.
• Creating "decent jobs" within SEOs - with fair pay, good working conditions and inclusive employment practices.
• Developing other employment-related support – such as the provision of affordable childcare, housing or transport.
Building diversified local economies:
• Contributing to entrepreneurship and innovation – introducing new services and alternative business models that contribute to emerging markets, sectors and sustainable development.
• Brokering economic opportunities – including with private and public sector actors and enabling local people to take part in economic decision-making.
• Building social capital and contributing to community well-being – through volunteering and related local activity.
• Stimulating local consumption – supporting the retention and circulation of money within local economies.
Contributing to wider economic and institutional transformation:
• Supporting the creation of a more resilient economy with increased job security…
• Influencing how all businesses could or should work as part of a more responsible and inclusive economy.
• Promoting the wider uptake of "value-led" innovation – influencing policy agendas and supportive institutional/regulatory change at national as well as city or regional levels.'

Source: taken directly from Vickers et al. (2017:17).

The Benefits of an Alternative Approach

Research suggests that these social and economic benefits can be more challenging to realise than policy often suggests. For example, Amin et al. (2002:125) argue that while the social economy 'can never become a growth machine or an engine of job creation, or a substitute for the welfare state,' its contribution lies, instead, in 'the legitimacy [it] gives to the possibility of a different kind of economy' and 'way of life,' focussed on 'social needs and enhancing social [ethical and environmental] citizenship' (see also Pearce, 2003;

Somerville, 2016). Amin et al. (2002:125) argue that the strength of S&CEs is thus their 'commitment to social empowerment and to the welfare/ developmental needs of marginalised groups.' Hudson (2009:509) suggests that the potential for the social economy to lead to a 'radical transformation' in which 'the (il)logic of capital accumulation [is displaced] from its position of systemic dominance' is severely limited. Rather, Hudson (2009:509) cautions that, 'at worst, [the social economy provides] a safety net that legitimates the inequalities inherent to the operation of mainstream capitalist markets and the process of capital accumulation.'

These issues are important here; a key consideration will be how far CEs, via their assets, have the potential, if at all, to offer a real alternative and contribute to 'redistributive' regeneration agendas in unequal neighbourhoods and, if so, how this can be realised, for example in terms of policy support, or whether their potential is too constrained by the injustices and inequities of capitalism (DeFilippis et al., 2010; Lees & Ferreri, 2014; Somerville, 2016; Murtagh, 2019). These tensions are arguably further complicated by austerity, with the risk that S&Cs are increasingly expected to compensate for state retrenchment, without sufficient resources (see Hastings et al., 2013, 2015; Rolfe, 2018; section 3.5.1). This thesis will also consider the role of CEs in offering an 'alternative,' following Amin et al. (2002), Hudson (2009) and Murtagh (2019). This will be related to the discussion in Chapter Two regarding reformist and radical approaches to community development and the forthcoming discussion in Chapter Four regarding these issues in relation to gentrification. The next section analyses the role and contribution of CEs in deprived areas and those characterised by high levels of inequality; this is particularly important, given potentially widening inequalities between and within affluent and deprived communities in the UK in the context of austerity (Hastings et al., 2015).

3.4.3 Issues of Inequality: Community Enterprise in Deprived and Unequal Areas

While academics such as Welter et al. (2008:109) and Trettin and Welter (2011) note that there has been increased interest in the spatial dynamics of entrepreneurship, particularly in deprived areas, they contend that this has

tended to focus on larger geographical scales, with less attention to the 'community' or 'neighbourhood' (see also Williams & Huggins, 2013; Kleinhans, 2017). There have since been two important edited volumes which have sought to address this gap: *Entrepreneurial Neighbourhoods* (van Ham et al., 2017) and *Entrepreneurship in Cities: Neighbourhoods, Households and Home* (Mason et al., 2015). Yet, despite the increased focus on the neighbourhood scale, these studies have typically focussed on deprived communities characterised by deprivation (for example, Boraston et al., 1996; Amin et al., 2002; Williams & Huggins, 2013), rather than socioeconomic inequalities and do not necessarily focus on community enterprise/entrepreneurship specifically. However, it is argued here that, in the context of debates about gentrification and how far, if at all, it can be limited while community-led regeneration is taking place (see Chapter Four), there is a need for more research regarding the role of CEs, and particularly their community assets, in regeneration and gentrification in socioeconomically unequal neighbourhoods.

There is much debate about the extent of enterprise/entrepreneurialism in deprived areas, with Bailey (2017:231-232) citing that 'more affluent areas' are typically 'better organised,' and *tend* to have higher levels of social and economic capitals, including 'skills, knowledge and resources' that are helpful in establishing and sustaining CEs (see also Bailey, 2012; Hastings & Matthews, 2015; Scottish Government, 2009a; CLES, 2019). Further, Bertotti et al. (2011:168-169) cite that deprived areas may have a shortage of 'public and private sector investment and in financial, physical and human capital,' as well as potentially less of a market for enterprise (see also Spear et al., 2017). For example, in England, Archer et al.'s (2019:3) research found that community assets are most common in 'less deprived, rural local authorities.'

Further, Amin et al. (2002) found that the contribution of S&CEs to regeneration can be very unequal, being influenced by the local context:

> '…in places where the private sector is strong, such as in London and Bristol, the social economy has been able to derive considerable benefits…[including] the recruitment of staff from local firms…and the capacity of local labour markets to absorb trainees coming through the social economy…' (*ibid.*:ix)

Indeed, Amin et al. (2002:ix) argue that 'areas of marked social exclusion are precisely those that lack the composite skills and resources necessary to sustain a vibrant social economy,' contradicting policy rhetoric. Yet, much of the targeted capacity-building support for area-based interventions in both England and Scotland has been dismantled due to austerity (O'Brien & Matthews, 2016; Pugalis, 2016; Bailey, 2017), further limiting this potential.

However, others dispute this. For example, Murtagh and McFerran (2015:1588) emphasise that in Northern Ireland, SEs tend to play a greater role in deprived areas, citing that the 20% most deprived areas are home to 29% of all SEs. Moreover, in Johnstone and Lionais' (2004:230) analysis of 'depleted communities,' they argue that 'community business entrepreneurship' can flourish, 'adapt[ing] to places with high social meaning but with low economic value of space.' Reuschke et al. (2017:301) conclude that both affluent and 'economically and socially-deprived neighbourhoods' are home to 'entrepreneurial neighbourhoods,' despite the former being 'more likely to have connections to the formal economy outside the neighbourhood' (see also Williams & Williams, 2017).

Yet, as noted previously, much research relates to S&CEs more broadly; while CEs share many similarities with SEs, they are distinguished by their area-specific focus, being even more reliant on the skills and capabilities of residents for their governance (Bailey, 2012; Varady et al., 2015a, 2015b). As such, a focus on particular skills and attributes arguably raises particular challenges for developing CEs in deprived communities, which *tend* to have lower levels of social capital (Amin et al., 2002; CLES, 2019). Thus, rather than filling 'gaps' in provision in deprived areas, CEs may instead reflect, if not exacerbate, existing inequalities, both between and within communities (Bailey, 2012; Lowdnes & Prachett, 2012; Moore & McKee, 2014). There is a need to further explore these issues in the context of austerity, which may worsen these challenges (Hastings et al., 2015).

This section has therefore argued that there is a specific need for research regarding the role of CEs in areas characterised by socioeconomic inequalities (Bailey, 2012; Moore & McKee, 2014). As outlined in Chapter One and returned to in Chapter Four, it is suggested here that these communities may be at

greatest risk of gentrification or may even have started the gentrification process, potentially reducing the perceived risk for investors if affluence is nearby and they can capitalise on large 'rent gaps' within a small area, due to differentials between land values in close proximity (see Smith, 1979; Lees et al., 2008; Paton, 2014; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). Building on the work of Bailey (2012) and Varady et al. (2015a, 2015b), this study therefore aims to further explore the role of CEs and their assets in socioeconomically unequal neighbourhoods, undergoing varying extents of gentrification. The next section outlines literature regarding challenges for S&CEs.

3.5 Challenges Facing Social and Community Enterprises

Despite the benefits and opportunities often emphasised both within policy and by some academics, research has highlighted the inherent limitations of the S&CE approach, with issues of scale and capacity for asset owning/managing CEs (Bailey, 2017). DeFilippis et al. (2010:13) highlights fundamental questions regarding how far community organisations have the power, politically, socially and/or economically to meaningfully contribute to 'redistributive' regeneration agendas and influence neighbourhood change. This relates to critical debates within the regeneration literature, discussed in Chapter Two, regarding the inability of community-based efforts to address the structural causes of poverty and inequality (O'Brien & Matthews, 2016; Somerville, 2016). As Andersson and Musterd (2005:386) cite:

> 'problems of the neighbourhood are seldom problems in the neighbourhood…an area focus cannot by itself tackle the broader structural problems, such as unemployment, that underlie the problems of small areas.'

DeFilippis et al. (2010:13) therefore argue that there is a need for these local efforts to be matched by wider efforts to address structural inequalities through 'the redistribution of power…towards the working-class, poor and groups that have faced forms of oppression in contemporary capitalism.'

Academics have thus highlighted the unrealistic expectations placed on S&CEs within policy:

> '…We are told that social enterprises can make jobs for people with significant barriers to employment; that they can provide better value (i.e. cheaper) services; that they can run a successful business in economically disadvantaged and low-income areas; that they can tackle social exclusion and crime, and encourage community participation; and that they can do all that effectively, be financially viable and self-sustaining, and probably make a profit along the way!' (Pearce, 2003:56).

In contrast, Amin et al. (2002:x) conclude that, 'our evidence suggests that it is naïve and unreasonable to expect…that the social economy can be a major source of jobs, entrepreneurship, local regeneration and welfare provision.' It is crucial that this is recognised; as DeFilippis (2004:141) argues, 'the last thing these groups need is for outsiders to set them up to fail by creating… expectations that…can never be met.' Further, such expectations are arguably even more unreasonable in the context of a decade of austerity and a reduction of policy support for CEs (Bailey, 2017).

Bailey (2012:30-32) cites several further challenges facing CEs and their potential contribution to regeneration: 'size, viability and capacity'; ensuring adequate 'funding for capital and revenue' to enable organisational growth and long-term sustainability; 'managing risks,' such as those associated with asset management/ownership; ensuring adequate community 'representation and accountability,' whilst guaranteeing the necessary skills levels amongst board and staff members; and challenges in 'contributing to neighbourhood regeneration' (see also; Moore & McKee, 2014; Rolfe, 2016a, 2018).

Moreover, a key issue is how far financial sustainability is an achievable objective for S&CEs (Amin et al., 2002). Chell (2007:17-18) argues, writing from the perspective of business studies, that a failure to be 'sustainable' and 'entrepreneurial,' 'may (ironically) undermine' the 'social value' of S&CEs. Yet, despite the 'common sense' logic of this argument, several commentators (see, for example, Wallace, 2005; Bailey, 2012; Spear et al., 2017) have argued that full financial independence is unlikely to be realistic for S&CEs in practice, particularly in deprived areas and in the context of austerity, where it is less likely that there will be a 'market' to generate surpluses. These are important considerations for this thesis and will be returned to throughout. While this thesis takes a longitudinal perspective, it is important to consider particular

challenges for CEs regarding austerity, as the primary research was conducted after nearly a decade of austerity.

3.5.1 Community Enterprises, Regeneration and Austerity

Since the GFC in 2008, and the Coalition assuming power in Westminster in 2010, academic literature has examined the additional constraints on the capacities of CEs, while these organisations have simultaneously increasingly been expected to take on additional responsibilities that the local state can no longer fulfil (Bailey, 2012, 2017; Hastings et al., 2015). Challenges may arise directly due to reduced funding, or more indirectly, for example if austerity and the impacts of 'welfare reform' mean that the demand for support provided by CEs increases, for example if household incomes are affected (for example, Beatty & Fothergill, 2016a). Research by Hastings et al. (2013, 2015) highlights the potential for cuts to local government budgets to disproportionately affect deprived areas, potentially having knock-on effects on CEs.

As an example of these challenges, Wheeler (2017:163) conducted a longitudinal study of a 'radical' social enterprise from the New Labour period to that of austerity. Despite its aim to adopt 'a different approach to improve the independent living and employment opportunities for disabled people' (*ibid*.:163), the research found that the organisation struggled to maintain its 'radical' roots, partly because of austerity and the associated 'financial pressures to find alternative income streams' (*ibid*.:176-177). This arguably led to 'mission drift,' a key challenge for S&CEs (see Thibault, 2007; Murtagh, 2019; sections 3.3.1 and 4.5.4).

Of particular relevance to this project are the challenges arising from the policy developments relating to *Community Empowerment* in Scotland and *Localism* in England in the context of austerity, discussed in Chapter Two. As discussed, academics have noted how such policies may increase inequalities, with a potentially slightly more equitable approach in Scotland (Hastings & Matthews, 2015; Rolfe, 2018). For example, focussing on Coalition Government policies, Featherstone et al. (2012:178) highlight that, given the lack of attention to 'power relations and inequalities within communities,' the *Localism* agenda was likely to 'empower' 'those with the resources, expertise and social capital to

become involved in the provision of services and activities,' rather than fostering 'an equitable process of decentralisation' (see also Hastings & Matthews, 2015; Rolfe, 2018).

Similarly, Bailey (2012:12) notes several critiques of the *Big Society* agenda for CEs, including that: there is no tailored community capacity-building support in deprived areas, which tend to need additional resources for capacity-building, particularly for CAT; and that the sector's ability 'to take advantage of new opportunities' has been reduced since the GFC and austerity (see also O'Brien & Matthews, 2016; SURF, 2016). As discussed in Chapter Two, while these challenges are arguably not as severe in Scotland, with less detrimental impacts of austerity thus far, very real constraints remain (Hastings et al., 2015; Beatty & Fothergill, 2016a, 2016b; Rolfe, 2016a, 2018). These challenges have arguably worsened since Bailey's (2012) research was published, given the cumulative impacts of austerity which have the potential to exacerbate socioeconomic inequalities (Hastings et al., 2013; Bailey, 2017) and risks relating to gentrification, as 'governance mechanisms that favour those already well-resourced to take advantage' are likely to be prioritised (O'Brien & Matthews, 2016:200).

Regarding assets ownership/management specifically, in Scotland, DTAS (2012b:30) highlights several risks, including that, given austerity, CEs may be pressured to take on ownership 'to save valued buildings and assets,' rather than seeking assets which contribute to 'a clear community enterprise purpose.' There is also a risk that assets can become liabilities if CEs do not have 'ongoing revenue streams to develop and maintain the asset' (Scottish Government, 2009:22; see Hastings et al., 2015; Findlay-King et al., 2018). Further, as mentioned previously, DTAS (2012a) and the Poverty Alliance (2011) have highlighted that asset ownership/management is generally more prevalent in affluent areas. Thus, Moore and McKee (2014:529) have cautioned that CAT may not always be a viable option, or even an appropriate solution, in some communities. Likewise, SURF (2016:9) cautions that without sufficient 'institutional responses to underlying poverty and inequality…even a well-intended asset transfer process can end up exacerbating existing disparities.' There therefore remains a vital need for greater resources for CEs if they are to

maximise their potential 'contribution to the long-term regeneration of communities' (Bailey, 2012:30).

It is thus important to explore the role of CEs, and community asset ownership/management, in regeneration, over time, in unequal areas and the various constraints and challenges that arise over time (DTAS, 2012a) – the focus here. This will be explored in neighbourhoods experiencing varying degrees of gentrification, the focus of the next chapter.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter initially introduced the social economy and the origins and nature of S&CEs. It then considered conceptualisations of community enterprise and entrepreneurship within regeneration, and the potential tensions that may arise, building on the discussion in Chapter Two. Subsequently, it examined the different regeneration activities of CEs and their potential and actual contributions to regeneration. The penultimate section considered the role of CEs in deprived and/or socioeconomically unequal areas and, importantly, highlighted the need for more research considering their roles in socioeconomically unequal gentrifying, or gentrified, areas. Finally, it considered the challenges facing CEs, particularly in the context of austerity. With Chapter Two, the chapter has provided crucial historical context for this thesis, tracing the development of S&CE over time, considering the more recent challenges of austerity and increasing inequalities.

This chapter has argued, following the work of scholars including Bailey (2012) and Moore and McKee (2014) and Varady et al. (2015a), that there is a need for further research exploring the potential and actual role of CEs and, specifically their community owned/managed assets, in processes of regeneration and gentrification over time, in neighbourhoods characterised by socioeconomic inequalities. This is particularly important in the context of a decade of austerity and the arguable constraints this has caused for community organisations when seeking to contribute to regeneration (Milbourne & Cushman, 2013; Hastings et al., 2013, 2015). The next chapter explores issues of gentrification, the core focus of this thesis, before setting out the research agenda emerging from this literature review.

4 Chapter 4: Gentrification: Limiting Factors, Alternatives and Community Assets

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses debates relating to gentrification, the focus of this thesis, with particular interest in the nuances of the interrelations between regeneration and gentrification (see Porter & Shaw, 2009a). The term gentrification was first coined in 1964 by Ruth Glass, a sociologist studying urban change in London. She explained how, 'one by one, many of the working-class quarters have become invaded by the middle class – upper and lower' (Glass, 1964:xvii). Glass (1964:xvii) argued that the process then continues 'rapidly until all or most of the working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed.' Since this time, gentrification has been one of the most contested topics in urban scholarship (for example, Butler, 2007; Freeman, 2008; Lees et al., 2008, 2010; Shaw & Porter, 2009).

Given the volume of literature on gentrification, this chapter focuses on issues most relevant to this thesis. First, it summarises debates about defining gentrification and outlines the definition adopted for this thesis. This is followed by consideration of how gentrification, as both a process and field of academic research, has evolved since the term was first coined in the 1960s. Thirdly, literature regarding the varying impacts of gentrification is summarised. Literature regarding the factors that can limit, or provide alternatives to, gentrification, including the role of community enterprises (CEs), and their community assets, is then analysed. Finally, these debates are related to issues of scale, power, structure and agency to consider how far, and in what ways, gentrification can be limited, if at all, while community-led regeneration is taking place for the benefit of local residents. It then sets out the research agenda for this thesis.

The chapter argues that while the gentrification literature has explored more nuanced conceptualisations of gentrification (for example, Shaw, 2005; Shaw & Porter, 2009); the factors that can help to limit the negative consequences of gentrification (for example, Shaw, 2005; Ley & Dobson, 2008; Colomb, 2009); and 'alternatives' to gentrification (for example, Lees, 2014a; Lees & Ferreri,

2016), and while there has been a growth in research regarding the role of asset-owning/managing CEs within regeneration (for example, Bailey, 2012; Varady et al., 2015b), there is a need for research exploring the contribution of CEs, and particularly their community owned/managed assets, within processes of gentrification (see Colomb, 2009, for an exception).

While recognising the growth in research on 'planetary gentrification' in recent years (Lees et al., 2016), and the need to consider the impact of global forces on local manifestations of gentrification (DeFilippis, 2004), the chapter does not examine these debates, given word constraints and the focus instead on local impacts and alternatives in the UK. Furthermore, gentrification has been explored in relation to different equalities issues (see Lees et al., 2010, for selected readings), such as gender (for example, Bondi, 1999; Curran, 2018; Trinch & Snajdr, 2018), sexuality (for example, Doan, 2018) and race and ethnicity (for example, Lees, 2016; Huse, 2018). While this literature is very important, and it is crucial to recognise the intersectionality between different equalities issues (Collins & Bilge, 2016), there is not scope here to explore these literatures, given the focus on socioeconomic inequalities.

4.2 Defining Gentrification

There has been extensive debate about how best to define gentrification (see Lees et al., 2008). As Butler (2007:162) explains:

> 'For some, [it] is a process of colonising the city, for others a manifestation of belonging; for some the concept can be used as a radical critique of neoliberalism, whilst for others this very critique is an exemplar of the hegemonising tendencies amongst (often radical North American) urban scholars…'

Gentrification has been described by Hackworth (2002:815) as 'the production of urban space for progressively more affluent users.' However, the definition adopted here is that provided by Shaw (2008b:1698), which recognises the nuances of gentrification, how it can differ from regeneration and how it permeates twenty-first century society, viewing gentrification as:

> '…a generalised middle-class restructuring of place, encompassing the entire transformation from low-status neighbourhoods to upper-middle-class playgrounds…'

This is useful for this thesis, given the aim to understand the nuances of the interrelations between gentrification and regeneration, with consideration of how while these processes can overlap, they do not have to be 'synonymous' (Shaw, 2008b:1719). Lees et al.'s (2008:xv) argument that gentrification can occur in vacant areas, in addition to traditionally working-class neighbourhoods, and can refer to a shift in both residential and commercial uses, is also recognised here.

One of the key issues when defining gentrification regards the displacement of former residents. Some argue that the term is not applicable if the land was formerly vacant and thus no direct displacement occurs (for example, Cameron, 1992; Boddy, 2007). In contrast, Shaw and Porter (2009:2-3) argue, using Marcuse's (1985:205) concept of 'exclusionary displacement,' that indirect displacement, for example if residents can remain physically, but no longer feel at 'home' in their neighbourhood due to changes, for example in the retail offer, is also unjust. Marcuse (1985:207) cites a range of material and psychological impacts that can arise from displacement, such as negative effects on social ties, local businesses and public services, thus 'making the area less liveable' (see also Smith, 1994; Fullilove, 2004; Lees et al., 2008). The view that displacement, whether direct or indirect, is a key negative impact of gentrification, is also taken here (see also Atkinson, 2002; Slater, 2006; Paton, 2014; Easton et al., 2019).

There has also been much debate regarding the causes of gentrification. As these debates are well-versed (Slater, 2006) and there is not scope to examine these in detail here, a summary is provided. Lees (2000) traces the debate between consumption- (for example, Ley, 1994,2003) and production-side (for example, Smith, 1979,1987) explanations which dominated the earlier gentrification literature (Slater, 2006). However, it is generally now acknowledged that both explanations are interrelated and required to understand this complex process (Hamnett, 1991; Lees, 1994). Central to production-side explanations is Neil Smith's 'rent gap,' defined as 'the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalised under the present land use' (Smith,1979:545). This is important here, given the focus on socioeconomically unequal neighbourhoods, which may have quite large rent gaps in close proximity, as introduced previously.

In light of the continuing attention to these debates, Slater's (2006) seminal article argued for the need to resist 'the eviction of critical perspectives from gentrification research,' including:

> '…the resilience of theoretical and ideological squabbles over the causes of gentrification at the expense of examining its effects…the demise of displacement as a defining feature of the process and as a research question; and…the pervasive influence of neoliberal urban policies of "social mix" in central city neighbourhoods' (*ibid*.:737).

The third of Slater's (2006) criticisms: that gentrification is increasingly 'state-led' through regeneration policy will be discussed, after a brief summary of the evolution of gentrification.

4.3 The Evolution of Gentrification

Hackworth (2000, cited Smith, 2002:440) traces the evolution of gentrification in North America and Western Europe through 'three waves.' First was 'sporadic gentrification' in the 1950s/1960s; secondly, gentrification in the 1970s/80s became increasingly 'anchored' and 'intertwined' with 'wider processes of urban and economic restructuring'; and thirdly, the 1990s saw the emergence of a 'generalised' form of gentrification, as 'a crucial urban strategy for city governments' (*ibid*.). Lees et al. (2008:179-180) suggest that since the early 2000s, a 'fourth wave' has emerged, whereby gentrification is exacerbated due to the 'intensified financialisation of housing' and 'the consolidation of pro-gentrification politics and polarised urban policies.' Aalbers (2018:1) recently identified a 'fifth wave,' whereby 'the urban materialisation of financialised or finance-led capitalism' continues, intensified by the GFC of 2008. Aalbers (2018:1) argues that in this wave, 'the state continues to play a leading role…but is now supplemented – rather than displaced – by finance,' which operates via a variety of mechanisms, such as Airbnb (*ibid*.).

4.3.1 The Rise of State-led Gentrification

Of particular relevance here is the growth in literature since the early 2000s regarding gentrification and urban policy (Lees & Ley, 2008). In the UK, this literature grew in response to criticisms that New Labour's regeneration agenda, for example via the focus on 'mixed communities,' was best described as 'state-

led gentrification' (for example, Lees, 2000, 2003a, 2003b; Lees & Ley, 2008; Doucet et al., 2011). Berg et al. (2009:6) argue that because of the belief by governments, whether perceived or actual, that the state can no longer:

> 'influence the welfare of its residents directly...gentrification has become a means of solving social malaise, not by providing solutions to unemployment, poverty, or broken homes, but by transferring the problem elsewhere, out of sight' (see also Lees et al., 2008, 2010).

Shaw and Porter (2009:2) thus cite that for some regeneration has become a 'euphemism' for gentrification (for example, Davidson, 2008; Watt, 2008; Paton, 2014). Yet, despite this criticism, Clark (2005:267) highlighted a 'dearth of efforts to outline alternatives' to gentrification or recognise 'the variability of grounded impacts in a wider variety of settings.' Atkinson (2008:2634) also highlights the difficulties that can arise if 'too many kinds of neighbourhood change [are classified] as gentrification,' with a need for gentrification research to:

> 'influence policy-making in ways that might lead to cities becoming more spatially and socially just...[by] provid[ing] empirical research, policy-oriented advice and discriminating vocabularies that help us to identify which kinds of neighbourhood change are problematic and which are helpful' (*ibid*.).

It is nevertheless important, as argued by Davidson (2008:2402-2403), to 'continue to illustrate the injustices of the process' and ensure that critical research agendas are not compromised in the pursuit of 'policy-relevant' research. Davidson (2008:2402-2403) thus argues for the need to develop 'a policy and political debate that offers an alternative for low-income communities...[and] contribut[es] to the production of a real choice, a just urban future worthy of imagining' (see also Lees et al., 2008; Slater, 2009). In response to these criticisms, research has aimed to explore how, if at all, regeneration can occur without becoming gentrification; this is now discussed.

4.3.2 Regeneration as/without Gentrification?

Scholars such as Shaw (2005, 2008a, 2008b, 2009), Atkinson (2003b, 2008), Shaw and Porter (2009) and Maloutas (2011) have sought to offer more nuanced analyses of regeneration and gentrification. This was an explicit aim of Porter

and Shaw's edited volume, *Whose Urban Renaissance?*, which details various international case studies 'where policy has been used to achieve more socially equitable outcomes – harnessing the benefits of regeneration without displacing or excluding vulnerable residents' (Porter & Shaw, 2009b:no page). Thus, Shaw and Porter (2009:5) argue that classifying all regeneration as gentrification is problematic and fails to recognise the nuances of these different processes; the 'different and competing objectives among the producers of urban regeneration'; that the 'injustices [caused] can sometimes be unintended'; and that governments can 'act beyond the interests of the producers of gentrification' (see also Levy et al., 2006). Thus, as Lees and Ferreri (2016:22) later argued, there is a need to explore how 'regeneration' can be 'reclaimed' by grass-roots organisations seeking:

> 'neighbourhood investment without displacement, in a tactic that engages with the language of policy and planning…to claim space for local and national debate on what a "true" urban regeneration could look like.'

There has historically been much debate regarding whether regeneration and gentrification are 'distinct' or part of the same overarching process (Van Criekingen & Decroly, 2003:2465; see also Smith, 1996; Beauregard, 1986). While recognising the previous critiques, Shaw (2009:257) argues that 'urban regeneration can be understood as a process that need not lead to displacement, and does not by definition have the class character that is inherent in gentrification.' In this sense, Shaw (2009:256-257) contends that, unlike gentrification, regeneration can 'be separated from the [capitalist] paradigm' and instead focus on ensuring 'secure and affordable housing and decent services [for existing residents] and jobs to people on low incomes.'

Shaw and Porter (2009:2-3) therefore argue that it is helpful to conceptualise regeneration and gentrification:

> '…as occupying different spaces on a continuum of social and economic geographic change, where maximum disinvestment, or "filtering," is at one extreme, and "super gentrification" – where corporate executives displace university professors (Lees, 2003c) – is at the other.'

Thus, they argue that 'regeneration becomes gentrification when displacement or exclusion occurs' (Shaw & Porter, 2009:3). Shaw (2008b:1720) argues that, rather than seeing gentrification in stages, this 'continuum allows gentrification to be understood as complex and multi-faceted…with greater capacity for its variations and nuances.' Shaw (2008b) highlights that, in this understanding, not all neighbourhoods will experience the full 'continuum,' as some 'remain in a perpetually marginal state' (*ibid*.:1720), and others may revert to an earlier part of the 'continuum' (*ibid*.:1713). This built on the work of Van Criekingen and Decroly (2003:2453-2454) who argued for a more nuanced 'geography of neighbourhood renewal processes,' recognising the differing manifestations of gentrification in different neighbourhoods and cities. This conceptualisation, Shaw (2008b:1697) argues, can also enable greater scope for intervention against 'gentrification's inequitable effects' (see also Shaw, 2008a).

Van Criekingen & Decroly (2003:2464) highlight that the extent of gentrification in different neighbourhoods will also be influenced by a city's 'position within the international hierarchy,' for example in terms of 'the relative strength of the economy and nature of their labour markets' (Shaw, 2009:175). Therefore, despite arguable attempts by governments in deindustrialised cities such as Glasgow to promote gentrification (see McIntyre & McKee, 2008; Paton, 2014), national and international factors, which may be largely outwith the control of local actors, affect the potential for gentrification locally (see Shaw, 2005, 2008b).

Shaw's (2008b:1720) argument for 'a continuum of social and economic geographic change' is therefore followed here, given the PhD's overarching aim to explore the nuances and interrelations between regeneration and gentrification. This recognises that while regeneration can be a 'euphemism' for gentrification (Shaw & Porter, 2009:2) and/or can lead to gentrification, whether intentionally or not, regeneration has the potential to be a separate process, if the conditions are right and governments are truly committed to addressing socioeconomic inequalities (Shaw, 2009:256-257). However, as argued in Chapter Two, this potential is arguably somewhat limited at present in the UK, with these agendas seemingly being deprioritised by the Conservative Government and the agency of the Scottish Government being limited, despite a

commitment to addressing poverty and inequality (O'Brien & Matthews, 2016; Rolfe, 2018).

This thesis will thus seek to build on this work by further exploring the nuances of the interrelations between regeneration and gentrification, using case studies of CEs, and particularly their community assets (community centres), as a lens through which to better understand regeneration and gentrification in these neighbourhoods, over time. The next section summarises work on the impacts of gentrification.

4.4 The Impacts of Gentrification

The most comprehensive review of the 'costs' and 'benefits' of gentrification, although somewhat dated now, is Atkinson's (2002) review of 114 academic studies on gentrification from 1964 to 2001 (see Table 4.1 overleaf). Atkinson (2002:14) notes that 'it is likely that there is a high degree of selectivity about gentrification as a subject for research,' with many academic studies adopting a Marxist approach, focussing on 'issues of social justice and conflict.' Nevertheless, he concluded that 'the majority of evidence on gentrification has identified negative impacts' (*ibid*.:2).

Another key consideration when examining the impacts of gentrification is the 'geography of gentrification' (Ley, 1996, cited Lees, 2000:396). The varied impacts and outcomes of gentrification across space and time (for example, Shaw, 2005; Ley & Dobson, 2008), and for different population groups (for example, Benson, 2014; Paton, 2014), have long been recognised. For example, Shaw (2009:175) suggests that 'in its early stages, gentrification's positive effects seem to outweigh the negatives; [while] in its advanced stages this relationship is reversed.' Accordingly, Schlichtman and Patch (2017:4) suggest there is a 'tipping point' for gentrification, 'where there are enough middle-class in-movers in a lower-income neighbourhood to prompt social, cultural and economic changes.'

Table 4.1 Gentrification 'costs' and 'benefits'

Benefits	Costs
'Stabilisation of declining areas	'Displacement through rent/price increases
Increased property values	Secondary psychological costs of displacement
Reduced vacancy rates	Community resentment and conflict
Increased local fiscal revenues	Loss of affordable housing
Encouragement and increased viability of further development	Unsustainable speculative property price increases
Reduction of suburban sprawl	Homelessness
Increased social mix	Greater take of local spending through lobbying/ articulacy
Decreased crime	Commercial/industrial displacement
Rehabilitation of property both with and without state sponsorship	Increased cost and changes to local services
Even if gentrification is a problem it is small compared to the issue of: - Urban decline - Abandonment of inner cities'	Displacement and housing demand pressures on surrounding poor areas
	Loss of social diversity (from socially disparate to rich ghettos)
	Increased crime
	Under-occupancy and population loss to gentrified areas
	Gentrification has been a destructive and divisive process that has been aided by capital disinvestment to the detriment of poorer groups in cities.'
Source: taken directly from Atkinson (2002:7)	

It is also important to consider the speed and intensity of gentrification. For example, Schlichtman and Patch (2017:125) question whether gradual gentrification over two decades or more is necessarily destructive, if 'positive' changes occur in terms of infrastructure and safety, for example, while 'rents increase only moderately.' However, the speed, intensity and nature and experiences of the impacts, will depend on the local context (Lees, 2000) and the city's positioning, nationally and internationally (Shaw, 2009). These variances are important for this PhD, likely affecting the role and approach of the case study CEs, and their community assets, in regeneration and gentrification, including how far they have organisational agency and capacity to limit or resist gentrification. Yet, despite this research exploring the impacts of gentrification, Shaw and Porter (2009) argue that there is a need for further research into the factors which can help to limit it, to better understand how regeneration can occur without gentrification. This is now discussed.

4.5 Factors Limiting Gentrification

As discussed, there is much debate regarding the extent to which regeneration inevitably leads to gentrification, albeit to varying extents, and whether it can

be halted in the current capitalist context (see Shaw & Porter, 2009). While some argue that attempts to limit gentrification are, by and large, futile, as gentrification is increasingly pervasive as a 'global urban strategy' (Smith, 2002:427), others have sought to identify factors which can limit gentrification and offer alternatives to develop more socially-just forms of regeneration (for example, Shaw, 2005; Atkinson, 2008; Porter & Shaw, 2009a; Gallaher, 2017). To an extent, these positions reflect the debates regarding 'radical' versus 'reformist' approaches to community development, discussed in Chapter Two (see Somerville, 2016), and questions of whether academics and policy-makers should implement ameliorative measures or advocate the need for a full-scale restructuring of society to address social and economic injustices, including those arising from gentrification (see Smith 1996; Lees et al., 2008).

The view adopted here is that the likelihood of the overthrow of 'global neoliberal capitalism' (Shaw, 2009:257) and Smith's (1996:xx) desire for 'a world…after all the economic and political exploitation that makes gentrification possible' is looking highly, and increasingly, unlikely, particularly after a decade of austerity and potentially widening inequalities (Hastings et al., 2013; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). Thus, it is argued here that, in the meantime, further research is needed to better understand 'the conditions [that] favour gentrification or limit it, increase the pace or slow it' (Shaw, 2005:172). Following Shaw and Porter (2009) and Lees and Ferreri (2016), it is argued that efforts to limit gentrification, or offer an 'alternative,' however small, have the *potential* to improve the lives of the individuals affected, thus being a worthwhile research agenda.

Shaw (2005, 2008a, 2008b, 2009) has made a key contribution to this work. Based on research in ten areas across America, Canada, Australia and Europe, Shaw (2005:176-182) identified four factors which can limit gentrification, citing that at least two usually exist where gentrification is 'slow' or 'limited': a 'housing stock not particularly conducive to gentrification'; 'longevity' and 'security in housing tenure'; 'the "embeddedness" of local communities' and 'political activism'; and the role of public policy, including support for 'community or social housing.' These factors can help to 'limit the number of units on the market, reduce attractiveness to higher-income purchasers,

minimise displacement and allow the development of embedded local communities' (*ibid.*:181; see also Clark, 2005).

Several scholars have since built on this work. For example, Ley and Dobson (2008:2471) explored the reason for 'unexpectedly low indicators of gentrification' in 'two inner-city neighbourhoods' in Vancouver, Canada. They identified that, in these neighbourhoods, 'the intersection of local poverty cultures, industrial land use, neighbourhood political mobilisation and public policy, especially the policy of social housing provision' had helped to 'block or stall gentrification' (*ibid.*). While truly affordable housing is arguably the main bulwark against gentrification (Bailey & Robertson, 1997; Shaw, 2005), Walks and August (2008) examined how gentrification can be limited in areas lacking a large social housing stock, identifying the need for:

> 'the maintenance of areas of working-class employment...a housing stock not amenable to gentrifiers' tastes and state encouragement of non-market and ethnic sources of housing finance' (*ibid.*:2594).

The factors highlight the need for state intervention.

More recently, Rodríguez and Di Virgilio (2016:1219) outlined several 'resistance strategies,' recognising that these are not mutually exclusive and that they can 'develop at different times and scales.' They note that 'everyday micro-scale resistance strategies' can lead to locally-based organisation, and that these can consequently lead to 'state intervention in a gentrifying neighbourhood' (*ibid.*). They identify other strategies including:

1. 'Actions driven by relatively organised grassroots collectives (De la Garza, 2014; Drissel, 2011; Gledhill & Hita, 2014; Rodríguez, 2014),' such as 'cooperative housing management'

2. The provision of 'social services targeting vulnerable groups (DeVerteuil, 2012; Herzer, et al., 2005; Thomasz, 2010),' such as the homeless (Finchett-Maddock, 2010), delivered through 'non-commercialised buildings'

3. The actions of 'individual residents' (Newman & Wyly, 2006), for example 'staying put' despite 'overcrowding...high housing costs and poor housing quality,' 'anti-gentrification campaigns' and 'lobbying elected officers.'

Gallaher (2016:1) also identifies cases where people have used 'the court system to fight intimidation from landlords trying to force them out' and

4. The role of the state in providing public housing 'to counter the effects of gentrification (Delgadillo, 2009; Guevara, 2010; Levy et al., 2006; Newman & Wyly, 2006),' such as via rent controls and a variety of other methods for 'subsidising housing' (Rodríguez & Di Virgilio, 2016:1219).

The remainder of this section focuses on two of Shaw's (2005) factors, which are most relevant for this thesis: the role of public policy and community activism. While this literature often draws on relevant scholarship on social movements (for example, Chatterton & Pickerill, 2010; Creasap, 2016), there is not scope to detail this here.

4.5.1 The Role of the State and Public Policy

Shaw (2005:176) argues that while 'urban regeneration is a reasonable policy to kick-start under-used declining or deprived cities or regions,' there is a need for 'another kind of intervention…to maintain a low-income housing stock if and when the place actually begins to gentrify.' Shaw (2009:256) cites that this is required to limit the 'inequities which will occur in the absence of intervention.' Similarly, Berg et al. (2009:7) highlight that 'even the most positive and sincere efforts to improve deprived neighbourhoods have often led to gentrification as an unwanted side effect of the rising desirability of an area and the rise in property prices.' Berg et al. (2009:7-8) thus argue that ensuring 'that the improvements serve the current locals rather than only those with financial means, should be the major concern of city councils and activists' (see also Shaw & Porter, 2009).

Atkinson (2008:2633-2634) argues that efforts need to be made 'at two levels of policy-making' to limit gentrification, with a need for macro-economic policies to reduce structural inequalities in 'income and wealth' and local interventions, such as those regarding 'planning decisions' and affordable housing provision, if 'more spatially equitable outcomes' are to be achieved (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 'Macro and local policy responses to gentrification and segregation' (Atkinson, 2008:2633)

'Forces impelling gentrification/ segregation	Macro policy issues
Income and wealth inequalities	Fiscal measures deployed to reduce significant and indefensible (publicly agreed) inequalities
Patterns of neighbourhood disinvestment	Targeted supplementary public service, infrastructure and environmental spending
Crisis in housing affordability from supply constraints	Significant construction programmes, particularly in tenures and locations where housing need most evident
Negative effects of gentrification	**Issues for local policy and action**
Loss of social diversity	New and existing neighbourhoods may be considered more equitable and sustainable when they contain a diversity of household types, incomes and dwelling types
Creation of mono tenure/ new developed affluent enclaves	
Household displacement	Residents should be compensated sufficiently where unreasonable early exit from residence is proposed
Community conflict	Community engagement and consultation in regeneration planning a constant commitment.'
Source: Taken directly from Atkinson (2008:2633)	

Yet, Shaw (2008a:2637) argues that despite the potential of policy 'to stop [or modify] gentrification,' its potential 'to produce more equitable cities [is] rarely realised,' partly due to a 'lack of political will to intervene in any market processes' and also 'because the reasons for doing so, in the interests of those who lose from gentrification, are not well-accepted by politicians and policy-makers.' Given these challenges, Shaw (2009:256-257) argues that there is a need for 'a radical approach to reinvestment' that can allow 'governments of disinvested cities' to create 'jobs, activity and infrastructure improvements,' while also achieving 'humane and equitable results for their people.' Shaw and Porter (2009:5) use the work of Sandercock (1998:102) to emphasise the role for 'social mobilisation and sustained opposition to gentrification in gaining greater social equity in government policies.' As Shaw (2009:260) argues, there is a need for 'progressive politicians, policy-makers and planners, with support from

activists and academics' to 'continually fight' for more equitable policies and for regeneration without gentrification. Yet, the challenges of doing so have arguably increased in the UK since this work was published, with the GFC, followed by the Coalition and then Conservative governments, meaning that policy has arguably served to promote gentrification and worsen inequalities, as discussed in Chapter Two (see O'Brien & Matthews, 2016).

There are several examples of this (see Porter and Shaw, 2009). For example, Uitermark & Loopmans (2013:157) discuss the 'Belgian "housing contract" experiment' whereby the federal government aimed to 'improve the quality of life in deprived urban neighbourhoods without displacing the poor.' A more recent example is the *New Municipalism* which, while not always targeting gentrification explicitly, demonstrates how activists and the state can work together to address structural issues, such as housing unaffordability (see, for example, Russell, 2019; Thompson, 2020).

CLES (2019:4) state that the *New Municipalism* 'refers to a new politics which has emerged from local activism and citizens' movements' that aims to localise power 'to varying degrees,' via the local state, 'to advance the cause of social and economic justice for all.' The *New Municipalism* seeks to address the root causes of inequalities, for example 'by allowing wider citizen and greater municipalist ownership in areas such as energy, with greater democratic control over land, assets and property' (*ibid*.:23). Further, McInroy (2018:678) argues that the *New Municipalism* focusses on 'local wealth building,' via 'two key components' (*ibid*.:681). Firstly, as noted above, is 'a new conception of the local state' which 'empowers, coordinates and upscales social innovation from community organisations and social enterprises' to enable them 'to operate and grow' (*ibid*.:681). The second is a re-envisaging of 'local economic development,' such as by establishing 'public and social economies' which have 'fairer wages, higher workers' control and more environmental and social responsibility' (*ibid*.:682). While there is not scope to analyse the *New Municipalism* in-depth here, it is important to note that it can take many different forms, with varying roles for the state and activists, different extents of radicalism and potentially different impacts in terms of gentrification (CLES, 2019; see, for example, Thompson's (2020:1) typology of three types: platform, autonomist and managed).

Often cited examples of the *New Municipalism* include Berlin and Barcelona, where the local state has sought to address the impacts of excessive tourism and 'platform urbanism,' such as via Airbnb, and the associated effects on housing markets (Thompson, 2020). In the UK, Preston is often cited, for example with local government using procurement to encourage the state 'to prioritise buying goods and services from local businesses and worker co-operatives over corporate outsourcing giants,' thus contributing to local wealth-building (Ball, 2019:no page; see also Lockey & Glover, 2019). The *New Municipalism* thus illustrates how policy can be used to try and benefit existing residents and address socioeconomic injustices, often related to gentrification. However, it is too early to assess what the impacts of this approach may be long-term and how far it can, or will, be mainstreamed (Russell, 2019; Rossini & Bianchi, 2020).

4.5.2 Community Activism

Communities and activists have thus long played, and continue to play, a crucial role in resisting, and offering 'alternatives' to, gentrification, as well as lobbying and working with policy-makers to affect change (Shaw & Porter, 2009). It is important to recognise, however, that these activities take place in the context of structural inequalities, which affect how far individuals and representative community organisations can resist or influence gentrification over time (see *ibid.*; DeFilippis et al., 2010; see section 4.5.4). This is a crucial consideration for this PhD.

While Annunziata and Lees (2016:1) note historical studies of resistance to gentrification in America (see for example, Smith, 1992, on the Tompkins Square Park riot in New York's Lower East Side in the 1980s; see also Hartman, 1984), Lees et al. (2010:525) note that there is a lack of contemporary 'analyses of anti-gentrification protests, struggles and activism.' As Lees and Ferreri (2016:14) argue, 'there has been very little written about resistance to gentrification in London, and only a little in other cities' (see Annunziata & Lees, 2016, for an exception, focusing on Athens, Madrid and Rome).

Lees et al. (2010:525) suggest that this lack of recent research may be due to a focus on '(and debate over) cause and effect' or because of 'the paucity of resistance itself.' For example, Lees et al. (2008:249) suggest that resistance

may have declined in recent years due to the displacement of working-class activists from city centres because of gentrification and the difficulties of organising 'challenges to gentrification' within increasingly 'authoritarian (neoliberal) governance' structures. Moreover, González (2016:1248-1249) suggests that the lack of attention to 'resistance, mobilisation and activism' may be because 'anti-gentrification resistance' does not typically 'take the form of mass urban movements,' but often emerges instead as 'everyday life micro-practices of contestation,' and also because research has tended to focus disproportionately on 'Global North cities' (see also Brown-Sacarino, 2016).

There is thus a need for further research on both resistance and alternatives to gentrification (Shaw & Porter, 2009). As mentioned, scholars (for example, Clark, 2005; Atkinson, 2002, 2008; Shaw & Porter, 2009) have noted that the gentrification literature has historically been very critical, but sometimes lacks a focus on exploring alternatives. Lees and Ferreri (2016:22-23) have argued that the 'urban radical critique' which characterises the gentrification literature 'is no longer enough,' with a need for further research on 'realistic alternatives… that other campaigns and groups, locally and internationally, can draw upon.' They cite potential examples including 'refurbishment, community land trusts, cooperative housing, lifetime neighbourhoods, community-led self-build, community housing associations, community planning and neighbourhood planning' (*ibid.*). While these are 'softer' forms of resistance, they argue that these can also be vitally important in limiting gentrification (*ibid.*).

Annunziata and Rivas-Alonso (2018) sought to reconceptualise the meaning of 'resistance' within gentrification research. They argue that while resistance has tended to refer to 'the practices of individuals and groups who attempt to stay put in the face of exclusionary, neoliberalising forces' (*ibid.*: 393), and while it:

> '…can be collective, politically organised and visible, it can also be highly heterogenous, somehow contradictory and incoherent, reflecting the intimate conflicting feelings of individuals, deliberately invisible, unconscious and practiced in solitude' (*ibid.*:393-394).

Some academic literature (for example, DeFilippis, 1999,2004; Levy et al., 2006; Berg et al., 2009; Lees, 2014b; Gallaher, 2016, 2017; Lees et al., 2010; Brown-Sacarino, 2016; Rodríguez and Di Virgilio, 2016) has accordingly sought to

identify different types of 'resistance' and alternatives, and their varying potentials to affect change; these are now explored, again recognising that structural factors limit the potential of local efforts (DeFilippis et al., 2010; see section 4.5.4).

Berg et al. (2009:10), based on European research, identify multiple 'initiatives, projects, positions and strategies that have led to interventions in gentrification.' They identify a typology of different forms of 'resistance,' including 'acts of protest or provocation and agitprop' which aim to raise awareness of these issues via 'shock and provocation'; and efforts to empower existing residents to reclaim public spaces and develop 'projects intended to create a local consciousness or to raise awareness of both the historical origins of the neighbourhood and the transformations presently taking place,' with the aim of increasing community ownership of issues (*ibid*.:10).

There has also been some growth in this literature in the UK. For example, Lees (2014a) explored residents' views regarding the 'regeneration' of the Aylesbury Estate in Southwark, London and 'how [residents] have resisted, and are resisting, the gentrification' (*ibid*.:921). While recognising the value of literature regarding the post-political (see, for example, Swyngedouw, 2007,2009), Lees (2014a:921) states that:

> 'ultimately, I refuse to succumb to these dystopian narratives, very attractive as they are, for conflict/dissent has not been completely smothered and resistance to gentrification in and around the Aylesbury is alive and well.'

Thus, Lees (2014a:940-942) argues that 'we need a politics of hope' rather than 'a politics of despair,' in order that cities can be re-established as spaces for social movements, 'democratic politics' and 'emancipatory agenda[s]' (see also Brown-Sacarino, 2016). Specifically regarding a community campaign against the use of Compulsory Purchase Orders (CPOs) on the Aylesbury Estate, Hubbard and Lees (2018) highlight the potential to expand the notion of 'housing rights' to include 'a right to community' in which 'the law' could be used to represent 'the interests of council residents, rather than supporting the politics of gentrification' (*ibid*.:8).

Further, Lees and Ferreri (2016) participated in a collaborative scholar-activist project on the Heygate Estate, Southwark, London. Here, they identified:

> 'three forms of resistance: local civil society network organisation to support open master-planning through active engagement with planning; self-organised activities to keep the estate open and accessible during the displacement of its residents; and the legal challenges to the CPO of the last remaining properties in the form of a CPO Public Inquiry' (*ibid*.:14).

Further, relating to Lees and Ferreri's (2016:23) call for 'realistic alternatives to gentrification,' there has been some work on different forms of CEs in limiting gentrification or offering an 'alternative,' introduced briefly at 3.2.1. For example, scholars have examined the role of CBHAs (see Bailey & Robertson, 1997; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). More recently, there has been a growth of research on CLTs (see Moore & McKee, 2012, for an international review). This has included considering their role in affordable housing provision and limiting gentrification and displacement, in both the US (see Lawrence, 2002; Levy et al., 2006; Gray, 2008; Meehan, 2013, Engelsman et al., 2016) and the UK (see Paterson & Dunn, 2009; Bunce, 2016), likely partly due to increasing housing affordability issues and subsequent policy attention (Paterson & Dunn, 2009). While this literature is helpful in exploring housing issues, this model is less useful for this thesis, given the focus on more holistic community-led regeneration goals (which can also include housing), typically addressed by broader CEs, such as CDTs. Yet, there has been less research regarding the role of these in processes of gentrification; these are thus the focus here.

A couple of exceptions are worth noting. Coin Street Community Builders (CSCB), located on London's South Bank, is widely cited as a 'successful' example of a long-standing CE. Cooke (2010:3) explains that CSCB emerged in the late 1970s as a community campaign to address a 'lack of affordable housing for local people,' and has since developed 'extensive commercial and property interests on the South Bank,' reinvesting surpluses to benefit local people via housing and 'community facilities.' It thus operates at a much greater scale than the vast majority of CEs (*ibid*.). Yet, CSCB achieved favourable, and arguably unique, conditions in terms of the transfer of land from the then Greater London Council, enabling it to grow (Tuckett, 1988). Further, while it has been used as a case study in several academic papers, these often focus on regeneration or the

social economy, rather than gentrification (for example, Brindley, 2000; Somerville & McElwee, 2011; Bailey, 2012).

More recently, although not the focus of her work, Lees (2014a:931) is critical of the role of a CDT, the Creation Trust, emerging from a *New Deal for Communities* project, in gentrification on the Aylesbury Estate in Southwark, London. Lees (2014a:931) argues that the Creation Trust 'is a post-political construct par excellence – a consensus-building mode of engagement and participation...which ultimately serves to legitimate politics that privilege economic growth (cf. Swyngedouw, 2007,2009 cited Lees, 2014a:931).'

However, Colomb's (2009) work regarding the role of the Shoreditch Trust, another CDT, in limiting gentrification in Shoreditch, a socioeconomically unequal area of East London which has experienced rapid gentrification since the 1990s, is somewhat more nuanced and hopeful. Colomb (2009:163) notes how the Trust developed a holistic approach to regeneration via 'training and employment measures, capacity-building activities, cultural and youth projects and physical improvements to housing and infrastructure (Shoreditch Trust, 2007),' while also taking ownership of community assets so that they could not be bought by 'commercial developers' (Taylor, 2005, cited Colomb, 2009:163).

Whilst Colomb (2009:165) acknowledges that it is challenging to evaluate the extent to which the Trust truly 'represents a successful form of community control over the area's urban redevelopment,' she argues that its work has nevertheless 'represented a positive form of local mobilisation against the negative impacts of rapid gentrification on social and community spaces.' Colomb (2009:165-166) argues that it has sought to achieve 'more equitable, urban development outcomes' by 'harnessing the opportunities arising from the transformations of the neighbourhood for the benefit of local communities' (see also Tuckett, 1988). Regarding the role of the local authority, Colomb (2009:165) cites that this has been 'ambiguous,' both offering support to the Trust but also (indirectly) contributing to gentrification locally. It is important to note, however, that the Shoreditch Trust emerged from an existing residents' group during the New Labour years as part of the NDC, with £50 million being provided over ten years (*ibid*.:162). It is thus important to explore the role of CEs, and their assets, in longitudinal perspective, recognising the more recent impact of

austerity – the focus here (see O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). Community asset ownership was also crucial for the Trust, as discussed at 4.5.3.

There are also studies exploring the role of community organisations in limiting or resisting gentrification outwith the UK (Brown-Sacarino, 2016; Annunziata & Lees, 2016; González, 2016). For example, Levine's (2004:106) research in Berlin, Germany, highlighted the contribution of 'neighbourhood management organisations' in fostering 'a more participant, inclusive and balanced vision of urban renewal,' with support from government 'to promote a trajectory of neighbourhood change that is more inclusive of social policy, affordable housing and community development goals' (see also Pearsall, 2013, on New York, America). Thus, while Levine (2004:106) recognises issues of community representation within these organisations, they do nevertheless emphasise 'the concerns of existing residents' and seek to halt 'destructive developer actions' in relation to gentrification.

Nevertheless, as Lees (2014a:922) highlights, there is a need for further empirical work to elucidate alternative approaches and strategies of 'resistance' (see also Shaw & Porter, 2009). Building on existing work (for example, Colomb, 2009; Bailey, 2012), the focus here is on the varying role of CEs, and particularly their assets, in regeneration/gentrification, considering the influence of different factors on their approach.

Particularly relevant for community enterprise, and related to the previous discussion of the *New Municipalism*, Gibson-Graham (2008) highlight the importance of 'community economies' as offering an 'alternative' to capitalism and providing 'spaces or networks in which relations of interdependence are democratically negotiated' (*ibid*.:627). Again, while such an approach is not 'anti-gentrification' per se, it can contribute to community development and regeneration, via a focus on increasing socioeconomic justice and reducing inequalities, thus contributing indirectly to limiting gentrification by offering an 'alternative' (Tuckett, 1988; Amin et al., 2002; Colomb, 2009; Porter & Shaw, 2009a; Lees, 2014a). While Gibson-Graham (2008:613) cite that these 'alternative economic activities' are often 'marginalised' or 'hidden,' they emphasise the need for more research here, to explore how these activities 'contribute to social well-being and environmental regeneration' (*ibid*.:617-618;

see Gradin, 2015, on the possibilities for cooperatives to be non-capitalist). More recently, Murtagh (2019:i) examined 'the impact and potential of the social economy as a site of urban struggle, political mobilisation and community organisation,' and its potential capacity 'to revitalise urban ethics, local practices and tangible political alterity.' This relates to the discussion in Chapter Three regarding the potential for S&CE to be political and 'agitate' (Southern & Whittam, 2015:98).

Such social and/or community economy approaches could contribute to Wright's (2016:10) thesis of 'eroding capitalism,' in which he argues, in relation to anti-capitalist strategies more generally, that capitalism can be challenged by developing 'more democratic, egalitarian, participatory economic relations in the spaces and cracks within this complex system' (see Gibson-Graham, 2008). Wright (2016:10) argues that, over time, 'these alternatives have the potential… of becoming sufficiently prominent in the lives of individuals and communities' that they could eventually 'displace' 'capitalism…from this dominant role in the system.' These are important considerations here in terms of the approach CEs adopt towards regeneration and gentrification, and how far they seek to offer an 'alternative' to challenge the capitalist imperatives behind gentrification, or a more 'reformist' approach (Tuckett, 1988; Shaw, 2009; Slater, 2009; Somerville, 2016).

Despite this potential, it is important to recognise the tensions that are inherent within S&CEs, particularly regarding issues of gentrification, with potential challenges reconciling political origins and imperatives with the realities of operating within the capitalist context (for example, Thibault, 2007; Somerville & McElwee, 2011). For example, drawing on a case study of Coexist, an asset-managing community enterprise in a gentrifying neighbourhood in Bristol, Larner (2014) highlights the tensions that emerge as the organisation seeks to balance social, environmental and economic objectives. Larner (2014:199) argues that 'this is not an anti-capitalist or even an anti-market initiative.' Instead, Larner (2014:203-204) argues that Coexist is 'positioned both inside and outside capitalism and neoliberalism,' 'represent[ing] neither the oppositional politics of familiar forms grassroots politics and community activism, nor the increasingly professionalised terrains of urban regeneration, social policy and social work' (*ibid*.:202). The following section considers specifically how far community

ownership and/or management may help to limit, reflect or even exacerbate gentrification (see Marche, 2015, on the varying roles of community gardens in gentrification).

4.5.3 The Role of Community Asset Ownership and Management

Literature has explored how, in principle, community-owned/managed assets may have a role to play in efforts to 'resist' gentrification, by ensuring that assets remain in community, rather than private, ownership (for example, Tuckett, 1988; Colomb, 2009; DeFilippis et al., 2010). However, despite the increased attention being paid to assets within regeneration (see Bailey, 2012), and while affordable social/community housing is arguably the key bulwark against gentrification (see Bailey & Robertson, 1997; Shaw, 2005), Ernst and Doucet (2014:189) highlight that 'less [gentrification] research has been done on non-housing aspects, particularly for those who "live through" gentrification in their neighbourhood' (see also Doucet, 2009, on the experiences of existing residents in gentrifying Leith, Edinburgh, in relation to amenities, housing and social interactions; DeVerteuil, 2012, on shifts in non-profit services due to gentrification in London and Los Angeles, for some exceptions). There is therefore a need for further research on the role of community assets, other than housing, in processes of gentrification (see also Levy et al., 2006; see Colomb, 2009, for an exception in the UK context), the focus here.

Research has suggested that community ownership, in its various forms, can contribute to reducing or limiting gentrification (for example, DeFilippis, 1999, 2004; Lees et al., 2008; Marche, 2015; Gallaher, 2017). DeFilippis has been a key scholar in this field in the North American context. For example, DeFilippis (1999:982-983) explains how 'locally owned and controlled' approaches can allow increased 'local control over the processes of investment and disinvestment,' thereby increasing 'the potential for greater control over the production of the locality.' Yet, while he recognises the vital contribution and potential of asset-owning/managing community organisations, he argues that 'the reality is much less promising due to the larger context in which such organisations operate, with structural inequalities in power' (*ibid*.; see also Bailey, 2017; section 4.5.4).

Nevertheless, Lees et al. (2008:274) have argued, using DeFilippis' (2001) work, that while community ownership/management models do not represent 'militant resistance, but rather a "soft" form of organising' (see Hackworth & Smith, 2001), they may be 'the best possibilities we have for something other than gentrification – something other than the false choice of disinvestment or displacement,' in the current neoliberal context (see Slater, 2009). There is consequently a need for further research considering this role in the UK context.

Colomb's (2009) work on the Shoreditch Trust in London, mentioned previously, is important here. Following pioneering organisations, such as CSCB, Colomb (2009) explores how the Shoreditch Trust has used community assets (including, a healthy living centre, restaurant, shop and office complex (Shoreditch Trust, n.d.) as the basis for both 'property development and social enterprise activities,' also helping to increase organisational sustainability and independence (Colomb, 2009:166). While Colomb (2009:166) argues that asset ownership has helped the Trust to achieve regeneration benefits for existing residents, she cautions that these local efforts 'alone cannot reverse the trend towards wholesale gentrification in a city like London.' Nevertheless, she argues that the key benefits of this approach include, 'help[ing to] retain key social infrastructure for lower-income groups in affected neighbourhoods,' thus fostering 'new forms of community empowerment in neighbourhood regeneration' (*ibid*.:166).

Further, in the Scottish context, DTAS (2012a:16) suggest that where CDTs own/manage community assets in neighbourhoods adjacent to deprived areas, there may be spill-over benefits, thus potentially contributing to 'redistributive' agendas, albeit on a small scale (DeFilippis et al., 2010; see section 4.5.4 on constraints). Further, DTAS (2012a:17) suggests that, if successful, community ownership/management may help to reduce relative deprivation, for example if assets are used as sites to deliver 'key services,' thereby making a localised contribution to reducing inequalities and potentially mitigating the negative impacts of gentrification. However, DTAS (2012a:24) highlights the need for further research to better understand the 'benefits of successful community ownership,' for different population groups and across different communities, and how far these 'can be attributed to asset ownership,' also recognising that such benefits may take several years to materialise (see also DTAS, 2012b).

While this thesis is not an impact assessment or evaluation, these will be issues to consider with the case study organisations and other stakeholders when exploring the roles of the CEs, and their community assets, in regeneration and gentrification, over time.

While the focus here is on community centres, there are examples in the literature of the role of other community assets within processes of gentrification. For example, Ernst and Doucet (2014:189-190) explore 'the interactions, conflicts, divisions and evaluations of gentrification though the lens of local, working-class pubs' to explore how these 'both reflect gentrification's spread and how these changes are experienced by non-gentrifiers.' They highlight the important role that working-class pubs can play if they continue to operate for existing residents, despite gentrification, potentially meaning that 'experiences and interactions will remain positive' (Ernst & Doucet, 2014:202-203). Conversely, they suggest that:

> 'if these spaces continue to disappear or become completely gentrified...these sentiments could be only temporary in nature and the loss of these important spaces...could lead to much more negative experiences' (*ibid.*:202-203).

There has also been a growth of studies of 'green gentrification,' such as those examining the role of community gardens within processes of gentrification (Alkon & Cadji, 2018). For example, Marche's (2015:2) 2012/13 research of the role of three community gardens in San Francisco in gentrification found varied roles, with one garden 'rather unambiguously enhanc[ing] gentrification,' another being 'halfway between facilitating and merely accompanying it,' and the other 'resist[ing] it, but mainly in a symbolic, immaterial – although by no means insignificant way' (*ibid.*:9). Further, Aptekar (2015:209) completed an ethnography from 2011-2013 'of a community garden in a diverse and gentrifying neighbourhood in New York City.' The study explored 'how conflicts among gardeners about the aesthetics of the garden and the norms of conduct reproduce larger gentrification struggles over culture and resources,' finding that these mirrored existing power relations, to an extent (*ibid.*:209). Nevertheless, the research also suggested that the diversity of those involved helped provide opportunities for 'less privileged gardeners...to destabilise hierarchies and defend their visions of this public space' (*ibid.*:209). These

examples thus highlight the varied and sometimes ambiguous roles of community assets in regeneration and gentrification.

