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THE IMPACT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT DECENTRALISATION
ON THE PEOPLE OF DRUMCHAPEL

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THESIS SUBMITTED FOR DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY,
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List of Figures	vi
List of Tables	vii
List of Abbreviations	xi

Chapter 1 Introduction and Overview.....	1
1.1 The British Context and State/Civil Society Changes.....	3
1.1.1 Disorganised Capitalism.....	3
1.1.2 Thatcherism	4
1.1.3 Pressures on the Welfare State.....	5
1.2 Central/Local Relations.....	7
1.3 The Public/Private Dichotomy in Service Provision.....	9
1.4 The Involvement of Local People in Decision-Making Processes.....	11
1.5 Drumchapel, Citizenship and the Underclass.....	13
1.5.1 The Research Location.....	13
1.5.2 Citizenship and the Underclass.....	13
1.5.3 The Research Method.....	14
1.6 Decentralisation.....	15
1.6.1 What is Decentralisation?.....	15
1.6.2 Neglected areas of Decentralisation.....	16
1.6.3 'Internal' & 'External', 'Top-down' & 'Bottom-up' Decentralisation.....	18
1.7 Concluding Points and Research Questions.....	20
Book List and References.....	24
Chapter 2 Review of Literature.....	26
2.1 Changes in the Structure of Civil Society.....	27
2.1.1 Disorganised Capitalism.....	28
2.1.2 The Working Class, New Social Groupings and Social Identities.....	29
2.1.3 The Underclass.....	32
2.1.4 The Notion of Citizenship.....	36
2.1.5 Gender and Participation.....	39
2.1.6 The Shadow State.....	41
2.1.7 Community.....	42
2.2 Local Government Decentralisation.....	44
2.2.1 Local Government Background.....	45
2.2.2 Components of Decentralisation.....	48
2.2.3 Different Types of Decentralisation.....	50
2.2.4 Decentralisation and Problems Encountered.....	53
2.2.5 The Impact of Decentralisation on Local People.....	58
2.3 Conclusions: Dovetailing Decentralisation and Local State/Civil Society Changes.....	61
Book List and References.....	69

Chapter 3 Methodological Considerations.....	75
3.1 Methodology and Theoretical Underpinning.....	76
3.1.1 The Semi-Structured Interview: Context and Appropriateness.....	77
3.1.2 Sampling Procedure for Group Interviews.....	79
3.2 The Interview Structure.....	81
3.2.1 Observations on the Dynamics of Group Interviews.....	83
3.2.2 Interviewing within Local Government and Drumchapel Based Organisations.....	87
3.3 The Relationship Between Researcher and Researched (the Effects of Interpersonal Variables).....	89
3.4 The Processing of Interview Material.....	96
3.5 The Questionnaire Survey.....	102
3.5.1 The Relationship Between the Questionnaire and Wider Research.....	102
3.5.2 Sampling Procedure for the Questionnaire Survey.....	104
3.5.3 Undertaking the Questionnaire.....	105
3.5.4 Content of the Questionnaire Survey.....	106
3.6 Conclusions.....	111
Book List and References.....	112
 Chapter 4 Drumchapel in Context.....	 114
4.1 Drumchapel and its Neighbourhoods.....	115
4.1.1 Stonedyke.....	118
4.1.2 Kingsridge-Cleddans.....	119
4.1.3 The Golden Triangle.....	121
4.1.4 Broadholm, Cairnsmore, Langfaulds, Pineview and Waverley Neighbourhoods.....	123
4.1.5 Residents Perceptions of their Environment.....	123
4.2 The Population of Drumchapel.....	126
4.2.1 Population Decline.....	126
4.2.2 Age/Sex Composition.....	128
4.2.3 The Unwaged (Unemployment).....	129
4.2.4 Welfare Dependency.....	131
4.2.5 The Health of the Population.....	132
4.2.6 Changing Household Structures.....	133
4.3 Length of Residence and Internal Migration.....	134
4.3.1 Housing Transfer Requests.....	137
4.4 Public Sector Service Domination.....	139
4.4.1 Housing Tenure.....	139
4.4.2 What is Wrong with the Housing?.....	140
4.4.3 The Drumchapel Shopping Centre and its Customers.....	142
4.5 Political Participation.....	144
4.6 Conclusions.....	147
4.6.1 Exclusion, Marginalisation and Disempowerment.....	147
4.6.2 The Underclass Concept and Decentralisation.....	151
Book List and References.....	153