Despite these examples, there is a need for further research examining how community asset ownership/management develops over time, as gentrification progresses, and the extent to which, if at all, it can help limit gentrification, or whether CEs and their assets largely reflect or even exacerbate, gentrification (see Marche, 2015). As such, this thesis explores the potential utility of a community assets-focussed analysis of gentrification, using community-managed community centres as a lens through which to explore the approach taken to regeneration/gentrification by CEs, and the ways in which their assets influence, and/or are reflective of, processes of regeneration and gentrification. While Philips & Smith (2018:17) discuss 'capital/asset-based analyses of gentrification,' these typically focus on housing, whether via home ownership or affordable housing (see also Levy et al., 2006); there is therefore a need for greater consideration of the role of other community assets (Ernst & Doucet, 2014). The next section considers the issues of scale, power, structure and agency for CEs which have emerged throughout this literature review.

4.5.4 Issues of Scale, Power, Structure and Agency

DeFilippis et al. (2010:2) highlight that within neoliberal, capitalist structures, 'community-based efforts are simultaneously vital and marginal, filled with democratic potential but laden with inherent limits, necessary but not sufficient' (see Bailey, 2017, more recently on the English context). As mentioned previously, for this thesis, it is crucial to consider the capacities of CEs and the constraints they face, in terms of how much power and agency, whether socially, economically, culturally or politically, they have when seeking to influence change in unequal and gentrifying or gentrified neighbourhoods, via their assets, and the factors affecting this (see DeFilippis et al, 2010; Moore & McKee, 2014; Somerville, 2016). This is a crucial debate within the wider community regeneration and development literatures, and this issue has arguably been intensified due to the last decade of austerity, as discussed in Chapters Two and Three (for example, Hastings et al., 2015; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016; Rolfe, 2016a, 2016b, 2018). This section draws on examples of community organisations, both with and without assets, and within and outwith

the UK, given the limited body of work on those that own/manage assets in the UK.

While typically writing from the North American context, DeFilippis has again been a key contributor to these debates. Around 20 years ago, DeFilippis (1999:982-983) argued that many community organisations were 'limited in their size and impact on the hegemonic, neoliberal, American political economy.' Further, DeFilippis (2004:12) later cautioned that despite the potential of collective ownership models, they 'are not wonder institutions,' with a need to recognise that their true 'potential lies in what they represent, and the potential for greater local autonomy that is possible, rather than in what they are actually able to achieve given their limited size and capacity at this time.'

Various studies have highlighted these power inequalities, and how they have shifted over time as part of wider societal changes (see, for example, Thibault, 2007; DeFilippis, 2004; Somerville, 2016). For example, Rose et al. (2013:445) highlight how community activism has shifted since 'the "social movements" period of the 1960s-1970s…[as] welfare state anti-poverty and anti-sociospatial polarisation mechanisms have been severely eroded.' These wider changes complicate the agendas of community organisations, who typically lack the resources to address these structural issues of poverty and disadvantage (DeFilippis, 2004).

Further, highlighting the limits of resistance, and the centrality of power inequalities, August's (2014:1160) research on 'Toronto's Don Mount Court community, the first socially-mixed public housing redevelopment site in Canada' found that during 'a series of mixed-income community governance meetings intended to promote social inclusion,' four key issues emerged: 'unequal power relations in shaping local priorities; the power to brand the community and define its aesthetic characteristics; the power to define and use public space; and power over modes of surveillance and exclusion.' Thus, August (2014:1160) found that in this case, relations between middle-class residents and public housing tenants were often antagonistic, arguably highlighting and reinforcing inequalities.

Building on this study, August (2016:25) later explored the ways in which resistance to 'relocation, displacement and gentrification' has been marginalised, using a case study of 'a mixed-use, mixed-income community' in Regent Park, Toronto. August (2016:25) argued that feelings of powerlessness amongst tenants limited 'resistance as tenants are desperate for new housing, forced to come up against a popular revitalisation approach, and suffering from attrition in numbers over a long development timeline.' Yet, despite these challenges, August (2016:25) found that the limited opposition that did emerge had been surprisingly successful, highlighting the capacity of tenants to campaign for 'more transformative change,' such as by 'demanding interventions…to improve tenant welfare and quality of life' (*ibid*.:32). Such an approach, August (2016:32) argues, could involve more funding for public housing and facilities, 'radically open consultation processes' and 'efforts to undermine the structural inequality that makes resistance necessary in the first place.' This example highlights some hope regarding the agency of tenants to devise resistance strategies, albeit recognising that these need to be matched by efforts to address structural inequalities (Atkinson, 2008; Somerville, 2016; see also O'Hare, 2017, on the space for community activists to contest existing community governance structures).

The relationship between the economic, social and political structures of society and the agency of community organisations, including community enterprises, is therefore crucial to discussions of alternatives to gentrification (DeFilippis et al., 2010). Many scholars have argued that the agency of community organisations is inherently limited, and particularly so in the context of austerity (for example, DeFilippis et al., 2010; Rolfe, 2016a,2018). This is a key consideration for this thesis.

Importantly, given the longitudinal focus of this thesis, research has highlighted that as organisations mature, they can become less radical and more institutionalised (Thibault, 2007; Fainstein, 2010; DeFilippis et al., 2010). This may be due to the structural constraints that exist when operating within capitalist society which can challenge organisational agency, meaning that difficult decisions often have to be made for organisations to survive (Thibault, 2007; DeFilippis et al., 2010). There is also an issue of scale; to try and increase their impact, organisations may wish to grow, which may increase the risk of

them becoming more detached from their communities and more institutionalised (DeFilippis et al., 2010; Thompson & Williams, 2014).

DeFilippis (2001:367-368) thus cautions that increasing the scale of an organisation can lead to 'mission drift.' He traces how, in the US, many community organisations have developed into CDCs which, he argues, function largely to 'build affordable housing and, in larger ones, functionally act as community-scale Chambers of Commerce' (*ibid.*). He voices concern that via this process, ideas of '"community control" have been replaced by "community-based assets," "non-confrontational organising" and "social capital"' (*ibid.*), reflecting the debates introduced in Chapters Two and Three. Other scholars have also highlighted the ambiguous role of CDCs in gentrification. For example, Varady et al. (2015b:214) highlight that there are insufficient examples of 'CDCs attempting to create stable mixed-income communities in areas experiencing gentrification.' More critically, Thibault (2007:848) argues that CDCs 'create the conditions, such as rising real estate values, that lead to gentrification.' There are thus fundamental questions regarding how far CEs have the agency to develop community-led regeneration in areas susceptible to gentrification, with a need for state intervention, for example in terms of maintaining affordable housing, when areas 'begin to gentrify' (Shaw, 2009:256).

Fainstein (2010) also explored issues of 'mission drift' for CSCB, operating on London's South Bank, an often cited example of successful a CE, introduced previously. While recognising the challenges CSCB faces, given such high land values locally, Fainstein (2010:127) highlights how CSCB has shifted from its original 'equity-oriented strategic direction whereby the principal beneficiaries of any project were low-income households.' Fainstein (2010:124) cites a recent example of a mixed-use development by CSCB, which did not provide any affordable housing, and rather promoted 'the kind of high-end building that it had once opposed,' thereby 'reflecting and contributing further to, the changed demographics of the South Bank.' Fainstein (2010:127) thus argues that CSCB's current approach is 'less in the direction of redistributional programs and more in favour of market-rate owner-occupied housing and public amenities,' thus potentially contributing to gentrification, contradicting CSCB's original mission. Further, Rijshouwer and Uitermark's (2017:270) research found that, 'by the 1990s, the community centres [in Amsterdam] that had once been activist

bulwarks had largely transformed into professional service providers,' again highlighting the challenges of 'mission drift.' This issue is a crucial consideration for this thesis, with the longitudinal approach allowing consideration of organisational change over time and the factors driving this.

Considering the agency of individuals living in gentrified areas, Wilkinson (2016) analyses anti-gentrification protests in London, which targeted businesses catering for supposed gentrifiers. Wilkinson (2016:1) examines 'why individual retailers have become the target of anti-gentrification protest' and 'where the "blame" for gentrification should be placed,' considering their responsibility to 'resist' gentrification, rather than capitalising on the economic gains. Drawing on Bourdieu, Wilkinson (2016:1) is sceptical of the extent to which businesses can be fully 'excused,' in contrast to those who argue that 'this blames individuals for wider structural processes,' with the argument that 'social inequality does not just come about via economic restructuring, but also through symbolic gestures and lifestyles, which mark certain places as both financially and culturally out of reach.' Wilkinson (2016:4-5) therefore highlights the need to consider 'the role of everyday life as a key space of gentrification, and hence a valid site for resistance' (see also Schlichtman & Patch, 2017, on the agency of individual 'gentrifiers').

These are key issues for this PhD; although not 'traditional' businesses, CEs may also face difficult decisions regarding their role within wider processes of gentrification, as discussed in the empirical chapters. A key consideration for this thesis is thus how far CEs, via their community assets, have the organisational scale, capacity and agency to offer an 'alternative' to gentrification in their neighbourhoods (see Tuckett, 1988; Bailey, 2017), whether directly or indirectly, or if this potential is fundamentally too constrained by the structural inequalities inherent in capitalist society, building on existing work (for example, DeFilippis et al., 2010).

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted how existing gentrification literature has explored more nuanced conceptualisations of the interrelations between regeneration gentrification (for example, Shaw, 2005; Shaw & Porter, 2009); the factors that

can help to limit the negative consequences of gentrification, including the role of policy, community activism and community assets (for example, Shaw, 2005; Ley & Dobson, 2008); and 'alternatives' to gentrification (for example, Colomb, 2009; Lees, 2014a; Lees & Ferreri, 2016). It has also highlighted crucial issues of scale, power, structure and agency for CEs when seeking to contribute to community-led regeneration without gentrification, via their assets. It has argued that there is a need for further research specifically exploring the contribution of CEs, and particularly the physical assets that they own/manage, within processes of gentrification, with existing research regarding the role of asset-owning/managing CEs tending to focus on regeneration, rather than gentrification (for example, Bailey, 2012, 2017; Kleinhans et al., 2017). Building on this work, the thesis therefore uses case studies of CEs, and specifically their community assets, as a lens to further explore the nuances of the interrelations between gentrification and regeneration and consider the ways in which gentrification can be limited, if at all, while community-led regeneration is taking place for the benefit of local residents, in the context of the structural constraints discussed.

The thesis will explore the potential contribution of a community asset-focussed analysis of processes of gentrification, with existing research tending to focus on housing, rather than other physical assets (Levy et al., 2006; Ernst & Doucet, 2014; Philips & Smith, 2018). Physical assets (community centres) will be used as a lens through which to explore regeneration and gentrification over time. Building on existing research (for example, Tuckett, 1988; Colomb, 2009; Bailey, 2012), the thesis will consider the extent to which community asset ownership/ management can and/or does affect the approach taken to community-led regeneration, thereby affecting the types of impacts and outcomes which can occur, including the extent of gentrification. This thesis will examine the role of asset-owning/managing CEs in 'redistributive' regeneration agendas (see DeFilippis et al., 2010), over time, in neighbourhoods characterised by socioeconomic inequalities. A key consideration will be issues of scale, power, structure and agency, and how far, if at all, and in what ways CEs can affect neighbourhood change via their community assets. The following section outlines the research agenda for this thesis, bringing together the research gaps

identified in Chapters Two-Four, to outline the overall contribution of the thesis in three specific areas, detailed in turn below.

4.7 The Research Agenda: A Community Assets-Focussed Analysis of Gentrification

Firstly, following the work of scholars including Bailey (2012), Moore and McKee (2014) and Varady et al. (2015a, 2015b), this thesis will seek to contribute to knowledge regarding the actual and potential role of asset-owning/managing CEs in processes of regeneration and gentrification, over time, in neighbourhoods characterised by socioeconomic inequalities. It has been argued that unequal neighbourhoods have received less attention within the S&CE literature, with much of this focusing on affluent versus deprived neighbourhoods (for example, Johnstone & Lionais, 2004; Bertotti et al., 2011). Yet, such inequalities are arguably particularly common in gentrifying or gentrified neighbourhoods (see, for example, Atkinson, 2002), and can potentially make these areas more susceptible to further gentrification (Lees et al., 2008; Paton, 2014), due to the 'opportunity' to close the 'rent gap', with differentials in land values in close proximity (see Smith, 1979). There is also a need for research taking a longitudinal perspective, considering how the approaches of these organisations have developed over time (Bailey, 2012; Moore & McKee, 2014; Kleinhans et al., 2017).

Further, given the area-based remits of CEs, there is a need for more comparative research exploring their role and trajectories in different communities (Moore & McKee, 2014). There is a need for explicit consideration of the different factors, such as national and local policy, local characteristics and organisational aspects, which affect the varying approaches of CEs and the impacts and outcomes which can occur, over time, with a need for particular attention to 'space and place' (Moore & McKee, 2014:528; see also Bailey, 2012). Specifically in Scotland, existing research has often focused on rural areas (for example, Zografos, 2007; Skerratt & Hall, 2011a, 2011b), given the policy focus and strength of CEs there (Cooke, 2010), and there is a need for further research focusing on asset-owning/managing CEs in urban neighbourhoods (DTAS, 2012a). This PhD thus seeks to contribute to this gap, using case studies of urban asset-owning/managing CEs in England and Scotland, to explore the impact of

different policy and neighbourhood contexts, and how far these influence the approach taken by CEs and the varying impacts and outcomes that occur. While a longitudinal study was outwith the scope of this thesis, this aspect will be explored by using two organisations who have been operating for several decades.

Secondly, the thesis aims to contribute to debates regarding the role of community owned/managed physical assets in gentrification, with this being an under-researched area (Ernst & Doucet, 2014; see Colomb, 2009, for an exception). Research has tended to focus on the role of affordable housing as a tangible asset (for example, Bailey & Robertson, 1997), and other potential limiting/mitigating factors, including the impact of public policy (for example, Shaw, 2005; Atkinson, 2008) and the role of community activism (for example, Shaw & Porter, 2009; Lees et al., 2010). Further, while there is a growing literature on the role of community assets, such as community centres, within processes of regeneration (Aiken et al., 2011; Bailey, 2012), there is limited research exploring the role of such assets in limiting, reflecting, or exacerbating gentrification (Ernst & Doucet, 2014; see Marche, 2015, for an exception regarding community gardens). Finally, while contemporary literature is increasing on resistance to gentrification (for example, Lees, 2014a; Lees & Ferreri, 2016), there is a need for further attention to alternatives to gentrification more broadly, including 'softer' community-based alternatives, such as community asset ownership/management (Lees and Ferreri, 2016).

This thesis therefore aims to contribute to these debates on alternatives to gentrification. The aim is to test the utility of a community assets-focussed analysis of gentrification by using the community assets owned/managed by the case study CEs as a lens through which to further explore processes of regeneration and gentrification. Specifically, the thesis will examine how far, and in what ways, community asset ownership/management affects the approach taken to, and outcomes of, community-led regeneration, including the extent of gentrification, in contrast to non-asset based approaches, building on existing work. Issues to consider, for example, will include how far the aims/rationales of CEs in developing such assets have shifted over time; in what ways the usage and real/perceived value of such assets may have changed, reflecting organisational, local and wider circumstances; and the relationship

between neighbourhood change and the (shifting) nature of community assets. Further, the research will consider how assets can act as a challenge to, or conversely, reflect or exacerbate the outcomes of gentrification, for example, by increasing inequalities or feelings of displacement through changing usage by more affluent groups (Ernst & Doucet, 2014; Paton, 2014; Marche, 2015). Issues to consider will include the extent to which assets are sites of unity and/or conflict/competition by different users (Ernst & Doucet, 2014; Marche, 2015); varying reasons for using these assets amongst different groups; and alternative perspectives on what the role of these assets locally could be (Bailey, 2012).

Third and finally, by exploring the issues above, the overarching aim is to build on the work of Shaw (2005), Atkinson (2008), Shaw and Porter (2009) and others to further contribute to understandings regarding the nuances of the interrelations between regeneration and gentrification, considering how far community-led regeneration can take place without gentrification, and the factors which may enable this. The aim is to utilise Shaw's (2008b,2009) conceptualisation of a 'continuum,' to consider the positioning of the case study organisations and neighbourhoods in relation to gentrification and their shifting and evolving approaches, via their community assets, over time. The hope is that, by exploring the potential for a community asset-focussed analysis of gentrification processes, using community assets as a lens through which to explore processes of change, this will enable greater understanding of the factors and approaches which can limit, reflect or even exacerbate gentrification in socioeconomically unequal neighbourhoods.

This consideration of the relationship between regeneration and gentrification will be related to debates regarding 'radical' versus 'reformist' approaches to community development and/or community regeneration discussed in Chapter Two (Somerville, 2016). The thesis will consider the extent to which CEs' aims and objectives, approaches and the impacts/outcomes that have occurred may have shifted over time, in light of evolving local/national policy contexts, local socioeconomic factors and organisational aspects (see Bailey, 2012). The hope is to develop recommendations for both how CEs can best use their assets for community-led regeneration; and to inform policy development in ways that can better support community-led regeneration, whilst limiting gentrification, building on existing work (see Shaw, 2008b, 2009; Bailey, 2012).

4.7.1 Research Aim, Objectives and Questions

The aim of this thesis, building on the literature cited, is therefore to further explore the nuances of the interrelations between regeneration and gentrification and to contribute to understandings of how gentrification can be limited, if at all, while community-led regeneration is taking place for the benefit of local residents. To address this aim, the research questions are as follows:

1. What is the role of community enterprises, and specifically their community owned/managed assets, in processes of regeneration and gentrification over time, in areas characterised by socioeconomic inequalities?

2. To what extent do different factors (e.g. organisational cultures, national/local policy, the local socioeconomic context) interact and affect the approach taken by asset managing/owning community enterprises and their role in regeneration and gentrification?

3. What is the (potential) contribution of a community asset-focussed analysis of processes of gentrification?

To answer these, the following objectives are set:

1. To examine how experts working in community regeneration and community enterprise support conceptualise and experience the role of CEs, and particularly their community assets, in regeneration and gentrification.

2. To analyse how gentrification has been conceptualised, experienced and negotiated by the case study organisations and others involved in community development/regeneration efforts locally over time.

3. To explore in what ways, and to what extent, the rationales, organisational cultures, governance structures and operations of the case study organisations have shifted over time and why, to better understand their shifting roles in regeneration and gentrification.

4. To analyse the role of each organisation's community asset(s) in regeneration/gentrification and how this has developed over time.

5. To assess the ways in which, and how far, the role of the case study CEs in regeneration/gentrification locally has shifted over time and why.

5 Chapter 5: Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology adopted for this thesis. Initially, the philosophical considerations underpinning the study are introduced. This is followed by details of the research design and strategy, including justification and details of the case study approach. Subsequently, the methodology is detailed, considering strengths, limitations and practical issues. Ethics, positionality and reflexivity are then considered. Finally, each case study is introduced.

5.2 Philosophical Considerations

Maykut and Morehouse (1994:1-2) state that it is crucial that 'a philosophic framework' is established early in the research process to guide the approach. This will always be shaped by one's epistemology and ontology, which guide the conceptualisation of the research 'problem' and how it should be researched (see Bryman, 2012). A constructivist, interpretivist and subjectivist framework was adopted here, with an interest in 'how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced [and] produced' (Mason, 2002:3). Within the constructivist, interpretivist paradigm, 'a relativist ontology' is assumed, in which a singular 'reality' does not exist (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013:26). Instead, there are a 'series of alternative social constructions' which people may identify with, depending on their experiences (Snape & Spencer, 2003:16). Further, a 'subjectivist epistemology' was adopted, with the view that meaning is created by both researcher and researched (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013:26).

These considerations affect all stages of the research process, from the initial scoping; to conceptualising the 'problem' and the research questions; designing the methodological approach; identifying the case studies; collecting data; analysing and synthesising the findings; and the write-up and dissemination (Snape & Spencer, 2003; Bryman, 2012; see section 5.8 for further consideration of positionality and reflexivity). The next section introduces the research strategy and design, as 'a framework for the collection and analysis of data' (Bryman, 2012:45).

5.3 Research Strategy and Design

Mason (2002:27-30) states that it is crucial that the methodology is well-aligned with the research aims and objectives (see Table 5.1) and the guiding epistemology and ontology. For this study, while analysis of some descriptive statistics was useful to better understand neighbourhood, community and population change over time, a largely qualitative approach, focussing primarily on semi-structured interviews and organisational document analysis was adopted. This was more appropriate, given the focus on exploring the role of the case study community enterprises (CEs) and their community assets in regeneration/gentrification locally, over time, from the perspective of participants (Bryman, 2012). This approach was also adopted as the literature review highlighted the need for further qualitative research of urban CEs which takes a longitudinal approach (see, for example, Varady et al., 2015b). The empirical chapters are thus based on participants' perceptions and experiences and the author's interpretation of these. While statistics can tell part of the story, it is how these changes are perceived, experienced and negotiated that is the focus of this thesis. A 'positivist' quantitative approach, which emphasises 'social facts,' was not deemed appropriate, as it would not have allowed for this exploration (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). The research methods adopted are explained in detail at 5.5, but first the case study approach is introduced.

Table 5.1 Alignment of Research Methods with Research Objectives and Questions

Method of collection	Reason for using method	Method of analysis	Contribution to research objectives	Contribution to research questions
Scoping work				
Policy review/analysis	• To increase understanding of how regeneration, community development, enterprise, entrepreneurship and asset ownership/management have been conceptualised within policy over time.	Chronological/ thematic analysis	Objective 1, 4-5	Questions 1-2
Semi-structured interviews	• To gather the perspectives of experts in the field regarding the role of CEs, and their community assets, within regeneration/gentrification over time, and the different factors affecting this. • To gather perspectives regarding the regeneration/gentrification debate, including consideration of if, and how, gentrification can be limited while community-led regeneration takes place.	Thematic analysis	Objective 1, 4-5	Questions 1-3
Case study research				
Neighbourhood profiles	• To better understand how these neighbourhoods have changed over time in demographic, housing and other socioeconomic characteristics.	Descriptive statistical analysis	Objectives 2-5	Questions 1-2
Interviews: Organisational representatives – staff/board members	• To better understand the varying origins, rationales and working cultures of the CEs over time. • To explore the different factors affecting the approach of these organisations over time and their role in regeneration/gentrification; and to better understand which factors can contribute to/limit the extent of gentrification in these cases, while allowing community regeneration to take place, and how policy could better support this.	Thematic/ narrative analysis	Objectives 2-5	Questions 1-3

	• To better understand the role of these organisations and their assets, in regeneration/gentrification over time (and the role of other organisations).			
Interviews: Volunteers	• To gain volunteers' perspectives on the above issues and their reasons for, and experiences of, volunteering.	Thematic analysis	Objectives 2-5	Questions 1-2
Interviews/ focus groups: Beneficiaries	• To gain beneficiaries' perspectives on the above issues, with particular attention to the impacts they have experienced at an individual level because of each organisations' work.	Thematic analysis	Objectives 2-5	Questions 1-2
Interviews: Wider stakeholders	• To gather perspectives on the role of the case study CEs, and their community assets, in regeneration/gentrification over time (and the role of other organisations/ stakeholders/actors). • To gather perspectives regarding the regeneration/gentrification debate, and the role of the case study CEs, and their community assets, within this. • To gain their views on which factors, if any, can contribute to/limit the extent of gentrification locally, while allowing community-led regeneration to occur, and how policy could better support this.	Thematic/ narrative analysis	Objectives 1-5	Questions 1-3
Observations of meetings and events	• To gain greater insight into the workings and approaches of these organisations.	Not analysed/cited in PhD but used to augment overall understanding.		
Document analysis	• To gain greater knowledge of how each organisations' aims and objectives have shifted over time, and to compare narratives in these documents to the primary research data.	Thematic/ narrative analysis	Objectives 2-5	Questions 1-3
Source: Adapted from Mason (2002:27-30)				

5.4 Case Study Approach

As Bryman (2012:44) explains, the case study approach is a type of research design, rather than being a method in itself. It allows the researcher to be flexible and adopt methods best suited to addressing the research aims (Yin, 1981; Baxter & Jack, 2008). Case study research has been defined by Yin (1993:59, cited Meyer, 2001:330-331) as a way to research 'a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context…in which the boundaries between phenomena and context are not clearly evident.' This is a useful definition here, given the intrinsic relationship between the case study organisations and the wider contexts in which they operate, although here, it is understood that there are multiple 'real-life contexts,' in line with the philosophical underpinnings discussed previously (see also Baxter & Jack, 2008). Further, Yin (2014:4) highlights that case study research can be useful for a range of different phenomena, including 'organisational and managerial processes' and 'neighbourhood change': the focus here. By focusing on individual case studies, 'the unique features of [each] case' (Bryman, 2012:69), including narratives regarding the development of the organisations and their assets over time, and their roles within processes of urban change, can be explored and analysed. The use of case studies therefore allowed useful 'sites' for in-depth research into the selected organisations and their localities (Yin, 2009; Bryman, 2012).

Nevertheless, it is important to note general limitations. Common criticisms, identified by Flyvjberg (2006:211), include the view that 'general, theoretical (context-independent) knowledge is more valuable than concrete, practical (context-dependent) knowledge'; that the lack of generalisability and 'representativeness' devalues the case study as a method; and that the results of case study research can be highly subjective (see also Bryman, 2012). However, these limitations are not applicable here (see Flyvjberg, 2006, for a full critique), given the epistemological and ontological position outlined. Rather, the focus was on seeking to better understand the ethos and approach of the case study organisations; the role of the organisations and their assets in regeneration and gentrification; and perspectives and experiences of these processes, rather than aiming for generalisability (Bryman, 2012; Flyvjberg, 2006).

A comparative case study approach was adopted for this PhD, given the aim to compare the role and experiences of one CE in England and one in Scotland, an area highlighted as requiring further research (Bailey, 2012; Moore & McKee, 2014). I aimed to use a similar methodological approach for each case study, following Bryman (2012:72). However, there were some unavoidable challenges in recruitment, and thus I was not able to achieve an identical number of participants in each group (see 5.5.2).

There are some specific limitations to a comparative design (see Yin, 2014). For example, this approach, by its very nature, limits the extent of in-depth analysis of each case (Dyer & Wilkins, 1991:614). Yet, as Bryman (2012:75) argues, the value of a comparative design lies in its 'ability to allow the distinguishing characteristics of two or more cases to act as a springboard for theoretical reflections about contrasting findings,' thus increasing our 'understand[ing of] social phenomena' (*ibid*.:72). The following section outlines how the case study cities, localities and organisations were selected.

5.4.1 Selecting the Case Study Cities, Localities and Organisations

An 'information-oriented' approach was adopted to case study selection, with the rationale being to select cases which would provide useful information to address the research aims (Flyvbjerg, 2006:230), rather than seeking to be 'representative' (Bryman, 2012:416-418). A scoping document was produced in February 2017, identifying cities, localities and organisations which could be case studies. While not used as a data source for the PhD, early scoping meetings were also held with people knowledgeable of the sector to inform the research agenda and identify potential case studies.

Cities of Focus

A city was chosen in each country to allow comparison. Studying a larger number of cities was discounted due to time and resource constraints, and a view that it was best to study two cases in-depth, given the epistemological and ontological considerations (Bryman, 2012). The merits of different cities were considered in light of the research aims. I wanted to select cities that I was relatively familiar with, so that my decision-making process was better informed. Moreover, by

focussing on cities I had connections with, I hoped that the likelihood of gaining access to organisations might be increased and that this might limit other practical issues, such as cost, if I could stay with friends or family (see Seawright & Gerring, 2008).

After a mapping process, Glasgow was chosen as the Scottish city for several reasons. It is often cited as an archetypal post-industrial city and has sought to address various associated social and economic issues over the years via urban policy (Keating, 1988, cited Doucet et al., 2011). Some have argued that there has been a conscious effort by the City Council to attract higher income, middle-class residents, critiqued by some as a 'gentrifying agenda' (McIntyre & McKee, 2008:485; see also Paton, 2014). Further, Glasgow is home to stark socioeconomic inequalities within neighbourhoods, and there is often close proximity between affluent and deprived areas (see, for example, GCC, 2017a), allowing exploration of the role of CEs in unequal areas, a key focus of this thesis. Finally, Glasgow has a history of community activism and community development efforts (McArthur, 1993; Rolfe et al., 2020).

Within England, Bristol was chosen due to its fit with the research agenda. For example, there has recently been debate locally regarding gentrification, as the city, and certain neighbourhoods in particular, have experienced significant house price increases, as cited in local media (Wood, 2018; Chipperfield, 2019). Further, it is also home to stark socioeconomic inequalities (Quartet Foundation, 2014; Palmer, 2018). Moreover, the city has a long history of 'voluntary sector activity, community activism, civic engagement and alternative lifestyles' (Amin et al., 2002:ix).

Yet, despite these similarities, there are some important differences in the socioeconomic and policy contexts in Glasgow and Bristol. The key difference is the seeming greater ease at which Bristol has transitioned to a post-industrial economy (Martin et al., 2019). For example, a 2019 review of the UK's cities classified Bristol's economic performance, in terms of its 'relative GVA growth trajectory' as 'keeping pace,' while Glasgow's was classified as 'failing behind' (*ibid*.:11). While still home to much inequality and deprivation (Palmer, 2018), Bristol has become an increasingly desirable place to live, with anecdotal evidence that there is increasing migration from London (Cork, 2018a). Since a

Labour Mayor was elected in Bristol in 2016, there has been increasing recognition of the need for greater state intervention to address challenges related to gentrification, such as housing unaffordability (see BCC, 2018b, 2018c), discussed in more detail in Chapter Six. This is in contrast to Glasgow where, while there has been some transformation, the Council has arguably struggled historically to attract investment and incoming residents (McIntyre & McKee, 2008). There is, however, some evidence that these perceived challenges are now easing (Madgin & Kintrea, 2020). This macroeconomic context thus frames the context in which CEs operate (Bailey, 2012).

There are therefore particular challenges comparing cities and countries with different historical and contemporary development trajectories, particularly given the political upheaval of the past decade, as discussed in Chapter Two (see McGuinness et al., 2014; Rolfe, 2016a). Nevertheless, as discussed, the aim was not to attempt a 'like-for-like' comparison but, instead, to explore the role of these organisations within different political, social and economic contexts (Flyvjberg, 2006). The next section outlines the process for selecting the case study organisations and neighbourhoods.

Organisations of Focus

Several methods were used to identify potential case study organisations. Initially, desk-based research was undertaken from December 2016-January 2017 to identify urban CEs, using the directory of members from the Development Trusts Association Scotland (DTAS) (DTAS, n.d.2) and Locality (Locality, n.d.1), who provide support for CEs in Scotland and England respectively. Information was collected on organisations who fitted the research objectives. This was supplemented with data from the organisation's website where possible/necessary. The information collected is detailed in Figure 5.1 below.

Figure 5.1 Initial details collected regarding potential case study organisations

Name	Background/history	Aims/objectives
Scope	Assets owned/managed	Geographical remit/area of focus
Number of staff	Year established	Contact name and details
Source: Adapted from information available from DTAS (n.d.2) and Locality (n.d.1)		

The websites of national and local membership organisations were also reviewed. This was accompanied by reading local news/blogs to identify areas and organisations of interest. Further, policy and academic documents relating to community enterprise, community assets and regeneration more broadly were scanned for examples (for example, Aiken et al., 2008, 2011; Wyler, 2009). Given a lack of time and resources to research each organisation in-depth, the aim was to develop a greater understanding of the diversity of organisations to inform the selection process (see Bailey, 2012).

The criteria were then refined to guide selection and ensure the research agenda could be fulfilled (see Figure 5.2; see Flyvbjerg, 2006). A table detailing criteria, justification, limitations and mitigating factors was produced. The 2015 English Index of Deprivation and the 2016 Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) were used to determine levels of inequality within these neighbourhoods (see DCLG, 2015, 2019; Scottish Government, 2016d, 2020). This involved comparison of data at the Lower Layer Super Output Area (LSOA)[10] for English neighbourhoods, and the datazone[11] level for Scottish neighbourhoods. Neighbourhoods not characterised by inequality (defined here as at least a two decile gap between the most and least deprived neighbouring datazones/LSOAs) were then discounted.

Figure 5.2 Criteria Guiding Case Study Selection

Urban classification	Alignment of organisational aims/ objectives with research aims/objectives
Level of socioeconomic inequality	
Geographical area remit/focus	Level of information available
Length of time established	Existence of other community groups/activity in area
Asset ownership/ management	Extent of local community/political activism in area
Source: Author's own; adapted from Rolfe (2016b)	

I then compiled a long-list of c. 30 organisations in Scotland and c. 20 organisations in England. From this, seven organisations were preliminarily shortlisted in Scotland and ten in England. Next, I arranged meetings with four

[10] LSOAs are geographical areas with approximately '1,500 residents and 650 households' in England and Wales (Neighbourhood Statistics, n.d).

[11] Datazones are geographical areas with approximately 500-1000 residents. Where possible, these fit within 'local authority boundaries' and 'respect physical boundaries and natural communities' (Scottish Government, 2013a:no page).

organisations in Scotland (one request was declined as the organisation had recently been involved in another PhD) and five organisations in Bristol, to gauge their interest in, and capacity to support, the research. While the cities of focus were ideally Glasgow and Bristol, in Scotland, a couple of organisations were also visited in Edinburgh, as there were fewer organisations which met the criteria. Site visits were completed in Scotland in Autumn 2017 and in March 2018 in Bristol to get a feel for the neighbourhoods.

To arrange meetings, I contacted the Chief Executive or equivalent via email, introducing myself, setting out the aims of the research and asking if I could arrange a suitable date/time to meet with them to discuss the research, including ethical and practical issues, such as the likely time commitment (see Bryman, 1988, 2012). I also attached the Participant Information Sheet. While I recognised that these organisations may be short on time, I sought to provide benefit, for example by offering a summary of the findings and/or to present for them (*ibid.*).

All but one organisation agreed to be part of the research. I assessed the strengths and weaknesses of each organisation against the criteria with my supervisors. In Glasgow, Community Central Hall (CCH), based in Woodside (Hillhead ward), but serving the Greater Maryhill area (Maryhill and Canal wards), was selected because it was a long-standing organisation, and because the location of Maryhill, with its proximity to areas of affluence, provided an interesting site for exploring issues of gentrification and socioeconomic inequalities. BS3 Community Development (BS3CD), serving the BS3 postcode area, including the wards of Southville, Bedminster and Windmill Hill, was selected in Bristol. As well as meeting the criteria, one of the factors influencing case study selection in Bristol was consideration of its similarities/differences with the Glasgow case, and how far these two cases together would enable me to address my research aims and objectives (see Seawright & Gerring, 2008). BS3CD has a similar portfolio of services/activities and community asset (a community centre). However, it is much further along the gentrification 'continuum' (Shaw & Porter, 2009:2-3), while also being home to socioeconomic inequalities, thus allowing useful comparison. The case studies are introduced at 5.9.

5.5 Methodological Approach

As introduced at 5.3, the research design was largely qualitative, comprising an initial scoping stage, followed by in-depth case study research. In total, **90 participants** were engaged throughout the research across different participant groups (see Baškarada, 2014). The majority of these were individual interviews, with 83 separate meetings being held. Neighbourhood statistics and organisational documents were also analysed. Desk-based research was completed to inform the primary data collection. The research was completed in several stages (see Figure 5.3), detailed below.

Figure 5.3 Summary of Research Design
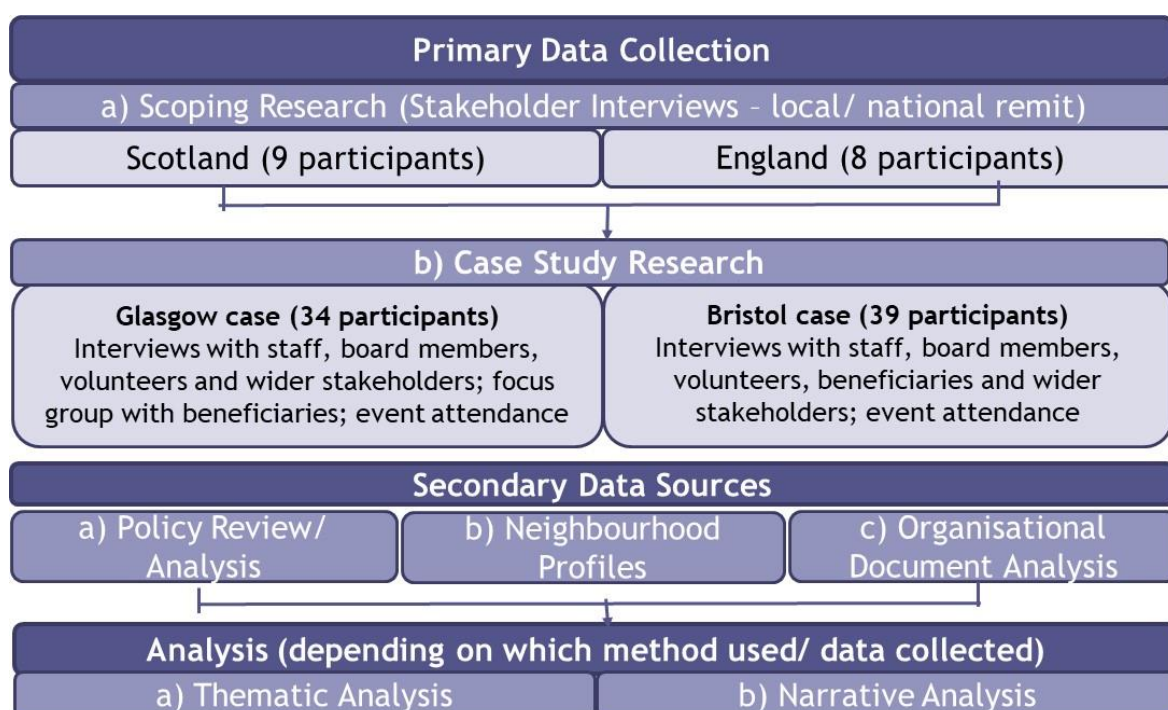
5.5.1 Scoping Research

National Policy Review

The first stage, drafted in December 2016, was a policy review (see Chapter Two), based on analysis of both policy documents and academic and grey literature. The focus was on analysing trends and understanding the similarities and differences in Scottish and English urban policy relating to CEs over time. This was updated in 2019/20 to reflect recent policy developments. Analysis of local policy is included in Chapter Six and referred to where relevant in each case study chapter.

Scoping Interviews

Two stages of semi-structured interviews were completed for the PhD. The first stage was scoping interviews with experts involved in policy and/or practice in regeneration, community development and/or community enterprise/community asset support, from both a Scottish and English perspective, at a national or local level. Semi-structured interviews were useful for several reasons. They enable in-depth exploration of issues and are useful for better understanding participants' experiences and perspectives in their own words (Bryman, 2012:471). They also allow the researcher to probe responses (Cook & Crang, 2007) and enable participants to introduce issues which they deem important (Bryman, 2012:471).

In terms of practicalities, I adopted 'purposive' sampling to identify organisations and individuals with relevant expertise, rather than seeking to be representative (Bryman, 2012:416). I identified potential participants via desk-based research and approached them by email. I attached the Participant Information Sheet, detailing the reasons for contacting them; the purpose of the study; what participation would entail; ethical assurances; what the data would be used for; and how data would be stored, used/reused and eventually destroyed. If a response was not received, I followed this email with a phone call, one week later. Once the primary research had begun, I also used a 'snowballing approach' (Valentine, 1997:116), asking participants for suggestions.

The purpose of these interviews was to gauge understanding of the national and local policy context in relation to CEs, community assets and regeneration, and how these have shifted over time. I also explored views regarding the approach and role of CEs within regeneration. I enquired about perspectives on the regeneration/gentrification debate and the role of CEs, and their community assets in gentrification. I also asked their views on potential case study organisations. A topic guide (see Appendix A) was prepared and it was tested in the first few interviews; it was subsequently tweaked depending on the participant, rather than any substantive changes being made (see Bryman, 2012). This scoping stage helped both to refine the research focus, aims and questions, as well as informing case study selection.

A total of 17 participants participated at this stage; Table 5.2 details the composition of these participants. Participants were all individual representatives of different organisations, except for one Scottish organisation, where I interviewed two representatives together. Interviews typically lasted around an hour, with the shortest being 33 minutes and the longest being one hour, 45 minutes. The majority (13) were conducted face-to-face, with four organised by telephone. While there are disadvantages to telephone interviews, such as it being more difficult to build rapport (see Bryman, 2012), it was not possible to arrange face-to-face meetings with these participants during a visit to England. Interviews were arranged at a time and place convenient to participants, typically their place of work (*ibid*.). All scoping interviews were recorded with participants' consent. While recording can be off-putting (*ibid*.), it is preferable to note-taking, which can be distracting and does not always provide an entirely accurate record (Crang & Cook, 2007:81).

Table 5.2 Details of Scoping Interviewees

	National stakeholders	Local stakeholders	Total
Scotland	8	1	9
England	5	3	8
Total	13	4	17

Despite the benefits of semi-structured interviews, it is important to note their limitations. For example, unequal power relations always exist, especially when interviewing senior staff (Cochrane, 1998; Rice, 2010). Given that I am a relatively young, inexperienced researcher (see Roulston et al., 2003), I sought to adopt a professional approach to mitigate this, while ensuring that the interviews were as conversational as possible (Huberman & Miles, 2002; Bryman, 2012). Further, it is important to recognise that the narratives told will always be partial, subjective and dependent on the understandings of the individual constructing them (Polkinghorne, 2007). Nevertheless, this was not perceived as an issue here, given the epistemological and ontological underpinnings. Other potential limitations identified by Roulston et al. (2003:648) include 'unexpected participant behaviours,' that the interviewers' 'own actions and subjectivities' influence the data collection process and that questions can be difficult to phrase. Yin (2018:157) notes that participants may also tailor their

responses to what they think the 'interviewer wants to hear.' I attempted to mitigate these by clearly outlining the purpose of the interview, encouraging participants to answer truthfully, recognising my own positionality (see 5.8) and carefully considering the wording of more difficult questions (see Roulston et al., 2003).

5.5.2 Case Study Research

Neighbourhood Profiles

To gain a better understanding of each case study neighbourhood, I analysed socioeconomic trends over time, in statistical terms. This data was sourced for each neighbourhood early in the research to better understand the nature, and extent, of gentrification in each community. The data was later updated, with consideration of issues which emerged during the empirical research. Given the focus on the qualitative research and word constraints, the analysis does not include data on all indicators; instead, illustrative data is presented to back-up/contrast the qualitative research findings in each empirical chapter. Appendix B details the demographic, housing and socioeconomic statistics analysed for each neighbourhood.

Most of this data was available at the ward level via the Census. Where relevant/available, data at a smaller geographic level was also incorporated. Both organisations serve several wards (see section 5.9): the wards included for Glasgow were Hillhead, Maryhill/Kelvin and Canal; for Bristol, these were Southville, Bedminster and Windmill Hill. These ward-level statistics were compared with city-wide averages, to compare trends over time which could be indicative of gentrification, for example if house price increases were much higher in one ward than for the city as a whole. This stage also considered local policy frameworks regarding the role of CEs in regeneration locally and the extent of policy and other support available over time. These are reflected upon in Chapter Six.

There are several limitations to the use of statistics. Firstly, ward level data covers quite a large geographical area, limiting fine-grained analysis (Clark, 1997). Secondly, there were differences in data availability in England and

Scotland, as detailed in Appendix B. Thirdly, the most recent Census was in 2011, so recent neighbourhood changes have not yet been captured. Further, there are changes to the methodologies adopted to gather statistics over time (Scottish Government, 2013b; ONS, 2012:2-4). Moreover, both cities have experienced ward boundary changes over time; while trends over time can still be analysed, it is important to recognise that the wards must be viewed as 'best fit.'[12] Finally, statistical analysis can only tell part of the story (Watt, 2008; Bryman, 2012) and cannot identify the drivers of change, such as if changes are due to new residents moving in or change within the existing population (Bryman, 2012). To address these limitations, the focus was on in-depth qualitative research.

Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were the main research method for the case studies, being particularly useful for understanding processes of neighbourhood and organisational change, over time, in participants' own words (Silverman, 2001; Bryman, 2012). The general benefits of this method have already been discussed at 5.5.1. Semi-structured interviews were organised with organisational staff and board members, volunteers, beneficiaries and wider neighbourhood stakeholders to gather a wide range of views from different groups who use/interact with the organisations/assets (Baškarada, 2014). The original intention was to do a combination of interviews and focus groups with board members, volunteers and beneficiaries, depending on their preference. However, following the guidance of gatekeepers, it became clear that focus groups organisation was less practical and so the focus shifted to interviews. This was also pragmatic, as there were some delays in organising the primary research in Glasgow. While formal approval was granted from the organisation in November 2017, the primary research did not begin until February 2018. This approach thus ensured I could organise meetings more quickly to ensure sufficient data.

At each organisation, the Chief Executive provided formal approval for the organisation to be a case study for the research, and facilitated initial interviews. A 'purposive' sampling approach was adopted, with gatekeepers

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[12] For Glasgow, 'best fit' ward data for the 2001 Census was very helpfully provided by Professor Alan MacGregor.

identifying individuals (Bryman, 2012:416). To ensure participants were happy to participate, I followed up initial introductions with all relevant information as attachments, to ensure they were fully informed. I emphasised that participation was entirely voluntary, aiming to ensure they did not feel pressurised to participate by other (potentially more senior) staff members (Buchanan et al., 1988). I also identified potential participants myself and used a 'snowballing' approach (Valentine, 1997:116), asking participants to recommend others, to try and reduce each organisation's influence on participant selection (Bryman, 2012). I also reassured participants of confidentiality and anonymity, so that they would hopefully feel able to contribute honestly (Guenther, 2009). Other recruitment methods included face-to-face communications, email and social media, following the advice of gatekeepers (see Bryman, 2012).

Through interviews with organisational representatives, I aimed to gain understanding of each organisation's aims, governance, ways of working, approach and role within regeneration/gentrification locally, specifically focusing on the (changing) role of their community assets. This involved discussing the factors affecting their approaches over time. I also sought perspectives regarding the extent of regeneration and gentrification locally over time and the reasons for this, including the role of the organisation and other stakeholders (see Appendix C for a sample topic guide). Again, the topic guide was tweaked according to the participant (Bryman, 2012).

For those participants able to provide a longitudinal perspective, the interviews followed a narrative approach to encourage 'the telling of stories' (Riessman, 2004, cited Bryman, 2012:582; see also Fraser, 2004). The aim was to encourage participants to share their narratives regarding how the organisation and neighbourhood had developed over time (Lewis, 2011; Bryman, 2012). The approach was adapted, depending on the nature and length of involvement of each participant.

To recruit beneficiaries, I worked with the relevant service manager to determine the best approach. In Glasgow, I attempted to recruit parents who use the nursery at pick-up time, introducing myself and sharing the Participant Information Sheet and my contact details. Following ethical protocols, I

suggested that they took time to consider my request and get in touch if they wished to participate. However, while some showed initial interest, this approach did not yield any participants. To try and address this gap, the organisation helpfully provided access to a report of the results of a beneficiary survey. Beneficiaries from Older People's Services were recruited for a focus group, and I attempted to recruit young adults for a focus group, following the guidance of the service manager; this is discussed in the following section. For volunteers, I worked through relevant staff members to arrange interviews.

The Bristol case involved greater practical limitations as I could only visit for time-limited periods. Following a scoping visit in April 2018, the majority of data was collected during a week-long trip in July 2018 and a two-week trip in September 2018. The approach for organising interviews with organisational staff and board members was similar to Glasgow. The topic guides followed the same template to aid comparative analysis (see Bryman, 2012), but were tweaked to the organisation and local context.

To gather the perspectives of older people who attended BS3CD's *Monday Club*,[13] the service manager suggested that I attend a session, and gave me the opportunity to introduce the research, discuss potential participation with attendees and interview any willing participants in the break. I liaised with the staff member prior to attending, asking for information sheets to be distributed beforehand and for attendees to be made aware that I would be attending, so that they had time to consider in advance. This approach was somewhat challenging, as there was not much time to speak to people and it was busy, making it difficult to speak openly and in-depth. I also held informal interviews with volunteers who help with the service, again organised through a staff member.

For beneficiaries who used the nursery, I worked with the service manager and attempted to organise a focus group via an email invite, but ended up interviewing those willing to participate individually, for practical reasons. Businesses and self-employed people who use the space were also invited to participate in the research via a gatekeeper. Two people responded to the

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[13] https://bs3community.org.uk/class/monday-club-a-social-day-club-for-older-people/

email, with one interviewed in person and one interviewed by telephone. For both beneficiaries and volunteers, topic guides were prepared and then tweaked according to the individual (Bryman, 2012). Figure 5.4 below details the topics covered.

Figure 5.4 Topics covered with volunteers, service users and beneficiaries

Volunteers
• Reasons for and experiences of volunteering: length of time volunteering and time commitment; what they enjoy most; anything they would change.
• The role of the organisation and the asset in the community: including atmosphere and usage of the asset by different parts of the community, including change over time, if able to comment; whether they use the asset for other activities.
• Perspectives on neighbourhood change; positive and negative impacts arising; (if a local resident), what they like most about it and anything they would change.
• Views on gentrification (if able to comment); perspectives on whether gentrification applies to the area; and views on its impacts and outcomes.
• Perspectives regarding the role of the organisation and asset, and others, within regeneration/gentrification locally.
• Concluding thoughts: future hopes in terms of volunteering; future aims for the organisation.
Service users and beneficiaries
• As above, but rather than volunteering experiences, experiences of using the service/activities/space and reasons for choosing it; what has been good and what could be improved.
• *NB. More emphasis on nature of local community and sense of community if a local resident.*

Recruitment of beneficiaries and service users at both organisations was therefore based on those willing to participate, rather than a 'representative' sample (Bryman, 2012). This was unavoidable, but it is likely that those willing to participate were generally those who are more engaged with the organisations, thus potentially affecting their responses.

In both areas, local stakeholders, such as those representing other community organisations and elected representatives, also participated in the research. The approach for recruiting wider stakeholders was similar to the scoping interviews, with participants also being suggested by the case study organisations and other 'snowballing' approaches (Valentine, 1997:116; see Appendix D for a sample topic guide).

Table 5.3 below details how many participants were engaged at each case study, within each group; this also includes participants who participated in a focus group. While there are some differences in the proportion of participants in different groups between the case studies, this was unavoidable, due to issues of access, recruitment and availability (Bryman, 2012). Given the absolute numbers involved and the range of data sources synthesised and analysed, this distribution nevertheless allowed a robust sample of responses for analysis. In all, the primary data collection lasted from December 2017 to August 2018 in Glasgow, and from April to October 2018 in Bristol.

Table 5.3 Case Study Participants by Group

| Participant group | Glasgow (CCH) | | Bristol (BS3 Community | |
	Total	Of these, est. no. living 'locally'*	Total	Of these, est.no. living 'locally'*
Staff**	16	6	8	6
Board members**	3	1	5	5
Volunteers	4	0	3	3
Beneficiaries	5	4	9	7
Local stakeholders	6	4	14	11
Total	34	15	39	32
Number living locally is an estimate, as information was not available for all participants and the meaning of 'local' is open to great subjectivity. *** In the empirical analysis, staff and board members are grouped together and referred to as 'organisational representatives' to preserve anonymity.*				

The majority of interviews were organised face-to-face, allowing greater rapport to be developed (Bryman, 2012). The majority were one-to-one, but in Bristol two joint interviews were held at the request of participants: one with two wider stakeholders, and one with two organisational representatives. As with the scoping interviews, interviews were held 'at a place and time convenient to the participants,' typically their place of work or a public space, such as a coffee shop (Smith et al., 2010:28). One took place at a participants' home with a small child present; this was a little challenging as I felt guilty for taking up their time. Sometimes the cafés were a little noisy, but this may have helped participants feel more relaxed. A small number (five) were completed by telephone. One participant answered questions via email. One parent responded by email to the focus group invitation, providing brief comments regarding their views.

Where the consent of participants was given, all interviews and focus groups were recorded using a Dictaphone. There was one participant who did not want to be recorded and, for three participants, it was not deemed appropriate. In these cases, detailed notes were taken and typed up afterwards (see Bryman, 2012). All recorded interviews were transcribed as soon as possible to increase awareness of 'emerging themes' (Bryman, 2012:484).

For organisational representatives, interviews lasted between 18 minutes (an outlier) and two hours, 12 minutes (an average time of 56 minutes). For wider stakeholders, they lasted between 36 minutes and one hour, 33 minutes (an average time of 55 minutes). For volunteers and beneficiaries who had less knowledge/involvement of/with the organisations, interviews tended to be shorter, varying between 11 and 35 minutes for the former (an average time of 21 minutes); and 10 and 53 minutes for the latter (an average time of 28 minutes). The average length across all interviews was 49 minutes.

The limitations for the case study interviews were similar to the scoping interviews. It was important to approach the topic of gentrification carefully, as it can be a contentious topic (Slater, 2006; Bryman, 2012). In Glasgow, some participants did not recognise the term, and this caused some challenges. The approach adopted to try and address this issue depended on the participant. In some cases, I sought to explain the term, summarising debates in academic literature and/or the media/popular understandings. In other cases, I used more neutral terms, such as regeneration or neighbourhood change. While I sought not to influence participants' perceptions of the process with my own views, it is not possible to limit this risk entirely (see Snape & Spencer, 2003). Nevertheless, while some participants recognised the negative connotations I attached to gentrification, others were very open that they perceived it as positive. I found this difficult, but sought to be professional, so as not to influence responses or potentially upset participants. Specific limitations regarding the nature of conducting research in organisations are discussed later.

Focus Groups

Bryman (2012:501) defines focus groups as 'an interview with several people on a specific topic or issue.' While the researcher typically has a list of topics, focus

groups allow participants greater space to identify issues relevant to them, and enable 'the joint construction of meaning' (*ibid*.:502). The perspectives of others may spark new ideas, or encourage participants to reconsider their views (Fallon & Brown, 2002). The method can therefore allow more insight into '*why* people feel the way that they do' (Bryman, 2012:503; italics in original).

A 'purposive' sampling approach was adopted for the focus groups (Bryman, 2012:416), seeking to recruit beneficiaries/service users engaged with each organisation, who could provide an informed view. I worked with gatekeepers (Smith et al., 2010), and gauged their opinion on the best way to recruit participants, with materials being tailored to the participant group (see Bryman, 2012). Refreshments were provided, but no other incentives were offered.

I aimed to recruit approximately 4-6 participants per meeting; smaller groups allow more in-depth discussion, and hopefully encourage 'quieter participants to speak up' (Peek & Fothergill, 2009:37-38). I aimed to organise focus groups at a time and location suitable for participants (Smith et al., 2010:28). I attempted to organise a focus group with parents who use the nursery in Bristol and young adults that access services in Glasgow. For the former, four individuals replied to the email to say they would like to participate, but only one was available on the date/time suggested; they all agreed to participate individually. For the latter, only two participants attended and after introducing the research, the purpose of the focus group and ethical protocols, it was clear one individual was not happy to participate so I emphasised that this was entirely voluntary, and they left. I checked that the remaining individual was happy to participate individually instead.

Ultimately, the only focus group completed successfully was with users of Older People's Services in Glasgow. This was organised after an existing event, with information circulated to attendees beforehand. I ensured that potential participants were aware that they could attend the event without participating in the research. Data from four individuals who participated in the focus group was analysed. Two staff members were also present to ensure participants were comfortable and to support any more vulnerable older people. While Bulmer (1988) cautions that having staff members present can affect the data, it was felt that this limitation was outweighed by the benefits.

I followed Bryman's (2012:513) advice for conducting focus groups (see also Breen, 2006). I first introduced myself, thanked everyone for coming and reiterated the purpose of the research. I described the objective of the focus group and what the data would be used for. I then ran through ethical protocols, including that participation was entirely voluntary and that all participants would be anonymised. I also offered to share a summary of the findings. Attendees were given the opportunity to ask questions and made aware they could leave at any time. I gave everyone my contact details so they could get in touch if they had issues they wanted to raise individually, or if they wanted to withdraw their contribution. We then discussed and agreed ground rules. This included aspects such as speaking one at a time, and the need to respect each other's views and maintain confidentiality (Bryman, 2012).

The discussion focussed on gathering participants' views of the service and CCH more widely, including how the Halls'[14] role in the community, as both an organisation and a building, had changed over time (see Figure 5.5). While I had originally planned to gain written consent from participants, recorded verbal consent was provided instead, on the advice of a staff member.

Figure 5.5 Focus group topics

• Introductions: length of residence locally and how long used the Halls for; reason(s) for using the Halls.
• The service: main benefits of accessing the service; anything they would like to improve; any other services used and experiences of these.
• The community: views on the local community/neighbourhood and sense of community (including the role of CCH and other organisations within this); how neighbourhood has changed over time and impacts of any changes.
• The Halls: the building's role in the community and any change over time; parts of the community that use it more/less; what participants like most about the Halls; anything they would like to change.
• The future: what would like to see in future for the service, the Halls and the neighbourhood.
• Closing: any other comments; thanks; a reminder of contact details if want to add information/withdraw contribution.

Despite the utility of focus groups, there are several challenges. When transcribing, it was sometimes difficult to decipher what was said by whom

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[14] Community Central Hall is often referred to as 'the Halls' locally. As such, these terms are used interchangeably, depending on the context.

(Bryman, 2012). Further, focus groups can be difficult to organise, as I learnt (Breen, 2006). While it can be difficult to manage group dynamics, for example with people talking over each other (see *ibid*.; Farnsworth & Boon, 2010), this was not really an issue. Other common criticisms of focus groups are those common to other qualitative methods, such as the difficulty of recruiting an 'unbiased sample,' the 'reliability of perceptions' and issues in terms of generalisability (Breen 2006:467). However, these were not deemed problematic, given the epistemology and ontology.

Observation

Observation can be useful to gain greater insight into the everyday workings of organisations, as a more 'natural' method than others such as focus groups (Bryman, 2012:493-494; see also Yin, 2018). However, it is also important to note that 'actions may proceed differently because participants know they are being observed' (Yin, 2018:157).

I had initially planned to use observations of meetings and events as a data source. However, this was less practical than anticipated. Delays beginning data collection in Glasgow meant that these ambitions had to be scaled back, with the focus on interviews to ensure sufficient data was gathered (see Buchanan et al., 1988, on the challenges of organisational research). Furthermore, in Bristol, only a limited number of visits were possible. Nevertheless, I attended a small number of meetings and events on the guidance of each organisation. Given that consent would be required from all attendees to use this data (see Bryman, 2012), only very general notes were taken, and these are not used as a data source for the PhD. They nevertheless informed my overall understanding. I also used events as an opportunity to make additional contacts. Details of the meetings and events attended are provided in Table 5.4. In all cases, I was given consent to attend, facilitated by gatekeepers; I was always overt, explaining to people why I was there (see Bryman, 2012). I also spent some time at each organisation when analysing organisational documents (in Glasgow) and when visiting (in Bristol). This was not used as a data source, and I emphasised that the purpose of my attendance was instead to increase my understanding of the organisation and local issues, community activities etc.

Table 5.4 Meetings/events attended

Event	Date	Reason for attendance
Glasgow (CCH)		
Board meeting	24/01/2018	To introduce the research to board members and give them the opportunity to ask questions and/or enquire about participating.
International Women's Day event	08/03/2018	To gain insight into CCH's activities and potentially make contacts.
Princes' Trust event – presentations by young people who had completed the programme	26/04/2018	To increase my understanding of young people's experiences of the programme.
CCH Annual General Meeting	24/10/2018	To provide an update on the research to board members and others.
Our Maryhill screening	03/03/2019	Film presented as part of Glasgow Film Festival to celebrate Maryhill's history.
CCH Annual General Meeting	31/10/2019	To present preliminary research findings.
Bristol		
Tech 'n' talk events – sociable sessions organised by BS3CD whereby volunteers provide technical support in a local café (https://bs3community.org.uk/projects-partnership/ilop/tech-and-talk/).	3 x in spring/ summer 2018	To increase knowledge of BS3CD's work and potentially make contacts for the research.
Board meeting for Bedminster Business Improvement District (see https://www.bedminster.org.uk).	03/07/2018	To increase knowledge of wider neighbourhood issues and other organisations.
Bedminster Social Club meeting - a group for older residents to meet up in a sociable, relaxed environment (https://www.linkagenetwork.org.uk/organisation/bedminster-social-club).	05/07/2018	To increase knowledge of wider neighbourhood/ community and potentially make contacts.
South Bristol Community Development Group meeting - a meeting of local community groups who discuss community development issues in South Bristol.	18/09/2018	To increase knowledge of community development in South Bristol.

Document Analysis

Document analysis is a common method within organisational research. Yin (2018:157) identifies several benefits of document analysis, including that documents are 'stable' and 'unobtrusive,' and are helpful for longitudinal studies. Documents also provide information on issues to be explored in primary data collection (*ibid*.:158).

In terms of limitations, it can be difficult to access some documents (see below). Further, documents are always created for a particular audience/purpose etc., and thus present the impression the author wishes to portray (Yin, 2018:157-158). They are thus not 'objective' and need to be 'examined in the context of other sources of data' (Bryman, 2012:551). Bryman (2012:554) argues, citing Atkinson and Coffey (2011), that 'documents should [therefore] be viewed as a distinct level of "reality" in their own right' (what they (*ibid*.) term 'documentary reality'), with a need to consider both 'the context' of their production and 'their implied readership' (Bryman, 2012:554).

At each organisation, I sought consent to access contemporary and, crucially, historical documents for analysis, to better understand how each organisation, and their role in neighbourhood change, had developed over time (see Bryman, 2012). The nature of the documents differed depending on the organisation. In Glasgow, I was given access to annual reports from the organisation's inception in 1977 to 2003, when they stopped producing them, due to cited resourcing issues. In addition, the organisation provided a sample of other documents, including business plans, strategy documents and meeting minutes. In Bristol, a smaller sample of documents was provided, with the focus on annual reports and business plans for 2014/15, 2016/18, 2017/19 and 2018/20. For both organisations, publicly available accounts, with additional information regarding each organisation's aims, activities etc., were accessed via Companies House.[15] For CCH, these dated from 1987, the year CCH was incorporated as a company; and for the SCDA (now BS3CD), these dated from 1995 (while the SCDA was registered in 1990, documents prior to 1995 were unavailable).

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[15] https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/companies-house

Most documents were available in electronic format, meaning I could analyse them offsite, once inputted into NVivo qualitative analysis software (see 5.6). The exception was the annual reports at CCH, which were mainly only available in paper copy. I was provided with space to take notes on these on site. My notes were very detailed, so that they could be added to NVivo and analysed in the same way as the other documents. All of the documents were scanned for relevance, with pertinent extracts coded and analysed, as described below. This allowed me to compare the primary data with the narratives presented in organisational documents. Documents were thus useful 'to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources,' or otherwise (Yin, 2018:158).

5.6 Analysis

The type of analysis depended on the data and participant type. For the scoping interviews, and most of the case study data, the analysis was largely thematic. Braun and Clarke (2006:79) define thematic analysis as 'a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data.' A theme is defined as something that 'captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of *patterned* response or meaning within the data set' (*ibid.*: 82; italics in original).

Thematic analysis has several advantages (see Braun and Clarke, 2006, for a summary of these). These include its 'flexibility'; that it 'can usefully summarise key features of a large body of data'; that it is useful for identifying 'similarities and differences' within the data; that it 'can generate unanticipated insights'; and that it 'can be useful for producing qualitative analyses suited to informing policy development' (Braun & Clarke, 2006:97) – one of the aims here.

For the case study participants who could offer a longitudinal approach, I adopted a narrative approach to analysis. I followed Bryman's (2012:582) view that the focus in narrative analysis is on the temporality of participants' stories and 'how [they] made sense of what happened and to what effect,' rather than a factual account of 'what happened' (see also Fraser, 2004). This allowed consideration of different understandings of organisational and neighbourhood change. It was also imperative to consider how participants' positionality may

have affected their accounts, considering issues of power and inequality within the organisations and neighbourhoods (Bryman, 2012).

The first stage for both forms of analysis was to transcribe the recordings (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I did this myself and while very time-consuming, it allowed familiarisation with the data (*ibid.*). I then further familiarised myself with the data by reading and re-reading the transcripts (Crang, 2005). Next, I started coding the data; initially doing 'open coding,' whereby the transcripts were read through carefully and annotated, with these annotations then being formed into 'categories or codes' (*ibid.*:186). As Bryman (2012:568) explains, coding:

> 'entails reviewing transcripts…and giving labels (names) to component parts that seem to be of potential theoretical significance and/or appear to be particularly salient within the social worlds of those being studied.'

This was an iterative process, with consideration of the interrelations between different parts of the data (*ibid.*:575). Transcripts and notes were initially coded by hand, then inputted into NVivo for additional rigour (Crang, 2005). Organisational documents were also added to the NVivo file and coded, either with existing or new codes. This approach enabled me to contrast the narratives portrayed in organisational documents with those collected in the primary data (Polkinghorne, 2007).

For the scoping interviews, 11 major themes were identified; for the case studies, there were 14 (see Appendices H and I for the coding frameworks).[16] The case study codes were based on both the primary research data and organisational documents. While data for each case study was analysed separately for clarity, the major themes were the same for both organisations, to address the research aims, objectives and questions. However, where applicable, additional sub-themes were created for each organisation.

While the analysis was completed with my research aims, objectives and questions in mind and 'researchers cannot free themselves of their theoretical and epistemological commitments,' I aimed to adopt a largely inductive

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[16] For the case studies, themes for both are in black, with green signifying those that are specific to CCH and red for BS3CD.

approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006:83-84). Thus, the analysis was as 'data driven' as possible in the generation of the specific codes and themes that emerged (*ibid*.; see also Bryman, 2012). Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that prior experience and knowledge always influences the research process to an extent (Bulmer, 1979; Crang & Cook, 2007).

5.7 Ethical Considerations

The University of Glasgow's College of Social Science Research Ethics Committee approved this study in July 2017 (see Appendix E). A small amendment was submitted in September 2017 (see Appendix F) to allow scoping meetings with potential case study organisations. This allowed a more informal discussion to introduce the research and gauge potential organisations' interest in, and capacity to support, the research, before any decisions were made.

Several ethical issues were considered for this project. A key issue related to confidentiality and anonymity (see Bryman, 2012). Participants have been given pseudonyms and only general descriptors are provided. For example, for the case study data, 'organisational representative' is used for both staff and board members. While it would have been useful to provide contextual information in the empirical chapters regarding whether the participant was a local resident and whether they were a recent arrival, long-term resident etc., I feared this could potentially compromise confidentiality due to small numbers in some groups, so this information was omitted. 'Organisational representatives' also includes some former organisational representatives, as the small numbers in this group could have compromised anonymity. Further, I followed Guenther's (2009:418) guidance regarding 'separat[ing] a respondent's comments from other identifying characteristics or affiliations,' to limit the risk for participants. However, given the relatively small sample size and case study approach, participants were made aware of the limits to confidentiality. Even so, while a knowledgeable reader may have an idea about who may have said a particular quote, this cannot be definitively known, given the steps taken above. These issues are also relevant for the scoping interviews, with a relatively small group of experts in this field.

Further, the principle of informed consent was applied throughout (Bulmer, 2001). All participants were provided with a Participant Information Sheet and given the option to ask any questions before consenting (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). This ensured they were fully aware of the purpose of the research; what the information would be used for; how the data would be used/reused, stored and eventually destroyed; and that they could withdraw their contribution at any time, including after the interview (Walliman, 2004:145-150). Participants were asked to complete and sign a consent form (see Appendix G) prior to data collection; recorded verbal consent was provided for the focus group. There were two cases where, during or after the meeting, I had doubts if the individual had capacity to provide informed consent, despite appearing OK to do so at the beginning. In these situations, I have not used this data, to ensure ethical protocols are followed. There was one case where an individual asked me to email my notes after the interview to them so they could check they were happy for them to be used. Although they replied to my first email to confirm the email address was correct, they did not respond to confirm they were happy with the notes, and so this data has not been used.

There are also particular ethical issues in organisational research (see, for example, Bulmer, 1988; Bryman, 2012). Following Bryman (2012:435-436), I was clear about the likely time commitment and what would be required from each organisation, for example in terms of facilitating initial introductions. I aimed to provide benefit by offering a summary for all participants and to present the findings to the organisations when complete. I also aimed to minimise the potential disruption of having a researcher present, for example by following up suggested contacts myself (Gobo, 2008).

A key consideration was whether the case studies should be anonymised. This would have helped to mitigate any potential risk for the organisation and ensure full anonymity (see Guenther, 2009). However, it would have been difficult, given the importance of the local context for the operations of CEs and the narrative would have been limited had all contextual information been omitted (*ibid*.). Guenther (2009:418) has also highlighted how, even in cases where researchers have sought to anonymise organisations, a simple internet search can often identify them. Guenther notes that while this may 'protect the researcher and limit their accountability,' it 'leav[es] respondents quite

vulnerable to identification and possible retribution,' thus being ineffective and ethically problematic (*ibid*.).

With my supervisors, it was thus decided that each organisation would be given the choice. In each case, the Chief Executive opted for the organisation to be named, while individual anonymity was maintained. As Guenther (2009:419) notes, naming organisations 'can serve to support social justice by drawing public [and policymaker's] attention to issues and/or organisations.' However, following Guenther (2009:413), I was cautious that naming organisations can make the researcher less critical when reporting findings. I sought to limit this risk by critically reflecting on my analysis, synthesis and write-up.

Doing research in organisations can also create issues in terms of what is defined as data, when the researcher has multiple formal and informal discussions (Bryman, 1988). To adhere to the protocols outlined in my ethics approval, while informal discussions and attendance at meetings and events have informed my knowledge, only data collected formally with consent is presented in this PhD (*ibid*.).

There were several other ethical issues which arose throughout the fieldwork which were difficult to anticipate and plan for. For example, other people were occasionally present during interviews/focus groups. While this may have influenced participants' responses to an extent, I checked participants were happy to continue with them there, and the presence of staff members was useful where participants were older and potentially more vulnerable. These issues are common when conducting qualitative research, requiring one to use their 'gut feeling' to respond to unanticipated situations (Lipson, 1994, cited Tinney, 2008:220-221).

As mentioned previously, there was also the issue of working through gatekeepers, who did not always have experience of conducting social research (see Langmead, 2017). While I tried to explain matters in a concise, informative manner, my advice was not always followed, for example, in terms of the sharing of all relevant information prior to arranged meetings. To address this, I always carried Participant Information Sheets with me to share and explained the details prior to potential participation, to ensure informed consent. I made

sure participants had time to consider the material and ask any questions. While this was not ideal, I felt it was the best approach in the circumstances (*ibid.*).

There is also a risk of gatekeepers influencing participant selection (Bulmer, 1988). As discussed previously, this is somewhat unavoidable when doing research in organisations. Nevertheless, I sought to mitigate this by ensuring potential participants had all the necessary information and emphasising that their participation was entirely voluntary. I also used 'snowballing' to identify potential participants who the organisations had not suggested (Valentine, 1997:116).

Finally, after discussion with my supervisors, I chose to share a summary of the preliminary findings with key individuals at each case study, and met with them to discuss. I felt it was important to give something back; to gauge if there were any issues that I had not picked up on; and to gather their views about the findings, albeit recognising that they could not influence them. This presented an ethical dilemma as one individual challenged an aspect of my interpretation, despite me explaining that the findings were based on my analysis and interpretation of participants' perspectives and experiences, which are inherently subjective, rather than a 'fact' that can be 'rejected.' This issue is highlighted by Gobo (2008:139-142) who discusses the challenges that can arise, for example if the findings are different from the image the organisation wishes to portray. This issue cannot be avoided, however, and is inherent to conducting research with human participants. Nevertheless, throughout the analysis and write-up, I conducted checks to ensure I was comfortable that the findings provided a fair representation of the data (see Denzin & Lincoln, 2013). The next section discusses positionality and reflexivity.

5.8 Positionality and Reflexivity

As Baxter & Eyles (1997:505) emphasise, there is a need for reflexivity throughout the research process, 'allowing a conscious deliberation of what we do, how we interpret and how we relate to subjects.' This is related to one's positionality, with it being imperative to recognise that in social research:

'the researcher and social world impact on each other; facts and values are not distinct, and findings are inevitably influenced by the researcher's perspective and values, thus making it impossible to conduct objective, value-free research, although the researcher can declare and be transparent about his or her assumptions' (Snape & Spencer, 2003:17).

Bishop and Shepherd (2011:1290) cite that personal qualities and experiences affect all stages of the research, with it being impossible to distinguish the impact of different influences, which can be 'omnipresent and imperceptible, or embodied and difficult to articulate, and because of the way that we reconstruct narratives of the past in light of new experiences and identities.' Further, Sultana (2007:382) emphasises that knowledge production is 'always contextual, embodied and politicised,' being 'embedded within broader social relations and development processes.'

Thus, in line with the guiding epistemology and ontology, the view here is that this positionality is unavoidable and not problematic, so long as it is acknowledged and reflected upon. Therefore, it is important to recognise that I would not have devised and undertaken this research project without my previous education, employment and other experiences which have shaped my commitment to the need for further research which highlights how, if at all, regeneration can be undertaken to benefit existing residents, while limiting gentrification. Nor can my political views be discounted, with a belief in the need for fundamental reform of society, the economy and political systems, so that structural inequalities can be addressed via a more equitable redistribution of resources (social, economic, cultural and political) to create a more socioeconomically just society.

When undertaking research about gentrification, it is also important to consider one's positionality in relation to class (see Schlichtman and Patch, 2017). As a white, middle-class researcher, this was something I reflected on throughout. While the research was designed with the aim of making a small contribution to helping those negatively affected by gentrification (i.e. typically working-class residents) by hoping to inform policy and practice, it is important to recognise that I do not have personal experience of these struggles. Nevertheless, I sought to be as empathetic as possible, remaining committed to my aims for greater

socioeconomic justice via influencing policy and practice. The case studies are now introduced.

5.9 Case Study Introductions

5.9.1 BS3 Community Development (BS3CD), Southville/ Bedminster, Bristol

BS3 Community Development (BS3CD) originated as the Southville Community Development Association (SCDA) in 1991. A group of community activists established the organisation to take over management of a former school building from the local authority, being granted a 999-year lease (Barker, 2014). The school had become surplus to requirements as the area had experienced depopulation, partly due to deindustrialisation in the 1980s (Gordon & Buck, 2005; Participant Communication). Part of the site thus became the Southville Centre (TSC) (see Figure 5.6), while the other part was transferred to a housing association. Today, TSC describes itself as 'a community hub with an on-site café, room hire, gift shop and a wedding, music and alcohol license' (BS3CD, n.d.1:no page). In 2015, the organisation bought a second site and developed the Chessel Centre (TCC; see Figure 5.7), located in Bedminster ward, which opened in December 2017. TCC serves primarily as an Early Education and Childcare (EE&C) facility, but also has a community room and office space. The location of the two centres can be seen in Figure 5.8.

Figure 5.6 The Southville Centre

Source: BS3CD (n.d.1)

Figure 5.7 The Chessel Centre

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Source: Practical Architects (n.d.)

Figure 5.8 Map showing location of the Southville and Chessel Centres
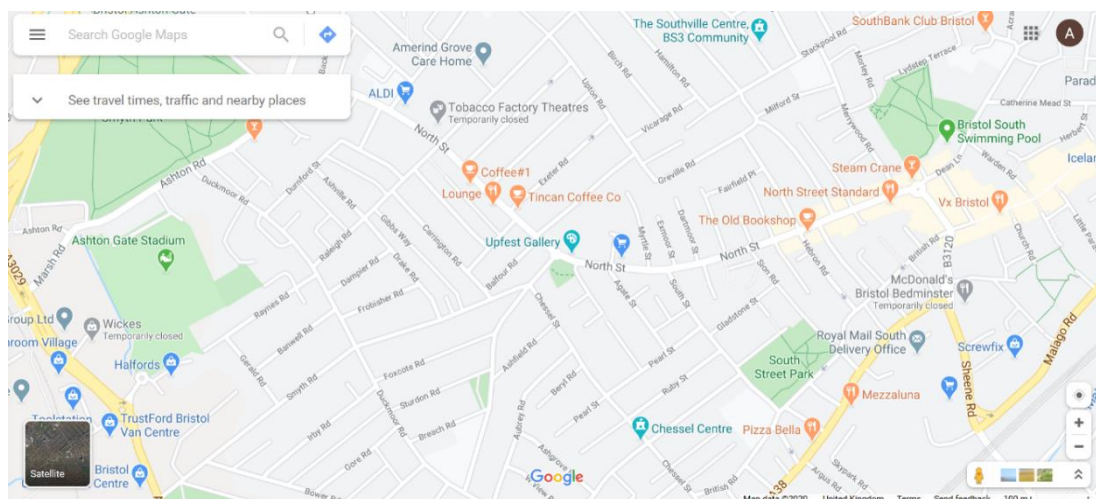
Source: Google Maps (n.d.): https://www.google.co.uk/maps/@51.4406069,-2.6105454,16z *(accessed 20/04/2020).*

The organisation was originally established in Southville, but in 2012/13, explicitly expanded its geographical reach to cover Southville and Bedminster wards (SCDA, 2013; see Figure 5.9), although participants emphasised that its reach was already wider. The organisation then rebranded in late 2017 as BS3 Community Development (BS3CD), slightly widening its geographical scope to cover the whole BS3 postcode area (see Figure 5.10; BS3CD, 2018b).

Figure 5.9 Bristol Ward map (Southville, Bedminster and Windmill Hill circled)
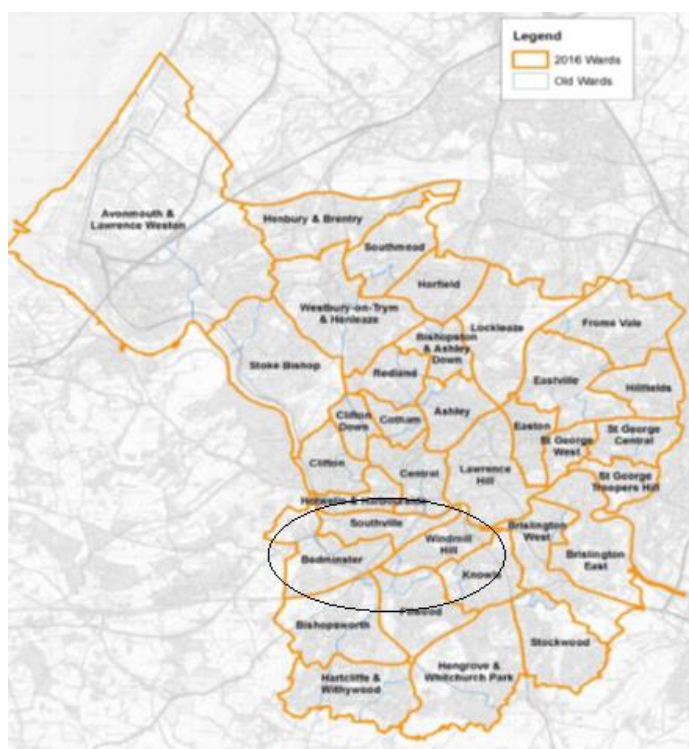
Source: BCC (2018a:23)

Figure 5.10 Map of BS3 Postcode Area
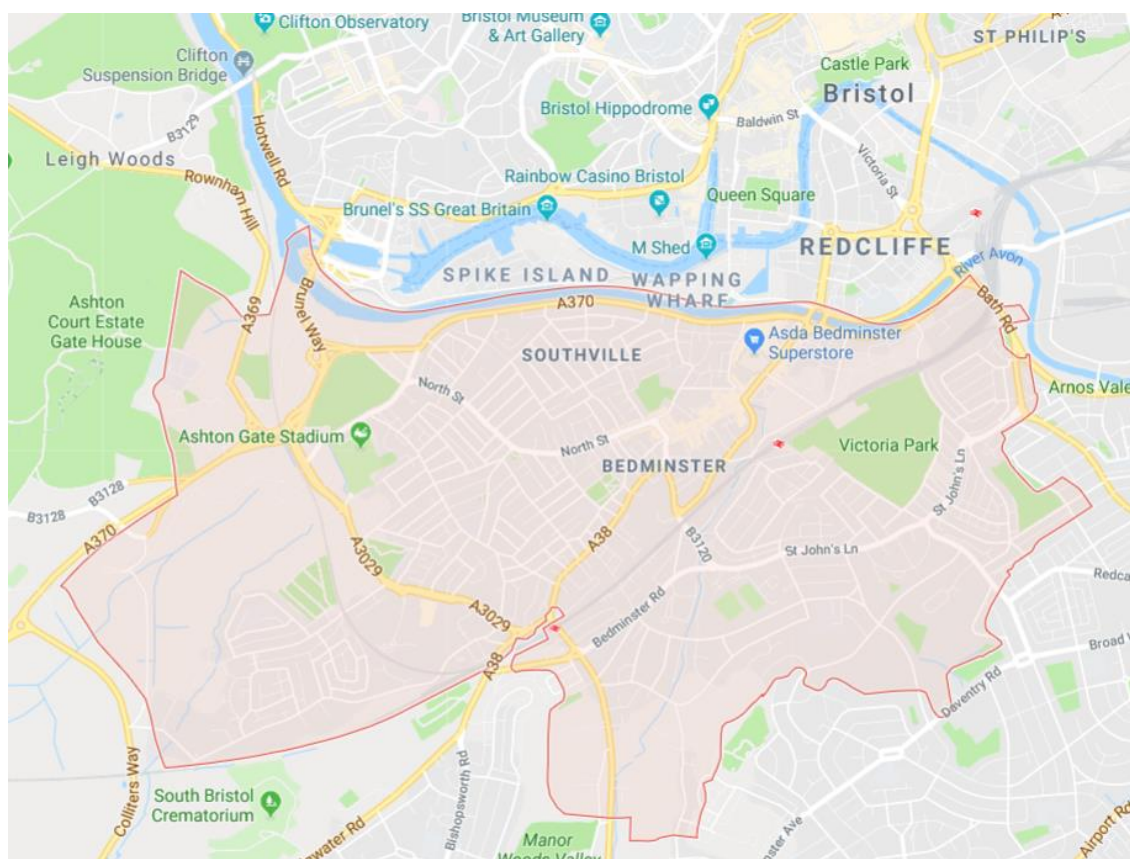
Source: Google Maps (n.d.):
https://www.google.com/maps/place/Bristol+BS3/@51.4385714,-
2.617123,14z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x48718c215631db77:0xf2bd6d9f18b55af0!8m2!
3d51.4389455!4d-2.6004718 (accessed 31/10/2018).

BS3CD aims 'to serve the community, develop its social capital, improve the local environment and help ensure that the area is a great place to live and work to improve the health, wellbeing and happiness of our community' (BS3CD, 2018a:4). Its stated objective is:

> '…to improve the conditions of life for the benefit of the inhabitants, and those working in or frequenting the neighbourhoods comprising the postal district BS3, and we undertake activities to further our own charitable objects for the public benefit' (*ibid.*).

BS3CD is registered as both a charity and a business and is governed by a community-led board. While there has been some fluctuation in the size of the board over time according to annual reports, this has generally remained between seven and 13 members (SCDA/BS3CD, 1995-2019). At the time of writing, there were 12 board members, with 11 living locally (BS3CD, n.d.3).

At the time of writing, BS3CD offers a variety of services, including EE&C, Older People's Services (OPS), room hire and a café (BS3CD, n.d.2). Participants cited that these services/activities are similar to those offered in its earlier days, albeit with shifting emphases between them over time, discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven. The organisation also recently launched a youth club in partnership with *Way Out West*,[17] a local action group, in response to demand (South Bristol Voice, 2019).

BS3CD also provides various community activities and services, such as events and room hire for classes and activities, many of which are run by local self-employed people (BS3CD, 2018a). Community development activities have included developing and supporting different local groups and activities, such as the *Southbank Bristol Arts Trail*,[18] an annual event with 'artists exhibiting in both group and individual venues throughout the areas of BS3, Bedminster, Ashton and Southville' (Southbank Bristol Arts, 2019:no page); and *Action Greater Bedminster*,[19] a local partnership which aims 'to help improve our neighbourhood by giving a voice to all and combin[ing] our resources and ideas to create practical solutions' (AGB, n.d.:no page) (BS3CD, 2018a:3).

The neighbourhoods of Southville and Bedminster were traditionally working-class areas which developed in the late nineteenth century as a result of Bristol's tobacco industry, employing many local residents (Thomas et al., 2017). Throughout much of the twentieth century, BS3 was home to a variety of traditional industries, including shipbuilding and coal (Boyden, 2013:14). However, when industry moved further south in the 1980s, the neighbourhoods experienced economic and population decline (*ibid*.).

However, given Southville's proximity to the city centre and a relatively desirable housing stock, with many Victorian and Edwardian terraces (see Figure 5.11), participants cited that the area 'recovered' relatively quickly, becoming increasingly attractive to an incoming population of largely young professionals and families (see Boyden, 2013; Musgrave, 2013). Wider economic changes and a

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[17] https://way-out-west.org/

[18] http://www.southbankbristolarts.co.uk/

[19] https://greaterbedminster.org.uk/

growth of 'job opportunities in financial services and the creative/learning industries' in Bristol in the 1990s and 2000s have also increased the city's gentrification (Boyden, 2013:14). Southville, along with the neighbouring areas of Ashton, Bedminster and Windmill Hill, have become sought-after neighbourhoods, being located close to these city centre jobs (Doble, 2015). Southville has been described as home to 'a strong, active voluntary sector and a real sense of community' (Barker, 2007, cited Dyckhoff, 2007:no page).

Figure 5.11 Typical Terraced Houses in BS3

Source: Author's Own (October 2019)

Participants explained how Southville and Bedminster have not been eligible for much state regeneration funding over the years, being generally middling and now increasingly affluent on the Index of Deprivation. There have, however,

been private sector developments, such as the refurbishment of a former Tobacco Factory into a mixed-use space (Visit Bristol, n.d.), discussed in Chapter Seven. There are also proposals for high-end housing developments in BS3 over the next few years, with Bedminster identified as 'an area with significant potential for intensification' and 'optimising densities' (BCC, 2018d:23,15). There is concern locally about these proposals regarding:

> 'the low proportion of affordable or social housing...the height and density of the proposed developments, the loss of green space and a lack of associated infrastructure, such as school and health provision' (WHaM, n.d.:no page).

Further, despite the increasing affluence in some parts of BS3 (broadly Southville, Bedminster and Windmill Hill wards), it remains home to stark inequalities. As Figure 5.12 shows, in 2019, it had areas in both the least 20% (cream/light green) and most 20% (dark blue) deprived deciles in England. This is similar to the 2015 data, which the case was selected using. These neighbourhood changes are explored in Chapter Seven, drawing on both statistical and primary research data.

Figure 5.12 Index of Deprivation Maps: 2015 (above) and 2019 (below) (ward boundaries in purple)
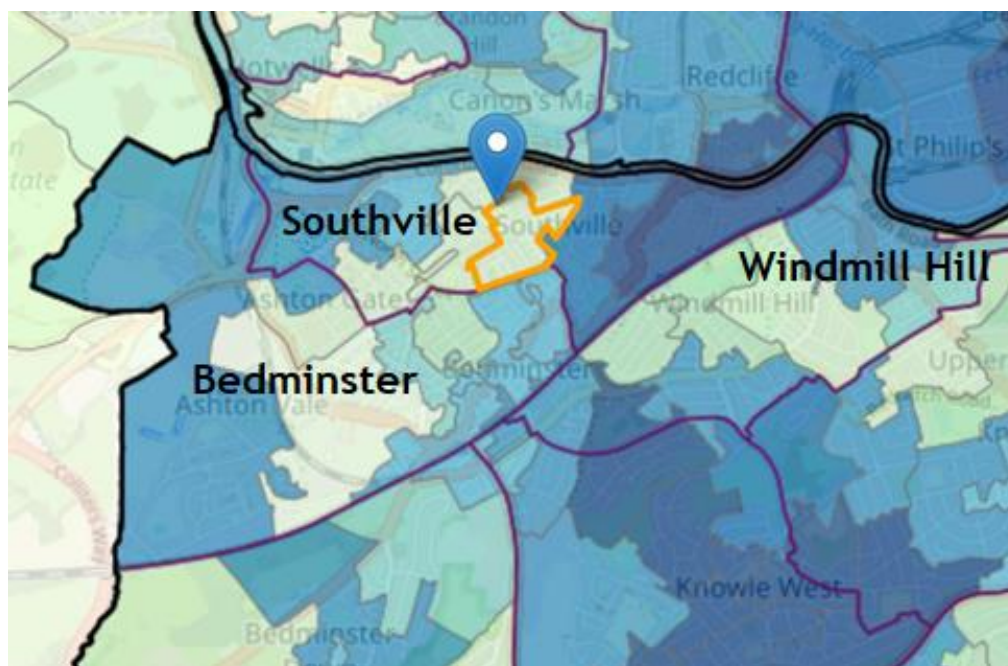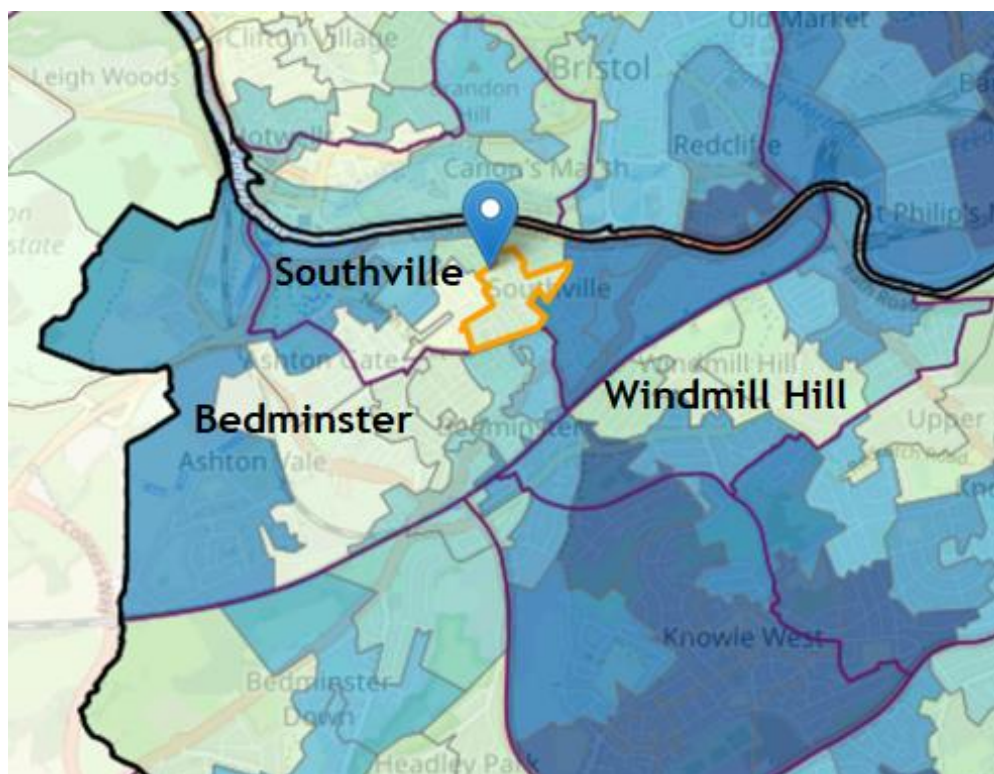
Source: DCLG (2019)

5.9.2 Community Central Hall (CCH), Maryhill/Woodside, Glasgow

CCH (see Figure 5.13) emerged from a former Methodist Church on Maryhill Road, Glasgow. The Church was built in 1924 and evolved during the mid-twentieth century to provide services and activities for the local community, in addition to being a place of worship. However, with a decline in the congregation in the second half of the twentieth century, the Church closed in 1976 (Robertson et al., 1986).

Figure 5.13 Community Central Hall

Source: CCH (2015:1)

In response, a community campaign was launched by a group of local residents, or as Sharon (Organisational Representative) called them, 'local activists before local activists were invented.' Accordingly, Strathclyde Regional Council bought the site, passing the management to the community group in 1977 (Robertson et al., 1986). The C-listed building is now owned by Glasgow City Council (GCC). There is an ongoing campaign by CCH to take community ownership of the building, which began officially in 2009.

Since its early days, CCH has provided a range of services for children, young people and older people, as well as providing space for hire, although the balance between these different services has shifted over time (CCH, n.d.1). It has also delivered a range of community projects, dependent on funding opportunities, including a Gypsy/Traveller project and community-led food and energy projects (CCH, 2013). The organisation also provides other ad hoc support, in response to need, such as the development of a Job Club to help people with CVs and job applications and an expansion of community transport (Rachael, Organisational Representative). The primary users of CCH come from Hillhead ward (in which it is located), the nearby wards of Canal and Maryhill/Kelvin and/or city wide (Participant Communication; see Figure 5.14). CCH has always had an element of 'enterprise,' but this focus has increased over the years as public sector funding has declined.

CCH's mission statement is: 'Community Central Hall strives to be at the heart of the community by delivering diverse services to enrich people's lives' (CCH, n.d.2:no page). It has four objectives:

- 'Delivering sustainable services;
- Securing the building and assets;
- Developing people; [and]
- Developing connections' (CCH, 2017a:1).

The organisation is registered as both a charity and a business. It is governed by a community-led board. The size of this has fluctuated, and generally reduced, over time (see section 8.3.2). In March 2019, there were 10 board members

(CCH, 2019), with 60% from the local area (defined as the Hillhead, Canal and Maryhill/Kelvin wards).

Figure 5.14 Map of Glasgow City Council Community Councils and Wards
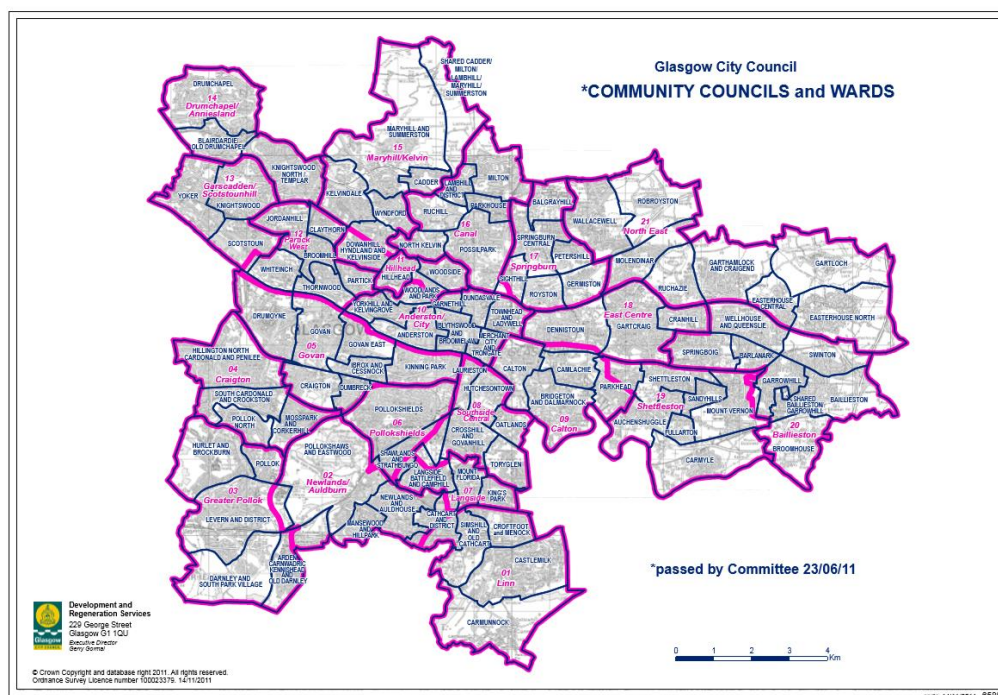
Source: GCC (2011a)

The building is located at the southern end of Maryhill Road, one of the roads connecting north Glasgow to the city centre (see Figure 5.15). The area is known locally as Woodside, or Greater Maryhill, with Maryhill 'proper' typically perceived as being further north up Maryhill Road (Hutton, 2005).

Figure 5.15 Map showing location of CCH
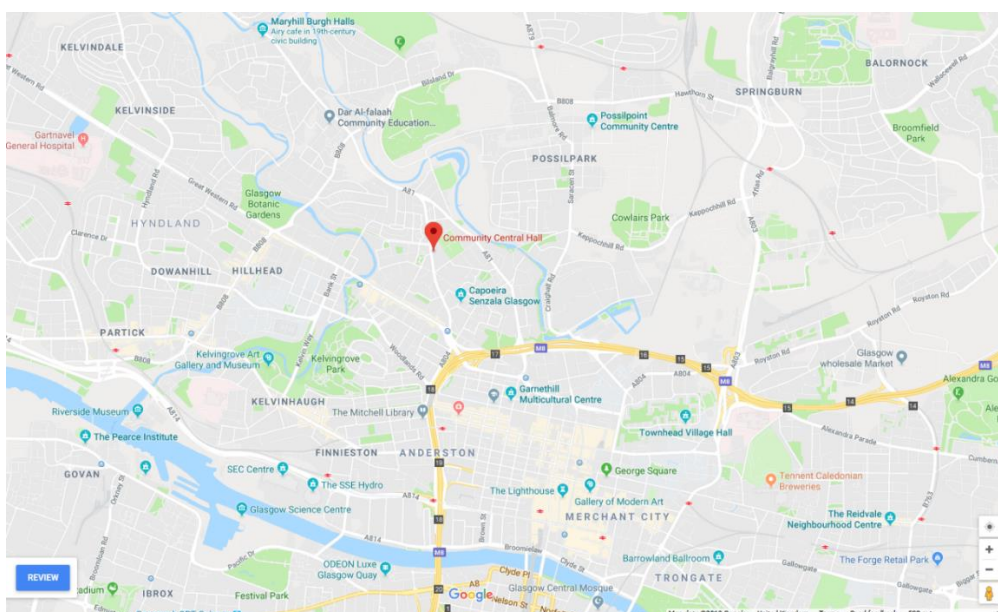
Source: Google Maps (n.d.)

Woodside and the surrounding Greater Maryhill area have historically been relatively deprived and has received regeneration funding for various physical, social and economic regeneration initiatives over the years (Hutton, 2005). This included *Comprehensive Redevelopment* in the 1960s, in which some housing was demolished, with former residents dispersed elsewhere (*ibid*.). There were also plans to build a motorway through the neighbourhood which were successfully defeated by local people (*ibid*.). In the late 1970s, the CBHA movement emerged, campaigning for the refurbishment of the remaining social housing (Young, 2013). Regeneration continued throughout the 1980s and 1990s, for example through the *Maryhill Road Corridor Project* (see Moore, 1985). While this focussed on physical regeneration, particularly housing and new business development (Robertson et al., 1986), there was also funding for social and economic initiatives, some of which CCH delivered alongside existing activities (Rachael, Organisational Representative).

There has recently been investment nearby, such as housing developments at Maryhill Locks as part of the *Maryhill Transformational Regeneration Area*, with 700 new homes planned (GCC, n.d.1); the *Maryhill Town Centre Action Plan* (GCC, 2011b) and the opening of a Tesco extra; and the reopening of Maryhill Burgh Halls (Willie Miller Urban Design, 2012). However, these have all been further north up Maryhill Road, with participants suggesting that these have not greatly benefitted Woodside. There is also *Connecting Woodside*, an £8 million active travel project, connecting Woodside and Woodlands via cycling and walking routes (GCC, n.d.2:no page), although it is too early to assess what the impact of this will be. In addition, there has been a focus on developing the creative industries. For example, the nearby *Speirs Lock Masterplan*[20] involved developing 'a creative neighbourhood,' focussed on the arts, with a 'mixed-use (housing and commercial) development in vacant sites along Glasgow canal and a low-rise industrial estate' (Basalis, 2012:16).

However, despite various investments over the years, deprivation remains, although it is not possible to know if deprivation might be worse had there been no intervention (O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). Nevertheless, while CCH is located

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[20] https://www.scottishcanals.co.uk/placemaking/glasgow-canal-project/creative-quarter/

in Glasgow's West End, which is typically viewed as the more affluent part of the city, there are great inequalities between the neighbourhoods surrounding CCH and the wider West End (see Figure 5.16 and Figure 5.17). For example, the datazone where CCH is located is in the most deprived decile (dark red) for all SIMD domains, except for geographic access (decile 9, likely due to its location) and crime (decile 2), but is adjacent to areas in middling/less deprived deciles (light/dark blue) (Scottish Government, 2016d, 2020; see Figure 5.17). There has been little change since 2016 (the data that was used for case study selection). Nevertheless, Robertson et al. (1986:4) cite that Woodside has long been home to 'a fair social mix.' Yet, housing unaffordability issues have increased recently, arguably due to knock-on effects from the West End (QCHA, 2012), with some concerns about gentrification locally prior to the GFC (Durie, 2008; Gray, 2015). These challenges are discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight.

Figure 5.16 Contrasting streets: Clevedon Drive, Kelvindale (above), and Maryhill Road (overleaf)

Source: Author's Own (March 2020)

Figure 5.17 Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation Maps: 2016 (above) and 2020 (below)
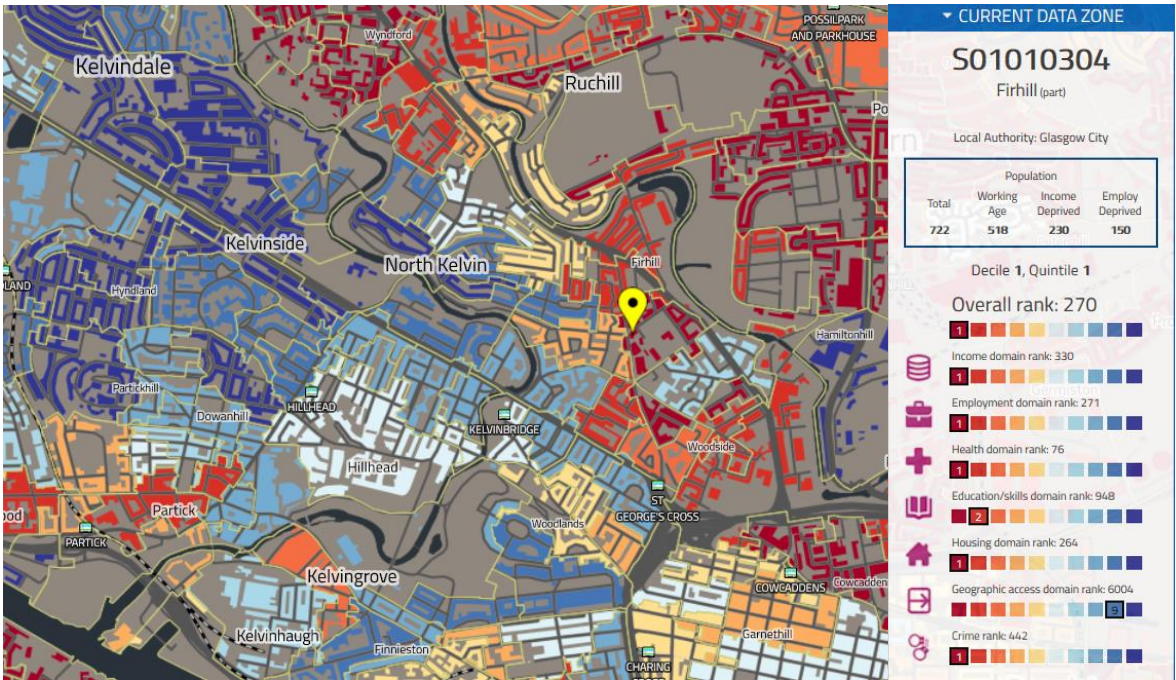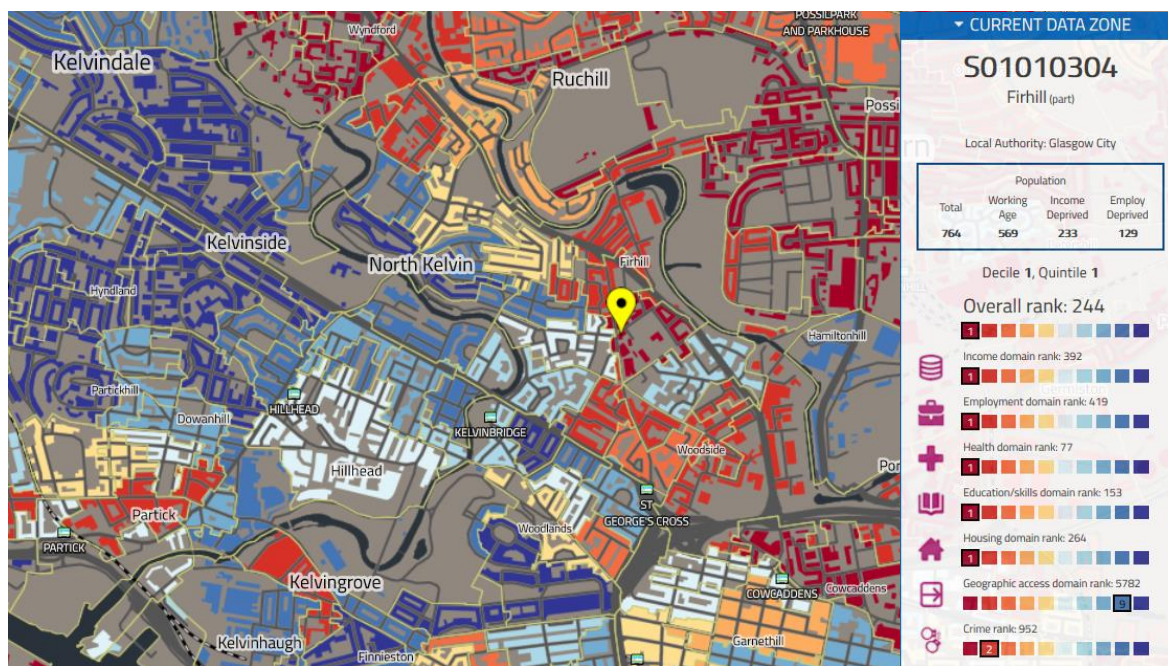
Source: Scottish Government (2016d, 2020)

5.10 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the largely qualitative methodological approach adopted to address the research aim, questions and objectives of the thesis, with consideration of the philosophical underpinnings. It then outlined the case study approach, including the rationale for choosing the case studies, and the process for negotiating access to the organisations. It detailed each of the research methods used and their strengths and weaknesses. This was followed by description of the data analysis process. Next, consideration was given to ethical issues, positionality and reflexivity. Finally, the two case studies were introduced.

The following chapters provide the empirical research findings. Chapter Six addresses research objective one, and explores the perspectives of experts in the field, beyond the case studies. Chapters Seven and Eight present the findings from the Bristol and Glasgow case study organisations respectively, and are structured around the remaining research objectives, two-five. This is followed by the comparative case study analysis in Chapter Nine.

6 Chapter 6: Conceptualising Community Enterprise, Assets, Regeneration and Gentrification from 'Above'

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the views of expert stakeholders, beyond the case studies, regarding the role of asset owning/managing CEs in urban communities undergoing regeneration and/or gentrification, considering the potential of CEs to contribute to regeneration without gentrification. In doing so, the chapter sets the context for the forthcoming case study analysis. It is largely based on scoping interview data, collected between Summer 2017 and Spring 2018, but also draws on data from local stakeholders engaged in the case study research throughout 2018. The latter group are referred to in the format (pseudonym, Local Stakeholder, city). Participants were involved in community development, regeneration and community enterprise at either a national, regional or local level.

The chapter begins by exploring participants' perspectives regarding issues of gentrification and regeneration, and the actual and potential role of CEs and their assets within these processes. Subsequently, the factors affecting the approach of CEs and the challenges and constraints they face at an organisational/local level are analysed. Next, the influence of national and local policy in the case study cities is examined. Finally, participants' reflections on the future potential of S&CE are considered.

6.2 Regeneration and Gentrification

Views on the relationships between regeneration, gentrification, community enterprise and community assets were mixed. Several participants juxtaposed gentrification and regeneration as two distinct processes with different impacts and outcomes. For example, National Representative (Scotland) 2 emphasised that, for them, in contrast to regeneration, gentrification is 'about markets taking control and…not recognising the historic, local people, local culture, and quite often squeezing it out.' Further, an English stakeholder indicated:

> '...gentrification for me is synonymous with the displacement of communities that existed prior and allows a new middle-class, cultural norm...to become dominant. Regeneration is about...creating opportunity, whereas gentrification is just creating middle-class ghettos' (Local Representative (England) 2).

These quotations both highlight understandings of 'top-down' gentrification, catalysed by either private or public sector investment. In contrast to gentrification, National Representative (Scotland) 7 emphasised how community-led regeneration should be about creating 'balanced economies in terms of the distribution of population... of wealth... of ownership... where people have the ability to make choices.'

Nevertheless, several participants recognised that regeneration can lead to gentrification. Some emphasised that unless steps are taken to limit the influence of the market and ensure community benefits, this risk can be inevitable, with inequalities in power between communities and the private and public sectors:

> '...even if you think that you've got genuine, however, chaotic, community regeneration going on, the double-edged sword of that is still gentrification...because you don't have control over...things like the market and value of properties...' (Local Representative (Bristol) 1)

> '...how do you control [gentrification] and keep it a mixed community?...it just seems to me that once developers have a bit of momentum, it's kind of impossible...everything is dominated by the housing market' (National Representative (Scotland) 2).

The following section explores perspectives regarding how the approaches of CEs relate to, and intersect with, regeneration and gentrification.

6.3 Community Enterprise, Regeneration and Gentrification

Some participants were very enthusiastic about the potential contribution of CEs to regeneration. For example, National Representative (England) 5 commented:

> '...listening to all the community-led businesses...hearing about how they are mission-driven, they employ local people, they add back into the economy and they make social change, it's like...you're

completely amazing!…I think they are small and under-recognised and absolutely vital.'

Yet, other participants highlighted the challenges CEs can face when seeking to contribute to regeneration and the sometimes unrealistic expectations placed on them by policy-makers, reflecting existing literature (for example, Pearce, 2003). Others emphasised how the role of CEs in regeneration and gentrification can be ambiguous, and explained the risks that the CE approach, if successful, could lead to gentrification. For example, National Representative (Scotland) 2 suggested that as some CEs aim to catalyse 'economic activity,' they imagined that 'for some…gentrification [would be seen] as a sign of success.' They cited an example of a CE which felt that 'one of the greatest indicators of their success was when the private sector began to' invest again. Similarly, National Representative (Scotland) 3 highlighted that CEs can be protectionist, citing an example of a CE in an affluent suburb of Glasgow which, in focussing on the local area, is arguably not considering wider inequalities and may be exacerbating them:

> '…do [CEs] have any broad…collective vision? They probably don't, they're just interested in protecting, safeguarding their interests. That's possibly perfectly reasonable…they're competing with other communities for scarce resources…it's dog eat dog' (National Representative (Scotland) 3).

Thus, while this approach may not contribute to gentrification in already affluent areas, this comment perhaps reflects cautions that communities can be exclusive, despite their idealisation within policy (Cochrane, 1986; Raco, 2003), and that this approach may exacerbate inequalities (O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). Austerity is also likely exacerbating competition between community organisations, as discussed at 6.5.4.

Further, there was recognition that CEs could contribute to gentrification inadvertently, in the context of a market-led housing system, particularly in cities with a strong economy, such as London and Bristol. For example, participants cited that the types of small-scale environmental improvements many CEs promote may lead to a neighbourhood being perceived as less 'risky' to invest in, without addressing issues of socioeconomic inequality or deprivation. However, participants noted that some CEs do operate at a larger

scale. As mentioned previously, Coin Street Community Buildings (CSCB), based on London's South Bank, is a widely-cited example of a successful CE. However, as Fainstein (2010) highlights, CSCB arguably has a somewhat ambiguous role in gentrification. National Representative (Scotland) 2 commented that while CSCB 'have probably contributed to gentrification,' they have also 'captured money from that' and reinvested it for community benefit. This participant thus suggested that CSCB has 'rode both horses.'

Participants thus acknowledged the constraints facing many CEs, with a need for state intervention to limit the excesses of the market and support community-based endeavours, something which is arguably increasingly absent in the English context:

> '…if we just let everything…be sorted out by the private market…it will be homogenised, it will drive out diversity, and it will kill what is interesting and distinct and different about those communities…'
> (Local Representative (Bristol) 3).

These issues will be returned to at 6.5.4.

Therefore, while participants suggested that CEs may reflect or exacerbate gentrification, whether directly or indirectly, they suggested that there is arguably limited contemporary evidence of cases where CEs have actively resisted gentrification, highlighting the difficulty of balancing tensions between regeneration and gentrification in the capitalist context. While some groups may be established to challenge gentrification, such organisations often become less radical in their aims and more institutionalised over time (Fainstein, 2010). Austerity and the exacerbation of financial difficulties can also drive this. However, several participants suggested that if there was adequate state intervention in areas including affordable housing, neighbourhood regeneration and welfare, combined with wider support for addressing inequalities, asset owning/managing CEs could play a greater role in ensuring existing residents are the primary beneficiaries of regeneration efforts. The next section considers how participants conceptualised the potential and actual role of community assets.

6.4 The Role of Community Assets: 'The last rays of hope'?

As with the role of CEs more generally, several participants highlighted the vital role of community assets, and their potential to limit gentrification in certain contexts, albeit emphasising the challenges of achieving this. For example, National Representative (England) 2 highlighted how this approach *may* indirectly limit gentrification by offering an alternative to private ownership:

> '…[community assets] do at least provide shelter, resistance and can slow the tide of [gentrification], and ensure that decisions…are taken in the best interests of the wider community…assets in community ownership are inherently preventative…they are often the last rays of hope within those poorer communities.'

This quote highlights the potential of community assets to help maintain, sustain and preserve communities as neighbourhoods change.

A wide range of potential tangible and intangible benefits were also cited as emerging from community-owned/managed assets, including increased financial viability and organisational sustainability (if the asset is not a liability) and increased social capital and empowerment for those involved. For example, National Representative (Scotland) 1 explained:

> '…we are working with communities where the sense of what the community can do is the most powerful element of their acquisition of an asset. The experience and expertise that they've gained…without the community enterprise, there's not a lot of hope…'

This quotation again highlights the theme of hope, which can be crucial for one's self-efficacy.

Regarding the potential for assets to help reduce inequalities in gentrifying or gentrified communities, views were more mixed. While recognising this potential, several participants highlighted how Community asset transfer (CAT) can exacerbate issues of exclusion within communities:

> 'It might be that part of the community gets a particularly higher level of access to [the asset], but by their own preferences and prejudices, in some cases, other parts of the community don't get

even the same kind of access that they had before…' (National Representative (Scotland) 5).

This comment reflects cautions in the literature that this approach can worsen existing inequalities and community tensions (Moore & McKee, 2014). However, some participants were less critical. For example, National Representative (England) 1 emphasised how community assets can allow 'people [to] come together' and act as 'cross-community facilities.'

Moreover, National Representative (England) 2 described how, despite best intentions, regeneration, led by social/community entrepreneurs, can catalyse gentrification. They highlighted a need for a mechanism for 'protecting those assets that they regenerate,' to ensure they remain 'under their control, locked in for their perpetual benefit.' Otherwise, they cautioned that community assets are likely to be taken over by the private sector, leading to the displacement of the organisation and the wider community. In these cases, 'others come in and financially benefit from the social capital and social investment that has been made prior to their arrival.'

There was also recognition of the need to differentiate between different types of assets and their potential roles in regeneration and gentrification. Community/social housing was cited as a key mechanism for both limiting displacement and generating a surplus, reflecting existing literature. In contrast, National Representative (England) 3 highlighted the challenge of generating surpluses from assets 'which are attached more traditionally to public sector or discretionary service provision…generic community space…anything attached to cultural and leisure provision' (see Archer et al., 2019). They did, however, recognise the crucial social and community value that these can generate, despite being economically marginal. Participants cited a range of factors affecting the approach of asset-owning/managing CEs over time. Organisational and local factors are discussed first, followed by the impact of national policy.

6.5 Factors Influencing Community Enterprises

6.5.1 (Shifting) Governance Philosophies

As discussed in Chapter Three, multiple participants emphasised the need for effective governance to ensure the 'success' and accountability of CEs, with a community-led board being a core component of the approach. Yet, participants noted that CEs can be 'cliquey' if extensive efforts are not made for wide-ranging community engagement, with such divisions often manifesting, and being reflected, in community assets. Further, as mentioned previously, participants commented that CEs often become more institutionalised and more detached from their communities over time, with changes being reflected in their governance (DeFilippis et al., 2010; Henderson et al., 2018).

As an example, National Representative (England) 2 discussed that despite CSCB's more radical origins, it 'has become part of the establishment rather than the antithesis,' somewhat reflecting gentrification locally. They explained how:

> '…those very community enterprises can end up being taken over, slowly but surely, by a new incoming class of educated, assertive, confident, networked, skilled people. So, although you've got those assets in community control, as communities change or as the demography changes, what you can find is that people are…not only geographically displaced, but displaced from those positions of power that ultimately control those assets and provide that shelter and resistance to gentrification…'

This suggests somewhat of an inevitability about shifting demographics being reflected in the governance of CEs and their assets. One could argue that in itself, this is the correct approach, as CEs and their assets should reflect the local community. Nevertheless, community organisations, even when they own/manage assets, can only go so far in limiting gentrification, lacking control over the housing market. Secure, affordable housing must therefore be prioritised so that communities can remain in place, if CEs, via their other community assets, are to achieve their potential in community-led regeneration, as discussed in Chapter Four.

In the absence of housing market reform, National Representative (England) 2 suggested the need for transparency when sharing organisational data, accompanied by 'a full and frank assessment of what the organisation is succeeding in, but also where it's failing.' They emphasised that without continual reflection and effort, organisations can be in danger of 'mission drift.' As National Representative (Scotland) 1 explained, some CEs are 'doing activities that weren't part of the plan. In some cases, they shouldn't even be part of the future. They're a mission drifter, a distraction.' Further, National Representative (England) 2 commented:

> '…It's very easy to see a community theatre that used to be really radical and put on plays…in different languages, and met the needs of the communities, slowly but surely moving towards Hamlet…'

Mission drift can occur due to the need to access funding or generate a surplus, due to public sector funding reductions. Related to this issue, the following section explores the relationship between community and enterprising aims, as discussed in Chapter Three.

6.5.2 Community and Enterprise: Finding the 'sweet spot'?

In the context of the professionalisation of the sector and the additional (financial) responsibilities that can arise from 'enterprise,' particularly if it involves asset ownership/management (Bailey, 2012), participants described increasing emphasis on particular skills sets and expertise in the governance of CEs, such as those relating to finance, planning and law. They highlighted increasing emphases on having board members who are skilled in both 'business' and 'community' aspects. Some cited that it can be more difficult to find the 'necessary' skills in more deprived areas; this can create challenges for CEs, as recruiting from outwith the local community contradicts their local ethos.

Participants also echoed existing research which has highlighted challenges balancing community and enterprise (Somerville & McElwee, 2011; Thompson & Williams, 2014). For example, National Representative (Scotland) 1 spoke of the difficulties of reconciling the individualistic nature of the 'entrepreneurship industry,' with the communitarian values of community groups. They cited that the balance between these often conflicting objectives can play a crucial role in

affecting the approach taken by CEs and their potential contribution to regeneration and/or gentrification. Yet, National Representative (England) 2 argued that combining community and enterprise can be extremely beneficial, if done well:

> '…you get that right and you find a sweet spot in the middle…[that] is amplified and magnified, because if you can bring in economic and social capital, you can have a much more effective…[and] commercially viable proposition…'

These governance issues are related to the socioeconomic characteristics of each community, and the nature of community politics, as are now discussed.

6.5.3 The Nature of the Local Community

The impact of local socioeconomic characteristics and inequalities on the establishment, development and 'success' or otherwise of CEs was another common theme. The extent of social, economic and cultural capital locally was cited as a key issue in this regard (Bourdieu, 1986).

While there was some disagreement about how far levels of social capital correlate with the extent of affluence, there was general recognition of the difficulties that can arise when seeking to generate surpluses from community/social services and activities in deprived neighbourhoods. Participants highlighted a need for additional state support to develop CEs in deprived neighbourhoods. In the context of austerity and insufficient state intervention, there was concern that this model could exacerbate existing inequalities, despite promotion within policy:

> '…there are some organisations and some individuals out there who are punting the community asset-based model in a very evangelical way, which I think is bordering on irresponsible, particularly when we're considering the capacity and needs of the most disadvantaged areas…' (National Representative (Scotland) 5).

However, while recognising such inequalities, National Representative (Scotland) 2 disagreed with the idea 'that you need to get business people on your board,' arguing that 'if you're a single parent who can bring up kids on benefits, you're enterprising.' Thus, they argued instead that communities need to be supported

to recognise their entrepreneurial qualities and then find ways to 'collectivise' them.

As noted previously, the socioeconomic characteristics of the local community and the nature of community activism should, if the governance is correct, be reflected in the board and the decisions made, for example around prioritising activities or services. These factors thus affect the approach taken, and the types of outcomes and impacts that can arise (Bailey, 2012). In principle, then, such organisations can play a key role in community-led regeneration, 'creating services and assets and businesses that really reflect the needs of the community' (National Representative (England) 1). National Representative (Scotland) 7 compared this approach to the 'top-down' nature of previous failed regeneration initiatives:

> 'If we simply supplant, or drop in, programmes or schemes or interventions without allowing locally-owned, locally-controlled community activism to determine what it is that's required, it will fail…'

However, participants also highlighted that communities can be fractious. As National Representative (Scotland) 6 highlighted, 'community politics' can be an obstacle if people 'don't get on.' They continued that such tensions can be reflected in community assets, if community groups do not have the 'buy-in' of the local community and there is a lack of 'cohesion.'

Nevertheless, National Representative (England) 1 was hopeful that having a CE, if its governance was accountable and democratic, could help to give voice to residents in deprived areas:

> '…that sense of somebody…who speaks for you…I think that's quite a powerful role that they play in some of the most deprived communities, and they do then have the ability to sort of engage on people's behalf with the local authority.'

Thus, while residents may not always be directly involved in CEs, if community engagement is effective, their views should be reflected in the aims and activities of CEs. Again, therefore, participants highlighted the potential of this approach, but expressed caution regarding the structural challenges which constrain this possibility. The following section explores how issues of scale,

capacity, power and structural inequalities affect the potential contribution of CEs to community-led regeneration.

6.5.4 Scale, Capacity, Power and Structural Inequalities: 'the most powerless people in society are going to be the ones to change inequality?'

While participants emphasised the excellent work of CEs, they emphasised that organisational agency to truly affect change in gentrifying or gentrified neighbourhoods was a consistent challenge, due to issues of scale and capacity (see Lees et al., 2008; DeFilippis et al., 2010). Participants described how these constraints have been exacerbated by austerity, causing tensions and difficult trade-offs if CEs are to remain sustainable, without sufficient state support. It is questionable whether these challenges can be resolved without a fundamental restructuring of society. Nevertheless, National Representative (England) 2 was keen to emphasise that, if governed well, CEs can play a role in limiting gentrification, if this is an aim:

> '…This is not a panacea. I don't assume for a minute that social…or community enterprises can hold back the tide [of gentrification]… but…they operate for the benefit of the community and are accountable to the community…I think they can offer shelter and resistance from gentrification…'

Further, Local Representative (Bristol) 1 emphasised that CEs can make a positive contribution to regeneration if they are truly community-led and use their 'resident-backed mandate' to influence local development trajectories. Likewise, National Representative (Scotland) 8 emphasised that 'there's huge potential,' emphasising that some CEs are already delivering 'projects that are helping meet needs or tackling issues of inequality.'

Despite this optimism, others highlighted how issues of scale and capacity can be reflected in the nature and type of community assets held and how far they can generate surpluses for community-led regeneration, while also being accessible and inclusive. This again reflects tensions between community and enterprise:

> '…for…successful community-led regeneration in a place of some scale…you need a combination of revenue-generating assets like housing and energy…alongside some of the assets that…build social

capital…like community centres, that are actually quite marginal as businesses…' (National Representative (England) 1).

Further, participants suggested that partnership-working can be a key mechanism by which to increase scale and potentially impact. Yet, Local Representative (Bristol) 1 suggested that this potential for collaboration is threatened by austerity, with competition between organisations increasing locally as resources have been cut (Milbourne & Cushman, 2013; Gibson, 2015). They described how this can lead to a more individualistic, rather than collective, approach, potentially detrimentally affecting efforts to develop alternatives to gentrification. Citing a particularly contentious case in Bristol, they explained:

> '…even when you've got all of this community spirit, all of these radicals, all of these activists, all of these examples of community assets independently, because there isn't that level of collectivism, it makes it really bloody hard…to resist things like [gentrification]…the survival mode of austerity and the reduction of grants…those pressures mean that people are more likely to be individualist…' (Local Representative (Bristol) 1).

Yet, as National Representative (England) 5 noted, there is an irony here, as it is in hard times when partnership-working is arguably more important than ever. In the English context, they reflected that:

> '…the terrible cuts of austerity and the impact of Brexit that is coming…it is going to be really, really bad…unless we're all in this together and all prepared to…open up…to look in other places for the solutions…[otherwise] this is not going to work…'

Thus, there was a view that collaboration was required to maximise the potential of community-led efforts to wider regeneration plans, whether this be with the local authority, housing associations or other CEs, such as Community Land Trusts. There was recognition that CEs are typically small-scale, usually being just one actor in processes of change, rather than driving regeneration agendas (Bailey, 2017).

When contributing to regeneration, there was a view that the relationship of CEs with the local authority was particularly important, especially for larger-scale negotiations, such as multiple community asset transfer (CAT). Participants

tended to suggest that while central government plays a critical role in setting the broader framework in which CEs operate, the relationship is arguably less direct than with the local authority. As National Representative (England) 3 explained:

> '...[the] attention [of CEs] is more on the local dynamic, local opportunities, local challenges, the key partnerships at that local level...it's much more important what the local authority is up to [rather than central government]...'

Despite this important role for the local authority, structural inequalities cannot be denied (DeFilippis et al., 2010). Thus, despite noting the potential for CEs to offer an alternative approach, via their assets, and provide a counter to gentrification, participants recognised that the role of CEs tends to be limited by structural constraints, despite some CEs having aims to address inequalities. While recognised in England too, Scottish participants tended to be more emphatic about this:

> '...structural inequalities in terms of the way in which society operates, the way in which power is distributed or not, the way in which wealth is distributed...At a very local level, you're very limited in terms of whether you can really impact on these fundamentally structural inequalities, poverty and educational...and health disadvantage...' (National Representative (Scotland) 3).

There was thus an emphasis on the need for state intervention to address these issues which are outwith the control of local communities:

> '...the broader context has to change before [CEs] can act...we've got to [tackle inequalities] by the tax system, by the way in which we manage our land, and the fixed assets of the country. And until we do that...we're really sort of tinkering at the edges of it all...' (National Representative (Scotland) 3)

> '...I think it's disingenuous of governments, who have the power to actually do something about inequality, to pretend that other people [CEs] should be doing it...the most powerless people in society are going to be the ones to change inequality?' (National Representative (Scotland) 2).

These comments reflect existing research which emphasises the structural barriers to effective community-led regeneration, discussed in Chapter Three (for example, Craig, 2007; Nathan, 2016; Somerville, 2016).

Further, National Representative (Scotland) 5 highlighted the risks of policies which are emphasising the potential of CEs to deliver 'basic important services for the whole community,' without a 'significant redistribution of resources,' in the context of a decade of austerity. They stated that this 'seems a very vulnerable model.' Rather, they suggested that the CE approach is better suited to provide 'genuinely additional ideas and services,' while the state should provide 'good quality, broad public services and infrastructure,' meaning that if the role of CEs changed or disappeared, it would not 'damag[e] ordinary people's lives and opportunities.' While the Conservative Government announced 'the end of austerity' in September 2019 (Inman, 2019:no page), it is important to consider the negative impacts that have arisen due to a decade of austerity, particularly in deprived neighbourhoods (see Hastings et al., 2015), and the types of intervention required to not only reverse these, but to further reduce inequalities (for example, Marmot et al., 2020, regarding health inequalities). The following section outlines participants' perspectives regarding how both the policy environment has developed over time in England and Scotland. This provides empirical data to complement the policy analysis in Chapter Two.

6.6 The Policy Environment

6.6.1 National Policy

England: A Regressive Approach?

Participants suggested that, historically, there had been stronger development of, and support for, S&CE in England than Scotland, with a supportive approach in the 2000s under New Labour. They also noted that even before New Labour, there were more long-standing urban CEs of a larger scale in England. Yet, there was a view that while the earlier English CEs may have adopted this approach due to philosophical reasons, such as a desire for greater autonomy and sustainability, increasingly community organisations were being forced into 'enterprise' due to declining state support since the 2008 GFC and implementation of austerity:

> '...it's no longer necessarily a philosophical decision to become a community enterprise. It's now the only way that some public services

can run…that communities who want to create change in their localities can do so effectively, with any degree of certainty…you could argue that as market failure and capitalism has been caught in the grasp of failure, that social enterprise has been finding a bigger and bigger role for itself…' (National Representative (England) 2).

However, while community-led regeneration policy may have been relatively similar in England and Scotland in the 2000s, participants reflected that there has been greater divergence since 2007 when the SNP formed a minority government. This has arguably widened further since the Coalition Government came to power in Westminster in 2010, followed by Conservative governments, reflecting the arguments in Chapter Two (for example, Pugalis et al., 2012; Scott & Wright, 2012). In the English context, participants were generally quite critical of the Coalition's approach in terms of the *Localism, Community Rights* and *Big Society* agendas and their impacts on CEs, for example with the *Community Rights* agenda being described as 'antagonistic' (National Representative (England) 1):

'…the Localism Bill…was a much more cynical look at communities. It wasn't a genuine attempt to empower communities…some of the rights were arguably much more about opening up public services for the private sector to come in and bid for them' (National Representative (Scotland) 2).

Further, there was recognition of the challenges that have arisen due to austerity and how these have arguably constrained the likelihood of policies, such as the *Big Society*, having positive impacts in terms of community empowerment:

'On the one hand, it has come down to the culture of austerity, feels like over and above perhaps people's values and ethics to some extent, because people are thinking more about the financial bottom line than the social outcomes' (Local Representative (Bristol) 1).

Yet, not everyone agreed. National Representative (England) 4 emphasised that, in their view, the policies were effective; instead, they felt that the issue was publicity and awareness. In terms of the 'balance' of power between the state, communities and the private sector, they did not really agree with criticisms that the private sector has too much power, with a view that the legislation does 'put some of the checks and balances…in terms of the free market.'

Nevertheless, in contrast to policy rhetoric, some participants cited austerity, and a lack of state support for community-led regeneration, as having a greater impact on CEs than supposedly supportive policy developments. There was recognition that current policy discourses arguably favoured better-resourced communities, as discussed previously. Participants also cautioned of a disjuncture between the grassroots efforts of communities and national-level regeneration policy, which some felt had been top-down and had not properly recognised the potential contribution that CEs could make, with inadequate provisions in place to enable this. There was also a suggestion that top-down regeneration policy had promoted gentrification: 'at the top level, they love gentrification…More expensive shops, more tax…more people spending money!' (Local Representative (Bristol) 1). Reflecting the arguments in Chapter Two, there was a general view that Scottish policy since the late-2000s has been more favourable, as is now discussed.

Scotland: '…the idea of being more socially democratic, socially-concerned'

In Scotland, participants cited that the role of 'community business' in regeneration was first explicitly promoted in policy in the 1980s, following the emergence of the community-based housing association (CBHA) movement in the 1970s (see MacLennan, 1985; Bailey & Robertson, 1997). More recently, participants reflected on policy developments relating to community-led regeneration under the SNP since 2007. They suggested that these had occurred due to two reasons. Firstly, there was a view that top-down regeneration approaches had been ineffective. Nevertheless, participants noted that even when dedicated resources for regeneration were at their highest, they were always minimal and arguably insufficient to address structural inequalities:

> '…I think it's fundamentally inaccurate to say that regeneration hasn't worked…[It hasn't] overcome poverty and disease and disharmony generally across Scotland. But that was never the stated intention… the world's changed so much around us…since then…in some respects, we haven't even really tried…' (National Representative (Scotland) 5).

Secondly, there was a suggestion that this perceived 'failure' had been used to justify funding cuts in the context of austerity. Participants noted the shift towards discourses of empowerment, co-production, resilience and assets,

recognising the increasing emphasis on 'empowering' communities to take on responsibilities which were previously those of the state (Bailey, 2017):

> '...local authorities are under far greater pressure...community development officers [are] now going out there and being told to punt social enterprise as a model of keeping the centre open, keeping the service going...' (National Representative (Scotland) 5).

This participant was critical of what they viewed as the Scottish Government being potentially at risk of not meeting its 'responsibilit[ies] for addressing poverty and inequality.' They were somewhat sceptical of how far the supposed divergence from Westminster is 'evidenced' in 'actual policy decisions,' with the view that the 'SNP certainly wanted to hang on to the idea of being a more social democratic, socially-concerned, focus on poverty and inequality.'

Nevertheless, other participants generally emphasised a more favourable policy environment for S&CE in Scotland under the SNP. Participants related this to the increasing emphasis on 'inclusive growth' as a means to tackle poverty and inequality since Nicola Sturgeon became First Minister in 2014:

> '...I think the Scottish Government has remained completely committed to social enterprise over the last 7 or 8 years...I'm not suggesting that they haven't felt the pinch...In England, what we've seen is really a complete withdrawal of the state and local authorities that simply can only really fulfil their statutory responsibilities' (National Representative (England) 2).

This participant felt that while support for S&CE perhaps developed earlier in England, policy in Scotland had since overtaken, making 'more progress' in a relatively short time.

Nevertheless, participants cautioned that the Scottish Government's expectations, both in terms of the number of actually sustainable asset-owning/managing CEs and what their potential role in regeneration is, were unrealistic. National Representative (Scotland) 3 described how traditionally, most Scottish CEs 'were wee...weren't self-sufficient...[and] didn't have assets.' Further, National Representative (Scotland) 5 commented:

> 'I don't think there are that many genuinely community-led enterprising organisations...There are some but those are bigger

scale...as the organisation gets bigger, officers tend to get more and more power...the committee and the chair tend to have less and less influence.'

This reflects the issues of mission drift and institutionalisation discussed previously, with organisations tending to become less community-rooted and less radical as they mature, creating tensions and potentially reducing their role in truly community-led regeneration.

Participants cited crucial differences between rural and urban CEs in Scotland, given the very different origins, development trajectories and nature of market failure:

> '...you look at the big community land buy-outs...that's the cheapest land in Scotland...You wouldn't get a community land buy-out like that in Aberdeenshire where land is incredibly valuable...' (National Representative (Scotland) 2).

They noted that many of the longer-standing Scottish CEs, with the exception of CBHAs, originated in the Highlands and Islands (H&I). Some suggested that this was because of the smaller role of local government in these areas, partly due to the nature of population distribution. Thus, some explained how political tensions between community organisations and local authorities had historically been less fraught in the H&I, compared to the Central Belt:

> '...the big cities, Labour-run local authorities, ran as municipal authorities, and really would squash any attempt at community declarations of independence and self-sufficiency, so community enterprise wasn't encouraged' (National Representative (Scotland) 3)

> '...there's always a struggle to move the land stuff and the development trust stuff...into dense urban areas...the struggle [in the Central Belt] is in introducing genuinely large-scale community ownership, rather than the community running the community hall or a small park...' (National Representative (Scotland) 5).

Nevertheless, in Scotland, participants reflected that there has, since the 2000s, been a growth in urban development trusts, sometimes responding to the decline of town centres. Yet, they emphasised the challenges of this approach in deprived urban areas, mentioned previously. The next section considers local policy in Bristol and Glasgow, as the case study cities, drawing on both empirical data and policy documents.

6.6.2 Local Policy

Bristol: 'It has come down to the culture of austerity…'

Echoing the findings for England more generally and criticisms in the academic literature, data from Bristol highlight the declining state support for CEs in the context of austerity, while they are simultaneously being increasingly expected to fulfil roles the state previously fulfilled.

Despite the decline in funding for CEs, Local Representative (Bristol) 2 described how the contribution of CEs to regeneration is emphasised within policy:

> '…there is a lot of momentum and work going on to make Bristol a much more inclusive economy and society…the role of community enterprise, trusts, is recognised as an absolutely key mechanism to resilient, sustainable communities…'

This is also promoted in policy and strategy documents from Bristol City Council (BCC). For example, BCC's (2018e:no page) *Inclusive and Sustainable Economic Growth Strategy* emphasises the need for both 'productivity-growth' and 'the fair distribution of economic contributions and benefits' to tackle inequality, recognising the role of S&CEs within this.

Further, participants suggested that the activity of CEs is continuing due to substantial grassroots efforts. They talked of the city's long-standing community activism, with Local Representative (Bristol) 3 reflecting on the so-called 'Bristol model' – 'a combination of counter-culture…a slightly sort of difficult, stroppy… mentality that was there.'

Yet, participants recognised that community activism is not equally distributed within and between neighbourhoods. Thus, the promotion of this approach by BCC, without adequate funding or support, risks exacerbating inequalities between communities that are more and less affluent in social, economic and cultural capitals. As Local Representative (Bristol) 2 emphasised, there are 'great inequalities in capacity.' This may mean that the CEs which continue to be able to access the declining and limited support from BCC are likely to be those who are already better-resourced, with reduced capacity-building support most detrimentally affecting more deprived communities:

'...[The approach] is to some extent opportunity-led in that, clearly we will work with those organisations that want to work with us, that have the capacity...as we are being cut, we have fewer and fewer staff who have the spare time to give that advice...we need to commission the right kind of partners who we can trust to do the job well, and understand our agenda, as well as the community's...' (Local Representative (Bristol) 2)

'You'd like to think [the Council] has a duty to do what's in the best interests of the community but, during times of austerity, [the Mayor's] trying to balance a £60 million deficit...' (Local Representative (Bristol) 1).

These quotes highlight the destructive nature of austerity on social and community-based efforts, and the potentially severe long-term impact that this approach may have on the most disadvantaged communities. Local Representative (Bristol) 2 explained how in more deprived areas:

'...there can be problems of those organisations having...had a lot of support from...community regeneration teams on the ground...and perhaps have not obviously had the incentive or the urgency to develop their own skills and abilities...'

This highlights a discourse of individual (community) responsibility, with this participant arguably suggesting that these community groups are somewhat to blame for now not being able to access support, as they did not 'capitalise' on the support when it was available. Such a view arguably fails to recognise structural inequalities, with previous research highlighting that even before austerity, capacity-building for the most deprived communities was inadequate (Milne & Cooper, 2015). Further, prioritising resources for those communities who know 'how to play the game' is only likely to increase inequalities between areas and communities (Hastings & Matthews, 2015).

Participants also voiced concerns regarding BCC's approach to CAT. Some described how while assets were previously offered to communities at discounted prices, they felt that BCC's imperative had switched to disposing of its liabilities at a profit to offset budget shortages. The delivery of services has also been affected by austerity, with increasing onus being placed on community organisations to deliver these (Local Representative (Bristol) 3).

Regarding regeneration, housing and planning policy, participants expressed a view that during the 2010s, a relatively 'hands-off' approach had been adopted by BCC, which had exacerbated long-standing social/affordable housing shortages, and associated house price increases. While anecdotal, there was also a view that BCC had, over time, encouraged gentrification by allowing certain areas to degenerate to justify large-scale 'regeneration' projects. This reflects cautions by Tallon (2007) regarding the impact of gentrification and inequalities in Bristol.

Yet, participants reflected that the current Labour Mayor, who has been in office since 2016, is more interventionist, with a commitment to addressing unaffordability issues:

> 'the Mayor…is looking at the social welfare of the city and diversity and inclusion…he must be hopefully taking a slightly different view on…all this affluence and money coming in and the squeeze out of others…' (Local Representative (Bristol) 1).

This is evidenced in recent policy and strategy documents. For example, BCC's (2018c) *Corporate Strategy* recognises challenges arising from gentrification, with a commitment to 'help develop balanced communities which are inclusive and avoid negative impacts from gentrification' (*ibid*.:7), such as 'the disappearance' of traditional 'shops and services' and feelings of isolation (*ibid*.:21). This is interesting, as it is arguably rare for the term 'gentrification' to be used in policy documents (Lees et al., 2008). It remains to be seen how far these aims to limit gentrification can be achieved.

Despite these positive developments regarding housing, participants commented that in terms of neighbourhood regeneration, while BCC had previously supported a neighbourhood partnership infrastructure, the Council now has a more 'hands off' approach due to austerity. Individual neighbourhoods can now 'decide' if and how they would like to continue their neighbourhood partnerships, with funding available on a competitive basis (BCC, 2017). Again, this approach arguably privileges certain communities and exacerbates tensions and competition between, and potentially within, different communities.

Glasgow: '…there's an inbuilt resistance within local authorities'

Participants were generally slightly more optimistic regarding local policy in Glasgow, reflecting the higher level of state intervention and support for community-based approaches in Scotland, although very real challenges remain. As an urban local authority, participants reflected that there had historically been support for 'community business' from Strathclyde Regional Council and more recently from Glasgow City Council (GCC), but that this had been done in quite a paternalistic way, being primarily grant support with little promotion of organisational independence or sustainability.

Nevertheless, Local Representative (Glasgow) 1 reflected that in the last decade or so, there has been a growth of S&CEs in Glasgow and accompanying support. They noted the previous Labour Council's adoption of the 'Cooperative Council' approach in 2013, recognising the strengths of the sector, but arguably also reflecting the context of austerity:

> '…if we're able to change the way the Council works, and the way that it delivers services, we need partners who are credible and of a sufficient stature…social enterprise…it engages people who are the most socially or economically isolated…' (Local Representative (Glasgow) 1).

This quotation highlights common understandings of S&CEs being better placed to reach 'hard-to-reach' groups than the local authority; while this may be true, there is a need for additional support for such endeavours (Amin et al., 2002). Yet, participants highlighted the challenges of redistributing power from government to communities, despite policy rhetoric. As Local Representative (Glasgow) 1 explained, 'there's an inbuilt resistance within local authorities… people feel resentful.'

In 2017, the SNP formed a minority administration at GCC after decades of Labour control. The SNP has sought to continue support for S&CE more broadly, publishing a *Social Enterprise Strategy* in 2018, which sets a vision 'to see the social enterprise sector in Glasgow significantly increase its scope, reach and potential' (GCC, 2018:12). GCC's (2019) *Property and Land Strategy 2019-2029* also provides support for CAT. Similarly, GCC's (2017b:20) *Strategic Plan 2017-2022* sets an explicit commitment to 'encourage the development of trusts,

social and community enterprises to support community ownership and management of assets' (*ibid.*:20).

Local Representative (Glasgow) 2 reflected that the SNP has sought to ensure greater transparency and empowerment for communities, in contrast to the top-down approach that Labour was critiqued for: 'we're trying to change that…get the third sector, community groups etc., really involved at an earlier stage. So, they know what's going on…it helps them plan ahead.' However, while this is useful, planning cannot offset the impacts of drastic cuts due to austerity. Paterson (2019) reports that in 2020/21, a further £42 million has to be cut from GCC's budget, with approximately £500 million cut from 2009 to 2019.

Participants recognised that austerity is limiting the ability of community organisations to support the most vulnerable:

> '…the shrinkage of the funding basket is having a detrimental effect [on community groups]…There's no money…people are consistently withdrawing services from people who need them, and more and more people are being left on their own to deal with things…a lot of them can't…' (Abigail, Local Stakeholder, Glasgow).

This again highlights the challenges of austerity and so-called 'welfare reform,' and the risks of increasing peoples' 'responsibilities' for their own welfare (see Hastings et al., 2015). Further, research suggests that Glasgow is anticipated to be the most adversely affected Scottish local authority in terms of 'financial losses' arising from 'welfare reform' (Beatty & Fothergill, 2016b:1), thus likely severely detrimentally affecting deprived communities.

With regards to regeneration, housing and planning, as cited in existing literature (for example McIntyre & McKee, 2008; Paton, 2014), some participants felt that the previous Labour Council's approach promoted gentrification, despite GCC's housing policy emphasising a mixed-communities approach (see GCC, 2017c). This view was also expressed by participants in my previous research on CBHAs in Glasgow (Earley, 2016). Zach (Local Stakeholder, Glasgow) felt that private sector developments, particularly in terms of student housing, have been prioritised since the GFC, potentially exacerbating gentrification and studentification (for example, Hanington, 2019).

Given the challenges Glasgow has faced in transitioning to a post-industrial economy (Kintrea & Madgin, 2020), GCC has arguably focussed on promoting economic growth, combined with efforts to address continuing poverty and disadvantage. For example, GCC's *Strategic Plan 2017-2022* sets the aim 'to have a world-class city with a thriving and inclusive economy where everyone can flourish and benefit from the city's success' (GCC, 2017b:1), with the aim 'to reduce inequality…by creating inclusive growth' (*ibid*.:20). GCC's (2016) *Economic Strategy Refresh 2016-23* has a commitment to '"poverty proof[ing]" all of its economic development policies, ensuring there are no unintended consequences of new initiatives' (*ibid*.:5). Yet, while GCC's *Housing Strategy* (2017c:11) sets a target for 7,500 new social rented and mid-market rent properties from 2017-2022, it does not specify the percentage split, thus potentially causing or exacerbating affordability issues in some areas.

Thus, while similar trends are occurring in these cities, the findings suggest that the impacts of austerity thus far have been more extreme in Bristol. While CEs and local residents are being increasingly 'responsibilised' (Clarke, 2005) in both cities, CEs face constraints when seeking to contribute to positive regeneration outcomes, particularly in terms of reducing inequalities (DeFilippis et al., 2010). While the threat of gentrification is arguably less in Glasgow due to its positioning nationally and greater socioeconomic disadvantage (Lees, 2000; Shaw, 2005), there is arguably less space for CEs to generate surpluses, given typically lower economic capital (see Amin et al., 2002). In contrast, the potential for CEs is arguably greater in some parts of Bristol due to greater spending power; yet the potential to limit gentrification is arguably more constrained (see DeFilippis, 1999; Colomb, 2009). Another key difference is the role of the local authority. In Glasgow, this has arguably been somewhat paternalistic over time, potentially constraining the ability of S&CEs to thrive. In Bristol, participants cited a more hands-off approach, even prior to austerity, thus potentially exacerbating inequalities in the capacity of communities to develop CEs and take on assets (Moore & McKee, 2014). Both of these approaches thus have their own challenges. The final section explores participants' perspectives regarding how, if at all, the potential for CEs to contribute to regeneration without gentrification can be extended in future, recognising the constraints and limitations cited throughout.

6.7 Future Possibilities, Limitations and Support Needs

As discussed, several participants expressed strong feelings that while CEs have the potential to make a crucial contribution, this is typically small-scale and limited at present due to wider structural factors, with a need for state intervention to address issues of inequality and redistribution (see DeFilippis et al., 2010; Somerville, 2016). Nevertheless, participants emphasised that the contribution of CEs on an individual or community level can be profound, with a need for more dedicated support for CEs if they are to fulfil vital functions that were previously state-run. Related to this, some felt that if CEs no longer operated, it would have a significant impact on service users and beneficiaries, with it likely being the most vulnerable who would be most adversely impacted. Participants reflected on the risks of this, given the amount of services and assets that have already been transferred to communities:

> '…if community organisations were to disappear tomorrow…I guess there would be a lack of support for some of the most vulnerable members of our society…which…not to be too dramatic…[could] potentially [lead to]…more people ending up in hospital, more people getting knocked down…left in isolation…it's quite a potentially dark dystopia…' (Local Representative (Bristol) 1).

Further National Representative (Scotland) 4 emphasised that 'communities have a window of opportunity now [in terms of CAT], and if they don't seize it, in ten years' time…they won't have civic spaces…there's just going to be nothing,' with assets being lost, for example to the private sector.

Yet, some were more hopeful about the potential of the wider social economy, and its potential growth and societal impact (see DeFilippis, 2004; Gibson-Graham, 2008):

> '…increasingly people are interested in a more moral form of capitalism, and that is driven by a set of values and principles, not just by an absence of traditional market success…' (National Representative (England) 2)

> '…to counter that dystopian future is that more of a utopian future… It's not easy and it's lots of hard work…but it's possible that actually between crowd-funding and social enterprise…you don't need the banks, or the government, or the man!' (Local Representative (Bristol) 1).

These quotations highlight tensions between the state, market and communities and how best to develop the social economy; while some argued that state support is not necessary, others highlighted a need to support services and activities that are not surplus-generating, often those seeking to help the most vulnerable.

There was also consideration of the potential to expand the scale of community asset ownership, which could challenge traditional power relations between communities, the state and the market:

> '...there are lots of other assets we could be thinking about...local energy systems...food security...the media...they're only just beginning to explore what a community asset is and what a shared asset is and could be...And the impact that it could have' (National Representative (Scotland) 3).

Therefore, in addition to the commonly cited need for additional funding, participants suggested that if these possibilities are to be realised, there is a need for fundamental changes in both societal and political mind-sets across the UK. There is a need to enable and facilitate community-led efforts, within a broader framework of greater welfare support, requiring shifts in policy to better redistribute wealth and resources in society and the economy (O'Brien & Matthews, 2016; SURF, 2016).

6.8 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has examined the role of CEs, and their assets, in regeneration and gentrification, and considered the factors affecting their approaches and contribution over time, from the perspectives of expert stakeholders. In doing so, it has highlighted the often ambiguous relationship between CEs, their assets, gentrification and urban/public policy, and considered the multiple challenges and constraints CEs face when seeking to contribute to community regeneration in their localities.

Despite multiple challenges and constraints, the findings have suggested that while CEs can limit/mitigate gentrification in direct ways, this role is more likely to manifest in indirect and subtle ways through a commitment to 'another way' or 'alternatives' through the social economy (Tuckett, 1988; Amin et al., 2002;

Gibson-Graham, 2008; Colomb, 2009; Murtagh, 2019). While such approaches are arguably not directly anti-capitalist (Larner, 2014; Wright, 2015, 2016), participants highlighted that they may help contribute to a more socially and economically just society. This approach can therefore offer possibilities for more locally-rooted benefits to be achieved from regeneration, therefore placing some constraints on gentrification and its negative consequences (Lees et al., 2008; Colomb, 2009).

Nevertheless, while this potential space for genuine alternatives is theoretically possible (see Murtagh, 2019), the chapter has argued that it is intrinsically limited at present by several challenges, tensions and contradictions which often manifest in the approach, situated within wider societal structures (DeFilippis, 1999; Amin et al., 2002). These include tensions between the state, community and the market; community and enterprise; regeneration and gentrification; social inclusion and economic growth; and the provision of sustainable services which do not lead to mission drift. These tensions can manifest in the nature of organisations, and particularly their community assets, over time.

The potential to contribute to regeneration and avoid the challenges typically associated with gentrification is therefore contingent on several factors. These include the need for organisations who are of large enough scale to make a difference without losing sight of their community roots; board and staff members who can tread the fine line between vision and pragmatism; highly-skilled activists truly committed to sharing and redistributing social, cultural or economic capitals; and policy frameworks, both locally and nationally, conducive and supportive of such efforts (in a concrete, rather than rhetorical sense) (see DeFilippis et al., 2010; Somerville & McElwee, 2011; Bailey, 2012, 2017; Moore & McKee, 2014). Yet, finding the 'sweet spot' in which these tensions can be limited is extremely challenging to achieve and, if achieved, even more difficult to maintain and sustain over time.

The findings suggest that the current role of these constraints and challenges in disabling this possibility cannot be denied, however, and it is fundamental that these are recognised and acted upon by policy-makers and others who have the power to make changes. It has been argued that this potential role for CE can only be realised if, and only if, adequate government support is provided to

encourage and support such endeavours, while also addressing the structural inequalities which lead to such acute community needs, for example relating to housing market and socioeconomic inequalities, which limit, constrain, and ultimately risk nullifying this potential (DeFilippis, 1999,2004; Amin et al., 2002; Shaw, 2009; Lees, 2014a, 2014b). There is therefore a need for long-term efforts combining community-led initiatives with wider changes in societal and economic structures to create a more socioeconomically just society (see Shaw, 2005; Atkinson, 2008). This is vital if there is any hope of the inequalities and injustices in contemporary UK society abating.

This chapter has thus set the context for the case study analyses. Key themes include reformism versus radicalism; community versus enterprise; managerialism and professionalism; individualism and collectivism; inequalities in social and economic capitals; austerity; and structure and agency, all in the context of regeneration and gentrification. The Bristol case study analysis is now presented.

7 Chapter 7: Gentrification, Community Enterprise and Community Assets in BS3, Bristol

7.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the findings of the Bristol case study, BS3 Community Development (BS3CD), formerly the Southville Community Development Association (SCDA), introduced at 5.9.1. The chapter explores the organisation's role, and that of its main asset, the Southville Centre (TSC), in community regeneration and gentrification over time. The BS3 area comprises the wards of Southville, Bedminster and Windmill Hill, and is often cited as a prime example of gentrification in Bristol. Interestingly, a recent survey found that 63% of residents in Southville ward, 70% in Bedminster and 52% in Windmill Hill agreed that their area has changed due to gentrification, compared to an average of 29% across Bristol City (BCC, 2020).

This chapter is structured according to research objectives 2-5. Initially participants' perspectives regarding the nature of gentrification, and how it is experienced, are summarised. This is followed by analysis of BS3CD's approach over time, tracing its community-based origins to the increasingly professionalised organisation it is today, to set the context for its evolving role in neighbourhood change. Subsequently, the role of TSC locally is analysed, before exploration of BS3CD's overall role in regeneration and gentrification over time. Consideration is then given to the factors affecting this approach, before concluding.

7.2 Gentrification, Regeneration and Community Development in BS3

Participants described how BS3 faced challenges in the 1980s due to deindustrialisation, changing 'from a prosperous working-class community to one that was suddenly struggling because its main employer had gone' (Charlotte, Organisational Representative). However, there was general agreement that parts of the area, particularly Southville, had recovered relatively quickly and become increasingly desirable and gentrified.

Several participants suggested that BS3's gentrification had largely occurred due to insufficient state intervention, for example in terms of affordable housing. Participants explained how since the early 2000s, private sector investment has increased, further catalysing gentrification (see also Boyden, 2013). This has included the redevelopment of a former Tobacco Factory (see Figure 7.1) into a mixed-use space, including a theatre and café-bar (Visit Bristol, n.d.), widely cited by participants as a key indicator of, and catalyst for, gentrification. More recently, there has been a regeneration project at the Harbourside, to the north of the river, opposite Southville (see Figure 7.2). This has been accompanied with retail gentrification along North Street, a key local shopping street, with cafes and independent businesses opening (Holland et al., 2015; see Figure 7.3).

Figure 7.1 Tobacco Factory Theatre, North Street

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Source: Visit Bristol (n.d.)

Figure 7.2 Wapping Wharf Development

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Source: Wapping Wharf (n.d.)

Figure 7.3 Independent businesses on North Street

Source: Author's Own (October 2019)

Understandings of gentrification amongst participants were mixed. Some recognised its negative connotations and impacts. For example, Penelope (Local Stakeholder) recognised issues of displacement, stating that gentrification is 'almost creating reverse gulags.' Erin (Local Stakeholder), like some other participants, recognised her positionality in relation to gentrification, commenting:

> '…I'm definitely part of the problem if your problem is gentrification… it's a word with negative connotations, but I realise I'm just kidding myself. Preparing a community for the gentry…that will never be the case here!'

Others either perceived gentrification as a positive, or a preferable 'alternative' to decline, sometimes without much consideration of other, potentially more equitable development trajectories (see Slater, 2009). For example, Jonathan (Organisational Representative) expressed, 'I'd rather live in a gentrified area than an area that is not gentrified.' Further, Leanne (Beneficiary) thought that gentrification is inevitable, with the market dictating people's housing choices. Thus, participants had a general awareness of gentrification in BS3.

Neighbourhood statistics illustrate some of these trends. From 1981 to 2011, there has been a decrease in social housing and an increase in the private rented sector (PRS) across BS3 (see Figure 7.4), mirroring national trends (Mullins & Murie, 2006). At the 2011 Census, Bedminster and Windmill Hill had lower proportions of social housing (12.1% and 17.6% respectively) than Southville (20.6%, equal to that of Bristol). Several participants commented that much of the remaining social housing is concentrated in high-rise blocks and is prioritised for residents with greater levels of need. They expressed concern about social isolation for these residents, as wardens have been cut due to austerity.

Figure 7.4 Housing tenure for case study and neighbouring wards, compared to Bristol City (1981-2011)

Please note, 1981 and 1991 Census data includes renting from workplace in private rented; 2001 and 2011 census data excludes 'other' and 'living rent free'
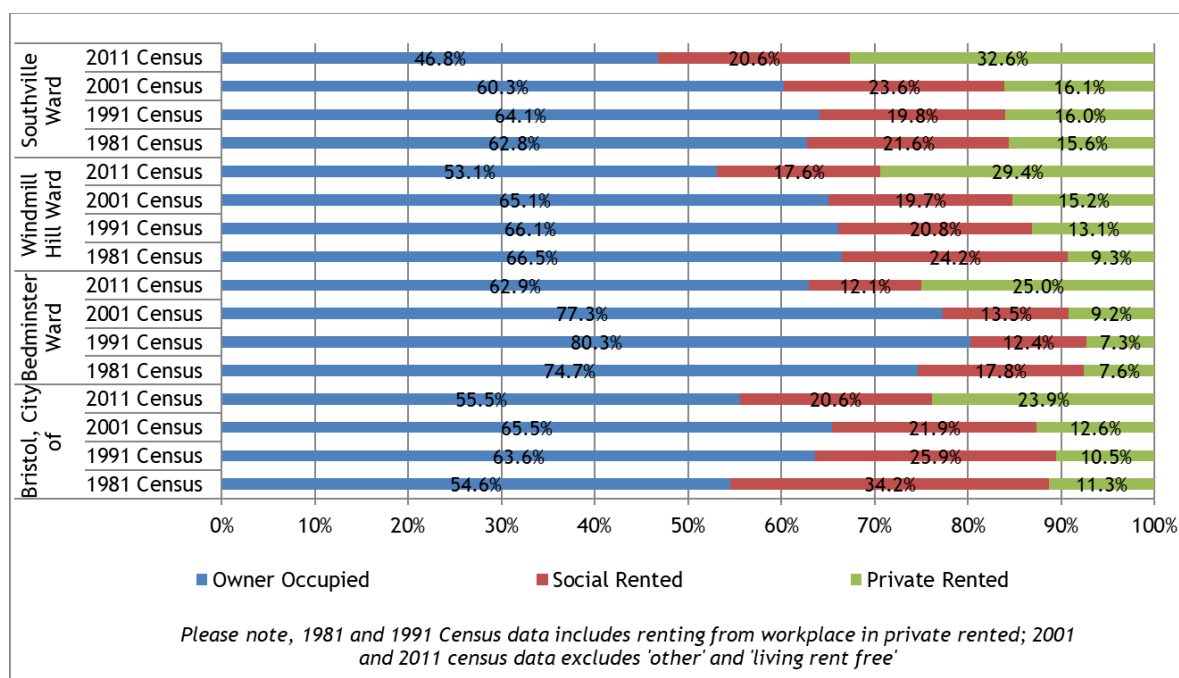
Source: Graph constructed from Census data (Office for Population Censuses and Surveys (OPCS), 1981, 1991; ONS, 2001, 2011).

There have also been increases in house prices (see Figure 7.5 and Table 7.1). While all three wards had a median house price below that of Bristol in 1995 (when data is available from and coinciding with the early days of TSC), they have since overtaken. Southville was the first to, in December 1997, followed by Bedminster in 2004 and Windmill Hill in 2006. Although there have been some fluctuations over time, this suggests the spread of gentrification.

Figure 7.5 Median house price paid for case study and neighbouring wards, compared to Bristol City (1995-2018)
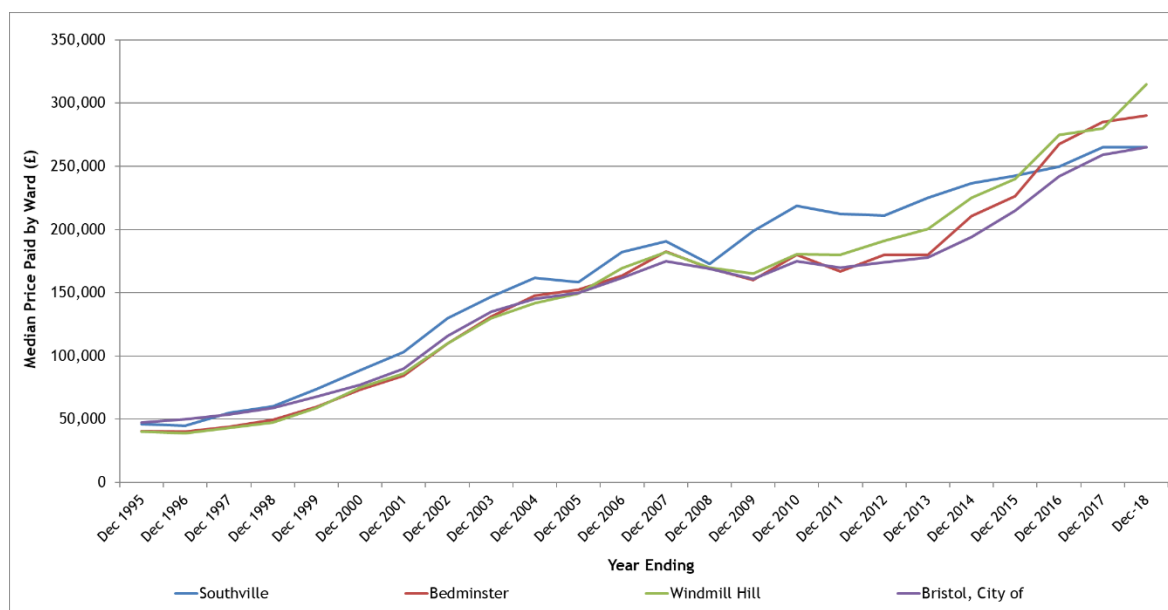
Source: Graph constructed from ONS (2018) data.

These wards have also experienced a greater percentage change increase in median house prices than Bristol from 1995 to 2018 (see Table 7.1). From 2001 (when the Tobacco Factory opened) to 2018, the percentage increase was again above that for Bristol City except, interestingly, for Southville. This may be because Southville is widely cited as gentrifying first, and therefore the change since 2001 has not been as great.

Table 7.1 Median house price change for case study and neighbouring wards, compared to Bristol City (%)

	Year ending	
Area	Dec 1995 - Dec 2018	Dec 2001 - Dec 2018
Southville	473.0	157.3
Bedminster	616.0	243.2
Windmill Hill	687.5	266.3
Bristol, City of	457.9	194.5
Source: Table constructed from ONS (2018) ward level data, extracted by the author on 23 March 2019. Percentage difference calculated by subtracting the original number from the new number, dividing the increase by the original number and multiplying the answer by 100.		

These trends are also demonstrated in the qualitative data. Participants emphasised that gentrification and its impacts had not been uniform across BS3 and that it is now spreading to previously less gentrified areas, such as Bedminster. There are also proposals for several high-end housing developments in BS3 over the next few years (WHaM, n.d.). There is therefore seemingly little

sign of gentrification slowing or being reversed. The next section explores how gentrification is experienced and negotiated.

7.2.1 Experiencing and Negotiating Gentrification

Participants described what they perceived to be benefits arising from gentrification over time, partly catalysed by the SCDA's community development work in the early days. These included increased community activity, community pride and a more 'vibrant' retail/leisure offer. However, they emphasised that these benefits had not been equally distributed. There was concern amongst some that parts of BS3, particularly Southville, had tipped over the edge in terms of the balance between regeneration and gentrification. Some cited that negative impacts such as unaffordability, displacement, increasing inequalities and exclusivity were now outweighing the benefits.

Yet, not everyone agreed. For example, Amelia (Local Stakeholder) cited that she thought factors such as social housing and homeless hostels had helped to maintain diversity and limit gentrification: 'while we have moved to maybe too many sourdough bread shops…the mix is quite a healthy one.' She then contradicted herself, acknowledging displacement: 'inevitably…some people are really priced out.' Generally speaking, then, Shaw's (2005:176-182) factors which can limit gentrification, such as sufficient affordable housing and 'a housing stock not particularly conducive to gentrification,' are somewhat absent in BS3. The following sections summarise participants' perspectives regarding the impacts of gentrification.

Demographic Changes and Issues of Inequality

Qualitative and statistical data demonstrates changes in BS3's socioeconomic profile over time. For example, all three wards saw increasing percentages of residents working in professional occupations from 2001-2011 (categories 1-3 in Figure 7.6), with the percentage point increase generally being above that for Bristol as a whole. By contrast, with the exception of Bedminster ward at the 2001 census, there tends to be lower percentages of residents working in the lower skilled categories 7-9.

Figure 7.6 Occupation Group for case study and neighbouring wards, compared to Bristol City (2001-2011)
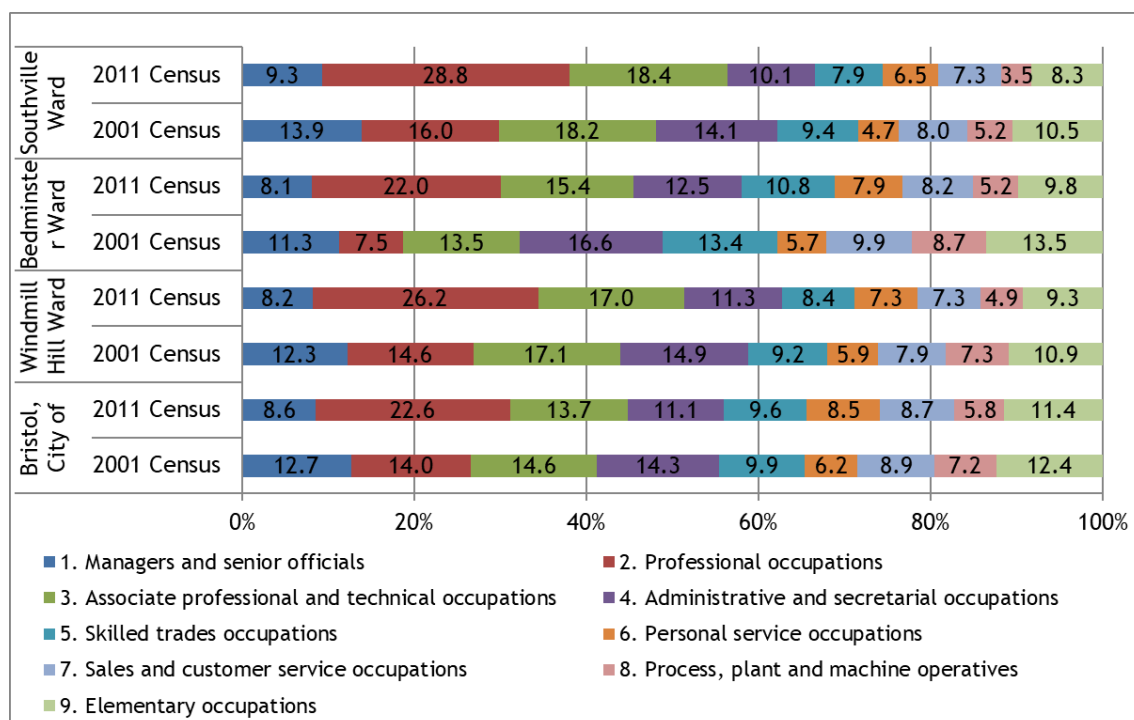
Source: Graph constructed from ONS (2018) data.

There were notable socioeconomic changes in Bedminster from 2001 to 2011, potentially suggesting increasing inequalities. For example, in terms of National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification data (see Figure 7.7), the percentage point increase in the three highest classification groups over this period was +13.1pp in Bedminster, compared to +8.2pp in Southville, +6.0pp in Windmill Hill and +1.3pp for Bristol as a whole.

While these changes may partly be due to the transition to a post-industrial economy nationally (see Hamnett, 2003), the scale and extent of change compared to Bristol as a whole is indicative of gentrification. Despite these changes, BS3 remains home to stark inequalities, as shown in Index of Deprivation Data (see Figure 5.12 in section 5.9.1).

**Figure 7.7 National Statistics Socio-economic Classification for case study and neighbouring wards, compared to Bristol City (2001-2011)**
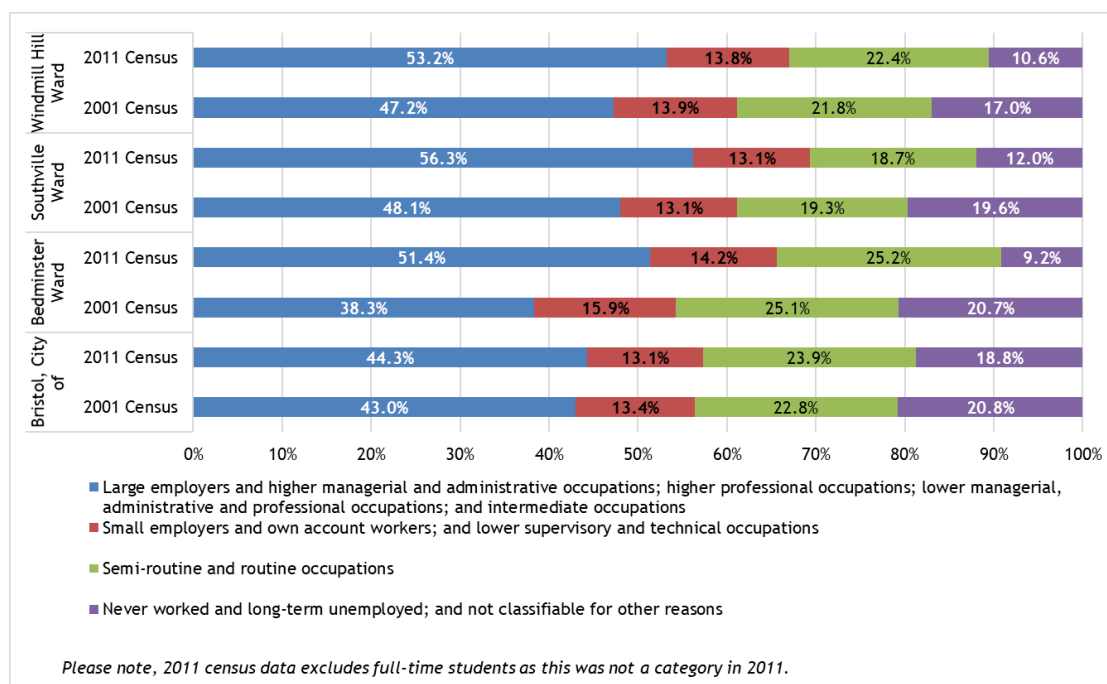
Source: Figure constructed from Census data (ONS, 2001, 2011).

Concerns about gentrification exacerbating inequalities, particularly during austerity, were also voiced by participants:

> '…not everybody can afford…to be part of the gentrification, so therefore they get left behind…there are areas of BS3 where that very clearly has happened…it was never a level playing field to start with…' (Jeremy, Organisational Representative).

Several participants both within and outside the organisation considered how best to help reduce these inequalities, with some suggesting that they wanted the 'benefits' of gentrification to 'spread' across BS3. Chris (Beneficiary) began by suggesting that East Street, a traditionally working-class retail street (see Figure 7.8) needed more 'nice cafes.' He then reconsidered, highlighting ambivalences about gentrification:

> '…I don't know…it seems a shame for a whole area to be completely taken over by people like us…maybe it works quite well to have the contrast of East Street and North Street…'

Others suggested a need for a greater focus on better meeting the needs of more disadvantaged residents.

Figure 7.8 Images of East Street

Source: Author's Own (taken October 2019).

The Meaning of Home, Affordability Issues and Displacement

Some participants related increasing numbers of home extensions and conversions to the greater wealth of incoming residents. Jessie (Local Stakeholder) explained how a friend had recently bought a house locally from a lady who had lived there for around 70 years. She explained how the lady said, "I don't want it to be sold to a builder." Jessie's interpretation of this was that:

> 'she didn't want someone to come in, modernise the house and then sell it at a huge profit…"I want the house to be a home, as it was for me and my husband for all those years…"'

Similarly, Arthur (Beneficiary) explained how many incoming residents:

> '…come in, they gut their houses, spend all their money, whereas we moved in and you'd just do a little bit at a time, and nobody worried if yours weren't the same as the neighbours…'

These narratives suggest that, for some, housing is increasingly being seen as an investment, rather than a home.

As demonstrated in the housing statistics cited previously, several participants highlighted concerns about housing unaffordability issues and affordable housing shortages, leading to the break-up of families, as younger generations are displaced. The negative impacts of displacement were recognised by several participants. For example, Jessie (Local Stakeholder) explained how gentrification can be disempowering, with a lack of agency to affect change:

> 'You do feel displaced really by these huge waves of changes…which are completely beyond your control…the answer is obviously radical change in the housing market but there's no sign of that at all…'

There was thus concern that some long-term residents are experiencing 'displacement pressure' (Marcuse, 1985:208) even if they can remain physically if they are home-owners:

> '…there's probably people in Bedminster that just don't…feel that this is home anymore, because it's changed so much…feeling a bit pushed out, even though they've lived here forever…' (Jeremy, Organisational Representative).

Yet, not everyone was so critical. For example, Harriett (Local Stakeholder) downplayed the extent of displacement: 'some people have moved out because they've sold their houses for quite a lot of money…I don't see that they're particularly disadvantaged.' However, there is a need to recognise that not all former residents will have been homeowners. Harriett also felt that older residents are 'dropping off' rather than 'being pushed out.' It is important to consider what the impact may be as this generation passes away, with a likely increasingly gentrified population.

Further, Sam (Organisational Representative) commented that she felt that neighbourhood changes had been 'slow' and not necessarily disruptive, citing that she had not heard of people talking about displacement or a 'lost sense of… community.' This reflects Schlichtman and Patch's (2017) argument that gentrification can be less disruptive if it takes place slowly over time.

While affordable housing is arguably the key buffer against gentrification, participants also highlighted a crucial buffering role for community assets and amenities in maintaining a sense of community. Ingrid (Beneficiary) highlighted tensions between the preferences of working-class 'Bemmies'[21] and middle-class incomers. She described how traditional businesses are being threatened and replaced by independent coffee shops and the like. As Jeremy (Organisational Representative) explained:

> '…we've got gluten free cake shops and…vegan dog food shops…that's a massive change for Mrs Jones that's lived in this area for 60 years and likes her meat and two veg.'

However, some felt that some long-term residents enjoyed these changes and found them 'interesting' (Joanne, Local Stakeholder). Likewise, Harriett (Local Stakeholder) argued that improvements arising from 'community action,' such as improved parks, have benefits for everyone.

Those less critical of gentrification thus often felt that benefits had already, or would in future, 'trickle-down' to a wider demographic (Colomb, 2011). Further, even Francis (Local Stakeholder) who recognised gentrification's negative impacts, hoped that, in the context of austerity, different parts of the community could collaborate and find commonalities, regardless of income or housing status. While acknowledging that this is perhaps 'a bit naïve or idealistic,' he hoped that 'if gentrification has worked its way through,' the 'whole community' could benefit from 'people coming in with more resource, more time, more money.' He hoped that this could, in turn, 'balance' out the risk of it becoming 'an empty community,' with stereotypical young professionals not engaging with the community. However, there is a risk that by

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[21] This is the colloquial term for people from Bedminster, based on the area's traditional shortening to 'Bemmy.' There has been dispute locally as some middle-class incomers have recently opted for 'Bedmo' instead (Palmer, 2018:64).

this time, there will be very few original residents left to 'benefit' from these efforts. Further, Jessie (Local Stakeholder) felt that this stereotypical young professional was already fairly commonplace. This sense of concern about how to more equally distribute the benefits was echoed by other participants, who arguably expressed a degree of middle-class guilt.

Thus, while some recognised the negatives of gentrification, they also emphasised that, on an individual level, people are limited in their housing choices. Yet, while community activism can be used to resist or limit gentrification, participants described a general focus on clean and green-type agendas in BS3, rather than housing issues. This is not to say that resistance is not growing, with tenants' union, Acorn, setting up a branch in BS3 in Spring 2018 to campaign about housing issues (Cork, 2018b). The next section discusses changes in the nature of the local community.

Sense of Community, Community Activism and Social Capital

The general desirability of BS3 is reflected in BCC's (2019d) *Quality of Life Survey*, with residents in all three wards generally being more satisfied than the Bristol average across various indicators (see Table 7.2).

Table 7.2 Selected quality of life indicators for case study and neighbouring wards, compared to Bristol City

Indicator	Ward			Bristol City
	Southville	Bedminster	Windmill Hill	
% who feel they belong to their neighbourhood	73%	69%	75%	59%
% who agree people from different backgrounds get on well together in their neighbourhood	79%	67%	86%	68%
% satisfied with their local area	92%	83%	84%	77%
% satisfied with the range and quality of outdoor events	89%	82%	84%	77%
% satisfied with activities for children/ young people	48%	40%	46%	35%
% who participate in cultural activities at least once a month	59%	48%	55%	46%
Source: BCC 2019a, 2019b, 2019c				

Several participants also emphasised a strong sense of community, with the suggestion that middle-class activism had increased due to gentrification, with a variety of activities and events developing locally, including those established or facilitated by BS3CD. As Andrea (Organisational Representative) commented:

> 'I think [gentrification has] helped with the vibrancy as well…as a place becomes richer, people aren't so focussed on survival. They can actually think about other things…'

Events include the Greater Bedminster Good Garden awards,[22] where residents improve and showcase their front gardens; and the Southbank Arts Trail.[23] Participants cited multiple other community events organised by local residents, including street parties.

However, some expressed concern about issues of inclusion and exclusion, with a view that these events are often organised and attended by primarily middle-class residents. For example, David (Organisational Representative) explained his view that Upfest, a 'free, street art and graffiti festival' that takes place annually in BS3 (Upfest, 2018) had been 'overtaken' by incoming residents, reflecting gentrification:

> '…on paper…it's a graffiti festival…so it's like for your everyday person. It's really not. It really is definitely run by posh people…when it first started…it was an every-man festival…I don't even go anymore. I can hear it from where I live…I don't want to go anymore.'

Street parties also provide a lens for exploring these issues. Participants highlighted that while everyone is invited to these, it tends to be incoming, middle-class residents who participate. Jessie (Local Stakeholder) reflected:

> '…There was a street party [on my road] last year, organised by some of the recent arrivals, and the three widows, as they are now, sat at one end of the table. No one spoke to them. No one interacted with them. They left after a short time. And it was a visible demonstration of…their kind of exclusion really from the life of other younger people with children and expensive cars…I sat and talked to them…they were bemoaning the fact the area has changed and who are all these people…you can see the social class divisions very visibly…on a day like that.'

This quotation highlights the tensions that can arise from, and the feelings of powerlessness some residents feel about, gentrification, with divisions along

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[22] https://www.facebook.com/groups/334164826641712/

[23] https://en-gb.facebook.com/pg/SouthbankBristolArts/about/?ref=page_internal

both class and age lines. This may help to explain why there has not been more resistance, if working-class residents are becoming increasingly elderly.

Several participants thus expressed concern about how gentrification has affected the nature of the community. Miranda (Local Stakeholder) explained how the 'early gentrifiers' of the 1980s were typically community-minded 'lower middle-class,' public-sector workers. Jessie (Local Stakeholder) described how more recent incomers are 'much more affluent, private sector workers,' who are less 'engaged in the community' than 'the first wave of incomers.' Further, even those who might be described as more recent gentrifiers expressed concern about these changes:

> '...it's become quite middle-class in a way that it really wasn't when I first moved here...because of the price...[it's] quite exclusive...there's not a lot of diversity and everybody sort of thinks the same way that you do' (Jonathan, Organisational Representative).

Lee (Organisational Representative) explained that he felt that Southville has 'a different vibe to what I remember from when I was younger,' when 'it was just an area that everyone knew everyone.' Further, Edward (Organisational Representative) described how, 'sometimes I feel like the area has outgrown me, although my core of friends is currently still here.' These comments again relate to remarks regarding the 'tipping point' of gentrification (Schlichtman and Patch, 2017:4), as longer-term, working-class residents are increasingly in the minority.

Nevertheless, participants highlighted that many local activists and organisations are well-meaning. For example, Drew (Organisational Representative) commented:

> '...there are...people who are genuinely concerned...in the welfare and well-being of others...people in this area who do a great deal for nothing...who are willing to help anybody...'

Further, Luke (Beneficiary) considered how to increase the participation of older residents to allow them 'to see the changes they want to see.' Such an approach, he hoped, could help different parts of the community to 'find that middle-ground.'

This section has highlighted the ambivalences of experiencing and negotiating gentrification. This shifting local context, and the tensions and ambivalences that can arise, are key to understanding the approach of BS3CD over time, one of several organisations operating locally. BS3CD's origins, evolution and approach are now examined to better understand its role in regeneration and gentrification over time, addressing research objective three.

7.3 Organisational Ethos and Approach Over Time

7.3.1 Origins of the Organisation and the Transfer Agreement

As outlined in the case study introduction at 5.9.1, gentrification had already begun when the SCDA was established in 1991 to manage the former school site, with concern that otherwise it would be sold for high-end housing (Charlotte, Organisational Representative). The SCDA was established to manage the building, with the aim 'to develop and deliver sustainable services to meet the needs of local people' and do community development (SCDA, 1996:1).

The group managed to negotiate a favourable 999-year lease for the building at a peppercorn rent, giving the organisation security (Charlotte, Organisational Representative). Participants emphasised that while this would be unthinkable now, it was also unusual at the time:

> 'I think it was partly because a couple of the prime movers were two local councillors who were both pretty senior in the then ruling Labour group...I imagine they pulled a few strings' (Harriett, Local Stakeholder).

The community group also included an architect and an accountant who could be described as 'early gentrifiers.' However, participants involved at the time emphasised that there were long-standing residents involved too. Nevertheless, an increasingly skilled and knowledgeable community, with increasing levels of social capital, arguably due to gentrification, was seemingly useful in enabling the group to negotiate with the Council.

Participants described that the support of the Councils was also crucial, particularly in financial terms. Andrea (Organisational Representative) explained how the County Council 'put a negative value on the building,' which

'effectively meant that [they] gave the group a whole pot of money.' They also provided resource for an initial Project Manager. Thus, while there were some challenges, these unique conditions enabled the organisation to establish and develop.

7.3.2 The Organisation's Development Over Time

Participants described how despite this initial support from the Councils, there was pressure to become economically self-sufficient early on. This was due to several reasons, including the neighbourhood's generally middling position on the Index of Deprivation, meaning that the organisation struggled to access regeneration funding available in the 1990s and 2000s. This influenced their services and activities, including the community development role. Harriett (Local Stakeholder) explained that in the early days, the organisation 'didn't do a lot of [community] development, because we were trying to fill the building so that there was income.' She described how, after some time, 'we made a conscious decision that we needed to stop just doing the building, or...what's the point?' This challenge of balancing 'inward-' and 'outward-looking' activities was a recurring theme.

Participants described how, over time, BS3CD has matured and professionalised, with an increasing focus on enterprise, particularly since 2010 with austerity; it also employed a new Chief Executive around this time. Since this time, the organisation has also widened its geographical area of benefit to cover the whole of BS3. Participants described several reasons for this, including that they wanted to reach areas of greater need and that they wanted to shift the perception that the organisation is focussed on Southville, with its generally middle-class population. As Jonathan (Organisational Representative) reflected, 'to have a charitable organisation that serves the needs of people who are quite affluent...seems wrong.'

There has thus been an increased focus on outreach community development work since around 2013, cited as being enabled by a growth in surpluses from Early Education and Childcare (EE&C) services (see Figure 7.9 and Figure 7.10). EE&C is the largest income-generator for BS3CD, with the services' turnover increasing from £852,622 in 2016/17 to £988,878 in 2017/18 and £1,387,025 in

2018/19; this figure includes both government-funded and private spaces (BS3CD, 2018a:5). The recent increase is due to the opening of the second site nursery at the Chessel Centre (TCC) in late 2017. These increased surpluses were cited as enabling the employment of a permanent Community Development Manager; the Senior Management Team also grew from three to five around this time (see Figure 7.11). The next section discusses how BS3CD has balanced community and enterprising activities.

Figure 7.9 Net incoming/(outgoing) resources for SCDA/BS3CD (Year Ending 1994-2019)
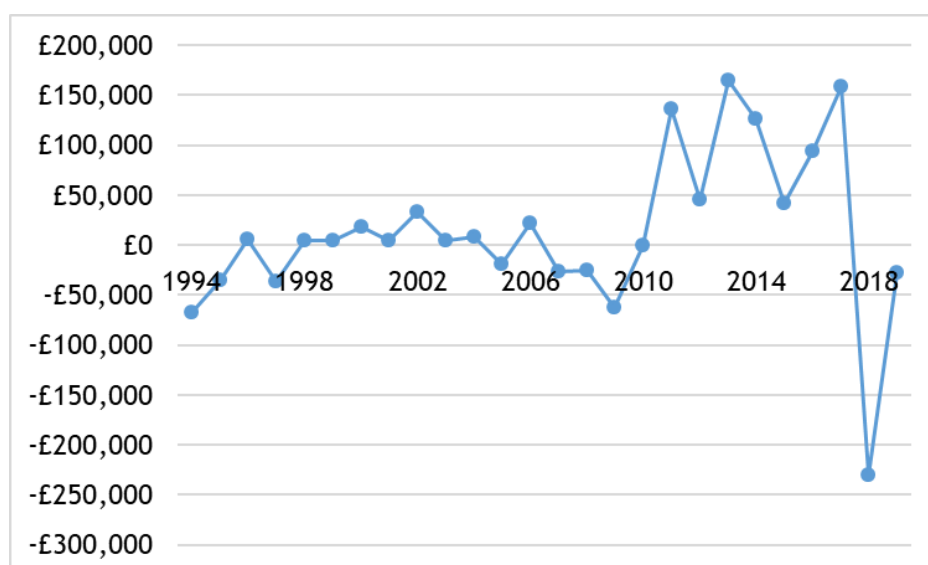
Source: Graph constructed by the author from SCDA/BS3CD Financial Statements (SCDA/BS3CD, 1995-2019) (https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/02542176/filing-history).
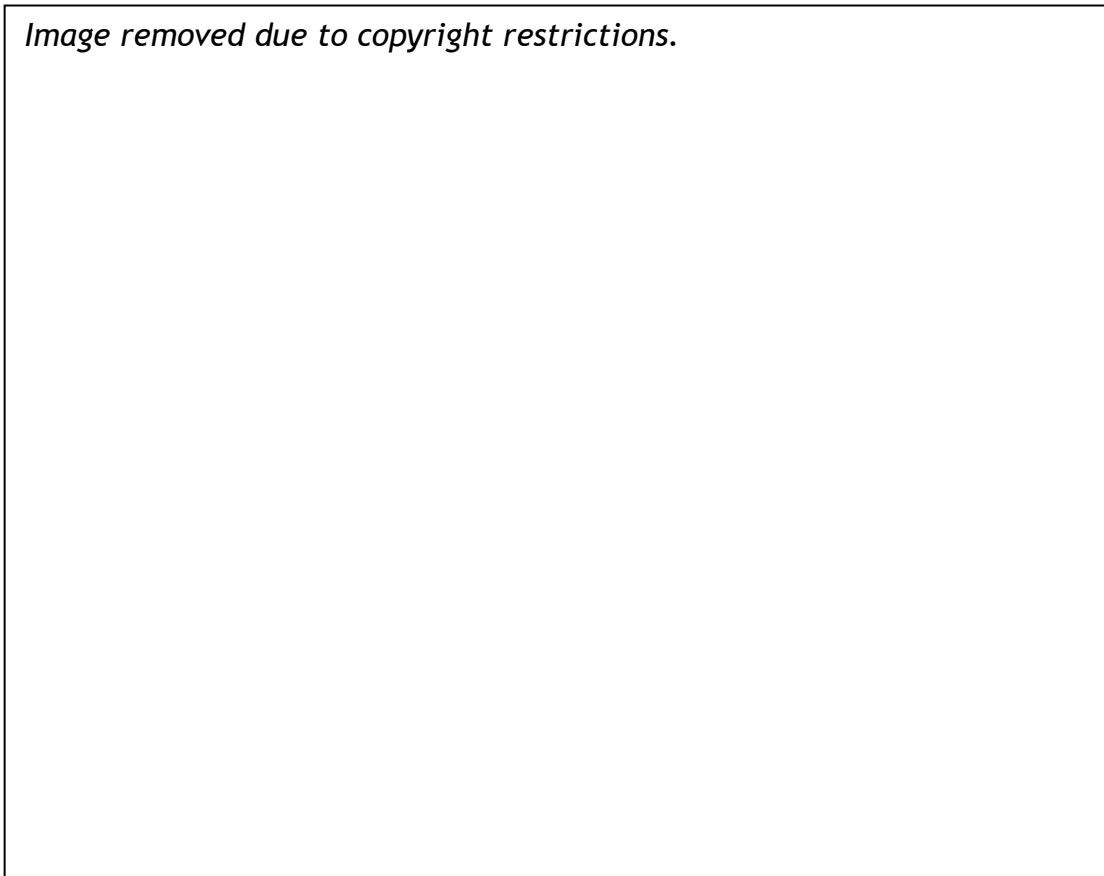
Figure 7.10 Annual turnover for SCDA/BS3CD (Year Ending 1994-2019)
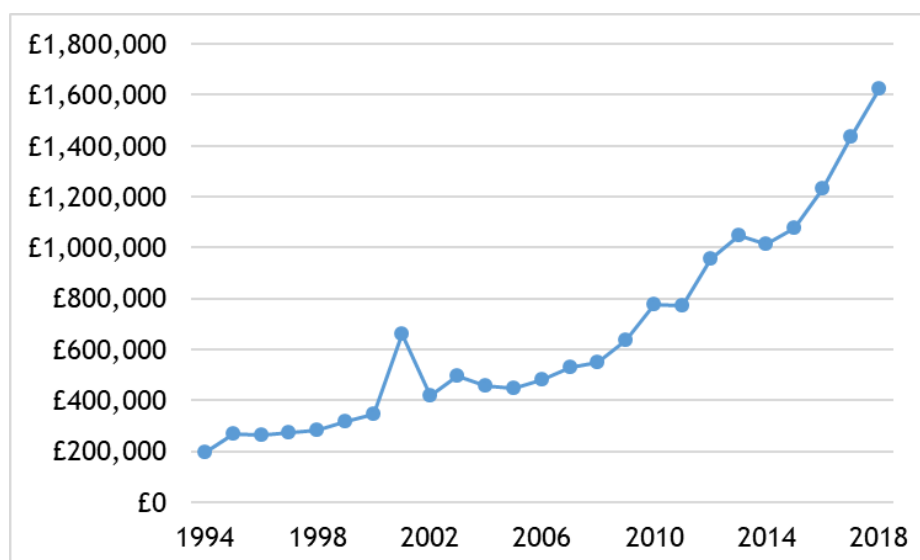
Source: Graph constructed by the author from SCDA/BS3CD Financial Statements (SCDA/BS3CD, 1995-2019) (https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/02542176/filing-history).

Figure 7.11 Organisational structure

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Source: BS3CD (2018c:6)

Balancing Community and Enterprise

Charlotte (Organisational Representative) suggested that over the organisation's lifetime, tensions between community and enterprise may have grown as 'the requirements of a charity and social enterprise have become more rigorous.' She described that BS3CD has thus 'become more professional,' while trying to 'maintain that community link.' The influence of policy and the regulatory environment is discussed in more detail later.

Since 2010, participants cited that there has been an increased focus on enterprise via EE&C services due to reductions in government funding for non-enterprising activities because of austerity. While participants suggested that some organisational representatives had initially been concerned about the shift towards enterprise, at the time of data collection, there was seemingly a general consensus within the organisation that, in the context of austerity, enterprise was the only sustainable way to subsidise community-focussed services, which often cannot be income-generating. These pressures arguably

constrain the agency of community organisations to do things 'differently,' despite their original aims and ethos (see Tuckett, 1988; Wheeler, 2017).

Notwithstanding these tensions, the sustainability and autonomy achieved through enterprise was cited by several participants as a key achievement:

> '...unlike lots of organisations sort of 5, 6, 7, 8 years ago that went under, we've survived...if our roof falls down, we can afford for it to be mended...we're not reliant on anyone else...' (William, Organisational Representative).

However, participants described how this more enterprising approach can cause challenges for BS3CD when positioning itself to different audiences, needing to be viewed as both a business and a charity, depending on the context. Andrea (Organisational Representative) emphasised her aim to challenge perceptions of the organisation as 'business-focussed' and 'reposition' it locally:

> '...up until recently, if you entered this building, you'd pay for what you accessed, well for most things...we do a lot of charitable work, we provide a lot of public benefit, but we hide it very much...'

Yet, some external participants expressed a view that BS3CD has recently potentially over-prioritised enterprising services (and service users) over community aspects, reflecting the perceptions that BS3CD is keen to challenge. For example, Victoria (Local Stakeholder) commented that, in her view, 'business is the focus. They do a bit of community stuff on the side.'

However, as mentioned, BS3CD has recently expanded the focus of its community development and outreach activities, seeking to increase engagement with different parts of the community, particularly older residents. These activities were widely praised and cited as having a great impact for beneficiaries, redressing some of the balance between community and enterprise. However, while recognising the value of these activities, one parent suggested that they would like more of BS3CD's surpluses to be 'invested in the nursery,' for example in terms of 'better wages for staff...to reduce turnover and better facilities for staff and children' (Russell, Beneficiary).

Nevertheless, some participants explained that they felt the prioritisation of services (and the use of the space) over time has reflected a shift towards

enterprise. They cited a reduction in both the space dedicated to, and the amount of turnover generated from, room hire and an increase in EE&C services. The expansion of EE&C services was also cited as being due to increased demand and affluence locally, meaning 'that the model fits here and can grow,' enabling BS3CD to increase its surpluses, while meeting community needs (Sam, Organisational Representative).

In contrast to EE&C, participants described how Older People's Services (OPS), which have long been offered by BS3CD, have been threatened by austerity. These include the *Monday Club*, which offers a variety of activities which people can choose to attend, including lunch, daytrips and activities such as footcare and Zumba (BS3CD, 2018a:5). BS3CD also organises a variety of other community and health-related activities, both within TSC and in the community (*ibid.*). The OPS were widely praised by participants both internal and external to BS3CD, playing a vital role for some longer-term residents. Arthur, a beneficiary and long-term resident, exclaimed, 'I just enjoy it all!'

The Monday Club was previously funded by BCC, but this was cut in January 2012. Andrea (Organisational Representative) explained how BS3CD worked with BCC, 'trying to be their poster child for how to move from being a block grant-funded service to being one which was actually more market-funded.' However, she stated that this 'proved to be impossible,' given that most of the attendees were used to making a small contribution for 'a whole day's entertainment, including a three-course lunch and transport!' BS3CD was subsequently able to access some grant funding from charitable trusts and some of the attendees now pay a higher rate. The additional surpluses generated from the second nursery at TCC also help to subsidise the service, and BS3CD has also recently used crowd-funding too (BS3CD, 2018a:5), but questions remain over future funding. Thus, while the Monday Club has not been fully marketised yet, this example highlights the challenges of maintaining low-cost community activities that cannot generate a surplus without public subsidy.

Nevertheless, some organisational representatives argued for the need to recognise that while some services will be loss-leading, they must be continued as they are crucial to the organisation's aims. Richard (Organisational Representative) emphasised the need to 'not develop a completely capitalist

model,' and find ways to subsidise 'services that can't, for all sorts of reasons, cover their costs.'

The next section addresses research objective four, focusing on the role that the Southville Centre (TSC), as a community asset, has played in the community over time; TSC is the focus here, as the Chessel Centre (TCC) had only recently opened when the data was collected, meaning it was too early to assess its role. While TSC's role is very much related to BS3CD's broader role, these are separated here for clarity. Although there are several other community organisations and community assets operating locally, exploring these, in addition to BS3CD and TSC, is outwith the scope of this thesis, although it must be noted that these make it difficult to explore BS3CD's role in isolation.

7.4 The Role of the Southville Centre in Regeneration and Gentrification Over Time

7.4.1 A Community Hub

TSC was described by several participants as a much-loved and long-standing local asset. Many people spoke of its role as a community hub and meeting place, which has allowed activities, projects and services to be developed and delivered in a space free of political, religious or other affiliations:

> '...[it] has become...one of the cornerstones of the community...It's a motor for change...for helping good ideas...hopefully [people] get drawn into the...community vibe...I think Southville would be a shadow of itself without this space' (Erin, Local Stakeholder).

Richard (Organisational Representative) also emphasised the importance of the building as a local 'landmark,' particularly for older residents who attended school at the site. Further, Morgan (Local Stakeholder) emphasised that community spaces are 'life's blood,' allowing people to enjoy 'leisure time' rather than 'spending money.' He felt that TSC had filled a vital role in the community, being 'a vibrant active sort of place, well-used by all sorts of different activities and meetings and groups.'

Participants described how the space has changed over time, in terms of its use, layout and appearance, having been renovated early on. William (Organisational

Representative) was proud that TSC is 'much smarter than any other community centre,' with the view that 'if somewhere is attractive then people feel that they are valued, and they also value the space more.' As mentioned previously, the use of space in terms of the balance between different services has also shifted, with an expansion of EE&C services and a reduction in room hire.

Yet, despite EE&C being the key income-generator, with high demand locally, Andrea (Organisational Representative) emphasised TSC's wider role: 'we could turn this whole place back into a nursery…but that's not the point.' Further, despite the perceived dominance of EE&C, William (Organisational Representative) emphasised that a wider demographic of users access classes and other activities at TSC in the evenings. Yet, these users are nevertheless likely to have a certain level of affluence, given the cost of activities. This issue is returned to later. The next section considers the differing perspectives regarding the role of TSC in neighbourhood change.

7.4.2 Limiting, Reflecting or Exacerbating Gentrification (see Marche, 2015)?

Reflecting the comments in the previous section, several participants reflected that TSC had played a key role in the 1990s in facilitating the community's 'recovery.' For example, Taylor (Local Stakeholder) commented that if the organisation and asset had not been established, the area's community regeneration and development would have been much slower, stating that the organisation has 'been very instrumental' in this regard.

Participants considered how far BS3CD and TSC had catalysed further private investment, and may therefore have contributed to gentrification, whether inadvertently or otherwise. For example, Erin (Local Stakeholder) argued that she could 'trace a trail of events' and investments that followed the development of TSC, citing that:

> '…the Tobacco Factory was pretty much a direct response to what [was happening] here and the bits [that weren't being covered] and the opportunities that could then be done…'

This view was also echoed by Miranda (Local Stakeholder) who stated that TSC and then the Tobacco Factory 'accelerated the gentrification of Southville.'

Moreover, Harriett (Local Stakeholder) reflected that some of the SCDA's early activities, such as LETS[24] groups and garden awards were probably 'slightly middle-class,' reflecting the changing nature of the community, and potentially increasing the area's desirability for middle-class incomers. For some, then, TSC seemingly both reflected and exacerbated change, enhancing the area's desirability for investors and incoming residents, in a neighbourhood that had already begun to gentrify. There was little explicit suggestion that the organisation and TSC had limited change, although it could be argued that the ameliorative activities discussed 7.5 contribute to this, to a degree.

Over the years, TSC's role matured, with Andrea (Organisational Representative) reflecting:

> '…initially, [TSC] really drove a lot of the change…it became a focus for the community…if we started to…reflect change…I think we were supporting…a lot of what the community wanted, but we weren't actively going out to find what the community wanted…'

She reflected that BS3CD's role has now become 'more proactive' in identifying and responding to community needs, such as isolation amongst elderly residents. She summarised that, 'I think we are moving more to both supporting the community to do what it wants and changing the way that it feels, but also… influencing…and helping drive that change.'

The role of the organisation and the activities that take place both within and outside of TSC were cited as having many local regeneration benefits over time, such as improving the local parks and increasing social capital. BS3CD's role in providing excellent quality EE&C services via the asset was widely praised, as were its community development activities, particularly for older people, facilitated through the asset.

However, other participants suggested that TSC, and BS3CD more generally, had largely reflected gentrification rather than driving it, with this being driven by wider societal factors, particularly the housing market. Further, Jonathan (Organisational Representative) commented that, in his view, TSC is 'a product'

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[24] Local Exchange and Trading Systems 'allow members to participate in the exchange of goods and services among others in the group' (Downey, 2019:no page; see SCDA, 2008:9).

of change, arising from 'people coming to an area with different ideas and wanting to try things out and having the resources.' For some, then, TSC was viewed as reflecting and reinforcing gentrification.

Jessie (Local Stakeholder) voiced some disappointment regarding what TSC could have achieved in terms of its role in the community and the kinds of activities the organisation could have pursued to benefit the local community:

> '...I wouldn't claim [TSC] has had huge local benefit. That would be unrealistic. I think it has been useful...it's an asset, it's a plus that it's there. I think it's widely used...But some of those things...could happen anywhere in the city...'

Jessie commented that TSC's role could have been 'very different,' such as by being 'more open to all sorts of groups' and enabling 'groups into existence,' noting that Southville has never had a tenants' association, for example.

Participants were also asked their views on what they thought the impact would be if TSC and BS3CD no longer operated. Views were varied, partly depending on participants' involvement with TSC. William (Organisational Representative) felt that the area would 'implode' without them:

> '...lots of people come here because of the nursery provision...I think it would have a massive impact on people wanting to move to the area... it would be an economic disaster...We employ 70 people, lots of our staff are still women who work part-time...I think 90% [of our employees] are from BS3...I can't see how the local authority would replace this.'

This demonstrates the local economic contribution of the organisation, as well as challenges around austerity, whereby the public sector is increasingly relying on CEs to deliver services and activities which were previously its responsibility. This approach is arguably risky, relying on the market to sustain these in future. Moreover, Ingrid (Beneficiary) highlighted the somewhat intangible nature of BS3CD's contribution via the asset:

> 'the impact it has on community-building and community cohesion is probably quite a hard thing to put your finger on, but I sense that something would be lost.'

However, others did not think it would have a great impact if BS3CD and TSC no longer operated, reflecting the views above.

Thus, participants' views of TSC's role are arguably imbued with value judgements about what they think the organisation could or 'should' be doing, and what the end goal 'should' be. However, it seems that while TSC catalysed community action in the organisation's early days, over time it has increasingly reflected gentrification locally, to an extent. The following section discusses themes of inclusion and exclusion within the space.

7.4.3 Issues of Inclusion and Exclusion: 'Pretty bunting is OK, but it's not going to attract working-class people'

As discussed, several participants cited divisions within the community which have intensified due to gentrification, such as those relating to age and class. They suggested that despite efforts for wider community engagement by BS3CD, these tensions are arguably reflected, to an extent, in the use of TSC and BS3CD's activities and services, with some emphasising the organisation's aim to provide for a wider demographic, within and outside TSC:

> '…we have people that access our classes…from various ethnicities, but generally we are a provider and interactor…with British, white people…that's not the way to be…community should be everybody' (Jeremy, Organisational Representative).

> 'the challenge for us as a community organisation is to make sure that…we don't exclude those people on lower incomes, that we help them access the facilities and the services we provide…' (Charlotte, Organisational Representative).

These comments highlight concerns about inclusivity, and about how best BS3CD can engage with residents who have not traditionally used TSC. Yet, some reflected that the usage of TSC by predominantly middle-class residents who pay for services causes challenges when seeking to be more inclusive, although it is important to highlight its use for charitable services, such as OPS. Charlotte wondered how best to develop 'different activities…that aren't based on just ability to pay.'

Despite these concerns, Andrea (Organisational Representative) highlighted a question that was raised to her about the extent to which BS3CD *should* be trying to make TSC more inclusive, given that 'our sustainability model is prefaced on people spending money…if we attract a different cohort into this building…we may put off…our ability to be sustainable.' This suggests that BS3CD is thus somewhat compelled to cater for, and fulfil, the needs and wants of those who can afford to pay for services at TSC. She continued that now her view is that, 'we don't need to force interactions…integration,' and that instead 'we should work with the different cohorts of people, the different areas, in ways that are right for them,' with a focus on outreach for some parts of the community. This seemingly suggests an acceptance that TSC cannot resolve these community tensions and/or that the organisation's sustainability is prioritised over its potential to improve community cohesion via the space. This approach, if adopted, arguably suggests that the value of the asset here may therefore be its ability to provide a space to generate a surplus which can then be reinvested into outreach activities, rather than being a space to generate inclusivity in itself. This highlights the fundamental limitations of this approach, despite policy enthusiasm.

There are therefore seemingly tensions within the organisation about the desired role of TSC. Nevertheless, the wider constraints on community organisations arguably mean that there is little chance of a 'win-win' solution which allows tensions to be resolved in a synergistic manner, with this seemingly being a zero-sum situation (see Mühlbacher & Böbel, 2019).

Concerns around inclusion and exclusion in the space were also noted by external participants. Ingrid (Beneficiary) highlighted that TSC's perceived role in the community arguably depends on 'the people who use it and the people who don't.' She continued:

> 'The Southville Centre does come across very much as a business, or a service provider, almost more than a community centre…it's got a café that's nice, but it doesn't really come across to me as a place where a lot of people hang out…it provides services to particular sections of the community, and it provides space that people can rent.'

This quotation reflects concerns discussed earlier that the space is arguably focussed on economic, rather than social, transactions, causing some tensions.

Further, Taylor (Local Stakeholder) commented that the space can be off-putting for some. He cited the importance of visual aspects: 'pretty bunting is OK, but it's not going to attract working-class people…it's all very nice for the yummy mummies.' He also emphasised that the economic model contributes to exclusivity, for example describing the café as 'overpriced.' When asked if there is anything that could be done to make TSC any more inclusive, he commented, 'forget the Southville Centre…I think we have to recognise [that it] serves Southville and that's fine.' Like Andrea, albeit arguably for different reasons, he suggested that outreach is the best way for BS3CD to engage with a wider demographic, praising this and their other community development work, particularly for older people.

Taylor also reflected on the need for greater awareness amongst some organisational representatives and service users of the long-standing class divides within BS3. He emphasised that the concerns of different parts of the population are very different:

> '…I think it does help having people involved who come from [a working-class] background…to know what it's like…to actually have enough problems in feeding your family without worrying about whether…there are hanging baskets in the shops or whatever…to always try to remember that some of the middle-class values that most of us espouse, like BS3 Plastic Free…are not concerns of people who really hardly have enough money to live on…'

This quote again highlights tensions within the community, reflecting the comments earlier regarding retail change and participants' desires to help more deprived residents, but not always knowing how best to.

Several of the tensions arising locally as a result of gentrification are therefore arguably reflected in the nature and usage of TSC. While efforts are being made to address these, challenges remain. Ambivalences occur regarding organisational agency and how this intersects with structural inequalities (DeFilippis et al. 2010). These challenges are reflected in the organisation's role in regeneration and gentrification more generally; this is now discussed, with

examination of BS3CD's community development work and efforts to contribute to meeting varied community needs.

7.5 The Role of BS3CD in Regeneration and Gentrification Over Time

7.5.1 Community Development Approach: 'It's like doing community development in a grammar school!'

Since its inception, BS3CD has aimed to contribute to community development. There were, however, ambiguities in participants' understandings of community development and what the best approach is, reflecting the tensions discussed previously. For example, Jeremy (Organisational Representative) had a grassroots understanding, with a focus on 'working with the community to discover, explore, identify gaps, fill gaps.' He emphasised BS3CD's aim to try and ensure 'everybody in the community has got a voice…to include everyone as best we can.'

In contrast, William (Organisational Representative) focussed very much on community economic development, and individual experience. From his perspective, community development meant providing 'the opportunity for people to generate their own incomes,' for example, by providing 'a space for them to set up their own businesses.' He felt BS3CD had 'provided lots of opportunities for people to earn an income, live well, remain healthy and live in an attractive area,' thus contributing to his understanding of community development.

Participants traced the approach to community development over time. In the early days, Dennis (Organisational Representative) felt that the SCDA was 'providing a…space…for that community to come together.' He emphasised the focus on increasing social integration between older and incoming residents and addressing varied needs at this time:

> 'reaching out to a broad range across the sort of needs spectrum, recognising that…even as an area becomes more affluent, there are people who are still very vulnerable, and we kept that focus while also engaging those new residents and drawing them into sort of a life in the community.'

This view was also emphasised by William (Organisational Representative), who explained how in the early 2000s, EE&C services perhaps acted as 'a leveller,' reducing 'division' as both 'middle-class...and working-class people [were using the service and] giving their children a better start in life.'

Participants described a facilitative approach to community development over time, focussed on connecting people and supporting different groups to address local issues, such as graffiti, litter or improving local parks, in a self-sufficient way. This approach was arguably enabled, in part, by the area's gentrification, with many incoming residents described as having relatively high levels of social capital in terms of their education, employment and skills, helping the process:

> '...As a result of the gentrification process...it's like doing community development in a grammar school! You know, they're pre-selected. That's not to say that there haven't been good people who haven't had those qualities...' (Harriett, Local Stakeholder).

While the academic literature has emphasised that inequalities can be widened via community development, if there is insufficient state support for capacity-building (Somerville, 2016), Harriett (Local Stakeholder) was keen to emphasise that if there is a strong ethos of inclusion, positive outcomes can be achieved in terms of 'skills and education, confidence, all those sorts of things.'

Participants described that the initial outward-facing role which was key in the early days has fluctuated over time, with a focus on the building and organisational survival at times, influenced by various factors (see section 7.6). Participants also reflected that because of austerity, BS3CD perhaps became more inward-looking again around 2010. Andrea (Organisational Representative) explained how BS3CD has since sought to renew and expand its outward-facing 'charity' and 'public benefit work.'

Nevertheless, despite the increased emphasis on outreach, there was a feeling amongst some organisational representatives that residents sometimes lacked awareness of the range of activities and projects BS3CD is involved in, often being seen primarily as a childcare provider. They emphasised the need to address this perceived misconception, for example via communications. Yet, some non-organisational participants felt this perception was somewhat

justified, as mentioned previously. For example, Taylor (Local Stakeholder, Resident) commented that in his view, while BS3CD's 'older people's work is incredibly valuable,' the organisation is generally otherwise focussed on nursery provision.

Overall, then, BS3CD's community development approach has arguably focussed on relatively small-scale (environmental) local issues. Yet, community organisations are constrained in their abilities to address the impacts of structural inequalities which can, at best, arguably only be partially ameliorated by this approach (DeFilippis et al., 2010). These issues of structure and agency are returned to later. The aim to meet varied community needs is now discussed.

7.5.2 Meeting Varied Community Needs

As discussed in Chapter Three, one of the distinguishing features of the community enterprise approach is the aim to meet varied community needs in a synergistic manner, via balancing income-generating and non income-generating activities and services. Participants described how BS3CD also tries to 'manag[e] the balance between different sections, age groups' in the community to reduce some of the cited tensions arising from gentrification (Richard, Organisational Representative).

Some participants suggested that the activities which are normatively of most 'value' for the community are typically those which tend to generate little or no income, such as OPS and other community outreach activities. Ingrid (Beneficiary) highlighted concerns that 'the older generation' can 'get a bit left behind' due to 'these sort of pushy professional families moving in.' She commented that, in this context, 'what the Southville Centre is doing to keep older people engaged and building their sense of community and the way they're able to survive and thrive in the neighbourhood...is really important.' While this work is seemingly not an anti-gentrification strategy per se, it is one that seeks to ameliorate some of the impacts of gentrification by supporting those in greater need.

Organisational representatives described the organisation's other efforts to meet varied needs, for example by increasing awareness of free/low-cost EE&C services. Participants described how inequalities do, however, manifest somewhat in the differences between the families who access the private nursery and those who access the state provision, which is run by BS3CD, on behalf of the local authority. Sam (Organisational Representative) described how for the latter, there are 'more families who are eligible for early years' pupil premium.' However, she felt that, 'in that example, it's about the accessibility of something in terms of the economic model, rather than certain groups feeling that this building is not for them.' Nevertheless, while the economic model may be the cause here, the use of the services by more affluent users arguably reinforces and reflects this exclusivity.

As discussed, Charlotte (Organisational Representative) emphasised the need to ensure that 'we're not just seen as a middle-class organisation,' with the view that 'we have things that everyone can access to make sure that people understand it's their community association, not just a certain part of the community's association.' Similarly, Drew (Organisational Representative) felt that BS3CD needs 'to work out what our offer is for' less affluent residents, with many of the existing activities and services likely to be used by 'a particular cohort because they're quite expensive.' However, he expressed a lack of agency to affect this, commenting: 'I'm sure our rents are matched with any other organisation…we aren't in a position to offer free. Who is, these days?' This comment suggests he is somewhat resigned to the (economic) constraints CEs face when seeking to meet varied community needs during times of austerity.

Despite these efforts, several participants commented that there was a gap in provision for young people. William (Organisational Representative) expressed concern that 'we're providing services for baby boomers who can afford to pay for services…I'm not entirely sure that's [who] we should be focusing on.' However, BS3CD, in partnership with *Way Out West*, an 'action group' seeking 'to redress the balance of an area of Bedminster' (WOW, n.d.:no page), recently established a youth club in response. This has a £30,000 grant over three years from BCC, with donations and support from other local businesses (South Bristol Voice, 2019).

As cited in Chapter Six, another mechanism to increase scale and influence and meet varied needs is via partnerships. Harriett (Local Stakeholder) cited that collaboration has always been central to BS3CD's ethos. Similarly, Andrea (Organisational Representative) stated that she could not think of any current projects that are not in partnership. She emphasised that BS3CD is 'not out to build empire' and several participants and organisational documents emphasised discourses of 'co-production' (for example, SCDA, 2014). However, a small number of non-organisational representatives suggested that BS3CD operates in quite a 'top-down' manner (Francis, Local Stakeholder), thus possibly limiting some potential collaborations.

Therefore, despite good intentions from some, there can be challenges meeting these varied needs. There will always be contrasting narratives regarding the role of BS3CD and TSC in neighbourhood change, recognising that the organisation will only ever be one of several influences. The findings suggest that the various tensions arising from gentrification, such as balancing the needs of the long-standing, typically more working-class residents with those of the predominantly more middle-class incomers, are reflected, to an extent, in BS3CD's work and the nature and usage of TSC.

These findings thus raise questions of how far organisations like BS3CD are able to address these tensions and meet varied local needs, with ambivalences within the community about what should be achieved, which needs should be prioritised, and the role of BS3CD within this. A key issue to consider is how far the tensions within the neighbourhood and organisation can be resolved in a synergistic manner through the range of different activities/services and partnerships to increase the scope of BS3CD's work and meet varied community needs; or whether the organisation's agency is arguably too limited by structural factors and the finite level of resources, meaning difficult trade-offs must be made (zero-sum) (Mühlbacher & Böbel, 2019). After a decade of austerity, it would arguably be overly optimistic to argue for the former. While participants cited many positive impacts arising from BS3CD's work over the years, its potential contribution is arguably inherently limited without the state addressing the root cause of these structural inequalities. The following section analyses factors affecting BS3CD's approach and role over time.

7.6 Factors Affecting the Approach

Participants identified a variety of external/national and local factors which have influenced BS3CD's approach and role over time, in addition to the organisational factors discussed previously. This section discusses the key factors identified: changes in the policy and regulatory environment; and the nature of the local community.

7.6.1 State Retrenchment, Austerity and Organisational Capacity

While participants commented that BS3CD had always struggled to access additional funding/grants due to the neighbourhood's relative affluence, they also noted the more recent impacts of austerity. This has led to a decline in support from BCC and other funders, and a reduction in the provision of services and activities typically provided by the state. They explained that charities are being increasingly expected to fill gaps that the state would traditionally have filled, arguably without sufficient resource, leading to an increasing 'need' for enterprise. This challenge was recognised by both external and internal participants. For example, Sam (Organisational Representative) commented:

> '...we're not in a position where we are on any scale able to...reach some of those harder-to-reach groups or a high level of need that maybe the state would have historically reached...in terms of supporting those most at disadvantage or at kind of risk of becoming isolated from the community...we can do bits...particularly around older people...but doing that on any kind of substantial scale would be a big challenge...'

This suggests that despite good intentions, BS3CD's approach is somewhat piecemeal and certainly cannot be expected to meet needs in the way the welfare state was originally intended to. It is arguably extremely difficult, if not impossible, for CEs to address community needs in a fully 'sustainable' way, without funding to subsidise non-enterprising services and activities (Bailey, 2017). This approach may also lead to inequity in non-statutory (and arguably increasingly statutory) service provision, with disparities in community capacity to deliver these (see Hastings et al., 2015).

While 'enterprise' arguably works more easily in BS3 than some other areas, given the degree of affluence locally, there was recognition that this had

created some challenges, particularly in terms of limiting BS3CD's ability to develop new services and activities. Some also felt it had resulted in an over-reliance on EE&C provision, with Edward (Organisational Representative) cautioning of the risk of 'mission drift.' These shifts have affected the use of TSC and the organisation's approach, as discussed previously.

In the context of austerity, and despite aims to help reduce inequalities locally, several participants expressed concern that BS3CD lacks agency to address negative impacts from gentrification. Several participants recognised that these reflect structural inequalities, which are outwith BS3CD's control, for example relating to housing and labour markets, with a need for state intervention. Nevertheless, Drew (Organisational Representative) considered what BS3CD's role could be in relation to issues such as the NHS, social care and education:

> '...I'm not sure that you could expect community development to do that, brackets, can you?...Can they be a campaign organisation?...I would like to think that we would support those in most need. But do we honestly do that? Monday Club, yes...We support people who would be lonely and isolated.'

Thus, while Drew recognised a need to be realistic about what BS3CD can achieve and influence, he expressed a clear desire to help where possible, which was also emphasised by several other participants. Jeremy (Organisational Representative) felt while that helping with issues of inequality is 'a massive ask of us an organisation,' reflecting:

> '...I'd hope that we can...hear all voices from all areas, and I'd hope that we can work with people that need us...more than people that don't...I know that's a really, really simplistic way of saying it...'

Despite Jeremy's commitment to hearing from those in most need, it is questionable how effective this approach can be, if there are insufficient resources from the state to address structural issues. Further, residents with the highest levels of social capital are often those who are most willing and able to voice their concerns, thus making it harder to hear those in most need (O'Brien & Matthews, 2016).

Despite these challenges, some participants sought to emphasise the positives of 'enterprise,' increasing organisational autonomy:

'…if you're reliant on funding, then you will be at the whim of whatever local or national government comes in. Whereas…if there's money available and it's a project that we want to do…good. But… We're not desperate to have the money because we generate our own income…It gives you more freedom, it enables you to take risks that maybe you wouldn't if you were dependent on external funding' (Charlotte, Organisational Representative).

Overall, then, in this context, BS3CD's approach has largely focussed on ameliorating some of the challenges associated with gentrification, rather than limiting or resisting it. The findings highlight challenges regarding BS3CD's agency, regardless of how 'enterprising' it is (see DeFilippis et al., 2010; Bailey, 2012; Rolfe, 2018).

7.6.2 Third Sector Policy and Asset Acquisition

Another key factor is third sector policy. Interestingly, although not always asked about explicitly, so as not to influence participants' answers, the *Localism* and *Community Rights* agendas were not often overly cited as key influences. Nevertheless, they were noted in previous annual reports in the *Big Society* period and the *Localism* legislation was utilised in securing the site for TCC (SCDA, 2012), with the SCDA nominating it as an *Asset of Community Value* (SCDA, 2014:5).[25] This meant that the organisation was able to negotiate the sale of the site (a former Boy's Brigade building) without it going on the open market. Nevertheless, participants reflected on the difficulties they had experienced in acquiring TCC, especially in contrast to the experience with TSC. Charlotte (Organisational Representative) explained how in the early 1990s, the SCDA had been able to 'get a whole building…at a peppercorn rent,' with 'funding available to help convert it.' The context for finding a second site was very different, with competition for land locally, and less support from the local authority. This narrative is arguably emblematic of the policy shifts that have taken place over the organisation's lifetime, highlighting the difficulties of realising the *Localism* agenda in the current context.

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[25] 'A building or other land is an asset of community value (ACV) if its main use has recently been, or it is presently used to, further the social wellbeing or social interests of the local community and could do so in future.' In the *Localism* legislation, ACVs are the first stage of the Community Right to Bid (My Community, 2020).

BS3CD also accessed a charity bond[26] to finance the development of TCC. The ability to utilise this mechanism arguably reflects the professionalism of BS3CD's board and staff, and also the increasing affluence of the community, with 29% of investors coming from BS3 (SCDA, 2017). Jonathan (Organisational Representative) explained, 'there's not that many charities that are doing that, and probably not that many charities that could meet the…interest repayments.'

These national policy changes thus mean that a very strategic approach, requiring business and finance skills to maximise opportunities available via policy, is required by community organisations if they are to remain sustainable, while achieving their aims, particularly in the context of austerity (Bailey, 2012,2017; Rolfe, 2016a).

7.6.3 Local Factors Influencing the Approach

Participants highlighted that, in some respects, the organisation has benefited from high levels of social capital, affluence and middle-class activism locally, which are reflected in the skills and competencies of the organisation's board and staff. These were arguably crucial for the organisation's establishment, and its development. Participants described that there has been a high level of local involvement (albeit perhaps generally from certain segments of the population) in the board, and amongst staff members and volunteers, over time. This has allowed the community enterprise approach to thrive, rather than having to recruit from outside the community. While macroeconomic, structural conditions play a fundamental role, limiting organisational agency in some cases, the local context cannot be dismissed, with this enabling the organisation to establish and evolve into a sustainable and 'business-like' charity.

Despite the benefits of the nature of the local community, this has also brought challenges, with the organisation having to be relatively self-reliant from early on, thus influencing its approach. Nevertheless, this may have eased the

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[26] These are 'a tradable loan between a charity or social enterprise and a group of social investors' with a set time period and typically 'a fixed rate of interest' (https://www.bigsocietycapital.com/about-us/previous-projects/charity-bonds, accessed 29/12/2018).

transition towards enterprise because of austerity, in contrast to organisations who were previously more reliant on funding. There is also an important role for local policy, as discussed earlier in this chapter and in Chapter Six. Socioeconomic inequalities locally have also affected the approach, as are now discussed.

Neighbourhood Inequalities and Community Involvement

As mentioned previously, several participants reflected that BS3CD's recent approach is being driven, in part, by a greater awareness of socioeconomic inequalities locally, partly worsened by gentrification and austerity. They cited an aim to engage a broader range of residents and to use surpluses to help ameliorate some of the negative impacts arising from gentrification. External participants also recognised this, with Francis (Local Stakeholder) noting the importance of BS3CD's work in relation to 'isolation and inter-generational' activities. However, participants also cited challenges in addressing these inequalities, often the result of years of structural disadvantage.

Nevertheless, as discussed, there was a clear desire from several organisational representatives and wider stakeholders to help those most in need. For example, Jonathan (Organisational Representative) reflected that:

> '…it would be great if we, as an organisation, played a part in increasing that diversity and started to reach out to more groups and started to have an impact more widely than Southville.'

Yet, without greater diversity on the board and amongst service users, William (Organisational Representative) reflected that it is difficult to know what the needs of these residents are, particularly as 'we don't do any research at the moment as to what the community needs.' He commented that currently the:

> 'board members are all very similar people…similar backgrounds, so ex-teachers or ex-college lecturers. We don't have any businesspeople. We don't have any black people…any young people.'

Accordingly, he explained that the aim is 'to certainly diversify in terms of ethnicity, but I think it would be a good opportunity to diversify in terms of age as well.' Similarly, Jonathan (Organisational Representative) commented on the need for more ethnic diversity on the board to gather 'advice on the kinds of

activities that might appeal.' Interestingly, however, organisational representatives tended not to express an overt aim to diversity the board in terms of class. Thus, governance was seemingly viewed as a key mechanism for better understanding unmet community needs and informing BS3CD's approach. As discussed in the literature review, organisations can potentially become more detached from their community as they mature (DeFilippis et al., 2010). These challenges are also likely exacerbated by austerity, reducing the resources available for community engagement activities.

In terms of geographical expansion, the location of TCC in Bedminster was mentioned by several participants, with the hope that this would help to reach different parts of the community. For example, Rachel (Organisational Representative) commented, 'I think having a presence [in Bedminster]...will hopefully increase people's awareness of who we are and what we do.' She described how BS3CD was keen to explore 'if there are areas which...are less comfortable and...perhaps have different needs which need to be addressed.'

Despite these ambitions, several participants expressed a view that TSC is more of a 'community hub' than TCC at present. Drew (Organisational Representative) felt that this was because TCC is primarily a nursery, it does not have a reception area and has secure entry, meaning people 'can't just pop in.' He continued:

> '...I don't know whether it's fair to say, but part of me is a little bit disappointed...we had these great hopes for this fantastic, ooo, second site, but it's not quite the same...'

Despite this sense of disappointment, Morgan (Local Stakeholder) was very pleased, stating that 'for once, in Bedminster, we've got something that is a bit more of a community space.' Overall, it was too early to assess TCC's role in community development when the data was collected.

There are therefore various factors, operating at different scales, influencing BS3CD's approach and role in regeneration and gentrification, with interrelations between them. Public sector retraction and austerity arguably mean that BS3CD increasingly relies on more affluent residents, although this approach does simultaneously allow greater surpluses to be generated and potentially

reinvested into community activities and services, redistributing some wealth, albeit on a small scale (see Aiken et al., 2011). While some organisational representatives expressed a real desire to help others, there was recognition of the limitations of BS3CD's agency, with a need for greater state intervention.

7.7 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter initially summarised the findings relating to research objective two (conceptualisations, experiences and negotiations of gentrification locally) and research objective three (the nature of BS3CD's approach over time). This analysis identified several tensions arising locally from gentrification, including along the axes of age, class and length of residence; and within the organisation, such as business versus charity and outward- versus inward-facing approaches.

The chapter then addressed the main foci of the thesis: the role of TSC (research objective 4) and the organisation (research objective 5) in regeneration and gentrification over time, as well as the factors influencing the approach. Consideration was given to how far, and in what ways, BS3CD via TSC can resolve some of the tensions noted above and affect change in a context of state retrenchment and a market-led housing system. The organisation's agency to negotiate gentrification and mitigate some of its negative consequences was considered throughout.

TSC was generally described positively as a community hub which had provided a meeting space for interactions and activities to take place, services to be delivered, and outreach work to be facilitated. TSC and BS3CD have seemingly played a key role locally for those who have engaged. The organisation and the asset have also contributed to economic regeneration, for example by creating jobs locally. Yet, TSC, and the organisation more broadly, have seemingly played an ambiguous role of gentrification. In the early days, in particular, TSC was cited by some as catalysing and reinforcing Southville's early gentrification. However, others suggested that TSC (and BS3CD's work more generally) has generally reflected neighbourhood changes.

Further, some participants highlighted concerns around exclusivity at TSC, both in terms of the building's atmosphere and the economic model. Nevertheless,

the renewed emphasis on community development and outreach activities, focussing on engaging the more deprived and excluded parts of the community, including older residents, was widely praised. Although these activities are relatively small-scale, and while they are seemingly not a deliberate anti-gentrification strategy per se, they do seek to ameliorate some of gentrification's impacts by expanding social and community services to meet a wider variety of needs; this has the potential to have a great impact on individuals.

Yet, despite these efforts to offer a greater variety of lower-cost or free activities, an important finding was the suggestion by a small but notable number of participants that BS3CD's engagement with the less affluent, and typically more working-class, parts of the community often occurs outside of the asset, although there are some exceptions, such as Older People's Services. This raises the question of how far TSC as a community asset, and BS3CD as an organisation, can resolve some of the ambivalences emerging locally from gentrification by being used for a wider demographic; or whether this role is more effective if it is indirect, with TSC instead generating the surplus for outreach activities. The former approach would potentially require a greater commitment to prioritising these communities over the need for sustainability, which is arguably very difficult in the capitalist context, and exacerbated by austerity. In this context, therefore, the asset's nature and usage have arguably, at times, reflected the activities required to generate a surplus to an extent. Thus, while BS3CD has contributed to regeneration through its community development activities, participants suggested that this, combined with the work of other organisations locally, may have catalysed private sector investment and further gentrification.

Consequently, the findings suggest that BS3CD has, in different ways and to varying extents, sought to negotiate the negative effects arising from gentrification, while also reflecting, and arguably perpetuating and benefitting from, the process (see Larner, 2014). The findings thus highlight the challenges arising as BS3CD aims to meet varied community needs and resolve these tensions in a synergistic manner (Thompson & Williams, 2014). These findings importantly highlight the challenges and constraints on BS3CD's capacity and

agency, which are exacerbated in the context of austerity, and reflected in the asset.

Thus, despite efforts by many involved in BS3CD to mitigate some of the impacts of gentrification, the findings highlight the need to recognise the limitations of the community enterprise approach. This is particularly important, as recent policy has promoted this approach as a key mechanism for community regeneration and service delivery in the context of austerity, while cutting resources for CEs (see Hastings et al., 2015). BS3CD's agency is arguably limited by structural inequalities, which both drive gentrification and reduce the ability of CEs to affect change locally. If there is inadequate state intervention, for example in terms of affordable housing and redistributive policies, as there has been in BS3, it is arguably very difficult for CEs, via their assets, to influence these structural issues (O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). In this context, it seems there is limited space for CEs to develop alternatives to gentrification, with their activities arguably only ever being ameliorative (see Shaw & Porter, 2009; Nathan, 2016).

These findings reflect existing literature (for example, Amin et al., 2002; DeFilippis et al., 2010; Somerville, 2016) which has emphasised that community groups, however well-organised, well-resourced and enterprising, can only go so far, understandably not being able to address structural inequalities or fulfil the role of the state. Capitalist structures, particularly the housing market (see Lees et al., 2008; DeFilippis et al., 2010), have a huge influence on the role of BS3CD and its assets, with the organisation needing to generate a surplus to ensure sustainability, as government funding has declined. While participants considered how best BS3CD can work with a wider demographic and further help improve the lives of *all* people living in BS3, particularly those in most need, an important finding is the seeming little space for increased agency in the context of austerity, reflecting existing work (for example, Milbourne & Cushman, 2015; Rolfe, 2018).

BS3CD's approach is thus affected by a variety of external and internal factors, including national policy and the local socioeconomic context, influencing the balance between inward/outward approaches and between community and enterprise, over time (see Somerville & McElwee, 2011; Thompson & Williams,

2014). The significance of different factors has evolved over time, for example when macroeconomic conditions are weaker, the macroeconomic context arguably has a greater influence, affecting the context in which local factors can influence the approach. Austerity has also had a significant impact, arguably exacerbating inequalities across BS3 and affecting BS3CD's work. Nevertheless, the local context cannot be dismissed, with participants citing unique local factors which enabled the organisation to establish and develop over time into a sustainable and 'business-like' charity.

8 Chapter 8: Gentrification, Community Enterprise and Community Assets in Maryhill,[27] Glasgow

8.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the Glasgow case study, Community Central Hall (CCH), based in Maryhill, introduced in Chapter Five. It analyses the ways in which CCH has evolved as an organisation, via the Halls[28] as a community asset and a mechanism for delivery and action, since its inception in 1977. The chapter explores how CCH's approach and role within local regeneration, are influenced by the neighbourhood context; increasing professionalisation of the third sector; the impacts of austerity; and structural socioeconomic inequalities.

This chapter is structured around the research objectives. Initially, participants' views on how the regeneration/gentrification debate relates to Maryhill are considered. Subsequently, CCH's shifting organisational ethos is analysed as the context for its changing role in regeneration and gentrification. This is followed by an exploration of the role of the Halls, as a community asset, in neighbourhood change over time. The wider role of CCH as an organisation in the community is then examined. The penultimate section analyses the factors affecting CCH's approach over time, before concluding.

8.2 Gentrification, Regeneration and Community Development in Maryhill

Maryhill's development over time reflects much academic literature tracing the impact of deindustrialisation on formerly industrial neighbourhoods in the 1980s, followed by various efforts to regenerate these areas (Gordon & Buck, 2005). Participants noted that Greater Maryhill has experienced poverty over the years, with Woodside (where CCH is located) experiencing long-term inequalities with the neighbouring, typically affluent West End, as shown in the Scottish Index of

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[27] While CCH is not located in what is typically defined as Maryhill, the Greater Maryhill area is defined as CCH's area of benefit and is thus the focus here. CCH is located in the Woodside Community Council area, and this is referred to where relevant.

[28] Community Central Hall is the name of both the organisation and the asset. The asset is also referred to as 'the Halls' locally. As such, these terms are used interchangeably, depending on the context.

Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) maps (Figure 5.17 in section 5.9.2). Yet, despite this poverty, participants suggested that Maryhill previously had a strong working-class community, with the view that this has declined, partly due to the transition to a post-industrial economy.

In this context, participants' responses regarding how gentrified Maryhill is were mixed; gentrification was not a term that all participants were aware of or all believed applied locally. There was a general view that gentrification had been relatively minimal in a context where some cited a 'need' for investment and regeneration, or 'a bit of gentrification.'

Nevertheless, participants cited local changes that are often associated with gentrification, although they did not always make the connection. These included housing demolition and dispersal, a loss of community and increasing house prices. Regarding the latter, participants noted that these had not been uniform across the area, potentially exacerbating existing inequalities. They cited that the greatest affordability issues have been in the more 'desirable' parts of the neighbourhood nearest Kelvinside (see Figure 8.1), often marketed as the 'Greater West End' or 'Greater Kelvindale' by estate agents. For example, Rachael (Organisational Representative) cited 'a town house, less than 5 minutes from here that was sold for a million pounds.'

Figure 8.1 Beaconsfield Road, Kelvinside (above) and Landsdowne Crescent, Kelvinbridge (below)

Source: Author's Own (March 2020)

These concerns are reflected in house price data. Firhill intermediate zone,[29] where CCH is located, and four of the other nine nearby intermediate zones experienced a greater percentage change in median house price from 1993 to 2013 (when data is available) than Glasgow as a whole (see Figure 8.2 and Table 8.1). Some felt that these increases had led to some displacement.

Figure 8.2 Median house price paid by case study and nearby intermediate zones, compared to Glasgow City (1993-2013)
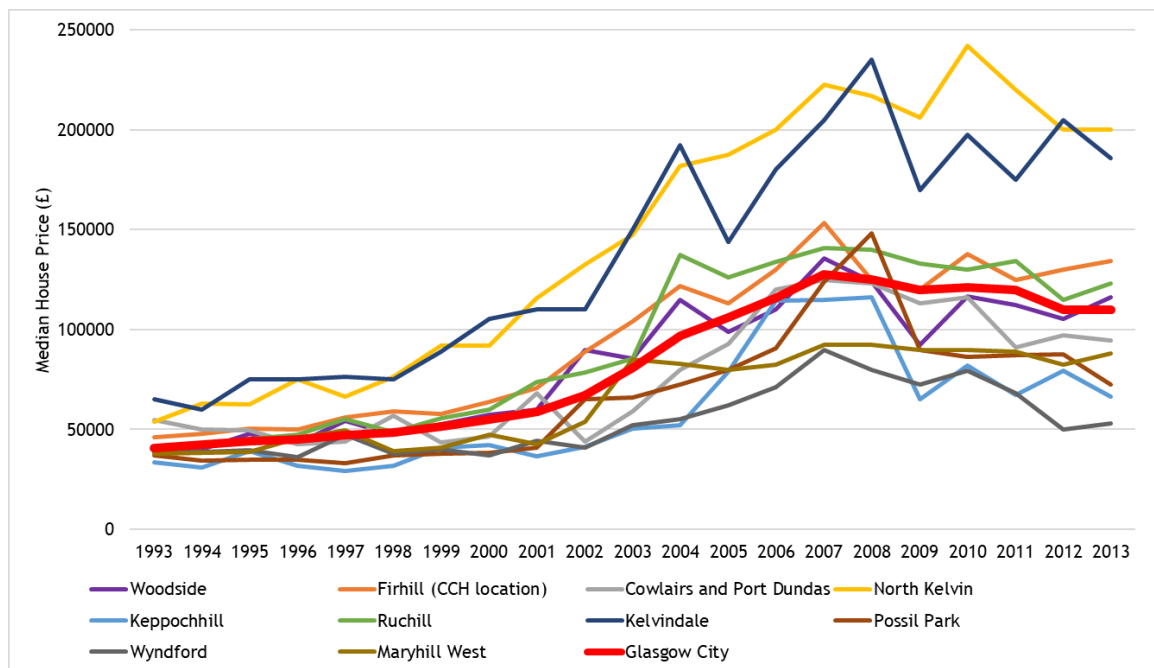
Source: Graph constructed data from Scottish Statistics (n.d.).

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[29] There are 1,235 intermediate zones (IZs) in Scotland, containing an average of 4,000 residents. These larger geographies 'nest in to local authorities,' but 'do not necessarily delineate communities on the ground' (Scottish Executive, 2005:no page).

Table 8.1 Median house price change by case study and nearby intermediate zones, compared to Glasgow City (1993-2013)

Intermediate zone	Percentage Change		
	1993-2003	2003-2013	1993-2013
North Kelvin	174.42	35.59	272.09
Ruchill	108.16	44.15	200.06
Firhill	*125.11*	*29.16*	*190.75*
Woodside	113.98	35.70	190.36
Kelvindale	130.50	24.00	185.82
Maryhill West	123.68	3.53	131.58
Keppochhill	50.19	31.68	97.77
Possil Park	78.33	9.85	95.89
Cowlairs and Port Dundas	7.76	60.17	72.60
Wyndford	34.20	1.92	36.77
Glasgow City	*100.30*	*35.72*	*171.85*

Source: Scottish Statistics (n.d.)

Data derived at the Intermediate Zone level from Scottish Statistics, extracted by the author on 19 March 2019. Percentage difference calculated by subtracting the original number from the new number, dividing the increase by the original number and multiplying the answer by 100.

These increases were viewed as partly being a knock-on effect of affordability issues in the West End (see also Gray, 2015):

> '…there probably is a wee bit of…gentrification moving, kind of northwards from North Kelvinside…slowly but surely will get to Maryhill. But it's not encroached to the extent that it's totally forced out an existing community' (Rosanna, Local Stakeholder).

Further, several participants felt that despite some changes and the area's proximity to the West End, 'it feels a world apart,' for example lacking forms of middle-class consumption, such as coffee shops (Daniel, Organisational Representative). Alison (Organisational Representative) commented, 'I still feel very much that gentrification is relatively alien to the area.'

However, others had more ambivalent understandings of the nature and impact of gentrification locally. For example, Isla (Local Stakeholder) commented:

> '…I don't think the regeneration that we are doing here is leading to gentrification. And, if it is, it's not gentrification that's leading to people being pushed out…the communities look better, feel better. That might…lead to more private interest in the area but…that's only a good thing because it will sort of stimulate…mixed-tenure development.'

This quote is quite contradictory. First, Isla suggests that gentrification is not occurring and then seemingly continues to accept that it may be, to a 'benign' degree. Isla also later commented that, 'some of the estates…have changed beyond all recognition.' Even if this is not perceived as gentrification, it is important to recognise the impact such changes can have on residents' sense of community. Nevertheless, Abigail (Local Stakeholder) emphasised that there had been increased opportunities for local people as a result of the regeneration.

Another aspect of neighbourhood change which is sometimes related to gentrification in academic literature is an increasing student presence, or 'studentification' (for example, Hubbard, 2009; Chatterton, 2010). Some participants described how both the University of Glasgow halls of residence nearby at Murano Street, which opened in the 1990s, and the more recent growth of private student housing, had led to a degree of studentification locally (see Figure 8.3), particularly in Hillhead ward, where CCH is located (see Table 8.2). While participants recognised the benefits students can bring, Zach (Local Stakeholder) expressed concerns about student accommodation being prioritised over that for local residents:

> '…because of the 2008 banking crisis…there hasn't been a lot of new-build for families. There has been new-build student accommodation… that's the only type of…accommodation that can get funding from the banks…'

However, Rosanna (Local Stakeholder) felt that studentification had only impacted on the southern end of Maryhill Road, closest to the University, and separated this from gentrification.

There were thus ambivalences in understandings of gentrification in Maryhill. While participants suggested that there had been significant change since the late 1970s, they generally suggested that the 'traditional' character of Maryhill's community still largely remains, albeit somewhat fragmented.

Figure 8.3 Signs of gentrification? The Botany Bar, Maryhill Road (above), and high-end development at Shakespeare Street, Maryhill (below)

Source: Author's Own (March 2020)

Participants also suggested, either implicitly or explicitly, that ongoing social issues, including unemployment and underemployment, in-work poverty, addiction issues, crime, low educational attainment and a historical 'gang culture,' were atypical of wholly gentrified areas. For example, while the economic activity rate increased by nearly ten percentage points in Glasgow City from 2001 to 2011, there has been little change in Canal and Maryhill wards,

with a decrease in Hillhead ward, seemingly due to a growth in the student and retired populations (see Table 8.2). Nevertheless, these issues are arguably not unusual for socioeconomically unequal neighbourhoods in the earlier stages of gentrification (Shaw, 2008b).

Table 8.2 Economic Activity (all people of working age) for case study and neighbouring wards, compared to Glasgow City (2001-2011)

	Ward						Glasgow City	
	Canal		Maryhill/ Kelvin (2001); Maryhill (2011)		Hillhead (CCH location)			
	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011
Economically Active	**56.8%**	**57.7%**	**66.4%**	**66.1%**	**67.1%**	**59.8%**	**55.9%**	**64.5%**
Of these:								
Employees	72.8%	73.2%	77.7%	74.4%	69.2%	61.6%	76.6%	73.3%
Self-employed	6.5%	6.0%	8.0%	7.7%	10.2%	9.8%	7.3%	8.3%
Unemployed	12.2%	14.5%	8.7%	10.0%	6.6%	7.3%	9.8%	10.0%
Full-time students	8.5%	6.3%	5.6%	7.9%	14.1%	21.3%	6.3%	8.3%
Economically Inactive	**43.2%**	**42.3%**	**33.6%**	**33.9%**	**32.9%**	**40.2%**	**44.1%**	**35.5%**
Of these:								
Retired	3.1%	33.7%	3.9%	31.9%	3.9%	15.0%	28.3%	31.9%
Student	24.4%	14.3%	56.9%	24.3%	56.9%	62.5%	14.1%	24.4%
Other	72.6%	52.0%	39.2%	43.8%	39.2%	22.5%	57.6%	43.7%
Source: Table constructed from 2001 Census (GRO for Scotland, 2001) and 2011 Census data (NRS, 2011).								

Further, Canal ward has a higher proportion of residents with no qualifications and in the lower National Statistics Socio-economic groupings than the Glasgow average (see Figure 8.4 and Figure 8.5). Maryhill/Kelvin is broadly in line with the Glasgow average and Hillhead generally performs more positively, again highlighting inequalities locally.

Figure 8.4 Highest level of qualification (all people aged 16+) for case study and neighbouring wards, compared to Glasgow City (2001-2011)
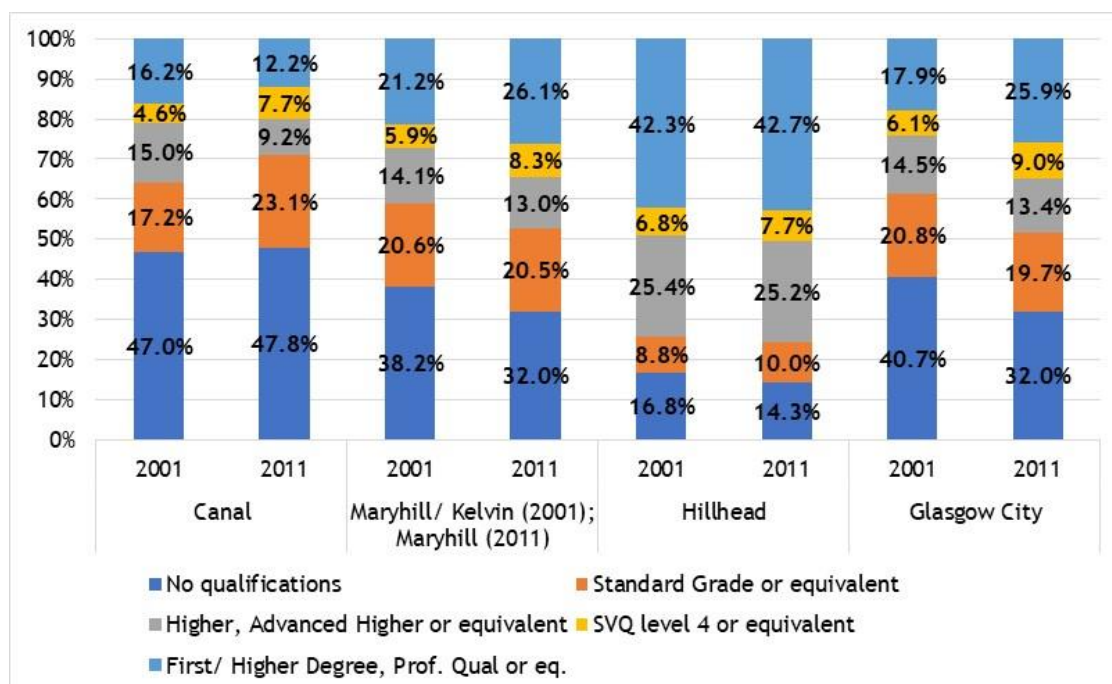
Source: Graph constructed from 2001 Census (GRO for Scotland, 2001) and 2011 Census (NRS, 2011) data.

Figure 8.5 National Statistics Socio-economic Classification for case study and neighbouring wards, compared to Glasgow City (2001-2011)
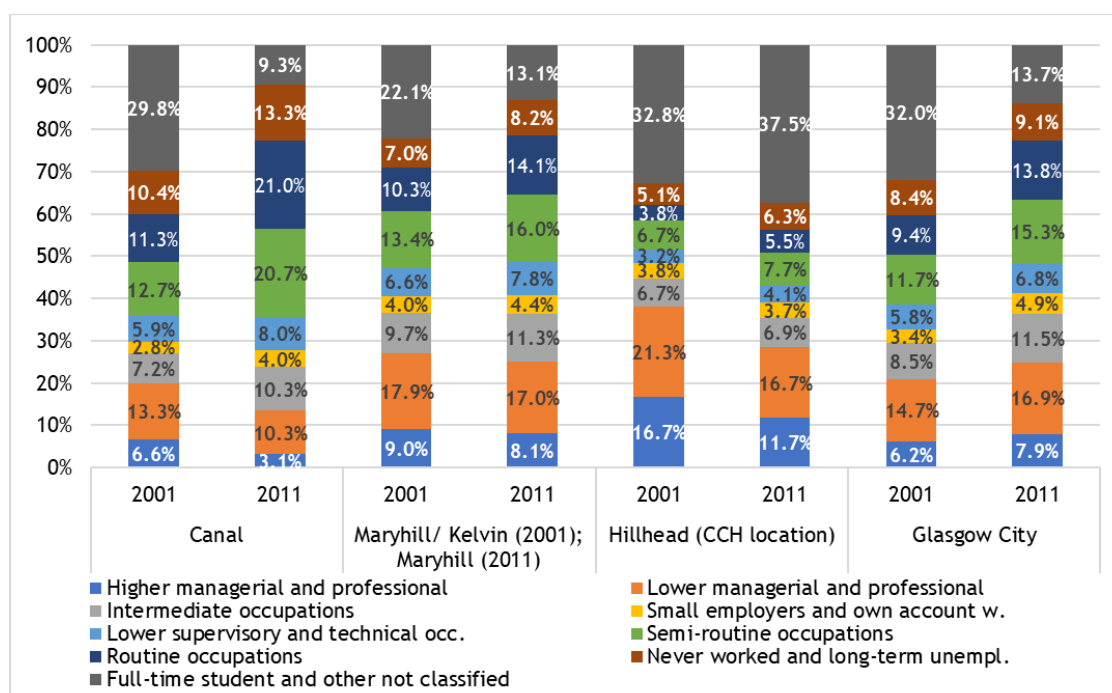
Source: Graph constructed from 2001 Census (GRO for Scotland, 2001) and 2011 Census (NRS, 2011) data.

There were varying views regarding how far Maryhill/Woodside appears as 'deprived' as the statistics suggest. Violet (Organisational Representative)

suggested that deprivation is 'to some degree hidden,' due to improvements in housing:

> '…50 years ago, we used to have children's meetings in the church…
> After the meetings had finished, you went and had a good wash,
> because the kids were so filthy. That kind of deprivation has gone…'

However, Jason (Organisational Representative) disagreed, highlighting the increase in in-work poverty, primarily driven by stagnant wages and increasing living costs:

> 'Poverty has always been here in this community, but I think it's more
> prominent now…there is probably more people working now than
> there was…There's a lot of debt…just trying to make ends meet.'

Some participants highlighted concerns that these longstanding structural inequalities, combined with the more recent impacts of austerity and so-called 'welfare reform,' are increasing poverty and inequality locally.

There was a view that while regeneration investments over the years have improved the physical environment and housing, there has been insufficient focus on social regeneration. Violet (Organisational Representative) questioned whether these investments have 'addressed the social needs of the area? Almost certainly not.' Further, participants suggested that recent regeneration investments, introduced at 5.9.2, had bypassed the Woodside area. The next section analyses responses regarding housing regeneration and social mix, as two key cited changes.

8.2.1 Experiencing and Negotiating Gentrification

Housing Change, Displacement and Sense of Community

Participants cited much housing change since the late 1970s, particularly in terms of demolition. They described how some of the housing was previously of extremely poor quality and emphasised the benefits of this regeneration:

> '…without doubt the area has transformed…the bottom end of Maryhill
> is far more attractive to look at now…there was really undesirable
> housing which has all been demolished…the streets, the estates are

more welcoming, they look better...cleaner...tidier' (Isla, Local Stakeholder).

Some participants suggested that there had been an implicit desire amongst policy-makers to increase tenure and social mix and reduce 'concentrated poverty.' Participants cited the demolition of particularly 'problematic' streets locally and the dispersal of supposedly 'troublesome' residents. Some were critical of this approach, arguing that it had simply displaced the 'problem' into other areas, rather than addressing the cause. However, others viewed this approach as the only 'solution' to what they perceived as ingrained social problems, disassociating this from gentrification.

Notwithstanding, several participants noted the detrimental impacts of these changes, reducing the community's ability to support itself, as social networks and social capital have been affected. Some long-term residents expressed feelings of isolation as friends and family have moved away, reducing their support networks and sense of community. For example, Jason (Organisational Representative) commented that, 'a lot of the families that I grew up with, no longer live here...it doesn't feel like a community anymore.' Further, Malcolm (Beneficiary) reflected, 'I think I'm the only one...left in Maryhill.'

Yet, the findings suggest ambivalent experiences of community. For example, Jason later suggested that 'there is still a sense of community; probably not as much as it used to be, probably more in times of trouble. But then, that's when you know you've still got a community.' Moreover, Daniel (Organisational Representative) emphasised that he thought that Maryhill still had a strong sense of community.

These changes were also related to wider societal shifts since the late 1970s, with themes of individualism and collectivism:

> 'When I started in CCH...there was a lot of poverty. Tremendous amount of poverty. But people looked after one another. Now, there's more wealth and people are looking after themselves financially, and not so much for other people...' (Bonnie, Organisational Representative).

Similarly, Violet (Organisational Representative) commented that because of housing regeneration, 'people live in their nice houses with secure entry and glorious isolation.' While there were varying viewpoints, these narratives arguably provide a counter to the views expressed previously that gentrification has either not occurred in Maryhill or that it is a 'positive' thing in an area 'requiring investment.'

While there was a view that housing had been much improved, participants generally felt that the Woodside area had been somewhat neglected in terms of recent regeneration funding, despite still scoring very poorly on the SIMD. For example, Sarah (Organisational Representative) commented that she felt that Maryhill is a 'forgotten district' or 'a wee island…with stuff going on round and about.' Yet, there were different understandings of what form additional regeneration investment should take. There are thus challenges for those seeking community-led regeneration without gentrification (Shaw & Porter, 2009). The next section discusses issues of social mix.

Increasing Social Mix

A common impact cited by some as a 'benefit' of change was increased social mix. Violet (Organisational Representative) explained how she felt that the degree of gentrification locally had contributed to social mix, by both stopping middle-class residents leaving and attracting incoming middle-class residents. Although she recognised continuing deprivation, she felt it was positive that there was no longer 'a solid mass of under-achievers…the lowest-class people here.' Further, Heather (Local Stakeholder) commented that gentrification is 'a good thing,' with the view that middle-class home-owners have 'a higher level of investment in their community.'

However, others recognised that proximity did not necessarily lead to meaningful interaction or the supposed benefits of sharing social capital, instead potentially increasing risks of displacement, reflecting existing literature (for example, Lees, 2003a). Participants commented that increased social mix, promoted via policy, can instead negatively affect residents' sense of belonging and their social networks. For example, Bonnie (Organisational Representative) felt that incoming residents were less inclined to be involved in the community

than longstanding ones. Further, Callum (Organisational Representative) emphasised that an increased middle-class presence in traditionally working-class residential areas can adversely affect local service provision:

> '…gentrification is a threat, because if…[areas] become middle-class…other services are then left to decline…everything becomes a major battle…people don't understand the knock-on effects…'

While participants did not necessarily cite housing regeneration and increased social mix as resulting in gentrification, there was arguably a need for greater recognition of the risks of gentrification than was noted by some. Nevertheless, gentrification has seemingly been relatively limited thus far; the next section considers why this is.

8.2.2 Factors Limiting Gentrification: 'Who owns Maryhill Road is the question?'

The factors cited by participants as limiting gentrification in Maryhill reflect those identified by Shaw (2005:176-182): a 'housing stock not particularly conducive to gentrification'; 'longevity' and 'security in housing tenure'; 'the "embeddedness" of local communities' and 'political activism'; and the role of public policy, including support for 'community or social housing.'

Participants emphasised the importance of community organisations and assets in sustaining communities, such as via social networks. They also noted that these could facilitate community involvement in regeneration, thus hopefully increasing local benefits from regeneration. While CCH does not have explicit aims around limiting/resisting gentrification, participants suggested that its role is more indirect, for example by ensuring that affordable services are provided for those in need and maintaining an inclusive community space (see section 8.4.1). This arguably offers an 'alternative' form of social regeneration in contrast to more common, economically-focussed approaches (Tuckett, 1988).

The continually high percentage of social rented housing in the wards CCH provides for, except for Hillhead (see Figure 8.6), was also cited as crucial for limiting gentrification, providing affordable housing and security of tenure. For example, Zach (Local Stakeholder) commented:

'...who owns Maryhill Road is the question? We're fortunate that Queen's Cross [Housing Association] (QCHA) owns quite a lot of...the stock along Maryhill Road which I think has been key to it not being gentrified...obviously CCH right on the road...'

Figure 8.6 Tenure (households) for case study and neighbouring wards, compared to Glasgow City (2001-2011)
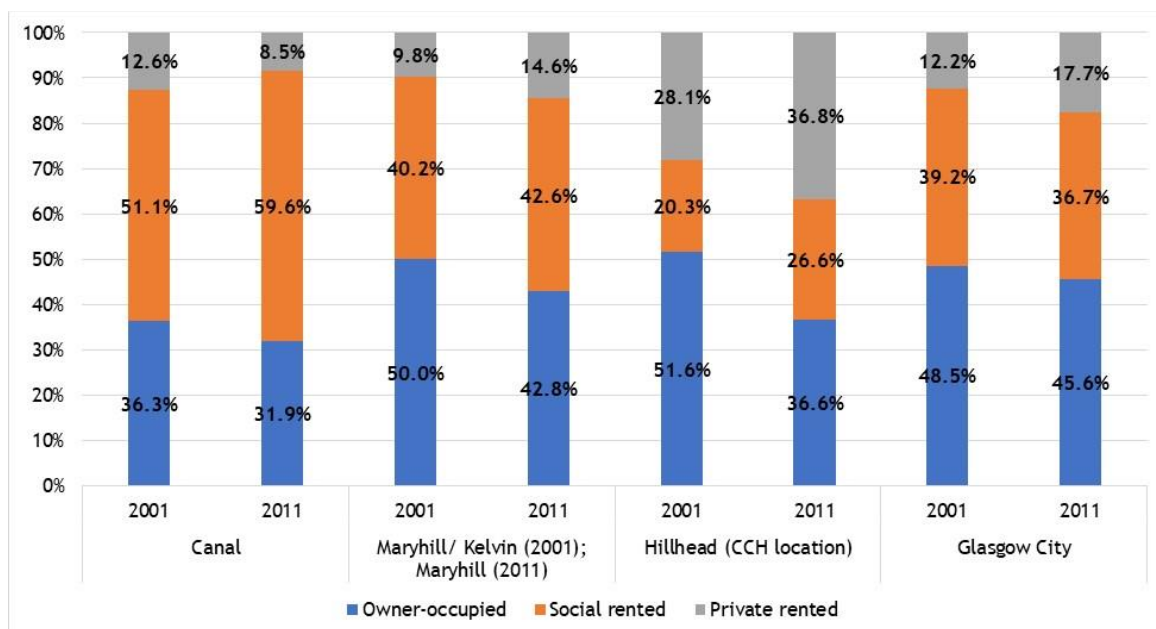
Source: Graph constructed from 2001 Census (GRO for Scotland, 2001) and 2011 Census (NRS, 2011) data.

Another factor arguably limiting gentrification, from a less positive perspective, is continuing poverty and social need. For example, Abigail (Local Stakeholder) emphasised that '[gentrification is] not going to happen...There's no money.' She instead highlighted how macroeconomic conditions, and the more recent impacts of austerity and 'welfare reform,' have exacerbated poverty, detrimentally affecting social and community services for those in need. Some participants also reflected that Glasgow's positioning in the UK also seemingly limits gentrification (see Van Criekingen & Decroly, 2003).

These issues are demonstrated in poverty data from *Understanding Glasgow*[30] (see Figure 8.7), although these neighbourhood profiles cover a different geography from the ward-level data presented previously. While CCH is located in 'Hillhead and Woodlands,' which has lower percentages in poverty than the Glasgow average, many of CCH's service users come from Ruchill and Possil Park,

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[30] Understanding Glasgow is a project developed by the Glasgow Centre for Population Health with support from a range of partners. The website provides profiles of 56 neighbourhoods across Glasgow, covering various indicators (GCPH, 2014b).

North Maryhill and Summerston and the Maryhill Corridor, which all fare worse or similarly to the Glasgow average. The low percentages for these indicators in neighbouring Kelvindale and Kelvinside again highlight inequalities locally.

Figure 8.7 Poverty indicators for case study and neighbouring areas, compared to Glasgow City
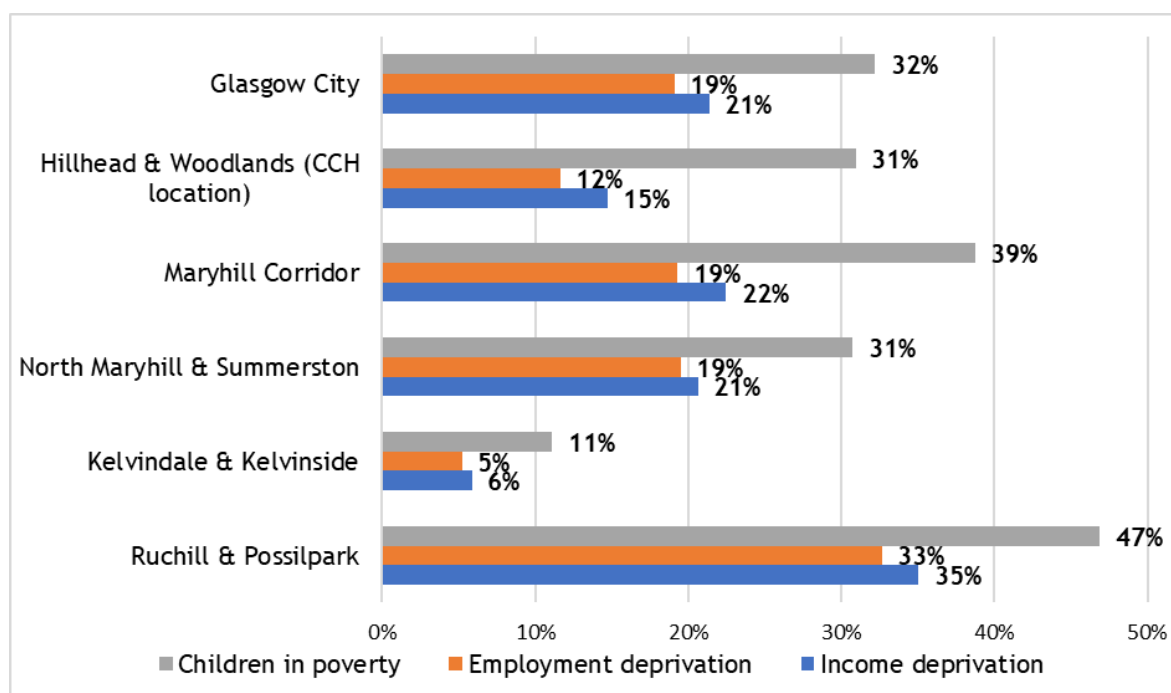
Source: Graph constructed from GCPH (2014b) data (https://www.understandingglasgow.com/profiles/neighbourhood_profiles).

The high proportion of social housing, combined with community assets, including CCH, therefore seemingly play a key role in limiting gentrification. At present, these arguably make it difficult for rapid gentrification to occur; neither the public nor the private sector has yet been able to drive this. Nevertheless, some recognised gentrification as a future risk, as is now discussed.

8.2.3 Looming Gentrification?

Participants suggested, either implicitly or explicitly, that there was a future risk of gentrification in Maryhill. For example, Sarah (Organisational Representative) reflected that while the 2008 GFC may have halted gentrification locally thus far, she felt gentrification was somewhat 'inevitable' due to various factors, including investment in the *Connecting Woodside*

project[31] and the area's positioning close to the University of Glasgow and city centre. Thus, she commented that if national and local economic conditions improve, the likelihood and risk of gentrification may increase. However, in the absence of large-scale investment, she thought that the process would be relatively 'generational,' occurring slowly as older, more working-class residents pass away.

Further, as discussed, participants highlighted their aims for further regeneration locally. For example, while Zach (Local Stakeholder) emphasised the need to support existing residents by developing affordable housing and improving green and social infrastructure, he also discussed desired improvements regarding the local environment and economy, such as the creative industries, arts and food and drink. Participants felt that these investments could catalyse further investment and increase the area's vibrancy and social mix, with a view that this could extend opportunities for existing residents, reflecting the 'trickle-down' thesis (Colomb, 2011). Yet, existing research has cautioned that prioritising this kind of regeneration over social aspects can be a precursor to gentrification and displacement (for example, Lees, 2003a; Porter, 2009). This is therefore a risky strategy, given the ways in which the market can quickly dominate if an area becomes a 'trendy' place to live, socialise and/or do business. Yet, some participants did not recognise the challenges of trying to 'negotiate' gentrification, or the need to limit it, perhaps due to the view that Maryhill is far from being gentrified, or because some were less familiar with the term.

Thus, while stakeholders are aiming to address the needs of existing residents, attract investment and develop local social and economic opportunities, the findings suggest that there is a need for very careful negotiation of neighbourhood change in the capitalist context; housing and labour markets, which are largely outwith the control of local stakeholders and/or organisations, drive much of this (DeFilippis et al., 2010). The next section analyses how CCH's

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[31] The Connecting Woodside project is an active travel project, with an £8 million investment over three years. Its aims include 'environmental enhancements;' 'segregated cycle tracks'; increasing 'permeability and connectivity,' via 'improved walking opportunities and attractive pedestrian links'; and 'outreach work' (GCC, n.d.2:no page).

organisational ethos has developed over time, to better understand its shifting role in neighbourhood change, addressing research objective three.

8.3 Organisational Ethos and Approach Over Time

8.3.1 The Origins and Evolution of CCH

As introduced in Chapter Five, CCH emerged in the late 1970s from a community campaign to take over management of a former Methodist church, which had long provided community and social services and activities. Participants explained that the action committee, comprising representatives of the different groups who used the church, sought to maintain the building and its activities, with concern that otherwise it would become derelict or be sold to private developers. Strathclyde Regional Council eventually bought the site and passed the management to the community for a peppercorn rent; it also provided grants to upgrade the building and deliver services at this time. Participants thus explained how CCH emerged from the grassroots, albeit with crucial financial, and other, support from the public sector, and particularly local councillor, John Gray (CCH, 1984).

CCH was established with the ethos of providing 'greater advantage of the disadvantaged' (CCH, 2015:4; see Figure 8.8). This ethos continues today, being reflected in CCH's current objectives, strategy and mission statement, with the aim to contribute to reducing inequalities locally by using resources for redistributive efforts (see Figure 8.9). Nevertheless, participants described changes in the organisation's governance, staffing and operations over time; these are now discussed.

Figure 8.8 CCH's Original Aims

> - 'Managing the building and staff with a view to promoting the well-being of the community without distinction of political, religious or other opinion;
> - To provide facilities in the interest of social welfare, recreation and leisure;
> - To co-operate with Strathclyde Regional Council in the achievement of these objectives;
> - Foster a community spirit for the achievement of these aims and other similar aims as may by law be deemed charitable.'
> *Source: CCH (1981:50)*

Figure 8.9 CCH Current Strategy

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

Source: CCH (2015:4)

8.3.2 Shifting Governance Philosophies

Bonnie (Organisational Representative) described how up to the mid-2000s, CCH was led by a large and, what she perceived to be, inclusive management committee:

> '...we managed to get a good community centre on the go, with a very, very strong management committee...over 20 people who were directly involved in the building.'

However, the nature of governance was described as having changed in the mid-2000s, when CCH appointed its first Chief Executive, with this role formerly being titled Executive Director. Organisational documents cite that the name change sought 'to reflect a greater degree of operational review and performance monitoring and management' (CCH, 2006:6), suggesting a shift in ethos towards New Public Management practices (see Osbourne, 2006). Participants noted how this was perceived as increasingly necessary due to the professionalisation of the third sector and increasing competition to access reducing public sector funding over time, requiring an increasingly professionalised approach. This was cited as being accompanied by an increased

focus on 'enterprising' activities and services which could generate surpluses. While participants mentioned that CCH had always had an element of 'enterprise,' this was cited as having increased from 30% of revenue in 2005, prior to the change of leadership, to 85% in 2018. During the 2000s, CCH also explicitly identified as a 'development trust,'[32] seeking to achieve social, economic and environmental regeneration objectives through community enterprise.

CCH's governance was also restructured around this time. Rachael (Organisational Representative) expressed that, in her view, the organisation's governance was previously ineffective. She described how there had been an office bearer's committee of 10-12 which focussed on the 'business and all the papers,' followed by a full board meeting, where this information was repeated to the community management committee of c.30:

> '...I think folks...had sometimes got comfortable coming up for a cup of tea and a biscuit, rather than actually contributing ideas and thoughts and suggestions. With a group of 35 it is quite difficult sometimes to engage people...there were definitely issues about getting quality decision-making...' (Rachael, Organisational Representative).

There were thus efforts to make the board more 'streamlined,' with its numbers reducing from around 30 in 2004 to nine in 2019 (see Figure 8.10).

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[32] 'A development trust is a community-owned and led organisation, working to combine community-led action with an enterprising approach to address and tackle local needs and issues' (DTAS, n.d.3).

Figure 8.10 Number of committee/board members and resignations at CCH (year ending 1995-2019)
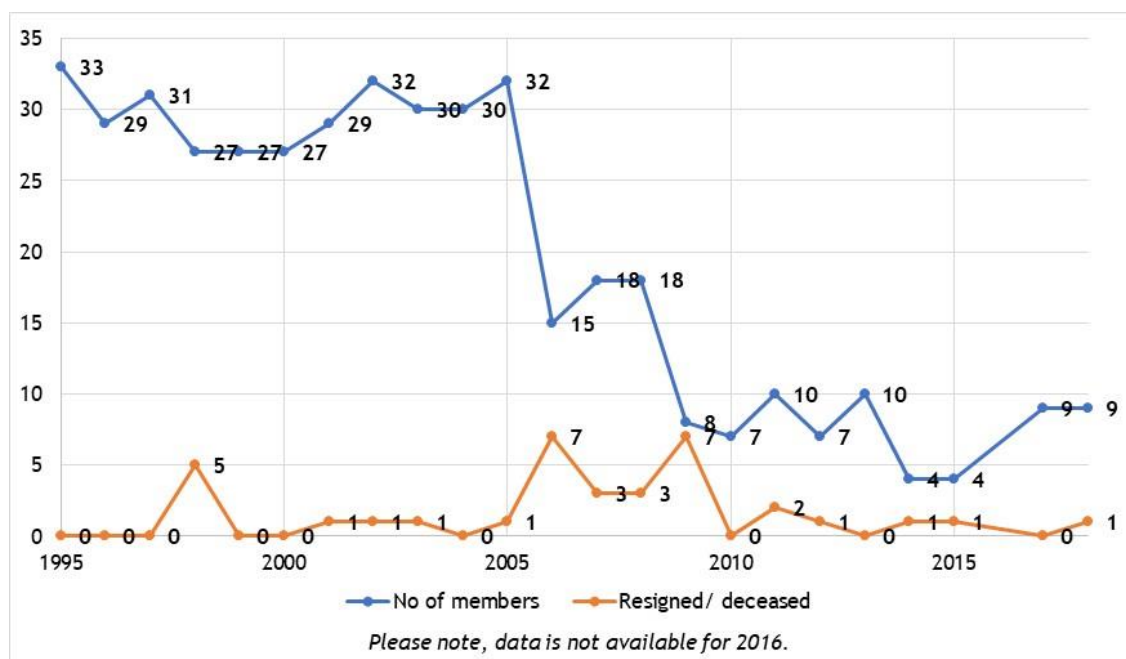
Source: Graph constructed from CCH Financial Statements (CCH, 1995-2019) (available https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/SC105891/filing-history).

However, some participants were critical of these changes. For example, Bonnie (Organisational Representative) suggested that this change had detrimentally affected the extent to which CCH's governance reflected the local community, affecting its role locally:

> '…about 15 years ago…[someone] unfortunately changed a lot of things for the worse…the committee fell down from over 20 to half a dozen. A lot of the good staff just left, because they felt that they weren't getting anywhere…It's been the ruin of CCH in the community. It's no longer a community centre…my main gripe is how one person has managed to change work in the community for the worse…'

There was some disagreement about the number of 'local' people currently on the board, with different understandings of this geography. In October 2019, CCH stated that 60% of board members lived 'locally,' in Hillhead, Canal and Maryhill/Kelvin wards. Organisational representatives discussed aiming to have a 'balance' on the board between local people and those with a 'professional' interest, albeit recognising that some local people also have a professional interest. Callum (Organisational Representative) commented that the

organisation has widened recruitment to ensure the 'necessary' skills and expertise:

> '...[In] other areas where there is a bigger pool of people who are interested within the community, you may well find the kind of skills that you need. But you won't in this area; it's one of the poorest in Scotland.'

This reflects challenges CEs can face in more deprived areas, which *tend* to have lower levels of certain kinds of social capital and potentially less access to what are perceived as the 'required' professional skills (see Bailey, 2012).

Further, Violet (Organisational Representative) commented that community engagement has 'been a struggle.' She recognised the importance of this, commenting that 'there's no doubt [local people] will look on it differently from people from [the affluent suburbs of] Milngavie and Bearsden.' Likewise, Sharon (Organisational Representative) was somewhat critical of the current approach:

> '...local people should have a say...you do need to bring some folk in who have got different expertise...but they don't really know what's good for local people...'

The current approach was thus cited as potentially causing challenges in terms of CCH's ability to understand community needs. Other reasons cited as to why community engagement may have become more difficult included changing methods of communication (e.g. social media), with less face-to-face interactions; and a shifting role for the 'traditional' community centre. These shifts in governance were cited as affecting staffing and operations; this is now discussed.

The Impact on Staffing and Operations

Participants described how, over the years, there had been some redundancies because of organisational restructuring, while other staff members had left due to discontent with organisational changes, with some citing low morale:

> '...the politics of the building can be a bit challenging as well...people that have been here for a long, long time...they're not wanting to see the changes...they're very critical of them...' (Jack, Organisational Representative).

The extent of criticism of these changes differed between participants who are still directly engaged with CCH and those who are not, with the latter tending to be more vocal. This may be because this discontent led them to become less engaged, or because they simply feel freer to express these views. Although participants who had not been involved at the time of the restructure acknowledged tensions, there was a greater degree of distance from these.

However, others highlighted the benefits of what they viewed as more efficient management. For example, Toby (Organisational Representative) reflected that things had improved since the change of leadership in the mid-2000s:

> '…you were kind of in your own wee world and just tried to make sure your department was ticking over…the culture has probably changed… maybe going back to more working together…'

Duncan (Organisational Representative) also felt that morale had improved recently. Moreover, some spoke very fondly of CCH, being proud of its aims and ethos; this was true of both older and newer representatives:

> '…it gets under your skin…people do live and breathe Community Central Halls. And I honestly do believe it is here for the community…' (Martin, Organisational Representative).

Another key theme was changes in the balance between community and enterprise (see Aiken et al., 2011).

8.3.3 Community and Enterprise: 'It feels like a tightrope…'

Of the organisational representatives who commented, there was general recognition of the tensions than can arise between community and enterprising aims. Several noted the challenges that can occur when trying to balance services and activities accordingly, in the context of wider factors, which CCH arguably has limited agency to influence:

> '…some of it gets down to trying to make a judgement call about what is best…for the organisation and best for the community. Sometimes it works in favour of [community and enterprise]…but not always…' (Rachael, Organisational Representative).

Participants suggested that this challenge is arguably exacerbated by both deprivation locally and the impacts of austerity and 'welfare reform' on service users. This may mean that 'enterprising' services and activities are likely to be at greater odds with community needs, as some residents cannot necessarily afford to pay for these.

Participants had varying perspectives about whether CCH had potentially gone too far towards 'enterprise'; and about how far this shifting approach may have influenced CCH's role in community regeneration. While some participants emphasised that 'enterprise' is the only way for CCH to be financially sustainable, others cautioned of the impact these changes have on CCH's ability to meet varying community needs. Interestingly, there was little suggestion that there is too much focus on community, although there was a suggestion that this was perhaps the case in the past, meaning CCH's community role was arguably at risk due to financial challenges.

Yet, despite the increased focus on enterprise, the extent of CCH's surplus/deficit continues to fluctuate, suggesting that the model remains somewhat precarious (see Figure 8.11). Further, CCH's turnover has not changed much in cash terms since around 2005, meaning that it has reduced in real terms (see Figure 8.12). Reductions in grant funding can thus create challenges for CEs, particularly those operating in deprived areas. Like other CEs, CCH arguably lacks agency to affect change, despite a longstanding commitment to supporting the community, with a need for greater state intervention (Bailey, 2017).

Despite these challenges, participants cited examples of trying to ensure community needs continue to be met, such as via affordable services and low-cost or free room hire for certain groups (see section 8.5). The latter was recently estimated to be worth in the region of £30,000 per annum (Rachael, Organisational Representative).

Figure 8.11 Income minus net expenditure for CCH (year ending 1995-2019)

Source: Graph constructed from CCH Financial Statements (CCH, 1995-2019) (https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/SC105891/filing-history).
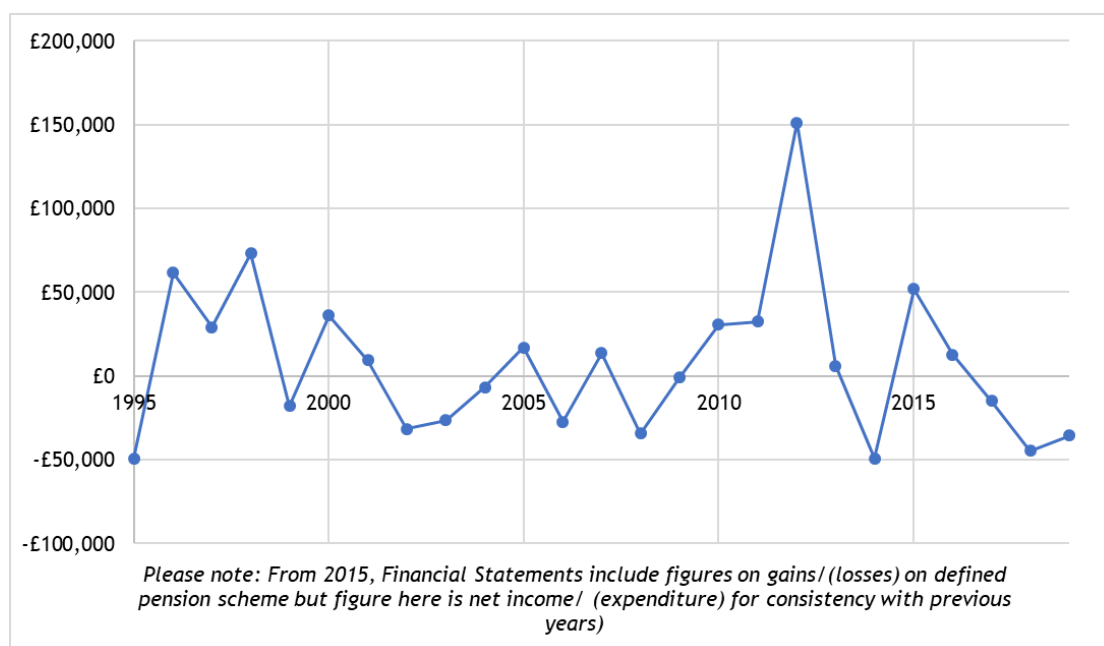
Figure 8.12 Annual turnover at CCH (year ending 1995-2019)
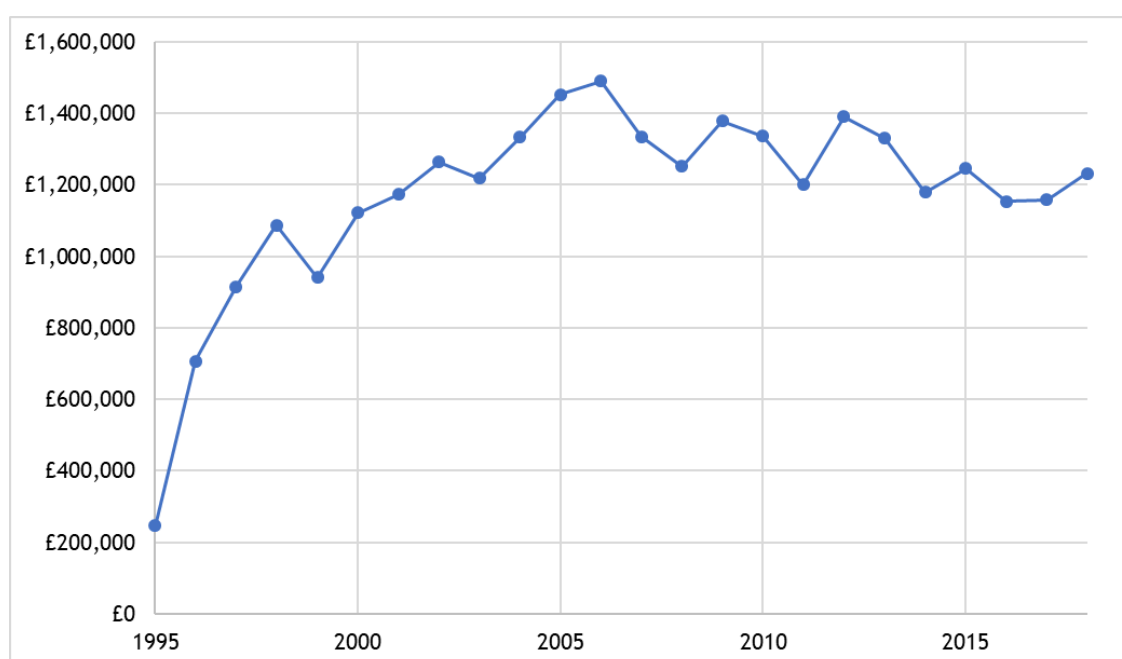
Source: Graph constructed from CCH Financial Statements (CCH, 1995-2019) (https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/SC105891/filing-history).

These organisational shifts have been reflected in both the role of the asset and the organisation in neighbourhood change over time. The next section explores the role of the asset, addressing research objective four, also considering the asset transfer process. This analysis is separated from the role of the organisation for clarity, but the two are very much intertwined. Again, it is

important to note that CCH is one of several community organisations operating locally, yet exploring the role of all of these is outwith the scope of this thesis.

8.4 The Role of the Halls in Regeneration/Gentrification Over Time

8.4.1 A Long-standing Community Hub for the Delivery of Affordable Services: 'It feels like a patchwork quilt'

A key and recurrent theme was the importance of the asset as a long-standing community hub, with participants citing several examples of how CCH fulfils this role. They explained how many residents have enjoyed and accessed services at CCH throughout their lives, and over several generations. There was also recognition of both the quantity and variety of different users, given the range of services and activities provided. Harry (Organisational Representative) described CCH as 'a place to come together,' for example for events and celebrations, and others described it as a place to build social capital. Alison (Organisational Representative) described how, 'when I first arrived here, I was really taken in by the social function, the real care and attention. The building definitely has a sort of heartbeat.'

Moreover, participants cited CCH's long opening hours, from 8am until 10pm, seven days a week, and sometimes later if there are evening functions. It was described as a trusted community resource, particularly in times of need:

> '…it's a support mechanism for people…when they need help…advice…
> this is a social network for people as well…in a time when it's needed,
> we're here. We are always here' (Alec, Organisational
> Representative).

Several participants also spoke with pride regarding the role of the asset as one of several emergency centres in the city. For example, in 2004, there were two local disasters: a fire at the Clarendon Bar, in which one woman died; and an explosion at the Stockline Plastics Factory, when nine people lost their lives. The Stockline disaster was particularly cited by participants, who recalled how CCH provided a space for those awaiting news of their family and friends. This disaster was discussed with great sadness by participants, but also cited as an

example of the community pulling together in a way which was viewed as relatively unusual in 'modern times.'

Inclusivity and approachability were also key themes. For example, Alec (Organisational Representative) commented:

> '…it is a very comfortable setting…people are coming in and talking to other people within their community that they've never spoken to before…building new relationships…building people's networks of support…'

Rachael (Organisational Representative) also emphasised the importance of the space as 'safe' and unthreatening, being run by a community organisation rather than the council or private sector. Similarly, Bruce (Organisational Representative) emphasised the longstanding social function of the space:

> '…everybody knows that [the building is]…always open…some people just need somebody to listen to them. And if they come here, then someone will listen to them and there's going to be somewhere for them to go…'

As mentioned previously, participants cited that the Halls aims to remain inclusive and affordable through discounted or free room hire for particular groups. They felt this was particularly important in the context of austerity, as local authority-run spaces are closing. CCH also has a policy of accepting any group, regardless of political, religious or other affiliation.

In addition, participants emphasised the versatility of the space, allowing a variety of services and activities to be delivered in a unified format:

> 'What I love about this place is that…the birthday parties are just as important as older people's services…all these elements simply just combine to give the community what they want' (Alison, Organisational Representative).

> '…we've got a great platform in that we provide space. And space means you can do amazing things, and sometimes our role in an activity is just literally to say, here's a room…we've seen some things in times of crisis but also in times of excitement…if we lose community space, then people won't have anywhere to go…' (Rachael, Organisational Representative).

Affordability was another key theme, with Callum (Organisational Representative) emphasising that 'we pride ourselves on affordable [nursery] fees; one of the most competitive in the city.' Thus, participants emphasised the social and community, rather than economic, contribution of the space. The findings suggest that the Halls have long provided a space for social interaction and the delivery of affordable, and much required, community services. However, some suggested that the Halls' social function had declined in recent years, partly because of the need to increase income-generation; this is now discussed.

8.4.2 A Declining Social Function?

There were differing views regarding how far CCH is still 'at the heart of the community' and how prominent this ethos has been over time, particularly since organisational restructuring in the mid-2000s. These concerns were related to how far CCH still meets the needs of local residents, particularly those most in need. Some described how there had been a reduction in some community services and activities due to funding cuts, increasing the 'need' for enterprise. For example, Duncan (Organisational Representative) explained that CCH has 'lost a lot of the good projects such as the travellers' project and the canal project, services for the elderly.' He contemplated, 'I don't know if we are [at the heart of the community] as much as we say we should be...I'm maybe just thinking old school...of the old community centres.'

There was also a view amongst some that the space is used less than it used to be, particularly by local people, with some events being poorly attended. Participants described a widening of the geographical area of benefit, for example with some evening classes being accessed by residents from across the city. Katherine (Volunteer) considered why the Halls' usage may have declined:

> '...without getting too philosophical, once upon a time people didn't live in such good houses...they looked more to the community centre... as housing gradually improved...people maybe look to their own homes rather than the community centre.'

Other suggested reasons for this potentially declining usage included the need for refurbishment and reconfiguration, with some citing that people had

accessed services elsewhere due to complaints about the cold. In this context, some participants emphasised that CCH has little choice but to widen its geographical area of benefit to more affluent areas and residents, if local residents either do not wish, or cannot afford, to access services and activities. Some participants highlighted the positives of this approach, allowing CCH to reinvest surpluses paid for by more affluent residents into non income-generating services for generally less affluent residents.

Some also noted changes in the layout of the space over time, which have potentially affected its role as a 'hub.' In particular, they described how, as childcare services have expanded as the key 'income generator,' they have taken up more space, with a reduction in rooms available for hire.

Overall, then, while participants suggested that there has been a greater focus on commercial activities, with CCH's role as a hub declining somewhat, they generally emphasised a continuing commitment to sustaining the social function of the space and CCH's role locally, in a neighbourhood that has experienced great changes over time. They suggested that the organisation's original ethos still largely remains, with a commitment to providing for, and representing, the community via the Halls as a community asset. As Abigail (Local Stakeholder) commented, 'CCH still remains the traditional vanguard to support the local community.' The asset transfer, which CCH has been formally seeking from GCC since 2009, was another key issue discussed by organisational representatives, regardless of seniority or length of involvement.

8.4.3 The Asset Transfer

Need for Refurbishment and Reconfiguration

As noted previously, the building's physical deterioration over the years, such as problems with leaks, cold, water ingress, damp, etc., and need for maintenance were cited (often with frustration) by multiple participants, both within and external to CCH. Participants expressed varying degrees of concern about how severe the deterioration is, and what the impact might be. Rachael (Organisational Representative) explained that the building is 'well-loved, it's

well-used, but that has a price,' while Bonnie (Organisational Representative) commented, 'it's dilapidated. It's falling apart inside, nevermind outside.'

Participants explained that CCH is responsible for internal repairs and maintenance, with CCH (2015:8) estimating that since 2005, they have spent over £850,000 on these, with current repair needs being estimated at approximately £2 million. The need for repairs has seemingly worsened in recent years as participants cited that CCH needs to either own the building or have a route to ownership to access funding for refurbishment. Simultaneously, the Council's support has reportedly declined and the asset transfer is delayed, leading to a 'catch 22' situation. Participants thus emphasised the need for the transfer to access funding for refurbishment.

Callum (Organisational Representative) explained how CCH had conducted a survey to determine preferences for the refurbishment. The preferred option was a staged approach, ensuring the building remains open for service users, even if this makes the refurbishment more complicated:

> '…people build their lives around you…[closing the building] would have too big an impact on people's lives, because they'd lose everything that we were doing for a period or they'd have to travel great distances.'

However, there is a risk that refurbishing the space could impact on users, with Kristen (Organisational Representative) suggesting that they would like to modestly increase some charges to improve sustainability, while also maintaining the social ethos. Yet, an increase in cost and a shift in the nature of the space risks reducing its inclusivity and affordability, potentially reflecting risks associated with gentrification, if not very carefully managed.

As part of this refurbishment, there was discussion of reconfiguring the building to meet 'modern needs' (Rachael, Organisational Representative). Participants explained that the desired plans include a café at street-level, improved accessibility and enhanced space utilisation, at an estimated cost of £5-7 million (CCH 2015:8). CCH (2015:8) hopes that these developments would make the building more of a 'community hub.' As Kristen (Organisational Representative) commented:

'...on the continuing trend of decreasing local authority involvement, potentially the same from the housing association, I would like to see [us] be the hub for the community...somewhere you could walk in, have a cup of coffee, come in and chat...'

These comments relate to somewhat idealised notions of how 'community' can be generated via the space. Further, CCH is also being affected by these financial difficulties, likely limiting its role too. The next section analyses participants' perspectives regarding the asset transfer process.

The Asset Transfer Process

As discussed, the asset transfer is a major priority for CCH which has been formally sought from GCC since 2009, and fits with Scottish Government policy imperatives around *Community Empowerment*. Participants cited that the transfer is vital for CCH to access funding for the refurbishment and to fulfil its community role, particularly important in the context of austerity, as public services are being cut.

Yet, there have been multiple delays in the transfer; participants expressed great frustration about these, with much time and resources being spent trying to negotiate an agreement. There was even an article in the *Glasgow Evening Times* (Wilson, 2012) announcing the transfer, only for it to be withdrawn. Participants suggested that the delays were due to the legal intricacies of the transfer agreement, rather than any negative intent:

> '...if you were very cynical, you could just say...leave it to rot and get in to such a poor condition that it had to be taken down and then it might be just ripe for...private housing to make a few million...that's not the case...lawyers always have to look at...the very darkest...view of things...' (Heather, Local Stakeholder).

While participants emphasised that this was not the case, it is important to recognise that CCH is situated on a relatively high-value potential development site, close to the city centre, that GCC may be hesitant to dispose of. While organisational representatives were generally hopeful the asset transfer would happen eventually, Abigail (Local Stakeholder) was more pessimistic: 'it's just a matter of time...all the centres that we have in the area, they're consistently closing them down.' Several participants were very concerned about what the

impact might be if it did close, for those who use it. For example, Rachael (Organisational Representative) noted that:

> '…we've had a very senior official from economic development say to us, if we didn't exist, the Council couldn't provide the scale and variety or quality of services that we provide…'

Further, Zach (Local Stakeholder) stated that CCH is 'almost like a family friend' and that 'it would be a real downer if it had to close.' He continued:

> '…it would cause a great deal of stress and anxiety for a lot of families and people would be left without…devastated I think, not knowing what to do, where to go for support.'

He felt that CCH could not be replaced, 'because it's been here for so long and it's so well-respected and trusted as a place to go for support and advice.'

Thus, there was a general view that as CCH has been managed by the community for such a long time, and now that the Council's input in terms of funding repairs has been reduced, asset transfer is the natural progression. This was cited as vital for the fulfilment of CCH's objectives; increasing its potential contribution to community regeneration; and its role as a 'community hub.'

Yet, while the asset transfer would mean the Halls were in community ownership, there are perhaps risks that the associated refurbishment, depending how it affected the nature and character of the space, could potentially exacerbate challenges relating to gentrification and displacement, if not very carefully managed. This could be by affecting the usage of CCH and the sense of 'community' which was discussed so fondly by participants. While the research found little evidence of this yet, there could be future risks related to indirect displacement (see Marcuse, 1985), whereby residents feel that community amenities are no longer for them, if these change in an attempt to attract, and cater for, a different demographic. This risk may be exacerbated by wider regeneration efforts locally, discussed previously, if these affect the area's demographics, for example. It will be interesting to see how the asset develops in future, as these tensions may be brought into sharper focus. The next section addresses research objective five, regarding the wider role of CCH in neighbourhood change.

8.5 The Role of CCH in Regeneration/Gentrification Over Time

8.5.1 Community Development and Regeneration Activities

The relationship between CCH's aims, activities and fit with local regeneration imperatives has shifted over time. Aligning with, and contributing to, regeneration policy was a key aim in the early days, with strong partnership-working with the regional and district councils. This continued in various guises in the 1990s and early 2000s, with CCH (2003:1) emphasising its fit with 'the policy priorities of both Glasgow City Council and the Scottish Executive, in terms of social exclusion/justice, regeneration, community involvement and health.' CCH has also delivered various funded community development projects over the years.

However, it appears that CCH's role in community development and regeneration reduced somewhat in the late 2000s and 2010s. Participants suggested that a reduction in funding for these activities, which often took the form of time-limited projects, had an impact: 'the climate challenge funding ended...the café had closed...it did feel...that it was becoming more narrowly focussed' (Harry, Organisational Representative).

Several participants expressed a desire to have a wider role in community development. Yet, they acknowledged that this is limited by resourcing issues, highlighting constraints on CCH's agency. Nevertheless, CCH's social regeneration efforts can have a great impact at the individual/community level. For example, Jacob, a beneficiary of Older People's Services, explained how the service had helped to reduce his loneliness:

> '...it's very good for me because I've met people...I've really enjoyed their company...I felt I was just stuck in the house after my sister passed away because I had nothing to do...it just pulls you down, definitely...'

Further, Violet (Organisational Representative) emphasised that having an organisation that delivers sustainable, affordable community services is an achievement in itself: 'it's good to have a busy building in Maryhill, even if it's not necessarily reaching out to the community as well as we would like to.' This

comment does, however, suggest some disappointment in terms of what CCH's role in the community could be.

Overall, it would seem that participants were suggesting that CCH has been largely reactive to, and reflective of, national/local policy and local circumstances, due to limited organisational agency. However, participants explained how CCH has aimed to expand its community regeneration role and link into regeneration investments nearby. For example, CCH was awarded Scottish Government funding from 2017 to 2019 for two posts: a Community Regeneration Officer and a Community Development Officer. The application stated that:

> '…as a local community-focussed organisation, we have not had sustained participation in any development…This project would give us the capacity and capability to open dialogue, propose opportunities and present a community challenge to the regeneration investment made to date' (CCH, 2017b:16).

The language of a 'community challenge' is particularly interesting, suggesting CCH believes that the 'community,' however defined, needs a mechanism through which to influence local regeneration trajectories, and that this influence may challenge existing approaches, which sometimes focus on the 'macroeconomic level' (*ibid.*).

The Community Development role was focussed on developing a community cinema and partnerships with cultural regeneration activities locally. It also involved delivering workshops and providing training and volunteering opportunities (CCH, 2019:4-5). The community cinema was described very positively by participants, being a good mechanism for community integration, for example with diverse film screenings. Now the funding is finished, the post has been continued on a part-time basis. The focus of the Community Regeneration role was developing local partnerships, particularly with local businesses; helping protect and develop new 'training/employment opportunities'; progressing the asset transfer; and contributing to wider social and economic regeneration activities (CCH, 2019:6-7). Later discussions in October 2019 suggested that there had been difficulties engaging local businesses. It will be interesting to see if and how these respective agendas

progress, now the funding has ended. CCH's main role is arguably delivering services and activities, as is now discussed.

8.5.2 Shifting Priorities: Services and Activities

Participants described CCH as a key provider of services and activities for local residents and those from further afield. Rachael (Organisational Representative) described how CCH's approach was flexible, seeking to meet evolving and varied community needs and 'support [people] on their journey,' thus reflecting, rather than driving neighbourhood change. A recent example of this approach is the establishment of a Job Club, responding to the closure of the local job centre.

While participants explained that many of CCH's original services continue today, they described how these had developed over time. For example, Early Education and Childcare (EE&C) services were cited as an example of the shift from community to enterprise. Participants described how the nursery was originally established in 1991 by local residents wanting to provide some respite and low-cost nursery provision. Funding was available at this time to subsidise the service.

However, as funding declined, the nursery developed to become a community business. Participants explained how while this provides a surplus for the organisation, it also responds to community need and CCH's overall aims by increasing the supply of affordable childcare to allow people to work or study. Some suggested that the geography of nursery users had also expanded as part of the shift towards community enterprise, with nursery places now being prioritised for those either living *or* working 'locally' (defined as the wards of Hillhead, Canal and Maryhill/Kelvin), with remaining places being allocated according to a waiting list. The nursery is the largest source of income for CCH, at £620,698 in 2017/18 (58% of total turnover). It was also the only service in 2017/18 to generate a surplus (CCH, 2018).

The space has been reconfigured to accommodate the expansion of EE&C services, reducing the number of rooms available for other activities, causing some tensions:

'...[over time], I had the feeling that childcare services was the main service [rather than one of many]...people started to feel as though the nursery was maybe taking over a bit...you needed to consider everybody's feelings...this was a space with multiple service users...' (Harry, Organisational Representative).

Despite this, participants generally cited a commitment to maintaining existing services, including those that do not generate income. Yet, some services have been affected. For example, participants expressed great 'sadness' that day-care, a service that had been provided in CCH for many years for elderly and other vulnerable people, had been closed due funding cuts. The service included breakfast, lunch, entertainment, activities, outings, personal care and travel to and from the Halls. It had been funded by GCC's social work department, being provided for free to beneficiaries six, and then five, days a week. An estimated 15-20 people reportedly used the service each week. However, when the funding was cut, service users were asked to pay a small fee and this reportedly led to a reduction in numbers and the eventual closure of the service in 2015, as it was deemed no longer economically viable. Violet (Organisational Representative) commented that while this service 'was probably the one thing where we were reaching out into the community' to a greater degree, it 'was the one thing that we had to close,' seeing this as 'an indicator of the attitude of public funders.'

Several participants emphasised the significant impact this closure had on service users and staff morale. As Jack (Organisational Representative) explained:

'...it was like the death of [CCH] when that closed. People took it really badly. People lost their jobs...they still talk about it...it wasn't... the Halls that created this. It was money. Nothing they could do about it...'

Older People's Services have thus been restructured to provide homecare in the community and some events/services in the Halls, with funding sourced from private and charitable sources. This example highlights constraints on CCH's ability to meet the needs of the most vulnerable, despite aiming to do so. There is a clear need for further government support for certain services, as 'not everything can run as a social enterprise' (Rachael, Organisational Representative).

Youth services were also frequently cited as having a positive impact locally, with participants suggesting that these, combined with housing demolition and dispersal, may have helped to reduce Maryhill's historical 'gang culture'. Alec (Organisational Representative) explained how youth workers can 'become the positive role models' for young people, and inspire them to change their direction in life. This can then have a knock-on effect, if they become a positive influence in their communities. For example, Bruce (Organisational Representative) has accessed CCH over the years and spoke enthusiastically about the impact it had:

> '…I wouldn't like to picture my life without being involved in here…I don't think I would be doing as well as I am now if it wasn't for this place…'

Another contribution to regeneration is local employment, with 'about half of the [c. 60] staff liv[ing] reasonably locally' (Daniel, Organisational Representative). There is a focus on employing people from 'disadvantaged categories' (Callum, Organisational Representative). There are also benefits from volunteering opportunities. However, Violet (Organisational Representative) questioned whether more could be done to attract local employees, particularly in more senior roles.

These various examples thus suggest various tensions and trade-offs, with challenges meeting all needs in a synergistic manner. There is a finite level of space and resources, meaning some services and activities will inevitably decline if others are prioritised, arguably leading to a zero-sum situation (Mühlbacher & Böbel, 2019). As Jason (Organisational Representative) commented:

> '…their commitment to the community has not changed…the priorities have changed, but…that's due to funding and just times changing…it's nothing that they have done, they still do a lot of good work in the community…'

This comment highlights how despite CCH's continuing commitment to meeting community needs, the organisation is constrained by wider factors.

There was concern that these constraints had affected CCH's role in the community. Some felt there had been a shift to potentially more affluent service

users from a wider geographical area and potentially an expansion into different services/activities, or 'markets':

> '…What has kept [CCH] going is the nursery…[which], by and large, is filled with small children from the likes of Milngavie and Bearsden [affluent suburbs], whose parents come in to work in the city and drop them off' (Bonnie, Organisational Representative).

Abigail (Local Stakeholder) also commented that 'the use of [CCH] is changing as well; who can afford, can get in.' She was concerned that this might cause 'ill will' if the 'indigenous community' finds it more difficult to access the Halls.

There is thus a challenge around CCH's agency; while CCH may now be less reliant on government grants, it is more reliant on the market, which can cause challenges in deprived areas, particularly during times of austerity (Spear et al., 2017). This has led to an arguable need for greater surplus-generation and, by association, service users who can afford to pay for activities and services, to an extent. In some respects, it could therefore be argued that the relative lack of gentrification locally has led CCH to expand its geographical focus to maintain enterprising services, highlighting the contradictions that can emerge from this approach. These challenges reflect cautions in academic literature that despite the policy promotion of CEs and community assets as mechanisms for regeneration, this approach may exacerbate existing inequalities if there is insufficient government intervention to support it in deprived areas (see Bailey, 2017).

Overall, then, participants suggested that CCH's recent contribution to regeneration has been largely social, focusing on the delivery of services and activities, rather than being a catalyst for regeneration or gentrification. While the organisation has experienced various constraints over the years (see section 8.6), there was a general view amongst those who commented that it was better that CCH still exists, despite having to make some difficult decisions regarding community and enterprise, than not at all. However, it is important to consider how and where this compromise is found, and how it may shift over time.

As will be explored in further detail in the following section, CCH's activities and services, via the asset, have arguably largely reflected local socioeconomic

conditions and changes, as well as macroeconomic factors, rather than driving or contributing to regeneration or gentrification. While contributing to community regeneration was cited as a continual priority, this focus has seemingly fluctuated over time. While some wanted CCH to reflect neighbourhood changes to a greater extent, for example by expanding into new 'markets' or attracting new users, such as students via different activities or services, these efforts had seemingly not greatly influenced the nature and usage of the Halls thus far. However, there is a risk that the traditional ethos and role of the Halls could be challenged by future gentrification and/or studentification, if not very carefully managed. The penultimate section analyses the national and local factors affecting CCH's approach over time, in addition to the organisational factors discussed at 8.3.

8.6 Factors Affecting the Approach

8.6.1 Finances, Austerity and Organisational Agency

Despite CCH's community-focussed aims, financial factors have long had a large (and potentially the greatest) influence on the approach, as grant funding has reduced. In response, as discussed, an increasingly professionalised approach has been adopted since the mid-2000s, incorporating private sector practices and an increased focus on income-generating services and activities.

Financial challenges have been exacerbated by austerity since 2010. Several participants commented that CCH's ability to develop projects and services to meet the needs of more vulnerable and deprived residents is increasingly limited, unless surpluses can be generated from other activities to subsidise them:

> '…[in the 1990s], there was loads of funding for the voluntary sector…
> There would be a project in for a couple of years…now the funding
> has been cut back…it's more the core projects…' (Patrick,
> Organisational Representative).

The need for financial sustainability was repeatedly emphasised by participants:

> '…We need to be sustainable. That is absolutely key. If we want to
> expand and grow, and do things that might be loss-leading, like day-
> care…There's no point in saying, let's just do social type things. If

we're not sustainable, we'll be out of business in a year, our reserves just wouldn't cope with that...' (Kristen, Organisational Representative).

Thus, while several participants commented that they would like to do more to help the community, this was sometimes viewed as unfeasible.

Participants explained that reductions in funding had also limited community engagement activities and feasibility studies. This, combined with worries that it was perhaps becoming more difficult to understand residents' needs due to wider societal shifts, such as a reduction in the use of community centres, and that there was less community involvement on the board, meant some were concerned that emerging community needs might be missed.

Therefore, financial factors, driven both by government policy and the local context, have had a great impact over time. CEs, like CCH, are very limited in their ability to address these structural issues, although they can make an impact at a local/individual level through support and initiatives. CCH's approach is also influenced by the increasing professionalisation of the third sector, as discussed earlier. The next section discusses the role of Scottish Government policy.

8.6.2 Regeneration, Community Enterprise and Asset Transfer in the Scottish Context

As discussed in Chapter Six, the SNP Government since 2007 is often cited as very supportive of community enterprise, community-led regeneration and asset-based approaches. There is also a strong network of support organisations in Scotland, such as Development Trusts Association Scotland (DTAS), which CCH is a member of. CCH has some agency to utilise this support, for example by accessing Scottish Government funding and indirectly influencing policy, with CCH's Chief Executive being Vice-Chair of the DTAS board.

Participants also emphasised the importance of local policy and the relationship with the local authority in influencing CCH's approach over the years. Support from the local authority was crucial in the early days when management was transferred to the community. However, this relationship has seemingly become

more challenging in recent years, with delays in the asset transfer affecting CCH's approach and role in the community.

Participants also cited the influence of local regeneration on CCH's approach, such as in terms of historical housing regeneration and the view that the neighbourhood has recently been neglected in policy and funding terms. Several participants commented that much of the regeneration investment has been relatively top-down, citing challenges in terms of trying to access, and benefit from, these opportunities, thus highlighting constraints on CCH's agency to affect change. The next section analyses the influence of local socioeconomic characteristics.

8.6.3 Local Factors Affecting the Approach

Neighbourhood Socioeconomic Characteristics

A key factor cited as influencing CCH's role over time is the community's socioeconomic characteristics. As discussed, participants noted challenges when seeking to develop and deliver 'enterprising' services in deprived communities. This issue was cited as being exacerbated by austerity and so-called 'welfare reform,' exacerbating poverty locally (Zach, Local Stakeholder). Participants emphasised that these changes are having a disproportionate impact on low-income and vulnerable people, many of whom are service users of CCH (see Beatty & Fothergill, 2016b). Yet, austerity also significantly impacts CCH's ability to help the most vulnerable.

These shifts mean that charities such as CCH are arguably being relied upon to deliver vital social services for those in need, while funding is being reduced (Hastings et al., 2015). As Abigail (Local Stakeholder), explained:

> '...when community groups are not in a position to provide, then there's no one...The community is finished. It's drawn out. It's given all it can give – time, money, effort, it's all gone, it's used up...it's the government that needs to put its hands in its pockets...'

This quote emphasises that while local residents can help to support each other, this will never be enough on its own, with a need for greater state support.

Yet, Violet (Organisational Representative) was arguably not very sympathetic to these issues:

> '…when the external funding was cut [for day-care], we had to start charging…As soon as you started charging for services, people stopped coming. So, these services that they said were absolutely essential... it must have been a few pounds…'

This quotation arguably does not recognise that 'a few pounds' is a lot of money for some people. Nevertheless, Alec (Organisational Representative) was more understanding of the challenges faced by low-income residents, being proud that youth services is 'one of the only few [in Glasgow] that don't charge young people':

> '…lots of families around here don't work. So, if they had a choice of giving a young person £2 to go [to the youth project]…or £2 to go and buy milk and veg, I know what they're going to choose…'

The local context thus presents a challenge to the community enterprise approach; if 'enterprise' is required for financial sustainability, it is vital to consider the community's ability to sustain this (see Spear et al., 2017). In cases where it cannot, arguably amongst some residents in Maryhill, CEs arguably have little choice but to expand their services to more affluent users. This can affect the demographic of service users, the services and activities offered and the nature and ethos of both the organisation and the asset, potentially leading to mission drift (see Fainstein, 2010). The next section considers competition between different community groups locally in the context of austerity.

Competition and Partnership Working

While partnership-working has long been cited as a key mechanism to increase local regeneration impacts, participants noted how, in the context of austerity, reductions in funding and increasing competition have potentially made partnership-working more challenging:

> '…organisations can be very territorial…they either don't want you in their area, or it could be that they will steal your idea…there's quite a lot of secrecy…' (Sarah, Organisational Representative).

While Queens Cross Housing Association (QCHA) was widely cited as a community anchor, tensions between CCH and QCHA were mentioned by several participants. Duncan (Organisational Representative) recalled 'some sort of dispute,' meaning the two organisations have not worked together much over the past decade or so. He thought this was 'kind of sad' and hoped that 'in the future we can start communicating a bit more and getting more things sorted for the community.' Bonnie (Organisational Representative) was more critical that CCH did engage more with local partners:

> 'They don't even work...with any other community groups...like QCHA. It's very insular...it's a closed shop. It's sad really and not a lot of the community makes use of it any longer.'

There was, however, a suggestion that partnership-working with QCHA may have increased recently as part of the Scottish Government community regeneration and development posts, which had this as an objective.

Further, recent public investment in Maryhill Burgh Halls (see Figure 8.13),[33] further north up Maryhill Road, was a contentious point. Several participants expressed discontent that the Burgh Halls had seemingly been able to access funding for its development relatively easily, while CCH has been unable to secure the asset transfer or funding for refurbishment, causing tensions:

> '...these halls, it's Sunday, the place is buzzing, and there's been money put into another large place up the road, which is virtually empty...' (Sarah, Organisational Representative).

Austerity has thus arguably led to increased competition and potentially detrimentally impacted CCH's wider role in the community. Participants suggested that CCH tends to focus instead on city-wide/national networks, as well as 'volunteering networks, local health networks, working with schools' (Rachael, Organisational Representative).

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[33] https://www.maryhillburghhalls.org.uk/

Figure 8.13 Maryhill Burgh Halls

Source: Author's Own (March 2020)

8.7 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the shifting role of CCH, both as a community asset and organisation, in regeneration and gentrification over time. In relation to research objective two (conceptualisations, experiences and negotiations of gentrification locally), the findings suggest that while there have been some changes in Maryhill, particularly related to housing, the extent of gentrification thus far is viewed as somewhat limited. In contrast, participants generally cited a need for further regeneration. Yet, there is arguably a need for greater recognition of the potential risks of gentrification that could arise in future, if regeneration is not very carefully managed.

Regarding research objective three (CCH's approach over time), participants described stark changes in CCH's governance, working culture and operations over time. They cited that change had been particularly notable since the mid-2000s, when there was a change of leadership and increased focus on professionalisation and 'enterprise.' Participants cited that this had affected CCH's approach, with a reduction in community involvement in the organisation's governance. Some were critical of these changes, while others felt that there was little option if CCH is to survive, in the context of declining state support. Despite these tensions, participants generally cited a continual

endeavour to balance social/community and economic/enterprising aims. Several participants, although by no means all, expressed a view that while things had changed, often due to factors largely outside CCH's control, they felt the original ethos still largely remained, with a commitment to providing for, and representing, the whole community.

The chapter then turned to the focus of this thesis: the role of the asset and the organisation in regeneration/gentrification over time. Regarding the role of the asset, the findings suggest that it is continuing to provide a vital space for social interaction and the delivery of affordable, and much required, services for the community, contributing to social regeneration aims. Several participants emphasised the importance of having a long-standing community space which has been used over several generations. Yet, some suggested that the Halls' social function has declined in recent years, with concern regarding how far CCH still fully meets the needs of residents, particularly those in most need, in the context of funding cuts. Another cited aspect of change was the widening of the geographical area of benefit of users, meaning that the Halls is potentially not as focussed on the local area as it used to be. Thus, while participants emphasised CCH's aim to be 'at the heart of the community,' there were differing views regarding how far this was being achieved.

Therefore, while in some respects, the Halls are an excellent example of the type of long-standing community asset currently being promoted in Scottish Government regeneration policy, there are also challenges, tensions and ambivalences regarding CCH's role neighbourhood change over time. An important finding is how, despite continual aims for the Halls to be 'community' focussed, such organisations are arguably not immune to neoliberal imperatives around capitalist consumption. There is seemingly a key challenge in balancing the social nature of the space with the increasingly commercial aspects (and necessities) of the organisation within the space, with an increased focus on economic, rather than social, transactions. The asset is the mechanism through which CCH contributes to regeneration, as well as providing a space for generating surpluses to reinvest in activities. The asset transfer and proposed refurbishment are key priorities for CCH, and it will be interesting to see what impact, if any, these have on CCH's future role in the community.

In terms of CCH's role in the community more broadly (research objective five), changes within the organisation and wider context were cited as having affected the balance between different services and activities, with a greater focus on those that are income-generating. Nevertheless, participants cited a continual endeavour to maintain existing services, including those that do not generate income, such as youth services. They thus suggested that CCH's contribution to regeneration has been largely social, focusing on the delivery of services and activities and the development of social capital, which can have a great impact at the individual/community level, rather than being a catalyst for regeneration or gentrification. Nevertheless, it also contributes to economic regeneration through local employment/volunteering opportunities and employability services. While contributing to community-led regeneration was cited as a continual priority, participants suggested that this role reduced somewhat in the late 2000s and early 2010s, partly due to reductions in funding. Nevertheless, there have been recent efforts to reprioritise this, for example through involvement in city-wide/national partnerships and boards and through the Community Regeneration and Development posts, which had this as an explicit aim. The findings therefore suggest that despite shifts in the balance between community and enterprise, CCH has remained committed to its community's development over the years. Overall, the findings suggest that the asset and the organisation have arguably, to date, been responsive to change, reflecting neighbourhood and wider conditions, rather than acting as a mechanism for limiting or exacerbating change.

Various factors have affected CCH's approach over time, including the organisation's working ethos and culture, financial factors, national and local policy and the socioeconomic characteristics of the community, with complex interactions between them. In particular, the retraction of public sector support and austerity have affected CCH's ability to deliver services that are not 'enterprising' by nature, at the same time as many low-income residents, who may be users of CCH, have faced additional challenges because of so-called 'welfare reform,' reflecting existing research (for example, Beatty & Fothergill, 2016b). While the findings suggest that CCH strives to balance community and enterprise (see Aiken et al., 2011), they suggest that the possibilities for CCH to make the maximum possible contribution to community-led regeneration, while

limiting the risk of gentrification, are limited by the inherent challenges, tensions and contradictions which often manifest when seeking to be community-focussed in the capitalist context (see DeFilippis et al., 2010; Somerville, 2016). The following chapter presents the comparative case study analysis.

9 Chapter 9: Comparative Case Study Analysis

9.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the comparative analysis of the case study evidence, presented in Chapters Seven and Eight. As Bryman (2012:75) argues, comparative analyses can 'allow the distinguishing characteristics of two or more cases to act as a springboard for theoretical reflections about contrasting findings,' thus increasing 'understand[ing] of social phenomena.' The comparative analysis is structured according to the research objectives. Initially, it considers the nature of gentrification in each neighbourhood. This is followed by examination of the origins, rationales and trajectories of each organisation; the role of their community assets in regeneration/gentrification; and the wider role of each organisation in their respective neighbourhoods, considering the types of impacts and outcomes that have arisen from their different approaches. Where applicable, the chapter draws on the views of expert stakeholders in the field, beyond the case studies, presented in Chapter Six (see 6.8 for a summary of these, addressing research objective one).

9.2 Conceptualisations, Experiences and Negotiations of Gentrification

This research objective sought to analyse how gentrification is conceptualised, experienced and negotiated by the case study organisations and other local stakeholders. The case study neighbourhoods were selected, in part, because they share several similarities. Both are formerly industrial areas that have had to adapt to the post-industrial context; both are located near their respective city centres; and both are home to stark socioeconomic inequalities. However, the extent to which they have 'recovered' from deindustrialisation, and the extent of gentrification, differs greatly, allowing interesting sites for the exploration of the role of CEs, and their community assets, within different neighbourhood contexts, and the factors influencing their approach and role.

In Bristol, it was generally acknowledged by participants, and reflected in neighbourhood statistics, that BS3 has undergone gentrification. However, there were differing views on the extent to which different parts of the neighbourhood

had gentrified; what the varying impacts had been; and the ways in which gentrification may develop in future. While some participants cited a range of perceived 'benefits' of gentrification locally, such as increased community pride and vibrancy, there was concern that these were now being outweighed by the negatives, such as housing unaffordability and a reduced sense of community. Some expressed concern that BS3 was becoming increasingly homogenous and has potentially 'tipped over' in terms of the balance between regeneration and gentrification (see Shaw & Porter, 2009; Schlichtman & Patch, 2017). Looking to the future, participants cautioned of further gentrification, and increasing challenges regarding housing unaffordability, socioeconomic inequalities and exclusivity.

In contrast, in Glasgow, while some participants felt that there had been some gentrification in Maryhill, the neighbourhood was generally perceived to be much less far along the regeneration/gentrification 'continuum' than BS3 (Shaw & Porter, 2009). This case therefore provided the opportunity to consider the possibility and/or hope for limiting gentrification, and to further explore Shaw's (2005) work on factors limiting gentrification. In Maryhill, gentrification appears to be limited by various factors, often cited in the literature, including Glasgow's positioning as a city (Lees, 2000), the maintenance of affordable housing and the role of longstanding community organisations, following Shaw (2005). Further, the findings suggest that relative deprivation and poverty also limit the likelihood of private sector investment, which can both signify and catalyse gentrification (Lees et al., 2008). However, the data suggests that a degree of gentrification has taken place, with participants citing demolition, displacement and a reduced sense of community. Further, there was concern that various factors, including the area's close proximity to the city centre, University of Glasgow and good transport links, combined with the knock-on effects of housing affordability issues in the West End, may lead to further gentrification in the future. This was thus conceptualised as 'looming gentrification.'

In both cases, some participants expressed an inevitability about regeneration eventually leading to gentrification in capitalist society, particularly after a decade of austerity (see Shaw & Porter, 2009; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). Several participants cited a need for greater state intervention to reform the

currently market-led housing system and ensure greater provision of affordable homes, following existing research (for example, Shaw, 2005; Slater, 2006; Paton, 2014).

In terms of how gentrification has been negotiated by each organisation and others involved in community development/regeneration efforts locally, there were again differing approaches, reflecting the varying extents and impacts of gentrification. In Bristol, local actors, including BS3CD, expressed varying levels of concern about gentrification, but generally felt that its negative impacts reflect structural issues, such as those relating to labour and housing markets, which are outwith their control (see Lees et al., 2008; DeFilippis et al., 2010; Somerville, 2016). Others noted how BS3CD had benefitted from the increasing affluence gentrification had brought, with the organisation's business model now relying somewhat on this. Some felt conflicted about this, while others felt that there was little alternative, given the need for organisational sustainability. The ability of local stakeholders to challenge the structures of capitalism and/or negotiate the adverse impacts of gentrification directly is thus constrained in the context of inadequate state intervention (O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). Nevertheless, the neighbourhood is home to much community and voluntary activity and participants expressed a desire to help ameliorate some of the challenges arising from gentrification. This concern, or 'middle-class guilt,' is arguably reflected in BS3CD's community outreach activities, seeking to engage and help the more deprived parts of the community. A question remains regarding whether greater efforts could be made to influence local policy, to help address some of the challenges arising from gentrification, including regarding housing issues. While participants cited capacity issues in this regard, this may also not be a priority for some, given that BS3CD is somewhat reliant on 'gentrifiers' to generate a surplus.

In Glasgow, participants suggested that the housing regeneration that has taken place has typically been driven by local housing associations, with the support of the local authority. Given that CCH has played little role in this, it is important to recognise that its actions will arguably only ever be a small part of wider regeneration processes, reducing its ability to negotiate gentrification locally. While participants expressed that CCH had sought to tap into, and contribute to, recent regeneration opportunities locally, follow-up research suggested that the

organisation had faced some challenges in achieving this aim. Thus, in contrast to BS3, where gentrification has arguably become quite disruptive, gentrification has seemingly not had too much of an impact locally in Maryhill as yet, with poverty and deprivation locally arguably having a greater impact on CCH's approach over time. Further, participants emphasised the role of CCH in supporting the community over time, providing a long-standing community space and resource, thus arguably helping to limit challenges around gentrification, as discussed in more detail later.

9.3 Organisational Approaches Over Time

The second organisational research objective aimed to identify in what ways, and to what extent, the governance structures, organisational cultures and operations of the case study organisations have shifted over time and why, to better understand their (shifting) roles in regeneration and gentrification. There are several points of similarity in terms of the origins and development of the case study organisations. For example, both assets were transferred to community management as a result of community campaigns, and the organisations benefitted, in the early days, from a supportive approach from their local authorities. Similarly, both organisations have become increasingly professionalised and 'enterprising' over time, partly due to external factors. Further, they have both sought to adapt their services and activities in light of the 'need' for organisational sustainability, with a growth in childcare provision, as the key source of income in both cases, thus influencing the nature and use of both assets. Likewise, both have faced challenges in sustaining Older People's Services because of local authority funding cuts, with a general view that this service cannot be surplus-generating. Thus, national policy, and particularly austerity, have a fundamental influence on each organisation's approach, despite the devolved nature of much relevant policy and very different local contexts.

Yet, there are also key differences affecting the development and operations of the organisations. The nature of each respective transfer agreement is particularly important, affecting each organisation's approach over time. In Bristol, the 999-year lease negotiated from BCC, aided by high levels of social capital amongst some of the community activists, was described as providing a

level of security, providing BS3CD with similar rights as they would have if they owned the building. In contrast, in Glasgow, the transfer was less favourable, leading to greater organisational insecurity. CCH has accordingly actively sought to take ownership of the asset since 2009 and has faced ongoing deliberations with GCC about this. This uncertainty was cited as limiting CCH's ability to access funding for refurbishment and more fully meet its objectives, as well as utilising a lot of time and energy of staff and board members.

Further, both organisations have adapted differently in terms of the shift to 'enterprise,' with very different neighbourhood contexts. The increasing affluence of the population in BS3 means that (some parts of) the community can afford to pay for services, thus making it easier to generate a surplus. Interestingly, BS3CD has widened its geography to include more deprived areas slightly further away, so that some surpluses can be used to benefit these residents. In contrast, continuing deprivation and poverty in Maryhill create challenges for CCH when seeking to generate surpluses. This has meant the organisation has seemingly expanded its area of benefit, to include neighbouring, more affluent areas where residents have greater ability to pay for services (see Spear et al., 2017).

The shift towards professionalisation and enterprise was perhaps then a more 'natural' one for BS3CD, given the nature of the local community. However, participants cited that this had caused challenges in terms of the community's perception of the organisation, for example when aiming to fundraise. In Maryhill, the 'need' for enterprise is arguably more at odds with the nature of the local community (Spear et al., 2017). There was also greater recognition of the challenges of balancing community and enterprise amongst representatives at CCH (Somerville & McElwee, 2011; Thompson & Williams, 2014). This may perhaps also be due to greater acceptance of social enterprise being the 'only solution' in England, given the different political context and greater impacts of austerity, as discussed in Chapter Six.

These very different local contexts affect the nature of community-led governance, thus affecting the approach. For example, while both organisations have become increasingly professionalised over the years, for BS3CD, these shifts were generally viewed as happening fairly early in the organisation's evolution,

and were not typically perceived as being too disruptive. Further, all but one BS3CD board members are defined as living locally. This is in contrast to 60% of CCH's ten board members at October 2019 being defined as living locally. CCH has seemingly therefore faced greater challenges in terms of community representation in its governance over the years. Participants suggested that this was, in part, related to the nature of the local community, with generally lower levels of social capital meaning it was sometimes harder to access the 'required' knowledge and skills locally, which appear to be more readily available in BS3 (see Bailey, 2012). Shifts in CCH's management and governance in the mid-2000s were also cited by some to have reduced the level of community involvement in the board and organisation more widely.[34]

Another key theme in terms of each organisation's approach, and within the scoping interview data in Chapter Six, was the increasing emphasis on the 'need' for financial sustainability and the impact this has on the approach of CEs. Some participants emphasised the importance of sustainability in allowing autonomy. However, the findings also highlight how the aim for sustainability is problematised in the context of a decade of austerity and other structural constraints and, in the context of gentrification, the housing market. These challenges arguably mean that enterprise is required to survive in both cases, with community assets increasingly being used for income-generation, potentially limiting community uses, echoing concerns in existing literature (for example, Thompson & Williams, 2014). There has been a shifting reliance from the state to the market for funding for both organisations and, by implication and necessity, as a means to meet the needs of residents in these socioeconomically unequal neighbourhoods. As emphasised in Chapter Six, this approach is imbued with tensions, with fundamental questions regarding how far the market can, or is inclined to, address and prioritise community needs (see Thibault, 2007; DeFilippis et al., 2010).

Therefore, the findings suggest that in Bristol, austerity is arguably increasing the gentrification of BS3CD's ethos, assets, services and activities as it increasingly relies on the affluence of middle-class residents to substitute for

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[34] With thanks to an audience member at the Royal Geographical Society Conference 2019 who suggested that this was the 'gentrification of the organisation' in presentation feedback.

government funding (Henderson et al., 2018), although the recent efforts to expand community outreach and other activities for the more deprived and vulnerable parts of the community must be commended. This relationship is more ambiguous in Glasgow, as participants cited that some residents have been very adversely affected by austerity and so-called 'welfare reform,' with CCH seeking to substitute, where it can, for the withdrawal of services, in a very difficult economic context. Therefore, it seems that the relative lack of gentrification in Maryhill has led CCH to expand its geographical area of benefit of enterprising services. This evidence adds weight to existing cautions in academic literature regarding the feasibility of community enterprise in more deprived areas, which may lack the necessary 'market' and economic, social and cultural capitals for 'success' (Spear et al., 2017; Archer et al., 2019), a theme also emphasised in Chapter Six.

9.4 The Role of the Community Assets in Regeneration and Gentrification Over Time

This section considers the fourth research objective: to analyse the role of each organisation's community assets in regeneration and gentrification over time. Chapter Six highlighted the possibility for asset ownership/management to contribute to community-led regeneration and limit gentrification. Yet, participants cautioned that community assets can reflect or exacerbate existing inequalities if this approach is not matched by policies to address structural inequalities, following existing research (for example, Shaw, 2005; DeFilippis et al., 2010; Moore & McKee, 2014). This concern is very much reflected in the case studies.

Both of the assets were cited by participants as long-standing community spaces, for those who engaged. In BS3, the Southville Centre (TSC) was described as a community hub from which various community development activities have developed. There was general agreement amongst participants that it had played a crucial role in the community's development, particularly in the early years, leading to various regeneration benefits. The role of the asset was cited as having varied over the years, with shifting emphases on inward- and outward-looking approaches.

There were varying views about whether TSC had reflected or exacerbated gentrification. Several participants suggested that TSC had both reflected and exacerbated change, enhancing the desirability of an already gentrifying neighbourhood for both investors and incoming residents. Others felt that gentrification was largely the result of wider structural factors, with the nature and usage of TSC viewed as reflecting these changes, and some of the associated tensions. Some cited challenges around exclusivity in TSC, intensified by the area's gentrification.

Regarding the Halls, there was a view amongst many participants that the asset has played a long-standing role in the community, for those who have engaged, providing a space for (affordable) vital services and other activities to be developed and delivered. It was also cited as a social space, being used for multiple gatherings and celebrations over the generations. While the Halls were generally cited as being widely used, there was concern amongst some that local residents were not using them as much as they used to. Some suggested that CCH had widened its area of benefit to address this, with some expressing concern that this had led CCH to shift its services and activities, to an extent, towards those who can pay, with this being reflected in the use of the asset. Participants considered how far these changes have affected CCH's ability to meet varying community needs via the asset. Although these shifts were cited as largely occurring due to external factors, as a scoping interviewee cited, relying on the market in the context of austerity is arguably 'a vulnerable model' for the delivery of much needed community and social services (see also Hastings et al., 2015). Further, the findings suggest that the Halls were generally viewed as less of a 'community hub' than TSC, partly because the configuration of the space means that the building does not easily facilitate social interactions. Nevertheless, the Halls were cited by several participants as a vital community resource, particularly in times of need. Despite some changes, the findings therefore suggest that at present, CCH is continuing to provide a vital space for the delivery of affordable and much required community services, contributing to social regeneration aims.

In terms of limiting, reflecting or even exacerbating change (see Marche, 2015), there was a general view that the Halls had tended to reflect the nature of neighbourhood and community change, playing a role as a stable, long-term

community asset. While some wished to enter new 'markets' and/or attract a more varied demographic to the Halls (for example, students), these efforts were not generally viewed as having affected the nature and the usage of the Halls to a great extent thus far, albeit with this potentially being a future risk.

Another way in which the role of the assets has changed over time is in terms of the configuration of both spaces, arguably reflecting both community needs and the need to generate greater surpluses in both cases. Both organisations have expanded childcare services, leading to less room for community activities. In Glasgow, the expansion of childcare was cited by some as creating tensions with other services, particularly those less able to generate a surplus. This challenge is arguably worsened as some suggested childcare services are sometimes accessed by some more affluent residents outside the 'traditional' area of benefit. Yet, in both cases, the focus on income generation via the assets enables some limited redistribution of wealth from more affluent residents, through reinvestment in community services and/or activities (see Aiken et al., 2011).

However, at BS3CD, some cited that current community development activities, largely provided for less affluent residents, often take place outside of the asset, although there are some free/low-cost activities and services in the space. Thus, a small number of participants suggested that it was more effective to undertake these community development activities outside of TSC, rather than using the space to try and resolve some of the tensions in the community, arising and being exacerbated by gentrification, with TSC partly being used to generate surpluses for outreach activities, primarily via Early Education and Childcare (EE&C) services. Therefore, a key question is how best BS3CD can work with a wider demographic and further help improve the lives of *all* residents, particularly those in most need, thus contributing to ameliorating some of the impacts of gentrification. This is especially challenging in the context of austerity, restricting the potential to increase organisational agency (for example, Milbourne & Cushman, 2015; Rolfe, 2018).

Themes of inclusivity, affordability and approachability were stronger at CCH, with several participants emphasising the aim to maintain affordable services. Yet, the findings highlight that despite CCH's aims for the space to be

community-focussed, it is arguably not immune to neoliberal imperatives around capitalist consumption. The space has arguably transitioned, to a degree, from one focussed on social interactions to one more focussed on economic transactions. The analysis identified two key ways in which the role of the community assets in regeneration and gentrification was conceptualised: assets as inclusive or exclusive; and assets as catalysing action or reflecting change.

9.4.1 Assets as inclusive; assets as exclusive

Themes of inclusivity and exclusivity were common in both cases, but responses tended to suggest a greater degree of inclusivity at CCH, and a greater degree of exclusivity at TSC, due to the reasons outlined previously. In Bristol, some participants suggested that some of the divisions within and across BS3, arising and exacerbated by gentrification, including along class and age lines, were reflected, to an extent, in the organisation and TSC. Some participants reflected that the space was quite middle-class, with a focus on fairly expensive services and a café provider which emphasises its (relatively expensive) locally-sourced, seasonal produce. Further, some felt that BS3CD's economic model reinforced this exclusivity, for example via the focus on EE&C provision. Notwithstanding, participants emphasised the recent efforts made in terms of outreach activities, and the organisation's work with older people was widely praised.

Several participants also highlighted an aim to both increase awareness of the charitable activities BS3CD offers within and outside of TSC, and to develop ways of providing more affordable activities and services within the space. It was hoped that doing so could increase the inclusivity of the space, and help to dispel what some felt were unfair perceptions that TSC can be somewhat exclusive. Nevertheless, as discussed, there was ambiguity about whether social inclusion could or should be generated via the asset, or whether this would be more effectively achieved via outreach activities.

In Glasgow, responses suggested that the Halls continues to provide a vital and inclusive space for the existing community, delivering a variety of much needed (and often affordable) services. Participants highlighted the asset's role in maintaining and sustaining community. They also cited examples of this inclusivity, for example with the space being used as an emergency centre, and

the organisation offering discounted or free room hire for certain groups. However, some participants cited concerns about shifts in the use of the space and its users, with austerity leading to a greater focus on enterprise. Some highlighted challenges balancing enterprising and community aims, thus potentially increasing exclusivity over time, reflecting existing literature (see, for example, Somerville and McElwee, 2011; Thompson & Williams, 2014) and the views of expert stakeholders in Chapter Six.

Thus, some participants cautioned that the Halls were at risk of becoming less inclusive, due to the focus on, and expansion of, childcare provision, potentially at the cost of other community activities, such as Older People's Services. There was also a view, common with community centres, that the Halls were not used by all parts of the community, and that it was perhaps being used less by some parts of the community that used to access it. Participants suggested that this may, in part, be due to the organisation's restructuring in the mid-2000s, which led to a reduction of community involvement in the management committee, and potentially the organisation more widely. Both organisations and their assets thus face challenges in this regard, with community being a continually contested site (Raco, 2003).

9.4.2 Assets as catalysing action; assets as reflecting change

As mentioned previously, overall, both community assets have arguably largely reflected wider neighbourhood changes, whether these be gentrification or regeneration. Both assets have reflected organisational imperatives, influenced by government policy, to generate a surplus, with the activities and services offered reflecting this, thus shifting the demographic of users to an extent, in some cases.

However, views were more mixed regarding whether TSC in BS3 is limiting, reflecting or exacerbating change. Here, some participants felt that TSC had played a key role in providing a community space for social interactions and projects to be developed, both reflecting the increasingly gentrified population and increasing the area's gentrification. Participants reflected that the organisation and the asset had played a key role in the 1990s in terms of increasing community pride, with some considering how far TSC had acted as a

catalyst for further private sector investment. Others felt that TSC had more reflected neighbourhood changes. The need to generate income from an early stage arguably meant there was little room for more 'alternative' development trajectories (see Tuckett, 1988; Wheeler, 2017).

In contrast, CCH was generally viewed as more reflective of the community, maintaining and sustaining it over the years, and acting as a key support mechanism for those in need. While participants cited much neighbourhood change over time (although there was debate regarding how far this should be viewed as gentrification), it was suggested that the Halls had remained a 'vanguard' for the 'traditional' community. This role, combined with other community spaces and social housing locally, was viewed as providing a buffer against gentrification (see Shaw, 2005). While contributing to regeneration has long been an aim for CCH, the findings suggest that the Halls have arguably reflected wider changes, rather than acting as a catalyst for change or being a space that has necessarily been particularly attractive for incoming residents, with the exception, perhaps, of using childcare services. Although there have been some attempts to increase the diversity of users, for example via the community cinema and aims to attract students, these efforts were not generally perceived as having greatly influenced the nature and usage of the Halls thus far.

These findings reflect the themes of inward- and outward-facing approaches that emerged throughout both case study analyses (see below). While the approaches of both organisations have shifted over time in this regard, overall, TSC has arguably had a more outward-facing role than the Halls, having played a greater role in catalysing community action, with the Halls generally viewed as playing a less proactive role. This is arguably due, in part, to the nature of the local community, and higher levels of social capital enabling more middle-class activism in BS3, as well as the types of local issues that need to be addressed (see section 9.5.2). While there have been efforts at CCH to do more community development over the years, these have been more sporadic, as discussed in the following section, which compares the findings for research objective five: to explore the ways in which, and how far, the role of the case study organisations in regeneration and gentrification locally has shifted over time and why.

9.5 The Role of the Organisations in Regeneration and Gentrification Over Time

The contribution of both organisations to regeneration locally has arguably been largely social, through the provision of services and activities and varying extents of community development work. This social regeneration role was cited as becoming increasingly vital, as austerity means that both organisations are increasingly being expected to help contribute to filling gaps left by state retraction (see Hastings et al., 2013). However, both organisations have also contributed to economic regeneration to an extent, for example via providing local employment and volunteering opportunities. The two key themes regarding the role of both organisations more widely in neighbourhood change were the aim to balance community and enterprise to meet varied community need; and the balance between inward- and outward-facing approaches, including the impact this has on wider community development work. These two themes are now examined in comparative perspective.

9.5.1 Balancing Community and Enterprise: Meeting Varied Community Needs

Both organisations offer a similar suite of services, seeking to contribute to social and community regeneration via childcare and services for older and young people, although the latter has only recently been introduced by BS3CD. Both cases demonstrate, however, that seeking to meet varied community need can be challenge, particularly in the context of austerity, with difficulties balancing community and enterprise (Somerville & McElwee, 2011; Thompson & Williams, 2014). In the Bristol case, participants explained that while BS3CD offers services and activities for a range of incomes, there was a perception amongst some that the organisation and the asset were *primarily* used by more middle-class residents. Some suggested that childcare services take priority, as the surpluses from these are needed to fund community development activities and the organisation's overall sustainability. In this context, some highlighted a need to be realistic about what projects can be done, and what can be achieved and/or influenced. Nevertheless, participants cited efforts to make services and activities more accessible to less affluent residents, but explained challenges engaging some parts of the community. They also recognised that some services

will, by definition, exclude certain parts of the population due to cost. They also cited the organisation's relatively recent expansion in terms of the area of benefit, seeking to reach less affluent parts of BS3, and also the increasing focus on outreach activities, especially for older, more vulnerable residents.

In Glasgow, participants described aims to meet varied community needs via services and activities, though some argued that the organisation did not do so to quite the same degree that it used to. Participants suggested that this shift may have been influenced by a cited reduction of community involvement in the organisation's governance; the transition from grant funding to a focus on enterprise; and difficulties balancing this shift with community priorities (Somerville & McElwee, 2011; Bailey, 2012). Nevertheless, continuing social need and relative deprivation cause particular challenges locally, which CCH seeks to help address/ameliorate. The reduction of public funding, combined with the relative lack of gentrification locally, has arguably meant CCH has had to expand its geographical focus to more affluent areas to sustain enterprising services, highlighting the contradictions that can emerge from this approach (Spear et al., 2017). These challenges reflect cautions that despite the policy promotion of community enterprise and assets as mechanisms for regeneration, this approach may exacerbate existing inequalities if there is insufficient government support in deprived areas (see, for example, Bailey, 2012, 2017; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016).

In both cases, difficulties funding Older People's Services because of austerity highlight some of the challenges of meeting varied community needs, albeit with differing responses. BS3CD has arguably been better able to continue the service (albeit recognising that it was arguably never as comprehensive as that previously provided by CCH) by introducing a small charge for some, utilising its surpluses and undertaking additional fundraising. In contrast, CCH was unable to sustain its day-care service and had to close it. CCH accessed some additional funding and now provides some homecare in the community and activities/ services in the Halls, with the service being less comprehensive than it once was. These changes thus effect how each space is used and perceived in the community. This example raises questions of how far the model can be used to fund non-surplus generating services.

Regardless of the differing contexts, participants at both organisations expressed a general view that enterprise is the 'only way' to meet varied community needs, given state retraction and austerity. Both organisations have faced great challenges due to these structural factors, making it difficult to reconcile the aims of both meeting community needs and ensuring sustainability. However, these challenges were seemingly generally felt more acutely at CCH than BS3CD, as discussed previously. These challenges are reflected in each organisation's community development role, as is now discussed.

9.5.2 Community Development Work

Participants at both organisations emphasised their aims to contribute to community development and regeneration via outreach. Yet, they also described challenges in doing this, while delivering their core services and activities. Although the former are supposedly vital to their roles, there is a tendency for these to be deprioritised at times, particularly when there are financial challenges. The community development role at both organisations has thus oscillated over time, affected by internal/organisational, local and national factors. These shifts influence the potential contribution of each organisation to neighbourhood change. In both cases, austerity has seemingly affected the organisations' relationships with the local authority, arguably limiting each organisation's ability to contribute to wider community regeneration agendas, with greater difficulty influencing local policy (Bailey, 2017). The evidence suggests that neither organisation has played an active role in setting the agenda for its neighbourhood. This is particularly true regarding housing issues, the key mechanism for limiting (or exacerbating) gentrification (Bailey & Robertson, 1997), perhaps due to limited organisational agency to affect change or because this agenda is not a priority. At the time of data collection, both organisations were seeking to expand their community development role, as discussed below.

BS3CD's approach to community development over the years has seemingly been facilitative, for example connecting people and supporting different groups to address local issues they are concerned about, such as environmental improvements, and encouraging or empowering people to do things for themselves. As existing research (for example, O'Brien & Matthews, 2016:200) has cautioned, this approach arguably 'favours' those residents who already

have higher levels of social capital. Nevertheless, its role was viewed as having matured over the years, becoming more 'proactive' recently. This is in contrast to the approach required and adopted in Maryhill, where the type of community support required is arguably around more deep-rooted issues, such as unemployment and the need for skills development, which both require a much higher investment of time and energy over a sustained period of time to make an impact, combined with greater state intervention to address the underlying structural inequalities (Milne & Cooper, 2015; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). Thus, the nature of community need, and the resources required for community development, are very different in each case.

Findings from both case studies therefore suggest tensions in maintaining community development activities over the years, particularly during times of austerity. At the time of data collection, BS3CD had however just introduced a permanent community development role. This was cited as being enabled by increasing demand for EE&C services and additional surpluses being generated via the opening of an additional nursery. This thus appears to be a more sustainable approach for now, albeit contingent on continuing surpluses from EE&C services. In contrast, CCH's community development activities have tended to be funded by time-limited grants or by small amounts of surplus from other services, arguably often lacking sustainability. Nevertheless, at the time of data collection, CCH had been awarded Scottish Government funding for two roles: a Community Development Officer and a Community Regeneration Officer. While this funding was time-limited, participants hoped it would provide additional resource to address the cited challenge that CCH's role in community regeneration had largely been reactive over the years, rather than driving change, due to limited resources. Although the funding has now finished, the Community Development role has been continued on a part-time basis.

Despite the very different types of community, participants described several similar challenges around community involvement; state retrenchment; organisational capacity; and, in the Glasgow case, the impact of so-called 'welfare reform.' These are now discussed.

9.5.3 Challenges

It is important to note that, despite the challenges discussed here, this thesis does not seek to detract from the efforts of these organisations, who have remained committed to their communities and helping those in need over time, aiming to balance the tensions, and address the challenges, cited throughout. Rather, the focus is on challenges arising from macroeconomic, structural factors, which are the responsibility of governments to address (see O'Brien & Matthews, 2016).

A common challenge cited by organisational representatives in both cases was achieving wide-ranging community involvement, an issue also highlighted in the scoping interviews in Chapter Six. While organisational representatives and wider stakeholders expressed a desire to help those most in need, there was concern that limited community involvement could inhibit each organisation's ability to address community needs, as these may not be fully understood. Some participants recognised a need for greater and more diverse community involvement to address this, for example via each organisation's board.

At BS3, there was an expressed desire from several organisational representatives and other local stakeholders to engage and help those most in need. However, the findings suggest that sometimes people were unsure of the best way to do this, with challenges of social exclusion for some groups. This challenge is also exacerbated by participants' views, discussed previously, that the organisation and TSC are viewed by some as fairly middle-class, and potentially somewhat exclusive. In Glasgow, while participants emphasised that CCH aims to be inclusive and address community needs, some cited a reduction in community involvement over time, particularly in terms of CCH's governance. Some also cited tensions arising due to changes in the use of the space as enterprising services have grown, with some noting a shift (to an extent) towards service users who can pay for services.

State retrenchment, austerity and organisational capacity were also key issues. In the Bristol context, some participants explained how austerity had affected BS3CD's approach, with a reliance on the more affluent parts of the community to pay for services and ensure organisational survival. Nevertheless, several

participants expressed a desire to help the less affluent parts of the community, where possible. However, the findings suggest that BS3CD's focus has been on ameliorating some of the challenges associated with gentrification, arguably exacerbated by austerity, rather than tackling the root causes of the problem, with the view that it is the state's responsibility to address these, as also discussed in Chapter Six. Capitalist structures thus have a huge influence on the scope and nature of BS3CD's activities and the use of TSC, with BS3CD, like other CEs, needing to generate surpluses via enterprise to ensure sustainability (Thibault, 2007; Bailey, 2012).

These findings reflect the scoping interview data in Chapter Six and arguably raise questions of how far organisations like BS3CD are able to balance these tensions and address varying needs locally in the context of austerity, with ambivalences within the community about which needs should be prioritised; and the role of BS3CD in addressing these. Thus, a key issue to consider is how far the tensions within the neighbourhood and organisation, manifesting via the asset, can be resolved in a synergistic manner through the range of different activities and services and partnership approaches to meet varied community needs; or whether the organisation's agency is arguably too limited by structural factors and the finite level of resources, meaning difficult trade-offs must be made (zero-sum) (DeFilippis et al., 2010; Mühlbacher & Böbel, 2019). In the context of austerity, it would arguably be overly optimistic to argue for the former. While participants cited many positive impacts arising from BS3CD's work over time, its potential contribution is arguably inherently limited without the state addressing the root cause of these inequalities (Bailey, 2017).

In the Glasgow context, austerity and 'welfare reform' were cited as having a severely detrimental effect on some of CCH's service users who may be vulnerable and/or on low incomes (see Hastings et al., 2015 on austerity, and Beatty & Fothergill, 2016b on welfare reform). While this is no doubt the case for some in BS3, the extent of poverty is not so great. At CCH, therefore, despite good intentions, structural constraints on the organisation's agency arguably affect its potential contribution to community-led regeneration and its wider role in the community. Participants also cited the view that it was necessary for the organisation to become more professionalised to adapt to funding reductions and the need for more 'enterprising' approaches, arguably meaning CCH has

become somewhat less community-focussed, in order to survive. This has, to varying extents, seemingly affected the nature of some of the services and activities offered; the demographics of service users; and the nature and ethos of both the organisation and the asset. A key challenge at CCH is thus how best to balance the social nature of the space with the increasingly commercial aspects (and necessities) of the organisation within the space (see Aiken et al., 2011).

Therefore, the findings highlight that while there is great potential in the approaches of both organisations, this is constrained at present due to the challenges identified. These complicate government agendas around devolving 'powers' to communities, as will be discussed in greater detail in the following, concluding chapter. The penultimate section brings these findings together and considers the interrelations between community enterprise, assets, regeneration and gentrification.

9.6 Exploring the Interrelations between Community Enterprise, Assets, Regeneration and Gentrification

A key contribution of this thesis is the specific exploration of the interrelations between community enterprise, gentrification and regeneration and how these manifest, or are reflected in, community assets. While much literature has explored tensions between community and enterprise (for example, Somerville & McElwee, 2011; Thompson and Williams, 2014) and between regeneration and gentrification (for example, Shaw, 2009; Shaw & Porter, 2009), the literature review identified a need for further research exploring how these tensions intersect (see Thibault, 2007).

Figure 9.1 summarises some of the tensions between shifting organisational approaches in terms of the balance between community and enterprise, and regeneration and gentrification. These have been explored throughout the case study analyses, and were highlighted in the views of expert stakeholders in Chapter Six. While it is not suggested here that either organisation sits at either extreme on any of the dichotomies, which are arguably (un)ideal types, rather than realities, it is a helpful tool to conceptualise these tensions. The extent to which each organisation's focus is located closer to one extreme or the other has

shifted and fluctuated over time, and depends on the service or activity considered, with the potential to revert closer to the founding principles, as well as to shift the other way, reflecting the regeneration/gentrification 'continuum' conceptualised by Shaw (2008b) and Shaw and Porter (2009).

Figure 9.1 Changing organisational trajectories and intersections with regeneration and/or gentrification

Founding principles	Development trajectory
Community	Enterprise
Grassroots/organic community action	Professionalisation and managerialism
Potential for organisational precarity	Organisational sustainability
Prioritisation of local knowledge	Prioritisation of business acumen
Community-led efforts	Private sector/market-led development
Meeting community needs	Meeting the needs of the funder/market
Asset as a social space	Asset as a transactional space
Asset as locally-focussed	Asset as city-wide
Meeting needs of traditional/working-class residents	Meeting needs of middle-class users (not necessarily locally based)
Community-led development/regeneration	Gentrification
Source: Table constructed from author's analysis of existing literature (for example, Haughton, 1998; Atkinson, 2002; Thibault, 2007; Shaw, 2008b; Shaw & Porter, 2009; Aiken et al., 2011; Somerville & McElwee, 2011; Bailey, 2012; Milbourne & Cushman, 2015; Somerville, 2016) and PhD research findings.	

The findings suggest that the increasing focus on professionalisation, private sector management practices, commercial activities and the geographical expansion of target beneficiaries/users, depicted in Figure 9.1 (see Bailey, 2012; Milbourne & Cushman, 2015; Somerville, 2016) is intrinsically related to risks around gentrification (see Thibault, 2007; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). These aspects arguably thrive in areas with a gentrifying or gentrified population, such as in BS3, where there are increasingly affluent and middle-class users (*ibid*.). Yet, they potentially create more of a tension for community organisations in more deprived areas, such as Maryhill, where some residents lack the same degree of affluence and are typically more working-class. Further, wider factors at the neighbourhood and city scales affect the extent to which organisations have agency to affect change and/or help to limit gentrification (see Van Criekingen & Decroly, 2003).

9.7 Conclusion

This chapter has compared the findings of each case study under research objectives two-five. It highlighted several similarities between the organisations, in terms of their origins, the services offered, the shift from grant funding towards enterprise and challenges around state retrenchment and capacity.

However, it has argued that there are fundamental differences relating to the nature of the local community, both in terms of the extent of gentrification and the, arguably intrinsically related, degree of community capacity and social capital to participate in community development activities. These have a fundamental effect on the nature of the organisations, the approach adopted and how their roles, particularly via the assets, in regeneration and gentrification have developed over time.

The final, concluding chapter, relates these findings to the overall research questions and academic literature; highlights the ways in which this thesis has contributed to knowledge; outlines policy and practice implications; and discusses limitations and potential further research trajectories.

10 Chapter 10: Discussion and Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the thesis, relating the empirical data presented in chapters 6-9 to existing research reviewed in chapters 2-4 to address the research questions, as far as possible. These are:

1. What is the role of community enterprises, and specifically their community owned/managed assets, in processes of regeneration and gentrification over time, in areas characterised by socioeconomic inequalities?
2. To what extent do different factors (e.g. organisational cultures, national/local policy, the local socioeconomic context) interact and affect the approach taken by asset managing/owning community enterprises and their role in regeneration and gentrification?
3. What is the (potential) contribution of a community asset-focussed analysis of processes of gentrification?

An assessment of the thesis's contribution to its overall aim is then made. This aim, following Shaw and Porter (2009) and others, is:

to further explore the nuances of the interrelations between regeneration and gentrification and to contribute to understandings of how gentrification can be limited, if at all, while community-led regeneration is taking place for the benefit of local residents.

This chapter highlights the contribution to knowledge of this thesis, in relation to the research agenda; outlines policy and practice implications; and discusses limitations and potential avenues for further research.

10.2 Addressing the Research Questions

This thesis has explored the role of community enterprises (CEs), and particularly the community assets that they own/manage, in regeneration and

gentrification over time, and the factors affecting this role. This section summarises the findings under each research question.

RQ1: What is the role of community enterprises, and specifically their community owned/managed assets, in processes of regeneration and gentrification over time, in areas characterised by socioeconomic inequalities?

The research highlighted that both organisations have played a key role in their communities over time, via their community assets. They have contributed to both social and economic regeneration locally, and also to wider community development activities. While their work is relatively small-scale, being community-based, it can have a great impact on the lives of individuals and within each community (see DeFilippis et al., 2010; Bailey, 2017). The thesis conceptualised the role of each organisation's community assets in regeneration and gentrification in two key ways: assets as inclusive or exclusive; and assets as catalysing action or reflecting change

In the BS3 case, the organisation's efforts, via the Southville Centre (TSC), were seen as leading to various community development/regeneration benefits over the years, including increased social capital. Nevertheless, participants saw this role as shifting over time, as the organisation has been more and less outward-facing, depending on internal and external factors (see RQ2). Yet, in the context of gentrification locally, some participants were concerned that TSC has become increasingly middle-class, and somewhat exclusive. While BS3CD's efforts to engage more diverse parts of the community via community outreach were praised, some cited that these activities often take place outside of TSC, although there are some free/low-cost activities/services within the space.

There were varying views regarding whether TSC had reflected or catalysed gentrification. Several participants suggested that TSC had both reflected and exacerbated change, enhancing the already-gentrifying area's desirability for investors and incoming residents. Others felt that gentrification was largely the result of structural factors, with TSC viewed as reflecting some neighbourhood changes, including tensions arising locally due to gentrification. Thus, a small number of participants questioned how far the organisation can resolve these tensions and inequalities locally, arising and being exacerbated because of

gentrification, by using the asset directly for a wider demographic; or whether these are best addressed indirectly, with TSC providing the space to generate surpluses for outreach activities.

This case highlights the challenges that can occur for CEs operating in unequal, gentrified neighbourhoods, and how these can be reflected in the services and activities of CEs and their assets. Here, the organisation, via the asset, arguably has little agency to contest the increasing gentrification of the neighbourhood, and the structural inequalities which both drive and reinforce this, in the absence of the state fulfilling its obligations to those in need (see DeFilippis et al., 2010; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016).

In contrast, regarding CCH, many participants saw the Halls as playing a long-standing role in the community, providing a space for vital services and other activities. However, while the Halls were cited as widely used, there was some concern that they were not used as much as formerly. Further, the findings suggest that the Halls were generally viewed as less of a community hub than TSC, partly due to the configuration of the space, meaning that social interactions are not easily facilitated. Nevertheless, the Halls were cited by several participants as a vital community resource, particularly in times of need; and a social space, used for multiple gatherings and celebrations over the years.

The findings suggest that CCH, as both an organisation and an asset, has arguably reflected neighbourhood and wider changes, rather than playing a more active role. Nevertheless, CCH has seemingly remained committed to supporting its community's development over time. While the findings suggest that gentrification has been somewhat limited locally thus far, it is important to consider the factors driving this. CCH has struggled to further its regeneration ambitions (including the asset transfer and refurbishment) in a context of somewhat fractured partnership-working and structural inequalities, which are reflected in the nature of the neighbourhood, and were cited as being exacerbated by austerity and so-called 'welfare reform.' CCH seemingly faces continual challenges, remaining committed to meeting varied community needs via its services and activities, while adopting the increasingly professionalised and managerial approach deemed necessary to ensure survival. Participants cited a need to expand the geographical area of benefit to generate greater

surpluses, meaning that the organisation's services and activities have shifted towards those who can pay (to an extent). Participants questioned how far this had led to a reduction of community involvement in the organisation, in some respects, and how far it has influenced CCH's ability to meet varying community needs. Although these changes have largely occurred due to external factors, particularly funding cuts, as a scoping participant commented, relying on the market in the context of austerity is a 'very vulnerable model' for the delivery of much needed services (see also Hastings et al., 2015).

Nevertheless, despite some changes, the findings suggest that at present, CCH continues to provide a vital space for the existing community, and the delivery of affordable and required services, with a continuing commitment to social justice and inclusivity within its organisational ethos. Yet, while themes of approachability and inclusivity were stronger amongst responses regarding CCH than TSC, the findings suggest that despite CCH's aims for the space to be community-focussed, it is not immune to neoliberal imperatives around capitalist consumption. While this case offers some hope for an 'alternative' way of doing regeneration without gentrification (Tuckett, 1988; Lees, 2014a), there is a question of how far this ethos may be challenged if wider circumstances changed, and the neighbourhood was targeted for gentrification by the public and/or private sectors, with issues of limited organisational agency (DeFilippis et al., 2010). There are thus a range of challenges and tensions which threaten its role in the community, particularly the past decade of austerity (Bailey, 2017).

RQ2: To what extent do different factors interact and affect the approach taken by asset owning/managing community enterprises and their role in regeneration and gentrification?

The findings highlight that in both cases, national and local policy have played a key role over time, albeit indirectly in the case of national policy. In BS3, national housing policy has played a key role in driving gentrification, with a shortage of affordable housing (Mullins & Murie, 2006). Austerity and the retraction of the public sector over the years have also had a great impact on both organisations, with generally declining attention to addressing urban, public and social policy challenges, as discussed in Chapter Two. While the SNP Government in Scotland has adopted a more interventionist stance since 2007,

emphasising its commitment to addressing poverty and inequality, there is a disjuncture between rhetoric and reality, with fundamental challenges, such as funding shortages, partly resulting from Westminster policy (Hastings et al., 2015). Structural inequalities and austerity thus constrain both the potential contribution CEs can make to regeneration (for example, Hastings & Matthews, 2015) and their abilities to limit gentrification (if this is even an aim) (see Lees et al., 2008; Colomb, 2009; DeFilippis et al., 2010). This limits the ability of CEs to deliver services which are not 'enterprising' by nature, particularly in deprived or unequal areas (Spear et al., 2017), arguably leading to the expansion of the geographical area of benefit in Maryhill.

There have also been unique local circumstances which have enabled each organisation to evolve over the years, particularly political and policy support and committed local activists. A supportive role from each local authority was crucial for each organisation's establishment and survival in the early days. CCH and the surrounding neighbourhood received extensive regeneration funding early on, allowing the organisation to grow and develop various services and projects, a resource that cannot be underestimated. In contrast, in BS3, a key factor driving the approach in the early days was a middling position on the Index of Deprivation (and increasing affluence now), meaning that the organisation has rarely been able to access regeneration funding, even during the relatively high investment of the New Labour years, leading to a need for enterprise earlier on. This is an important consideration when analysing the organisation's trajectory over time, driving the types of services and activities organised and, arguably, the types of people typically accessing TSC. Participants cited that the organisation's increasing financial sustainability was facilitated by increasing levels of social and economic capital locally, reflecting existing literature (Bailey, 2012; Somerville, 2016). The socioeconomic characteristics of each neighbourhood are therefore of crucial importance, with these having a fundamental effect on the ethos, objectives and approach of each organisation, being, as they are, rooted in local issues.

In both cases, therefore, macroeconomic conditions and the organisational and socioeconomic characteristics of each neighbourhood were cited as being key influences over time. The findings suggest that the impact of austerity in the last decade has had detrimental impacts in both cases. However, in Maryhill, it

was more common for participants to highlight the impacts of austerity and so-called 'welfare reform' on local residents, reflecting the higher levels of poverty and deprivation locally (see Hastings et al., 2015; Beatty et al., 2016b; McKendrick et al., 2016). This is despite funding cuts in Scotland not being as severe over this period and efforts by the Scottish Government to mitigate the impacts of 'welfare reform' (Hastings et al., 2015), as well as a wider ecosystem of support services for community enterprise and regeneration (Roy et al., 2015). It is thus telling of the very different neighbourhood context that BS3CD has seemingly managed to generate greater surpluses to fund community development in a more sustainable way than CCH, despite the greater impacts of austerity over the past decade in England (Rolfe, 2018). This reflects cautions in the literature that austerity may have exacerbated existing inequalities, as communities with higher levels of social capital and middle-class activism may be less detrimentally affected by these changes (Hastings & Matthews, 2015; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). While the government announced the 'end of austerity' in September 2019 (Inman, 2019:no page), it is important to recognise the impact of this policy from 2010-2019, and consider the types of interventions required to address this legacy (for example, Marmot et al., 2020).

Thus, various interrelated factors, at varying scales (internal, local and external), have enabled these two CEs to survive and, at times, thrive. Yet, it is vital to recognise the inherent and multiple challenges that they have faced, and the great efforts that have been made to limit/address these. These factors affect the approach taken and outcomes arising, reflected in the nature and usage of each asset and each organisations' wider activities over time.

RQ3: What is the (potential) contribution of a community asset-focussed analysis of processes of gentrification?

This thesis aimed to test the utility of a community asset-focussed analysis of gentrification, to better understand the nuances and interrelations between regeneration and gentrification and the role of community assets within these processes, given their increasing promotion within policy. This was done using case studies of asset owning/managing CEs, operating in socioeconomically unequal neighbourhoods. The thesis builds upon Colomb's (2009) work, which focussed on the role of the Shoreditch Trust, a development trust emerging from

an existing community group under New Labour's *New Deal for Communities*, and the role of its assets, in gentrification.

This thesis contributes to knowledge in this regard, examining the role of two long-standing CEs in community regeneration and gentrification over time, including the recent austerity period. Yet, in comparison to the Shoreditch Trust, the two case studies here are of a much smaller scale in terms of their assets, turnover, services and activities. However, they have nevertheless enabled analysis of community assets as a lens through which to better understand processes of regeneration and gentrification, and the nuances and interrelations between them, including the impacts and outcomes that can arise. This analysis of community assets has also allowed consideration of how far, and in what ways, processes and impacts of gentrification can be limited, negotiated, or even exacerbated over time, via this approach. The thesis explored the role of physical community assets in these cases, and how far each organisation's activities, delivered through their assets, reflect community needs. It considered how far each asset has limited, reflected or even exacerbated neighbourhood change (see Marche, 2015).

The thesis has argued that assets are a useful lens to explore these issues and how the actions and constraints of CEs and challenges of wider gentrification can be limited, reflected or even exacerbated through community asset ownership/ management (*ibid.*). The scoping interviews highlighted the potential for this approach to limit some of the challenges and tensions associated with gentrification, if supported by contextual and socioeconomic conditions. However, the case study research emphasised that while some of these challenges can be somewhat ameliorated via this approach, the potential to limit gentrification, in the context of austerity and a market-led housing system, is severely constrained at present by issues of limited scale, power and agency for CEs (see DeFilippis et al., 2010). To address this challenge, the findings indicate a need for much greater state intervention in terms of support for affordable housing and community ownership of a range of different assets (Lees et al., 2008; Shaw & Porter, 2009; Bailey, 2017).

This thesis has explored and highlighted the tensions and contradictions inherent in the community enterprise approach, via community asset management and/or

ownership, as both a policy tool and a mechanism for achieving greater community-led regeneration benefits. While scholars have examined the role of different factors in limiting gentrification, including affordable housing and community activism (for example, Shaw, 2005) and although Philips and Smith (2018:7) discuss 'capital/asset-based analyses of gentrification,' these typically focus on housing assets, whether through home ownership or affordable housing (see also Levy et al., 2006). As far as the author is aware, other studies have not explicitly analysed the role of community assets in this way.

This thesis has thus contributed to understandings of the nuanced interrelations between regeneration, gentrification and community enterprise, manifested via community assets, and the factors affecting CEs' approaches. In the context of austerity and the deprioritisation of community-led regeneration within policy (though less so in Scotland), the case studies highlight the complexities and challenges of the transfer of resources, services and assets to communities in socioeconomically unequal urban neighbourhoods, experiencing varying degrees of gentrification. The analysis corroborates existing literature highlighting the need to further problematise policy narratives uncritically emphasising this approach (for example, Moore & McKee, 2014; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016), as will be discussed in more detail in subsequent sections.

10.3 Contribution to Knowledge

The purpose of this section is to outline the academic contribution of this thesis in relation to the three key areas identified as requiring further research, summarised at section 4.7.

Firstly, there was an identified need for further research regarding **the actual and potential role of asset-owning/managing community enterprises in processes of regeneration/gentrification, over time, in neighbourhoods characterised by high levels of socioeconomic inequalities**. This is particularly important in the context of a decade of austerity and the constraints this has caused for community organisations when seeking to contribute to regeneration (Milbourne & Cushman, 2013; Hastings et al., 2013, 2015). The benefits are often presumed in policy, but lack sufficient evidence (Moore & McKee, 2014). Further, much existing research has focussed on deprived, rather than unequal

neighbourhoods (see Varady et al., 2015a) and, in Scotland, has often focussed on rural, as opposed to urban areas, with DTAS (2012a) identifying a need for further research here.

This study, while not being 'generalisable' as such, given the in-depth qualitative approach, nevertheless provides useful evidence in this regard, bringing together the perspectives of experts working in community regeneration and CE/asset support, outside the case studies, with the findings of two in-depth case studies. It highlights that while this approach has great potential, numerous tensions and ambivalences can occur, particularly in unequal urban areas experiencing varying degrees of gentrification. The findings thus further problematise policy narratives uncritically promoting the benefits of this approach (see Moore & McKee, 2014; Bailey, 2017). They also further emphasise challenges of scale, capacity and resources for community-based organisations, long cited in the literature (DeFilippis et al., 2010). The thesis has therefore argued that unless this approach is supported by greater state intervention, it is unlikely to achieve equitable community-led regeneration benefits, for example in terms of service provision or the use of community assets; and may, rather, potentially exacerbate challenges related to the negative impacts of gentrification, such as increasing inequalities locally and issues of exclusivity within community assets (Marche, 2015; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016; Bailey, 2017).

While the Scottish Government shows greater cognisance of these challenges than Westminster, both governments have drastically reduced resources for community-led regeneration efforts, whilst simultaneously increasingly relying on these approaches to 'compensate' for state retrenchment, whether in terms of community development or service delivery (for example, Hastings et al., 2015; Rolfe, 2016a, 2016b, 2018). Following earlier work by Amin et al. (2002) and others, the findings demonstrate that while CEs, and their assets, can play a crucial role in their neighbourhoods, contributing to community-led regeneration and, in some cases, helping to limit gentrification to a degree via a commitment to 'another way' (Tuckett, 1988), they will *never* be able to 'substitute for the state' in an equitable and sustainable way (Amin et al., 2002:125). Following existing work, this thesis has argued that the need for surplus-generation via enterprise can be fundamentally at odds with community needs, with no

synergistic way of addressing these tensions due to finite resources (see, for example, Gupta et al., 2004; Thompson & Williams, 2014; Rolfe, 2016a). While the case studies do their best to manage these challenges in an extremely difficult context, reinvesting surpluses in community activities, this will always be piecemeal and contingent, through no fault of their own, posing a fundamental risk for the most vulnerable communities who rely on them.

This thesis has also contributed to knowledge regarding the role of CEs in the context of austerity, so-called 'welfare reform' and increasing inequalities in the UK, building on existing research (Bailey, 2012; Hastings et al., 2015; Beatty et al., 2016a; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016; Rolfe, 2018). There was an identified need for further research adopting a comparative approach since greater divergence due to the Coalition and then Conservative Governments in Westminster post-2010 (see Rolfe, 2016a, 2016b, 2018, for exceptions). This thesis compared the role of CEs within these diverging contexts. While this posed challenges, given the increasing divergence (see McGuinness et al., 2014), the research in both countries highlights the fundamental need for greater state intervention if there is any hope of supporting community-led efforts to achieve their potential (Bailey, 2017). O'Brien and Matthews (2016:200) cautioned that in the context of austerity, 'governance mechanisms that favour those already well-resourced to take advantage' were increasingly likely to be prioritised, likely exacerbating risks of gentrification. This is arguably increasingly true, especially in the English context, despite a *Civil Society Strategy* (HM Government, 2018), and a programme on *Place-Based Social Action* providing some support (National Lottery Community Fund, n.d.). Even more challenging and detrimental is the housing crisis, with a drastic need to address housing affordability issues (Gray, 2019). While the Scottish Government has made recent efforts to reform the private rented sector (Scottish Government, n.d.3) and continue the supply of affordable housing (Scottish Government, n.d.4), this agenda has received less support in England, with the continuation of the *Right to Buy*, and a pilot to explore extending it to housing associations (Bate et al., 2018).

Another important contribution of this thesis is the focus on unequal areas. Deprived areas have previously tended to be the focus of research (see, for example, Bertotti et al., 2011; Varady et al., 2015a). While CEs operating in

deprived areas also face fundamental challenges, these areas have historically had greater access to (regeneration) funding. Unequal areas face particular issues, as they are likely to be less eligible for funding if they have a middling position on indices of deprivation in these neighbourhoods, masking stark inequalities at smaller geographies, as in BS3. The rationale is often that deprived residents will 'benefit' from living in close proximity to affluent residents, hence policy imperatives for social mix (for critiques, see, for example, Atkinson & Kintrea, 2001; Colomb, 2007). Yet, these neighbourhoods are potentially at greater risk of gentrification, as the proximity to affluence may reduce the risk for investment, as occurred in BS3 (see Smith, 1979; Lees et al., 2008; Paton, 2014; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). The literature review thus identified a need for further research, particularly given the risk of increased inequalities occurring because of government policy since 2010, with a reduction in targeted resources to address poverty and disadvantage (see Hastings et al., 2013; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016).

In this context, this thesis has highlighted that in these unequal areas, CEs often face a challenging situation, with constrained organisational agency meaning that they are likely to either reflect or further contribute to gentrification, whether intentionally or unintentionally (see O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). The findings suggest that as the state retreats, CEs are arguably caught in a catch-22 situation, being increasingly reliant on the monetary contribution and social capital of more affluent, middle-class (potentially incoming) residents for financial viability, meaning that they are more compelled to respond to their needs. This potentially limits the ability of CEs to continue to help those in greater need. Both case studies have faced challenges maintaining services for those in greater need, such as older people's services, without sufficient state support. This research has thus highlighted the challenges both organisations have faced in trying to meet varied community needs and balance the priorities of different groups in unequal neighbourhoods. As scoping interviewees suggested, even CEs established with an explicit anti-gentrification agenda often struggle to maintain this in the context of a market-led housing system, thus making it increasingly difficult for CEs to maintain community spaces for a diminishing, formerly working-class and often elderly, population, as residents either pass away or are displaced.

The literature review also highlighted a need for further research in urban areas in the Scottish context. Though just one example, the CCH case study contributes to knowledge here. Participants in Chapter Six cautioned of the potentially greater challenges for the community enterprise approach in unequal urban areas, particularly regarding community asset transfer. The CCH example may be indicative of these challenges. The difficulties the organisation has faced regarding the asset transfer arguably complicate its role within regeneration, limiting its ability to meet its aims and objectives fully at present.

This research has also contributed to the call (Bailey, 2012; Moore & McKee, 2014) for research comparing the role of CEs, and their trajectories, in different communities and within different policy frameworks in the UK. The research explicitly considered factors which affect the varying approaches of CEs to regeneration and gentrification and the impacts and outcomes that can occur. It has highlighted the importance of local factors, but emphasised the ways in which these are intrinsically related to the national context, and the years of structural disadvantage inflicted on some people and communities as a result of the neoliberal project beginning in the late 1970s (for example, Harvey 1989; DeFilippis, 2004; Somerville, 2016).

This thesis also aimed to contribute to knowledge regarding the **need for further understanding of the specific role of community owned/managed assets in regeneration and gentrification and specifically the extent to which they can limit, reflect or even exacerbate processes of gentrification**. Yet, while research has increased on resistance to gentrification (for example, Lees, 2014a; Lees & Ferreri, 2016), the literature review identified a need for further research in the UK regarding 'softer' alternatives to gentrification, including the role of community-owned/managed assets, in the absence of sufficient state intervention to address gentrification (Lees & Ferreri, 2016). Lees et al. (2008:274) suggested that such models may be 'the best possibilities we have for something other than gentrification – something other than the false choice of disinvestment or displacement.' While this was written over a decade ago, Westminster Government regeneration policy since this time has arguably regressed, potentially exacerbating inequality and gentrification (for example, O'Brien & Matthews, 2016); this call thus remains important today. This thesis therefore sought to explore the (potential) contribution of a community asset-

focussed analysis of processes of gentrification, as discussed previously at 10.2 (RQ3). There has, however, been recent attention to *New Municipalist* approaches, as discussed in Chapter Four, offering more concrete mechanisms by which to limit gentrification, and these are returned to later in this section.

Community assets have therefore been used as a lens for better understanding gentrification in these neighbourhoods, contributing to this research agenda. Despite the potential for community ownership models (for example, DeFilippis, 1999,2004; Lees et al., 2008), the findings here and discussed more fully at 10.2 suggest that this is very much contingent on, and limited by, issues of structure, agency and capacity for CEs, with a need for greater state intervention and support, following existing research (for example, DeFilippis et al., 2010). In both case studies, community assets have arguably reflected the extent of each neighbourhood's gentrification, highlighting potential issues of inclusion/ exclusion within community assets, again problematising policy agendas (Moore & McKee, 2014; Bailey, 2017). However, in both cases, the assets discussed are managed, rather than owned by the organisations, though TSC has a 999-year lease. This may thus reduce the potential of these organisations to contribute to regeneration without gentrification. Further, while this thesis focussed on community centres, it is important to consider the potential role of different types of assets (see Archer et al., 2019); examining the role of other assets may have generated very different findings.

The thesis has explored the extent to which community asset ownership/ management affects the approach taken to, and outcomes of, community-led regeneration, including the extent of gentrification, in contrast to non-asset-based approaches. While the analysis identified various challenges arising from this approach, the cases do also highlight benefits, with assets providing a space for both activities and income generation. In the BS3CD case, TSC has contributed to different social and community impacts and outcomes, such as through delivering activities for older people to address social isolation, and indirectly, by providing a space for projects to be developed, such as regarding environmental issues. In recent years, a greater surplus has been generated, some of it being used to fund outreach activities outside of TSC. CCH has played a similar role, although with less focus on 'self-sustaining' community initiatives. Rather, there has been a greater role for public funding in supporting community

development work there, given the nature of local issues, although this has declined due to austerity.

The findings suggest that while assets can generate community/social regeneration benefits, such as social capital and inclusion; provide additional security and financial sustainability; and provide a mechanism to generate income through services and/or activities (see Aiken et al., 2011), thereby allowing surpluses to be invested in non-income generating activities, this is not a 'panacea,' as one of the scoping interviewees emphasised. For example, assets can divert attention from organisations' original aims and lead to mission drift (see Thompson & Williams, 2014). They can also be taken over by an incoming population, as scoping interview participants suggested (see Henderson et al., 2018). Further, asset management and/or ownership can require a great deal of maintenance, which is even more challenging when there are shifting management responsibilities, as in the Glasgow case study. Recognising the benefits and potential of this approach, the findings corroborate existing research highlighting that community assets can become a liability if they deteriorate and detract from community-led regeneration efforts or other agendas (see Findlay-King et al., 2018).

Chapter Six highlighted that while assets may traditionally have been seen by some community groups as a grass-roots mechanism for both achieving autonomy and meeting community needs, in the context of state retraction, community asset transfer is now increasingly the 'only way that some public services can run,' as one participant put it (see also Findlay-King et al., 2018). This contrasts with scholars who have argued for 'reappropriating' enterprise and entrepreneurship for more radical purposes (Southern & Whittam, 2015:98; see also North, 2011; Casper-Futterman & DeFilippis, 2017). While this may be possible in some cases which seek to develop a truly 'alternative' approach (see Tuckett, 1988), it is arguably not reflected in these cases, due to the constraints outlined. These reduce the potential of these organisations to adopt more radical approaches and/or make a greater contribution to community-led regeneration, instead requiring increasingly professionalised, enterprising and pragmatic approaches to remain sustainable (see Amin et al., 2002; Thibault, 2007; Somerville, 2016). This may involve adopting the practices of the New Public Management, including 'entrepreneurial leadership,' target-setting,

impact measurement and an emphasis on 'efficiency' and 'effectiveness' (Osbourne, 2006:379). This can, in turn, affect the approach and impacts and outcomes generated. Such a focus on business practices and financial sustainability over community aims risks prioritising services which generate a surplus, and potentially mission drift (Fainstein, 2010; Wheeler, 2017). In the case studies here, these services are typically those used by more affluent, middle-class residents who can pay. This may mean that CEs deprioritise those services/activities that benefit the more deprived, working-class parts of the community, thus constraining their abilities to meet varied community needs. This can thus be a zero-sum situation, given the finite resources CEs possess, meaning that all community needs cannot be addressed in a synergistic manner (DeFilippis et al., 2010; Mühlbacher & Böbel, 2019). This may also increase the risk and/or extent of gentrification, given the focus on more middle-class (and potentially incoming) service users (O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). Participants warned that community enterprise is a very 'vulnerable' model in the context of austerity and 'welfare reform,' as the market is not designed to deliver vital services equitably, creating risks for those in most need (see also Hastings et al., 2015; Rolfe, 2018).

Interestingly, there were not many alternative perspectives on what the role of the community assets in each neighbourhood could or should be. In Bristol, any comments tended to focus on the potential for TSC to be more inclusive, for a wider range of local groups. At CCH, some expressed sadness that the organisation was perhaps not as community-led as it once was, and some felt that this had been reflected in the nature and usage of the asset, with a shift towards nursery provision and the closure of day-care and the café. Nevertheless, the general lack of alternative suggestions could be because of each assets' longevity, making it difficult for people to imagine alternative uses. It could also be because participants were generally still involved, or had a long-standing relationship, with the case studies.

The findings thus highlight the tensions emerging within community assets as communities develop; while they can be sites of unity, they can also be sites of conflict and/or competition by different and changing users, reflecting existing research (for example, Ernst & Doucet,2014; Paton, 2014; Marche, 2015). These findings therefore contribute to this literature, and are particularly important

for policy, which must better recognise the challenges of community asset ownership and/or management (see Moore & McKee, 2014).

Finally, the overarching aim of the study was to contribute to wider debates regarding **the nuances of the interrelations between regeneration and gentrification and how gentrification can be limited, if at all, while community-led regeneration is taking place for the benefit of existing residents**, building on existing work (Shaw, 2005, 2008b; Atkinson, 2008; Colomb, 2009; Shaw & Porter, 2009). While previous research has highlighted the potential of community-based approaches, involving community management/ ownership, in limiting gentrification (see for example, DeFilippis 2004; Colomb, 2009), the literature review highlighted a need for more research in this regard, and particularly in comparative perspective in the UK (Moore & McKee, 2014).

Following Amin et al. (2002), the findings suggest that the greatest potential for this approach is in offering an 'alternative' to typical approaches to regeneration (see also Tuckett, 1988; Gibson-Graham, 2008; Colomb, 2009; Lees & Ferreri, 2016). As argued throughout, while many CEs contribute to community-led regeneration and make great efforts to balance the tensions arising, there are fundamental issues of structure, agency, scale and power which restrict their potential to limit gentrification (DeFilippis et al., 2010; Aiken et al., 2011). Due to challenges of organisational capacity, the context of austerity and the housing crisis, these organisations cannot and should not be expected to limit gentrification without wider state support (DeFilippis et al., 2010; see also Amin et al., 2002; Colomb, 2009).

This thesis has argued that this support needs to come first and foremost from the state (see also Bailey, 2017), to provide further affordable housing and regulation of the private-rented sector (see Shaw & Porter, 2009). There have been some efforts by local governments to adopt a more interventionist stance, such as efforts to address the impact of excessive tourism and housing affordability issues in cities such as Barcelona and Berlin via the *New Municipalism*, for example through rent controls and restrictions on platforms such as *Airbnb* (Russell, 2019; Thompson, 2020). Thus, governments, driven by activists, can intervene in the interests of their citizens, if there is political will

(Shaw, 2005). While these movements are not always necessarily framed as 'anti-gentrification' protests, they nevertheless seek to address it.

While some places in England are implementing *New Municipalist* practices, such as the London boroughs of Islington, Hackney and Camden and Preston (see CLES, 2019), the powers of English local government are limited, for example not being able to implement rent controls on a localised basis (Wheatley, 2020). While the Scottish Government introduced *Rent Pressure Zones*[35] in 2016, these have faced criticism for being ineffective, with no zones allocated as yet (Living Rent, 2019). There is thus a need for greater state intervention and devolution to allow localised approaches to housing issues if appropriate (Wheatley, 2020).

Without state intervention in these housing market issues, there is little hope of more equal, democratic forms of community development in unequal neighbourhoods susceptible to gentrification (see Thibault, 2007; DeFilippis et al., 2010). Only once these issues are addressed, can the potential of community ownership/management of other assets be better explored and understood in terms of how far, and in what ways, they can help to contribute to community regeneration, while limiting gentrification (for example, DeFilippis et al., 2010).

The thesis has thus highlighted the current constraints on the potential for community-led regeneration, without gentrification. It argued that in BS3, there are few factors that can limit gentrification at present. The neighbourhood has very limited affordable housing, which tends to be reserved for the most elderly and vulnerable residents, with issues of 'residualisation' (Hawtin & Kettle, 2000). In this context, there is little hope of working-class, younger residents remaining locally, regardless of the amount of other community assets. While there is a lot of community activism in BS3, another factor Shaw (2005) identifies as helping to limit gentrification, this tends to focus on 'clean and green' type agendas or other community development issues, rather than housing affordability or social justice issues. Another of Shaw's (2005) factors,

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[35] 'Local councils can apply to Scottish Ministers to have an area designated a "rent pressure zone" if they can prove that: rents in the area are rising too much; the rent rises are causing problems for the tenants; [and] the local council is coming under pressure to provide housing or subsidise the cost of housing as a result' (Scottish Government, n.d.3).

progressive public policy, has been relatively absent in the Bristol case, although there are recent efforts to address housing issues.

In contrast, the CCH case does offer some hope in this regard, with various factors, particularly the role of affordable housing and community groups helping to limit gentrification (Shaw, 2005). Some cited that both the city and the neighbourhood's positioning and reputation had also limited gentrification (Lees, 2000; Shaw, 2005). More cynically, some participants suggested that enduring poverty and deprivation also play a key role in limiting gentrification locally. Thus, some suggested that, if market conditions improved and private developers wished to gentrify the area, this may happen.

Thus, on Shaw's (2008b, 2009) 'continuum,' BS3 has arguably tipped over from community development and/or regeneration, to increasing gentrification. In contrast, Maryhill is arguably still a relatively inclusive community, having experienced some regeneration, but not having yet tipped towards gentrification (see also Schlichtman & Patch, 2017). Echoing existing research (Bailey & Robertson, 1997; Shaw, 2005), the findings highlight that the key requirement to limit gentrification is affordable housing. While the CE approach has great potential to contribute to regeneration and limit gentrification in unequal neighbourhoods through the maintenance of community assets, services and activities for the community, this thesis has argued that this will not be effective unless housing market issues are addressed (see Shaw, 2008b, 2009; DeFilippis et al., 2010).

In this context, the scoping interview and case study data suggest that, at present, with the increasing focus on enterprise due to state retraction, there is little room for the radical community development discussed in Chapter Two; instead, organisations must reform to survive (Ledwith, 2011; Somerville, 2016). Structural conditions and national/local policy require a professionalised approach, which inhibits space for testing alternative approaches which could compromise financial sustainability (DeFilippis et al., 2010). Therefore, while the case studies still do much community development and regeneration work, their potential is inherently limited (*ibid.*). As Chapter Six highlighted, there is a key tension for organisations to be large enough to be influential, without losing sight of their community origins and, in the case of service providers, ending up

in a position where they are seeking to fulfil, in varying ways and to differing extents, the previous role of the state (*ibid*.; see also Amin et al., 2002; Bailey, 2012; Wheeler, 2017). This thesis has therefore contributed to knowledge here, highlighting these constraints, and suggesting what is required in terms of policy support to develop community-led regeneration agendas, as opposed to gentrifying ones, which exacerbate issues of inequality (see 10.4).

To conclude this section, therefore, in relation to Lees' (2014a:940-942) call 'for a politics of hope,' the findings suggest that the current context provides little space for hope. Instead, the findings highlight the structural challenges currently limiting the potential role of CEs, and their community assets, in community-led regeneration, leaving little scope for substantive change or transformation (DeFilippis et al., 2010; Murtagh, 2019). In the context of insufficient state intervention to address structural inequalities and limited organisational agency, CEs arguably tend to focus on ameliorative activities, with their projects typically being small-scale and limited by these structural inequalities (DeFilippis, 1999:982-983; see also Somerville, 2016), particularly in the context of austerity (Bailey, 2017; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016; Rolfe, 2018).

10.4 Policy and Practice Implications

This thesis has argued, based on empirical evidence and existing academic literature, that while the community enterprise approach has great potential in terms of generating community-led regeneration benefits, which could place some constraints on gentrification and its negative consequences, this possibility is currently limited by wider challenges, particularly insufficient state intervention in urban, social and public policy, austerity and structural inequalities (see O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). The findings highlight that this space for 'hope' (Lees, 2014a:940) is currently very difficult to realise through this approach, reflecting existing literature (for example, DeFilippis et al., 2010; Bailey, 2017). As others (for example, DeFilippis, 2004; Colomb, 2009) have cautioned, there is only so much CEs can do in the context of market forces, however well-intentioned and enterprising they are. This is particularly the case in unequal communities; as a Glasgow participant expressed, 'the community… [has] given all it can give – time, money, effort…it's the government that needs to put its hands in its pockets.'

Following previous research (Shaw, 2005, 2008a; Atkinson, 2008; Lees et al., 2008; Colomb, 2009; DeFilippis, 2001; DeFilippis et al., 2010; Lees & Ferreri, 2016; Somerville, 2016), this thesis has argued that there is a fundamental need for greater support from the state to address structural inequalities and constraints if the potential contribution of CEs to deliver truly community-led regeneration, via community assets, is to be fully explored and maximised. The findings demonstrate the need for policy frameworks committed to social justice and reducing societal inequalities, which are truly supportive of CEs in deprived and unequal communities, if this approach is to achieve its potential. Without this, these approaches will seldom maximise their potential contribution to long-term locally-focussed regeneration efforts, which better limit the extent of gentrification. At present, structural inequalities and Westminster Government policy (and Scottish Government policy, to a lesser extent) arguably risk limiting, constraining, and ultimately nullifying this potential (see Lees, 2014a; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). Given the retraction of local government because of austerity since 2010, with simultaneously increasing pressures being placed on S&CEs (Hastings et al., 2015), it is crucial to understand and recognise community organisations' abilities *and* constraints, if policy wishes to achieve its aims.

The research has highlighted several intrinsic tensions and challenges in this approach. While asset community ownership/management were perhaps once a route to the empowerment and community-led regeneration outcomes promoted by the Scottish and (less so) Westminster governments (see Aiken et al., 2011), these findings very much highlight the limitations of this approach, despite best intentions, in light of these wider challenges (for example, Bailey, 2017; Rolfe, 2018). In this context, the aim to contribute meaningfully to local regeneration is often severely limited, with fundamental challenges of scale and capacity (see Colomb, 2009; DeFilippis et al., 2010; Bailey, 2017). Moreover, the opportunity to have a meaningful influence on gentrification, whether the aim is to limit it or to 'maximise opportunities' from it, is even more difficult to achieve.

Thus, following previous research (for example, Somerville, 2016; SURF, 2016), the thesis has argued that there is a need for change in various areas, including housing policy reform in favour of more affordable, secure tenures; greater devolution to address localised housing issues particularly in the private-rented sector, if appropriate (Wheatley, 2020); redistributive welfare policies; and a

positive restructuring of the relationship between the state, the market and the third sector. There is also a need for a fundamental rethink of (regeneration) policy, with a need for far greater commitment to social justice and reducing societal inequalities, before this approach can enable CEs to reach their potential in terms of their contribution to regeneration without gentrification, particularly in deprived and/or unequal neighbourhoods (see DeFilippis, 2001; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016; Rolfe, 2016a, 2018).

Echoing existing research (for example, Shaw, 2005; Atkinson, 2008; Colomb, 2009; DeFilippis et al., 2010), it has been argued that there is a need for long-term efforts which combine community-led initiatives with urban, public and social policies which redistribute wealth and income to address structural inequalities. This requires a cohesive approach at different scales (community, local, regional, national) if the negative impacts occurring from gentrification are to be limited. There is a crucial role for central government, which sets the framework in which these other scales operate. Despite the Government announcing 'the end of austerity' in September 2019 (Inman, 2019:no page), it is impossible to know how the context for CEs and community-led regeneration efforts may change in future, with huge uncertainty at the time of writing (May 2020) due to the Covid-19 pandemic and ongoing negotiations regarding the terms of the UK's exit from the European Union (Stewart et al., 2019).

The focus of this thesis has therefore been on arguing for the need for an increased role for the state to address issues of, and related to, gentrification and to enable the CE approach to potentially play a greater role in community-led regeneration efforts. Yet, in the absence of the economic, political and social restructuring that this thesis has argued is vital to address underlying structural inequalities, this section seeks, as far as possible, to outline policy and practice implications within current societal and structural constraints. These implications and recommendations are based on participants' perspectives, existing research and my own analysis and perspectives.

Not all services and assets can be financially sustainable, particularly those supporting the most vulnerable and in need. Policy-makers advocating this approach need to better recognise this and acknowledge that the welfare state as a whole must continue to provide for its citizens, with the Westminster

Government needing to make far more effort to limit entrenched structural inequalities, rather than unrealistically expecting (marketised) charities to. While community organisations may be well-placed to address some acute needs, government funding is required to address these in any sustainable way. Such activities and services should not, and cannot, be marketised, and suggesting they should, or can, is fundamentally flawed, based on the evidence presented here and elsewhere. Such an approach was described as a very 'vulnerable model' and one which will have severely detrimental impacts on those in need who rely on these services and/or activities, if it is not supported adequately by government and subsequently fails. While assets such as community centres are vital and have many benefits, they can struggle to be financially sustainable, while meeting community needs (see Archer et al., 2019). This fundamental contradiction must be acknowledged, and policy must be adapted accordingly. If this is not addressed, CEs may have little option but to try and access the necessary 'markets' to fund their activities and services, likely deprioritising the needs of those they may have originally been established to support.

Research by the Labour Party (2019:5) highlights the extent of public assets that have been closed in recent years, with an estimated loss of 400 day centres, 500 public libraries, 600 youth centres, and 1,000 children's centres. While the *Localism* agenda in the early 2010s promoted community asset transfer, anecdotal evidence suggests that some local authorities were desperate to gain short-term economic benefits, and may have transferred assets to the private, rather than community, sector, a risk identified by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation in 2011 (JRF, 2011; see also Findlay-King et al., 2018). This has important implications in terms of gentrification, with a risk that, if community spaces are transferred, they may either lose their social function or be increasingly prioritised for activities that ensure profit, rather than necessarily addressing community needs. The research has highlighted that this can also be a challenge for the community enterprise approach. There is thus a fundamental need to **provide the means to reverse the sale of public assets and for greater support to enable communities to play a bigger role in this agenda**, if this is desired by each individual community, with a simultaneous need for greater capacity-building (see below).

The key public asset that has declined since the 1980s is affordable housing, as a result of the *Right to Buy*. While this policy has ceased in Scotland, it continues in England, exacerbating affordable housing shortages and issues related to gentrification. Given that there is little chance of the current Conservative Government in England stopping this policy, there is **a need for further exploration of, and potentially greater support for, community ownership housing models**, for example through Community Land Trusts, which have been gaining increasing recognition within policy, practice and academic research. While these will always be relatively small-scale, they may help, on a local level, to provide communities with more affordable, secure housing. Without urgent action to address affordable housing shortages, the extent of gentrification and its detrimental impacts on local communities will increase.

Participants highlighted both the opportunities and challenges of devolution agendas in England and Scotland. There was particular concern amongst some English stakeholders regarding the need to better integrate more top-down regeneration agendas with the grassroots regeneration efforts of CEs. In Scotland, work is underway to explore future developments in terms of devolution, particularly through the current *Local Governance Review*. **There is a need for further research and exploration of the role of CEs within these devolution agendas and how these fit with the role of other stakeholders, including other community organisations, as well as the constraints on their capacities and agency.** This is vital to understand their potential future role in regeneration and gentrification.

The research has highlighted the importance of local partnerships in meeting community regeneration aims via community enterprise and assets, particularly with the local authority, but also with other local community organisations. Yet, it has also highlighted tensions between CEs and these stakeholders. In the former case, this is perhaps due to a reluctance to devolve power by local authorities; in the latter, competition between different community organisations has likely been intensified due to austerity (for example, Milbourne & Cushman, 2013). There is thus **a need for greater recognition of these tensions within policy, and a more facilitative approach by government to develop and improve these relationships**, to maximise the potential of regeneration efforts.

Relatedly, the research highlighted issues regarding scale and the need for a greater number of varied community assets to increase impact. Participants stated that while community centres can be very useful for building social capital, there can be challenges regarding financial viability (see Archer et al., 2019). They suggested that to help better address some of the inequalities in terms of organisational agency, **community organisations could consider how they can increase their scale, by working collectively with others locally to increase the number and types of assets in community ownership or management, with a need for government support in this regard.**

Further, if policy-makers are to continue promoting the role of asset-owning/managing CEs in community development and regeneration, **there is a need for greater recognition within policy of potential issues of democratic accountability and representation in the community-led governance of both organisations and community assets** (see Bailey, 2012; Henderson et al., 2018). Participants suggested that these issues may have been exacerbated by the professionalisation of third sector governance, increasingly requiring more 'expert' skills and knowledge, thus favouring those communities or residents with high levels of social capital (O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). This thesis has highlighted that this can be intensified in the context of gentrification, where community-led boards can increasingly comprise incoming middle-class residents, displacing original residents from this influencing role (see Henderson et al., 2018). Policy-makers must recognise these issues, despite many of these community-led governance models traditionally being established with the aim to offer more participatory and deliberative forms of governance (*ibid.*; see also Escobar, 2017).

Despite many policy documents uncritically promoting the potential of community asset ownership/management within regeneration, the scoping interviews highlighted challenges arising from this approach. As existing research cautions, given underlying structural inequalities, asset transfer may not always be a viable option, or even an appropriate solution, in deprived areas (Moore & McKee, 2014:529). There is therefore **a need for recognition within policy that community ownership/management is not always suitable, particularly in more deprived communities, which may have suffered from years of structural disadvantage.** This approach arguably more commonly benefits

gentrified or gentrifying communities, with high levels of social, cultural and economic capitals. This is a fundamental contradiction as policy-makers often promote this approach as a mechanism for community-led regeneration, rather than to achieve gentrification. Participants thus emphasised the requirement for greater recognition of the need to address the underlying structural inequalities and provide support for capacity-building. Potential options suggested by participants to try and limit these challenges included **transferring assets to communities via a staged approach, or developing long-term lease models between local authorities and community organisations**. The former approach would allow community capacity to be developed gradually, so that communities could be enabled and empowered to take on ownership. The latter would allow long-term security for CEs, without transferring unnecessary risks. Participants also highlighted the need for greater synergy between different policy areas, such as regeneration, housing, welfare and third sector policy, if community asset ownership/management is to have the benefits often presumed in policy (Moore & McKee, 2014).

As scholars have long emphasised (for example, Cochrane, 2007; Craig, 2007), if policy aims to truly empower communities, **there is a need for funding and support for long-term capacity-building to enable communities to develop the skills, knowledge and confidence required to own or manage community assets. This is particularly the case for deprived and/or unequal communities, which *tend* to have lower levels of social, economic and cultural capitals** (Bailey, 2012). This must take place within a framework of societal and economic restructuring which seeks to address underlying structural inequalities and provide greater support to those in need. Without this support, this approach is likely to exacerbate inequalities between affluent and deprived communities, and to benefit gentrifying or gentrified communities, and potentially exacerbate the extent of gentrification (O'Brien & Matthews, 2016). This issue is particularly prominent in unequal communities, as the case studies have demonstrated, with a risk that community organisations and assets can reflect the more middle-class, typically more affluent parts of the community. This can thus limit the ability of CEs to contribute meaningfully to community-led regeneration, posing a fundamental challenge which cannot be addressed

without proactive intervention from government to address underlying structural inequalities (Bailey, 2017).

In terms of implications for CEs, both case studies highlighted issues in terms of community involvement and representation. While both were established as membership organisations, whereby members vote on organisational matters, in reality, both organisations are largely governed by their boards, involving community representatives, rather than the wider community. In this context, therefore, there is arguably **a need for greater efforts to compensate for reduced community involvement, for example by ensuring more diversity and representation on their boards in terms of class, age, ethnicity and other characteristics**. Participants suggested that in the absence of resources for large-scale community engagement initiatives, these representatives could provide greater insight into the needs of different parts of the community, potentially allowing these organisations to help address a wider range of needs. Participants also suggested a need for **greater transparency when considering performance, to encourage greater awareness and openness regarding challenges, as well as successes**. The findings also highlight issues of mission drift and these could perhaps be mitigated by engaging a broader range of service users and board members in each organisation's decision-making processes.

Another cited issue was the extent to which each organisation benefits local residents, rather than a wider geography, with the local focus being central to the CE model. Participants suggested that this challenge could be better understood through **greater monitoring of the demographics of service users and others accessing activities**. The findings suggest a need, in some cases, to consider how community assets can be used/reclaimed for a wider variety of community groups and residents locally, and to consider how assets can be made less susceptible to change, to maintain a space for existing residents. While time for reflection can be seen as a luxury, it is crucial for limiting the risk of mission drift, considering how far an organisation's aims are being met and re-evaluating an organisation's purpose. The limitations of this study, and avenues for further research, are now discussed.

10.5 Limitations and Further Research

There are several limitations which should be noted. The PhD focussed on in-depth qualitative, case study research. As such, while the cases provide a lens to explore wider issues, they cannot be used to draw more general conclusions (Bryman, 2012). However, this was not the aim, and as cited throughout the literature review, there is a need for more qualitative, longitudinal studies of CEs (see Varady et al., 2015b). Nevertheless, there would be value in conducting an additional larger-scale, mixed-method study across the UK, incorporating a survey with a selection of less in-depth, qualitative case studies. This would allow greater exploration of the role of CEs and their assets in regeneration and gentrification, in a wider range of neighbourhood and political contexts.

Further, working through gatekeepers at each organisation means that the sample was potentially limited. Most of the participants were involved with the case studies in the past or present, potentially affecting the perspectives participants gave. This approach also gave gatekeepers more power in terms of who participated, potentially silencing dissenting views (Bryman, 2012). Yet, this approach is arguably unavoidable in organisational research; I aimed to mitigate this by assuring all participants of confidentiality and anonymity. Yet, there is a risk that some may have been reluctant to offer more critical perspectives, given the relatively small sample size and local focus (*ibid.*). Moreover, while some participants were sourced independently, generally speaking, the case study research did not really capture the views of those who had been engaged and no longer are, or those who have never engaged. While this could have potentially yielded more varied data, it was not possible due to time and resource constraints, although it could be a fruitful avenue for further research.

Further, I had originally wanted to volunteer at each organisation to gain greater understanding of their working cultures and organisational ethos, and to provide greater benefit for them. However, this proved difficult. This more ethnographic approach could have potentially led to richer data and greater insight. It could also, however, have led to greater difficulties when analysing and writing-up the research, making it harder to 'detach' from the case studies (Hill-O'Connor & Baker, 2017). A future project could seek to adopt a more ethnographic approach and explore the benefits of this.

A further challenge was the increasing disparity between England and Scotland in political and policy terms over the course of this study. While the differences were widening when this PhD was developed in 2014/15 (see Rolfe, 2016b), they were arguably not as extreme as at present. Yet, since the Conservative majority in 2015 and the UK European Union Membership Referendum in 2016, which returned such different results in Scotland and England (see Birrell & Gray, 2017), these differences have become more pronounced. The PhD thus did not aim for a direct comparison, but focused on exploring the role of the case study organisations, with consideration of the local and national factors influencing them over time.

As both of the community assets analysed in this thesis are managed, rather than owned, further research focussing on community ownership specifically may shed further light on the potential role of assets in regeneration and gentrification. It is important to note, however, as highlighted in the scoping interviews and desk research, that the extent of community ownership is arguably relatively small-scale in urban areas in the UK, particularly so in Scotland (DTAS, 2012a).

Further, due to austerity and the wider political and policy environment, the research findings highlight the increasing constraints facing community organisations who are seeking to affect change locally. As such, I have largely aimed the critique in this thesis at national government, which is increasingly withdrawing resources, while placing more responsibilities on community organisations (Milbourne & Cushman, 2013). The findings highlight cautions in previous research, and intensified by austerity, that without addressing structural issues and socioeconomic inequalities, the capacity of CEs will be intrinsically limited (for example, DeFilippis et al., 2010; Bailey, 2017). This made the consideration of policy and practice implications more challenging, recognising the multiple constraints being faced by local government, CEs and individuals. I was conscious of not aiming this critique at CEs, who are generally trying very hard in extremely challenging circumstances, as central government fails to fulfil its responsibilities.

To address some of these limitations, further research could be conducted in various areas. In terms of organisational type, although there is a growing body

of literature exploring how Community Land Trusts (CLTs) may be able to mitigate gentrification (for example, Meehan, 2013; Engelsman et al., 2016), further research would be useful. Further, it would be interesting to explore the role of CEs who have historically played a greater role in housing, regeneration and planning systems, including those who were established to resist particular planning agendas. While the selection of the case studies focussing on service delivery and community development/regeneration was timely, given the context of austerity and the transfer of services and assets to community organisations, exploring the role of CEs with different origins and rationales would also be interesting. It would be particularly useful to explore the roles of arts-based CEs, given existing evidence regarding the interrelations between the arts, regeneration and gentrification (Grodach et al., 2018).

In the context of the shifting nature of the United Kingdom's 'union,' it would also be useful to undertake further in-depth qualitative research exploring these issues in other parts of England and Scotland, and also in comparative perspective with Northern Ireland and Wales (Moore & McKee, 2014). There are therefore a wide range of ways in which this research could be developed to further explore these issues in different organisational, local and national contexts.

10.6 Final Reflections

While I started this PhD looking for more 'hope' for community regeneration (Lees, 2014a:940), the research has rather highlighted the multiple intrinsic challenges and tensions facing CEs in the context of growing societal, policy and political constraints. Indeed, these seem to have become progressively worse since this research began in 2016. The research has demonstrated the complexities and challenges of the transfer of resources, services and assets to 'communities' in different urban contexts, who are experiencing varying degrees of gentrification. The findings thus raise important questions about how far the community enterprise approach, via community assets, can contribute to community regeneration in the current policy and political context; or whether government policy in this regard, combined with agendas around austerity and so-called 'welfare reform,' may be fuelling further gentrification, with insufficient state intervention, including regarding affordable housing, thus

perpetuating and potentially exacerbating socioeconomic inequalities (see Hastings et al., 2015; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016; Rolfe, 2018).

The thesis has therefore argued for the need to further problematise these issues and policy imperatives in this context, highlighting issues of structure, agency, scale and capacity for community enterprises. It therefore calls for a more realistic and nuanced understanding of the potential of this approach, and the need for additional state intervention to address structural inequalities, redistribute economic and social capitals and enable and support community-based efforts to reach their potential, within a wider framework of support for those most in need via the welfare state (for example, DeFilippis et al., 2010; Moore & McKee, 2014; O'Brien & Matthews, 2016; Bailey, 2017).

Yet, despite these feelings of hopelessness, as Shaw (2009:260) emphasised a decade ago, it is now more important than ever that researchers, policy-makers, practitioners and others 'continually fight' to develop more equitable policies and approaches for regeneration without gentrification. As Lees and Ferreri (2016:22-23) argue, the 'radical urban critique' which characterises some gentrification literature 'is no longer enough,' with a need for research on how 'true' community-led regeneration can be achieved. Only through this is there any hope of influencing policy to address the challenges cited, in order to have the greatest possible positive impact on the communities that community enterprises exist to represent, support, develop and protect.

Appendices

Appendix A: Topic Guide – Scoping Interviews

Background

1. Please could you tell me a bit more about your organisation's origins and the reasons behind its establishment?

2. Please could you briefly explain the different strands of your work?

3. How does your work relate specifically to the [Westminster/ Scottish Government's] policy agenda(s) around Localism/ Community Empowerment, community rights, inclusive growth, regeneration etc.?

Community Enterprise and Regeneration

4. How do you define 'community enterprise' (CE)?

5. In what ways has the CE sector in the UK evolved over time?
   a. From your experience, what factors (and to what extent) have influenced the development of the sector, and individual CEs *(e.g. policy environment, funding etc.)*?
   b. *(If able to comment)*, in what ways, if at all, has the development of the sector differed between England and Scotland?

6. From your experience, how far do CEs typically seek to be/ are they enterprising/ entrepreneurial? If so, what is typically the relationship between this entrepreneurial/ enterprising approach and community aims?

7. From your experience, what are the varying reasons that CEs have been established?
   a. Has there been a shift in these origins in general over time?

8. From your experience, are there particular factors which tend to lead to the development of the more successful CEs? *(e.g. strong leadership, community involvement, a strong vision, knowledge of funding etc.)*
   a. If so, what are they and what is the varying significance of these factors?

The Approach, Contribution and Role of Community Enterprises to Regeneration

9. In your view/ experience, what is the role and contribution of CEs as a mechanism for community-led regeneration and how has this changed/ developed over time, if at all *(e.g. leading, working in partnership, influencing existing regeneration efforts)*?
   a. How does this role vary between different CEs *(e.g. depending on type of organisation, size, location, remit, structure etc.)* and in more deprived/ unequal areas?

10. What factors have affected the approach taken by CEs to regeneration over time, and what is/ has been their varying significance *(e.g. organisational working cultures, local socioeconomic and political factors, national/ local policy frameworks)*?

11. What has been the impact of shifting policy frameworks relating to regeneration, (community) enterprise and asset ownership/ management on the approaches CEs take to regeneration?

12. From your perspective and experience, what are the current opportunities and challenges facing CEs, specifically regarding their role in community-based regeneration?

      a. How have these changed over time?

      b. Are there any particular issues in more deprived/ unequal areas?

Community Enterprise and Asset Ownership

13. From your experience, what do you think are the main benefits arising from asset ownership (e.g. for the organisation, local community)? *(to consider potential and actual direct economic and social benefits, as well as indirect impacts)*

      a. To what extent, if at all, and in what ways, do you think community-owned assets can help to reduce inequality *(e.g. where assets are used as sites for the delivery of local services, where surpluses are reinvested into regeneration activities)*?

14. What do you think are the key challenges of asset ownership for CEs, and for the affected neighbourhoods, particularly in unequal/ deprived areas *(e.g. the extent to which assets are sites of unity and/ or conflict/ competition, by different and changing users)?*

      a. To what extent, if at all, and in what ways, do you think community-owned assets can reflect/ exacerbate inequality?

15. What are your views about the recent policy developments relating to Community Empowerment/ Localism and the impacts they are having on CEs, specifically in relation to asset ownership? What do you think are the potential benefits and challenges of these changes?

16. From your experience, how far, and in what ways, have the aims and objectives of CEs in relation to asset ownership developed/ shifted over time? What do you think are the reasons for this?

The Impacts and Outcomes of this Approach

17. Thinking about the impacts and outcomes of this approach to regeneration more generally, how would you define 'successful community regeneration' in this context?

18. From your experience, what are the positive impacts and outcomes which can typically arise from this approach, at the neighbourhood, organisational and individual level, for existing residents *(e.g. social capital, social inclusion, community participation, employment opportunities, filling gaps in the market, reduction of inequality, neighbourhood/ community population change, services/ amenities)*?

19. What factors, if any, affect these impacts and outcomes *(e.g. local socioeconomic factors, community assets, community activism, local/ national policy frameworks?)*? What is their varying significance?

      a. What is the specific role/ contribution of CEs in these processes and the achievement of positive outcomes?

20. From your experience, what are the challenges/ (unintended) potentially negative impacts and outcomes which can/ typically arise from this approach, at the neighbourhood, organisational and individual level, for existing residents *(e.g. the exacerbation of inequality, neighbourhood/ community/ population change, displacement, community conflict, shifts in local services)*?

      a. Why do you think these may have taken place?

      b. To what extent do you think CEs can limit these challenges and how?

    c. What other factors, if any, affect these impacts and outcomes, and limit the ability of CEs to achieve community-led regeneration aims *(e.g. organisational constraints, policy environment, funding)*? What is their varying significance?

Community Enterprises and Gentrification

21. What does gentrification mean to you? Do you view it as a positive or negative outcome/ phenomenon, and in what ways?
    a. To what extent, if at all, do you view it as distinct from com regeneration? Why/ why not?

22. From your experience, what role, if any, do CEs play in processes of gentrification *(e.g. are you aware of any particular examples where communities have galvanised to resist plans for an area which they felt weren't in the communities' interests)*?

23. To what extent are you aware of CEs which are explicitly seeking to resist/ limit/ reflect/ achieve gentrification *(probe for examples)*?
    a. If yes, in what ways and why? If no, how has regeneration been achieved without the process of gentrification?
    b. To what extent does a CE-led approach affect if, and how much, gentrification occurs?
    c. What other factors, if any, do you think can affect the extent of gentrification *(e.g. positioning of city internationally/ globally, role of public policy etc.)*?

[If so, go to Q24, otherwise, go to Q26]

If applicable:

24. If so, what is your experience/ knowledge of the ways in which CEs have sought to limit/ resist gentrification, and the types of opposition that have been organised?
    a. How far, and in what ways, is this resistance/ opposition a direct result of the work of the organisation? What is the role and significance of other factors, if any?
    b. *Also ask question in relation to where they have contributed to gentrification*

25. From your experience, to what extent do you think CEs have the capacity/ capability/ resources etc. to affect processes of gentrification (whether resisting, limiting, reflecting or exacerbating) in the context of wider factors *(e.g. structural socioeconomic inequalities, issues of power, including reduced funding/ resources for community groups)*?
    a. How, if at all, do you think these issues/ limitations can be addressed in future?

26. Specifically, what impact, if any, do you think assets play in processes of regeneration/ gentrification? How far, and in what ways, do they affect the impacts and outcomes that can occur and why *(e.g. providing a space for community involvement, delivery of local services, or reflecting changes in the neighbourhood, etc.)*?
    a. How far, and in what ways, can assets act as a challenge to, resist, limit, reflect, or even exacerbate negative impacts relating to gentrification

(e.g. by increasing inequality and displacement, for example through changing usage by more affluent groups)?

To Conclude

27. What do you think would be the impact on (deprived/ unequal) neighbourhoods if CEs did not exist *(e.g. increased land/ buildings in private ownership, reduced empowerment)*?

28. Overall, how would you assess the significance of different factors (policy frameworks, local socioeconomic factors and organisational working cultures) on the approach taken to regeneration by CEs, and the impacts and outcomes that can occur, including the extent of gentrification?
    a. What is the relationship between these different factors?

29. What else do you think can be done to maximise the benefits and mitigate the challenges relating to this approach to regeneration? How far, if at all, can CEs mitigate market forces and ensure greater social justice for their communities, limiting potentially negative consequences relating to gentrification?

30. Finally, do you have anything you'd like to add/ anything you'd like to ask me about?

- Check for suggested case study organisations

- Check for potential interviewees

Thank you very much for your time.

Appendix B: Statistical sources for each case study

	Glasgow			Bristol		
Indicator	Source	Geographies included	Year(s) included	Source	Geographies included	Year(s) included
Housing tenure	National Records of Scotland (NRS) (Census)	Ward; local authority	2001; 2011	Office for Population Censuses (1981 and 1991 Census); Office for National Statistics (ONS) (2001 and 2011 Census)	Ward; local authority	1981; 1991; 2001; 2011
Median house price	Scottish National Statistics (SNS)	Intermediate zone; local authority	1993-2013	ONS	Ward; local authority	1995 - 2018
Occupation group	N/A	N/A	N/A	ONS	Ward; local authority	2001; 2011
(Scottish) Index of (Multiple) Deprivation	Scottish Government	Datazone	2016	Department for Communities and Local Government	LSOA	2015
Highest level of qualification	General Register Office for Scotland (GRO); NRS (Census)	Ward; local authority	2001; 2011	Not included	Not included	Not included
Economic activity	NRS (Census)	Ward; local authority	2001; 2011	Not included	Not included	Not included
National Statistics Socio-economic Classification	NRS (Census)	Ward; local authority	2001; 2011	Census	Ward; local authority	2001; 2011
Poverty indicators: Children in poverty Employment deprivation Income deprivation	Understanding Glasgow	Understanding Glasgow neighbourhoods	2011 2012 2012	N/A	N/A	N/A
Quality of Life Survey	N/A	N/A	N/A	Bristol City Council	Ward; local authority	2019

Appendix C: Topic Guide – Case Study Organisation Representatives

Background

1. Please could you tell me a bit more about your role and responsibilities at [the organisation]? How long have you worked here? What were your reasons for wanting to work for the organisation?

2. Please could you tell me a bit more about your role as [job title]?
   a) What does community development mean to you/ the organisation?
   b) How, if at all, has the way that the organisation does 'community development' changed over time?
   c) What are the current 'community development' activities/ projects that the organisation is currently working on?

3. (If able to comment), please could you tell me a bit more about the origins of the organisation? *(E.g. whether organisation emerged from a state-funded initiative to deliver government regeneration plans or grass roots action to respond to local needs etc.)*
   a) In what ways, if at all, do you think these origins affect the nature of the organisation today *(e.g. its aims, ethos, working culture etc.)*?
   b) How has the organisation evolved over time?

4. How would you describe the working culture and operations of the organisation?
   a) To what extent, and in what ways, have these developed/ shifted over time?

5. How far and in what ways does the organisation seek to be enterprising or entrepreneurial?
   a) What is the relationship between the 'community' and 'enterprising' elements of your work? *(E.g. are there any challenges in balancing the two?)*
   b) How far, and in what ways has this approach shifted over time?

6. To what extent does the organisation work in partnership with other organisations (which ones?) and why/ why not? *(probe for partnerships/ projects have been/ are engaged in)*
   a) Is there a particular organisation that you think is the key 'driving force' in the area's community development/ regeneration, or is this the result of a range of different organisations?

7. What are your views on shifting policy frameworks relating to community empowerment, asset ownership, community enterprise and community-led regeneration? How, if at all, have these affected the organisation's approach to regeneration, and the related outcomes?

Community Involvement in the Organisation

8. In what ways does the organisation involve the local community, in terms of the Board and membership more broadly? *(e.g. composition of the board; how board members are recruited and why; how strategic priorities decided upon)*?
   a) To what extent, and in what ways, have these processes developed/ shifted over time?

9. What role do the organisation's members (both local residents and community groups) play in the governance of the organisation? How many members does the organisation currently have? Do you have any information about the profile of them?

10. What are the key matters the organisation is currently working on?
    a) How are the organisation's priorities/ strategic objectives, particularly in relation to regeneration/ community development, developed? *(e.g. how far is the organisation delivering government contracts, developing own regeneration initiatives etc., including any work seeking to limit gentrification – see below)*

Regeneration in [the neighbourhood]
11. Please could you tell me a bit more about local area? What is the local community and neighbourhood like? How do you find it living here?
    a) What do you like most/ least about living here?
    b) If you could change/ improve anything about the area, is there anything you would suggest?

12. What does 'community' mean to you? How would you describe the sense of community in the area?

13. In what ways, and to what extent, do you think the neighbourhood has changed over time, in population/ demographic, social/ economic and housing terms, since the 1970/80s, if able to comment?

14. What do you think are/ have been the neighbourhood-level opportunities and challenges in the neighbourhood with regards to regeneration?
    a) To what extent, if at all, have these developed/ changed since the 1960s and 1970s?

15. Please could you tell me a bit more about recent regeneration/ planning/ housing developments in the area?
    a) What role, if any, has the organisation played in these developments (e.g. working in partnership, as a consultee)? Are there future plans to do so?

16. What have been the impacts of these developments thus far on the neighbourhood, in social, economic and physical terms? Why do you think these have occurred?
    a) To what extent have these benefitted existing residents/ incomers? Why, and in what ways?

The Approach, Contribution and Role of the Organisation in Regeneration
17. Please could you tell me a bit more about the organisation's current aims and objectives relating to community-led regeneration, enterprise, community/ economic development and asset ownership?
    a) How do your areas of work/ services fit with these?
    b) How far, and in what ways, have the organisation's aims and objectives shifted over time in relation to the areas above? And why *(e.g. was this a conscious decision or a result of external factors, e.g. funding, policy)*?

    c) To what extent are the organisation's activities/ services local? Who are the main beneficiaries?

18. With regards to your work, how has 'successful community regeneration/ development' been defined and envisaged by different stakeholders involved with the organisation?
    a) To what extent is your approach different from other third/ public/ private sector approaches?
    b) What are the key factors affecting your approach to regeneration, and what is the varying significance of these? *(e.g. governance structures, working culture, local socioeconomic and political factors, national/ regional/ local policy frameworks)*

19. To what extent do you think the organisation has contributed to/ achieved the vision above in terms of successful community regeneration/ development?

20. If you had time/ capability, are there other areas of work you would like to explore/ deliver? What are the reasons that you are not focusing on these? Do you have plans to focus on these in the future?

21. What are the key opportunities and challenges facing you as an organisation in terms of meeting your (community regeneration) aims, in the context of wider changes/ factors?
    a) How and why have these changed over time?

The Role of Community Assets in Regeneration and Gentrification

22. Please could you tell me a bit more about the history of the community asset(s)?
    a) Do you have future plans with regards to ownership?

23. What role does the asset(s) play in the local community? How has this role shifted over time, if at all?
    a) Do you think it is an inclusive/ exclusive space? Why/ why not? What do you think could be done to make it more inclusive?

24. In what ways and to what extent has the (actual and perceived) nature and value of the asset(s), and its role in processes of regeneration/ gentrification, shifted over time and why?
    a) To what extent have these changes/ developments reflected changes within the organisation and the neighbourhood it operates in, including the extent of regeneration/ gentrification, and local or wider circumstances, as well as organisational shifts?

25. How far (if at all), and in what ways, do you think the asset(s) act as a challenge/ limiting factor to gentrification or, conversely, reflect or even (unintentionally) exacerbate the outcomes of gentrification *(e.g. by limiting, reflecting or exacerbating levels of inequality and displacement, for example by maintaining affordable and welcoming spaces for the local community or, conversely, through changing usage by more affluent groups)*
    a) To what extent is the asset(s) a site of unity and/ or conflict, by different and changing users?
    b) Are there particular segments/ groups in the community which use them more/ less? Why? What efforts, if any, are made to draw in a wider range of users?

26. Are there any other community assets would like to own/ manage?
    a) If so, please can you tell me a bit more about these?

Other Impacts and Outcomes of this Approach: Regeneration in the Neighbourhood

27. What are the impacts (both positive and negative) and overall regeneration outcomes which have arisen over time, at the neighbourhood, organisational and individual level *(e.g. social capital, social inclusion, community participation, employment opportunities, filling gaps in the market, reduction of inequality, neighbourhood/ community population change, services/ amenities)*
    a) To what extent, and in what ways, have these impacts and outcomes occurred as a result of the organisation's approach/ activities?
    b) What other factors have influenced these impacts and what is their varying significance? *(E.g. local socioeconomic factors, levels of inequality, community activism, local/ national policy?)*
    c) At what scale have these impacts and outcomes occurred *(e.g. at the community/ neighbourhood/ city/ national level)*?

28. Have there been any challenges/ (unintended) potentially negative impacts and outcomes which have arisen from this approach, at the neighbourhood, organisational and individual level, for existing residents *(e.g. the exacerbation of inequality; neighbourhood/ community/ population change, displacement, community conflict, shifts in local services)*?
    a) If so, why do you think these may have taken place?
    b) To what extent do you feel able to limit these challenges as an organisation and in what ways?

Community Enterprises and Gentrification

29. How would you define gentrification? To what extent do you think it is a positive/ negative phenomenon? How far, if at all, do you think it differs from community development and/ or regeneration and why?

30. Do you think gentrification is an appropriate term to describe neighbourhood change in locally, and why?
    a) If yes, in what ways and why? If no, how has regeneration been achieved without the process of gentrification?

31. Are there other areas of the city which you think better represent examples of 'gentrification' or more 'disruptive' gentrification? Why?
    a) What do you think have been the key factors, including organisations, influencing gentrification in these instances? In what ways?

32. What have been the impacts (both positive and negative) of gentrification locally?
    a) To what extent have people been displaced (either directly or indirectly)? If so, how and why, and from which particular areas?

33. What are the experiences of/ feelings amongst community members regarding the area's change over time? Has there been any criticism/ resistance to this? If so, what form has this taken and why? What was the outcome of this?

34. What role has your organisation played in these processes of regeneration/ gentrification locally?

> a) To what extent do you think your approach affects if, and how much, gentrification occurs?

35. What other factors have influenced neighbourhood change locally *(e.g. positioning of city internationally/ globally, role of public policy, wider structural forces, housing markets, in contrast to local community activism etc.)*?

36. To what extent, and in what ways, does your organisation have particular explicit aims relating to gentrification?
    a) How have these shifted over time and why?

37. Specifically, what impact, if any, do you think assets play in processes of regeneration/ gentrification? How far, and in what ways, do they affect the impacts and outcomes that can occur and why *(e.g. providing a space for community involvement, delivery of local services, or reflecting changes in the neighbourhood, different users etc.)*?
    a) How far, and in what ways, can assets act as a challenge to, resist, limit, reflect, or even exacerbate negative impacts relating to gentrification, particularly with regards to levels of deprivation/ inequality *(e.g. by increasing inequality and displacement, for example through changing usage by more affluent groups)*?

Where the organisation is seeking to resist/ limit gentrification:

38. In what ways has the organisation, and wider community, sought to/ does it seek to limit/ resist gentrification? What forms of opposition that have been organised *(e.g. by providing community facilities; the ownership of community assets as sites of resistance; lobbying etc)*
    a) What role do you think you have played, as an organisation, in this resistance/ opposition? What other factors have limited gentrification in this instance? *(e.g. community/ political activism, role of public policy/ the state, role of affordable housing)*

39. How far do you feel, as an organisation, that you are able to resist/ limit gentrification in the context of wider factors, within the context of your capacity/ capability/ resources etc. *(e.g. structural socioeconomic inequality, current policy environment, a reduction in the power of community organisations to reduce inequality etc.)*?

40. Are there any ways in which you think that these issues/ limitations could be reduced in future? In what ways could community regeneration be better delivered, while limiting potentially negative consequences relating to gentrification?

To Conclude

41. What do you think would have happened if the organisation was not operating in the neighbourhood? How would this have affected community regeneration and community development locally? *(E.g. increased land/ buildings in private ownership, reduced empowerment)*?

42. What do you think the individuals in the organisation *(e.g. staff members, board members, volunteers)* would be doing if the organisation did not operate?

43. What are your future plans/ vision for the organisation, and the neighbourhood more broadly?

44. Finally, do you have anything you'd like to add/ anything you'd like to ask me about? Anything I didn't ask about but should have?

45. Any other groups/ people I should speak to?

Many thanks for your time.

Appendix D: Topic Guide – Wider Stakeholders

Background

1. Please could you tell me a bit more about your role as [insert job title]? How long have you been [job title] for, and what were your reasons for wanting to become a [job title]? *(probe for sense of attachment to area if information not volunteered)*

2. Please could you describe the nature of your involvement with [case study organisation]?

3. Do you use the community asset yourself and, if so, in what ways? (e.g. for attending events/ classes etc.)

Regeneration in the neighbourhood

4. How would you describe the neighbourhood, in terms of the local socioeconomic, community and political context?

5. What do you think are/ have been the neighbourhood-level opportunities and challenges in the neighbourhood with regards to regeneration?
    a) To what extent, if at all, have these developed/ changed since the 1960s and 1970s?

6. (If able to comment), please could you tell me a bit more about the history of the neighbourhood's regeneration over time?
    a) From your perspective, what have been the key factors which have seemingly led to a continual perceived need for regeneration in the neighbourhood?

7. At present, who do you think are the key agencies/ stakeholders/ partners driving regeneration and community development in the neighbourhood?

8. How far, and in what ways, has the neighbourhood changed in community, housing and population terms over time, relative to nearby areas? *(e.g. population composition, amenities and infrastructure, investment, housing types, tenure and quality, community cohesion)*

9. Please could you tell me a bit more about recent regeneration/ planning/ housing developments in the area?

10. What have been the impacts of these developments thus far on the neighbourhood, in social, economic and physical terms? Why has this been the case?
    a) To what extent have these benefitted existing residents/ incomers? Why, and in what ways?

11. How well do you think the regeneration process has been managed, in terms of maximising opportunities while reducing challenges for local residents?
    a) To what extent would you describe these changes as leading to gentrification if at all? Why/ why not?

12. What impact do you think the area's close proximity to affluent more areas has on the nature of neighbourhood change locally? To what extent do you think the

area and its inhabitants benefit/ don't benefit from the investments and regeneration initiatives in these more affluent areas?

The Approach, Role and Contribution of the Organisation

13. From your perspective, what do you view as the organisation's aims and objectives, particularly in relation to regeneration/ community development and what do you think are the key policy areas/ community issues that the organisation is intervening in?

    a) Do you think these are the correct priorities, or are there other areas you believe need further attention? If so, please explain what these are and why?

    b) To what extent, if at all, do you think these priorities have changed since you became a [job title]? If so, why do you think this is?

    c) To what extent do you think the local community is engaged and involved with the organisation?

14. How would you describe the approach taken to regeneration/ community development by the organisation, as a community enterprise? What role do they, as an organisation, play in the local community?

    a) How far do other factors (e.g. the local context – neighbourhood, demographic, political actors etc., local/ national policy frameworks) affect the approach?

15. To what extent do you think the approach adopted by the organisation as a community enterprise differs from other public/ private/ voluntary sector approaches and in what ways?

The Community Asset

16. What role does the community asset play in the local community? How has this role shifted over time, if at all? What would the impact be if the asset was no longer in the community?

17. Specifically, what impact, if any, do you think assets play in processes of regeneration/ gentrification? How far, and in what ways, do they affect the impacts and outcomes that can occur and why *(e.g. providing a space for community involvement, delivery of local services, or reflecting changes in the neighbourhood, different users etc.)*?

    a) How far, and in what ways, can assets act as a challenge to, resist, limit, reflect, or even exacerbate negative impacts relating to gentrification, particularly with regards to levels of deprivation/ inequality *(e.g. by increasing inequality and displacement, for example through changing usage by more affluent groups)*?

18. In what ways and to what extent have the (actual and perceived) nature and value of the asset, and its role in processes of regeneration/ gentrification, shifted over time and why?

    a) To what extent have these changes/ developments reflected changes within the organisation and the neighbourhood it operates in, including the extent of regeneration/ gentrification, and local or wider circumstances, as well as organisational shifts?

19. How far (if at all), and in what ways, do you think the asset acts as a challenge/ limiting factor to gentrification or, conversely, reflects or even (unintentionally) exacerbates the outcomes of gentrification *(e.g. by limiting, reflecting or*

exacerbating levels of inequality and displacement, for example by maintaining affordable and welcoming spaces for the local community or, conversely, through changing usage by more affluent groups)

    a) To what extent is the asset a site of unity and/ or conflict, by different and changing users?

    b) Are there particular segments/ groups in the community which use it more/ less? Why? What efforts are made to draw in a wider range of users?

Regeneration and Gentrification

20. How would you define 'successful community regeneration'?

21. To what extent do you think the regeneration of the neighbourhood has been successful, in terms of the definition outlined above and the achievement of positive outcomes for existing residents? How has this been achieved?

    a) What has been the role of the organisation in this process and the achievement of positive outcomes?

22. From your perspective, have there been any challenges/ (unintended) potentially negative impacts and outcomes which have arisen from this approach, at the neighbourhood, organisational and individual level, for existing residents *(e.g. the exacerbation of inequality; neighbourhood/ community/ population change, displacement, community conflict, shifts in local services)*?

    a) Why do you think these may have taken place?

    b) To what extent do you think the organisation has limited these negative effects, if at all?

23. How would you define gentrification? To what extent do you think it is a positive/ negative phenomenon? How far, if at all, do you think it differs from regeneration and why?

24. Do you think gentrification is an appropriate term to describe neighbourhood change in locally, and why?

    a) If yes, in what ways and why? If no, how has regeneration been achieved without the process of gentrification?

    b) What role has the case study organisation (and other organisations locally) played in these processes of regeneration/ gentrification locally and how? To what extent do you think their approach affects if, and how much, gentrification occurs?

    c) What other factors have influenced neighbourhood change *(e.g. positioning of city internationally/ globally, role of public policy, wider structural forces, housing markets, in contrast to local community activism etc.)*?

25. Are you aware of any particular criticisms of gentrification regarding the neighbourhood and/or surrounding areas? Are there any local initiatives currently ongoing seeking to influence the area's development, e.g. to limit/ resist gentrification, seeking to attract investment for regeneration etc.?

26. Are there other areas of Glasgow which you think better represent examples of 'gentrification'? Why? What do you think have been the key factors, including organisations, influencing gentrification in these instances? In what ways?

To Conclude

27. What do you think would have happened if the organisation was not operating in the neighbourhood? How would this have affected community regeneration and community development in the neighbourhood and the surrounding area? *(E.g. increased land/ buildings in private ownership, reduced empowerment)*?

28. In what ways do you think community regeneration could be better delivered locally, while limiting potentially negative consequences relating to gentrification?

29. Finally, do you have anything you'd like to add/ anything you'd like to ask me about? Anything I didn't ask about but should have?

Many thanks for your time.

Appendix E: Ethics Approval

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

12 July 2017

Dear Alice Earley

College of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Project Title: Community Enterprise, Regeneration and Gentrification: Tracing the Role and Contribution of Asset-Owning Community Enterprise Organisations

Application No: 400160218

The College Research Ethics Committee has reviewed your application and has agreed that there is no objection on ethical grounds to the proposed study. It is happy therefore to approve the project, subject to the following conditions:

- Project end date: 03/10/2021
- The data should be held securely for a period of ten years after the completion of the research project, or for longer if specified by the research funder or sponsor, in accordance with the University's Code of Good Practice in Research: (http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_227599_en.pdf) (Unless there is an agreed exemption to this, noted here).
- The research should be carried out only on the sites, and/or with the groups and using the methods defined in the application.
- Any proposed changes in the protocol should be submitted for reassessment as an amendment to the original application. The *Request for Amendments to an Approved Application* form should be used: http://www.gla.ac.uk/colleges/socialsciences/students/ethics/forms/staffandpostgraduateres earchstudents/

Yours sincerely,

Dr Muir Houston
College Ethics Officer

Muir Houston, Senior Lecturer
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Appendix F: Request for Amendment to Ethics Application Approval

College Research Ethics

Request for Amendments - Reviewer Feedback

Ethics Committee for Non-Clinical Research Involving Human Subjects

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Application Details

      Staff Research Ethics Application   ☐   Postgraduate Student Research Ethics Application   ☒

Application Number: 400160218

Applicant's Name: Alice Earley

Project Title: Community Enterprise, Regeneration and Gentrification: Tracing the Role and Contribution of Asset-Owning Community Enterprise Organisations

Original Date of Application Approval: 12 July 2017

End Date of Application Approval: 03/10/2021

Date of Amendments Approved: 18/09/2017

Outcome: **Amendments Approved**

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Reviewer Comments

Please retain this notification for future reference. If you have any enquiries, please email socsci-ethics@glasgow.ac.uk.

Appendix G: Consent Form

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

Consent Form

Title of Project: Community Enterprise, Regeneration and Gentrification: Tracing the Role and Contribution of Asset-Owning Community Enterprise Organisations

Name of Researcher: Alice Earley

Name of Supervisors: Professor Annette Hastings and Dr Ross Beveridge

Please tick the boxes below to confirm the following statements:

I confirm that I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. ☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. ☐

I consent to interviews being audio-recorded (please leave blank if not). ☐

I agree to take part in this research study. ☐

I acknowledge that:
- All participants will be referred to by pseudonym. ☐
- All names and other material likely to identify individuals will be anonymised. ☐
- The material will be treated as confidential and kept in secure storage at all times. ☐
- The material will be retained in secure storage for use in future academic research. ☐
- The material may be used in future publications, both print and online. ☐
- I understand that other authenticated researchers will have restricted access to fully anonymised, limited excerpts of this data, only if they agree to preserve confidentiality of information as outlined in this form. ☐
- I understand that other authenticated researchers may use my words in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form. ☐

Name of Participant .... Signature ....

Date ....

Name of Researcher .... Signature ....

Date ....

.... **End of consent form** ....

Appendix H: Coding Framework – Scoping Interviews

Scoping Interviews	
Themes	**Sub-themes**
i. Development of national policy	
England	a) Early development ahead of Scotland
	b) Current national policy frameworks
	Criticism of Community Rights legislation
	Criticism of Big Society
	Cuts to (community-led) regeneration
	Disjuncture - Westminster and grassroots efforts
	Need for councils to maximise economic returns (asset transfer)
	Policy being driven by austerity - retreat of public and private sector
	Policy shifts exacerbating inequalities
	c) Importance of relationship with local authority
Scotland	a) Failures of physical/ economic regeneration and shift to community-led
	b) More favourable policy environment under SNP
	Commitment to social enterprise (but less so to community enterprise?)
	Empowerment and inclusive growth
	Focus on inequalities
	Less severe, but still existing, austerity
	c) Challenges
	Government expectation of CEs/ community assets vs reality
	Less truly community-led asset-owning orgs than government thinks
	Tensions - state, market, VCS
ii. Impact of local policy	a) General

	b) Bristol	
	c) Glasgow	
iii. Evolution of SCE sector		
England	a) Greater number of long-standing, large organisations	
	b) Current inaction by government - leading to own 'solutions'	
		Organisations have to innovate to survive and sustain communities
		Failure of capitalist system/ market failure
	a) Shift from community business to social enterprise	
	b) Development of CDTs traditionally rural in focus	
	c) Urban areas - LA traditional 'delivery agent' of regeneration	
		Challenge of transferring CDTs and ownership to urban areas
		Recent growth of urban CDTs and renewed focus on town centres
Scotland		Role of CBHAs as a key model
iv. Varying origins of community enterprises		
v. Nature of CEs and their working cultures	a) Challenges of balancing 'community' and 'enterprise'	
		Professionalisation
		Sustainability
	b) Benefits of being both 'community' and 'enterprise' focussed	
	c) Approach affected by different factors (success and failure)	
		Collaboration, partnerships and relationships
		Community engagement, empowerment and accountability
		Entrepreneurial spirit, skills sets, business model and plan
		Flexibility, adaptability and managing growth
		Governance
		Inequalities and social capital
		Mission drift

	Organisational culture, values and leadership
	Policy
	Finance
	Local community/ politics/ culture
	Local needs
vi. Development of CEs over time	a) Shift from philosophical to pragmatic reasons
	b) Organisational development (radical to more institutionalised/ reformist)
	c) Shift from grant dependency to enterprise and sustainability
vii. Asset Transfer	a) Reasons for asset transfer
	b) Benefits of ownership
	c) Challenges of asset transfer/ ownership
	Particularly in deprived areas
	d) Increasing diversity of assets being transferred in England but less so amongst more 'traditional' CEs
	e) Future potential of asset ownership
viii. Impacts and outcomes of CEs and assets	a) Intangibles (e.g. importance of narratives, social capital, confidence, relationships, etc)
	b) Tangibles (e.g. economic, environmental)
ix. Regeneration and Gentrification	a) Regeneration (general)
	Recognition of failures of top-down approaches and the role of community anchors in local regeneration
	Need for holistic regeneration - focus on community, social, economic and physical impacts
	Arts-led regeneration and challenges of gentrification (and role of CEs within this)
	b) Gentrification (general)
	Understandings of causes of gentrification
	Impacts of gentrification (+ve/ -ve)
	Role of CEs within process and issues of scale
	c) Limiting gentrification
	Community asset ownership to capture local benefit (but issues of inclusion/ exclusion?)
	Role of different/ larger scale assets e.g. housing

	Evolution of CEs in gentrifying/ gentrified areas - reflecting change?
	Issues of scale and partnership working
	Challenge of mitigating market forces - issues of power
	d) Specifics in Bristol
	e) Specifics in Glasgow
x. Issues of scale and capacity	a) CEs generally small in scale
	Challenge generating surplus in deprived areas (reliance on some public subsidy)
	Focus on services
	b) Importance of structural factors
	Inability to mitigate capitalist forces
	Need for greater state intervention
	c) Organisational agency - aims to address wider issues/ inequality or focussed on own community's survival)?
xi. Future challenges and support needs	a) Legislative changes
	b) Funding
	More support and capacity building in deprived areas
	Specific, tailored subsidised support for vital services which will never be profitable
	Tailored support for (S)CEs (rather than for start-ups or high-growth enterprises)
	c) Role of partnership working to potentially mitigate issues of scale/ capacity?

Appendix I: Coding Framework – Case Study Research

Key = (Black = both organisations, Green = Glasgow only, Red = Bristol only)

Case Study Research		
Themes	**Sub-themes (1)**	**Sub-themes (2)**
i. Organisation's origins and development	a) General	
	History of the building	
	b) Community campaign/ activism	
	Role of government support	
	Role of key individuals/ volunteers	
	Favourable agreement by the council	
	Importance of social capital	
	c) Original proposals	
	Early challenges	
	d) Development of the organisations	
	Historical context and approach 1977-2005	
	Increasing professionalisation and a change of leadership 2005-	
		Change management
		Maturing role
		Restructuring
	Tapping in to regeneration funding and a change of direction	
		Increased focus on private sector
	Pressure to be sustainable early on	

(Row label, vertical: The organisation*)*

Case Study Research		
Themes	**Sub-themes (1)**	**Sub-themes (2)**
		Maturing role
		Recently renewed focus on community development
	e) Governance	
	Issues of social capital	
	Diversification of the board	
	f) Aims of the organisation	
	Geographical community and area of benefit	
	g) Community development approach	
	Community engagement/ involvement	
	Role of volunteers	
	Working ethos	
	Definition of community development	
	Balancing inward and outward-facing approaches	
	Facilitative role/ relatively small improvements	
	Nature of population and social capital	
	Seeking to widen geographical scope	
	h) Balancing community and enterprise	
	Professionalisation	
	Shift to social enterprise	
	Financial difficulties	
	Potential reduction in community focus	
	i) Sustainability and risk	
	j) Influencing policy	

Case Study Research		
Themes	**Sub-themes (1)**	**Sub-themes (2)**
	k) Partnership working	
	Local tensions/ competition	
	l) Learning from other organisations	
ii. Factors affecting the approach over time	a) Local factors	
	Local policy	
	Socioeconomic/ community characteristics	
	Increasing neighbourhood inequalities	
	Austerity	
	Community politics	
	High levels of social capital	
	b) National factors	
	National policy changes	
	State retrenchment and austerity	
	Scottish Government support for social and community enterprise	
	Ineligibility for regeneration funding in the 1990s and 2000s	
	Third sector and asset transfer/ acquisition policy	
iii. Services and activities	a) General	
	Gaps in provision	
	Accessibility of services	
	b) Prioritisation/ balancing different services	
	c) Early education and childcare services (growth of)	
	d) Older people's services	
	e) Café	

	Case Study Research	
Themes	**Sub-themes (1)**	**Sub-themes (2)**
	f) Room hire	
	g) Community activities	
	Community development work	
	Community cinema	
	Community transport	
	h) Footprint	
	i) Youth services	
iv. Role of the asset in the community	a) General	
	b) Role of space	
	Space as reflecting change	
	Space as an enabler for action	
	Space as a 'community hub' and inclusive	
	Space as exclusive	
	Space as a place to deliver services/ generate income	
	c) Glasgow (CCH)	
	Affordability	
	Refuge when disasters happen	
	Safe space	
	Space as versatile	
	Space used for enquiry	
	Giving 'advantage to the disadvantaged'	
	Providing a community resource for the delivery of varied community services	
	Inclusivity and representing 'all of the community'	

Case Study Research		
Themes	**Sub-themes (1)**	**Sub-themes (2)**
	Increasing and competing demands	
	Need for refurbishment and reconfiguration	
	Asset transfer	
	d) Bristol:	
	The Southville Centre	
	A hub for community development	
	Importance of appearance	
	Asset as providing certainty and confidence	
	Refurbishment	
	Asset as a distraction	
	The Chessel Centre	
	Asset of community value	
	Asset acquisition and change over time	
v. The role of the organisation in the community	a) General	
	b) Historical role	
	Providing opportunities	
	c) Longstanding/ contemporary role in the neighbourhood	
	Reflecting change	
	Long-standing role and generational aspect	
	Making resource work for the advantage of the disadvantaged	
		Reducing inequalities
	Catalyst for change	
	Contributing to gentrification	

Case Study Research		
Themes	**Sub-themes (1)**	**Sub-themes (2)**
	Need for increased publicity and awareness of the organisation	
	d) Meeting varied community need (holistic approach)	
	Seeking to attract students	
	e) Achievements	
	Fit with local/ national policy	
	Local employment	
	f) Beneficiaries	
	Parents (childcare services)	
		Reasons for using service
		Benefits of using service
	Older people	
		Reasons for using service
		Benefits of using service
	Room hire	
	Youth services	
	g) Volunteers	
		Reasons for volunteering
		Benefits of volunteering
	h) The role of other organisations/ stakeholders etc.	
vi. Key challenges	a) General	
	b) Community involvement	
	c) Balancing inward/ outward facing approaches	
	Increasing awareness of the organisation	

Case Study Research		
Themes	Sub-themes (1)	Sub-themes (2)
	d) Issues of inclusion and exclusion and usage of the space	
	h) State retrenchment and the capacity of the organisation	
	i) Partnership working	
	j) Space as challenging for interaction	
	k) Staffing issues	
	l) Reaching more deprived residents	
vii. The counterfactual - if organisation had not been established		
	a) General	
	b) Further assets	
	c) Asset transfer	
viii. Future plans/ aims	d) Reconfiguration of building and role in the community	
i. The nature of the neighbourhood	a) Historical context - neighbourhood decline	
	Disinvestment and degeneration	
	Physical regeneration	
	Socioeconomic regeneration	
	Territorialism	
	Depopulation	
	Economic decline - loss of traditional industry and employment	
	b) Glasgow	
	Regeneration activities	
	Continuing social need	

The Neighbourhood

Case Study Research		
Themes	**Sub-themes (1)**	**Sub-themes (2)**
	Poverty	
	Sense of Community	
		Tired community
	Neighbourhood change	
		Collectivism/ individualism
		Demographic change
		Increasing diversity
		Retail changes
		Studentification
	Stigma	
	c) Bristol	
	Neighbourhood decline	
	Neighbourhood recovery	
		Demographic changes
		Housing changes
ii. Neighbourhood inequalities	a) General	
	b) Proximity to affluence	
	c) Socioeconomic divisions	
	Integration	
iii. The nature and extent of gentrification and regeneration	a) General	
	b) Defining regeneration and gentrification	
	Community-led regeneration	
	Gentrification	

Case Study Research		
Themes	Sub-themes (1)	Sub-themes (2)
	c) Other actors and stakeholders affecting neighbourhood change	
	d) Housing regeneration	
	Demolition and displacement	
	e) Marketing of the area	
	f) Threat of looming gentrification	
	Drivers for gentrification	
	Knock-on effect from West End	
	g) Limiting factors	
	h) Neighbourhood change (regeneration, gentrification and community development)	
	Early gentrification and gentrifiers	
	Factors leading to gentrification	
	Enduring inequalities	
	How far still a balanced community	
	Retail changes	
	a) Perceived 'positive' impacts	
	Increased investment in the local area	
	Increased investment in properties	
	Improved environment	
	Improved housing	
	Increased social mix/ maintaining population	
	Reduction in youth issues	
iv. Impacts of gentrification	House price increases	

	Case Study Research	
Themes	**Sub-themes (1)**	**Sub-themes (2)**
	Improved community pride	
	Improved image	
	Increased sense of community and middle-class activism	
	Trickle-down thesis	
	b) Perceived negative impacts	
	Changing community amenities and services (and increased pressure on services)	
	Displacement	
	House price increases	
	Increasing socioeconomic inequalities	
	(Social) isolation	
	Loss of sense of community and resentment	
	Decrease in affordable housing	
	Exclusivity and a lack of diversity	
	Shifting meanings of home	
	c) Positionality and reflections on gentrification	
	Consumption preferences	
	Reasons for living locally	
v. Competition with nearby areas		
vi. Future potential neighbourhood changes	a) General	
	b) Future risks of gentrification	

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