Chapter 5 Strathclyde Regional Council and Glasgow District Council, vis-à-vis Decentralisation.....	156
5.1 Strathclyde Regional Council.....	157
5.1.1 Areas for Priority Treatment.....	157
5.1.2 A Social Strategy for the Eighties.....	161
5.1.3 Divisional Community Development Committees.....	166
5.1.4 Area Liaison Committees.....	166
5.2 Strathclyde Region and the Nineties: Further Directions for Decentralisation.....	168
5.2.1 S.A.U.S Review of SRC.....	168
5.2.2 A Social Strategy for the Nineties.....	172
5.3 Glasgow District Council.....	173
5.3.1 Area Management.....	174
5.3.2 Area Management and Decentralisation.....	176
5.3.3 Community Councils.....	178
5.4 Conclusions.....	183
Book List and References.....	185
Chapter 6 The Drumchapel Initiative and the Community Organisations Council.....	187
6.1 The Drumchapel Initiative.....	188
6.1.1 Internal Decentralisation.....	189
6.1.2 External Decentralisation.....	191
6.2 Community Perspectives on the Drumchapel Initiative.....	195
6.2.1 Knowledge and Awareness of the Drumchapel Initiative Amongst Residents.....	195
6.2.2 Levels of Awareness of the Drumchapel Initiative Amongst Community Groups.....	197
6.2.3 Alienation and Exclusion.....	199
6.2.4 Alleged Geographical Discrimination in the Activity of the Drumchapel Initiative.....	201
6.2.5 Institutional 'Empire Building' Practices.....	203
6.3 The Community Organisations Council.....	204
6.3.1 External Decentralisation.....	206
6.3.2 Community Participation and Representation.....	207
6.4 Community Perspectives on the Community Organisations Council.....	210
6.4.1 Resident Perspectives on the Community Organisations Council.....	211
6.4.2 A Voice for the People?.....	213
6.4.3 Obligation and Pragmatism.....	214
6.4.4 Institutional 'Empire Building' Practices.....	215
6.5 Community Representatives.....	216
6.5.1 Resident Perspectives on Community Representatives.....	217
6.5.2 Community Group Perspectives on Community Representatives.....	219
6.6 Conclusions.....	220
Book List and References.....	224

Chapter 7 Community Involvement in Public Service Provision	226
7.1 Community Housing Ownership Schemes.....	227
7.1.1 Background: Resident Perceptions of Public Housing.....	228
7.1.2 Background: Community Ownership Schemes	232
7.1.3 The Path to Community Ownership Housing.....	234
7.1.4 Community Ownership Housing, Participatory Democracy and the Resident Base.....	237
7.1.5 Stages of Development of Confidence and Key Skills.....	239
7.1.6 Bottom-up or top-Down Decentralisation?.....	242
7.1.7 The Impact of Community Ownership Schemes on Drumchapel as a Whole.....	245
7.2 Community Developed Service Provision.....	246
7.2.1 The Disabled Action Group (DAG).....	246
7.2.2 The Significance of the DAG for Disabled People.....	247
7.2.3 The Nature of Empowerment and DAG Perceptions.....	251
7.2.4 The DAG and the Welfare State.....	253
7.3 Kingsridge-Cleddans Economic Development Group (KCEDG).....	254
7.3.1 What Does KCEDG Mean for Local People?.....	255
7.4 Conclusions.....	258
Book List and References.....	261
 Chapter 8 Decentralisation and Community.....	263
8.1 Decentralisation, Community and Drumchapel.....	264
8.2 Sample Survey Findings: Perceptions of Community.....	269
8.3 The Impact of Decentralisation on Drumchapel Communities.....	272
8.3.1 Decentralisation and Enhanced/New Communities.....	272
8.3.2 The Appropriate Conditions for Decentralisation.....	274
8.4 The Neighbourhood and Drumchapel Level Communities.....	276
8.4.1 Defensive Communities.....	276
8.4.2 The Impact of Developments on the Drumchapel Level of Community.....	280
8.5 Conclusions.....	284
Book List and References.....	287

Chapter 9 Decentralisation and Gender Relations in Drumchapel.....	289
9.1 The Importance of the Concept of Gender.....	291
9.2 Survey Findings: Gender and Involvement in Community Groups	297
9.3 The Involvement of Women in Community Groups.....	302
9.3.1 Gender Composition and Roles in Community Groups.....	303
9.4 Factors Affecting Involvement.....	307
9.4.1 Poverty and Participation.....	307
9.4.2 The Perceptions of Drumchapel Women on Gender and Participation.....	309
9.4.3 Compass Care: A Case-Study of Bottom-up Service Provision.....	311
9.4.4 The Effects of the Gendering of Space on Performance Politics in Drumchapel.....	314
9.4.5 Limitations on Women Participating.....	317
9.5 Positive Outcomes for Women.....	319
9.5.1 Cernagh Housing and the Tangible Benefits for Women.....	319
9.5.2 Cernagh Housing and the Impact on the Divisions Between Public and Private Space.....	320
9.6 Conclusions.....	322
Book List and References.....	327
 Chapter 10 Conclusions.....	 329
10.1 The Achievement of Aims and the Relationship with the Research Findings.....	330
10.2 Tensions in the Political Fabric of Drumchapel.....	337
10.2.1 Understanding the Tensions as Shifts in Public and Private Space.....	339
10.3 Public Sector Domination, Recoupement and Taking Stock.....	343
10.4 Disorganised Capitalism.....	345
10.4.1 Thatcherism, Drumchapel and the Underclass.....	347
10.4.2 Decentralisation and a Politics of Diversity.....	351
10.5 The Future.....	355
10.5.1 The Community Organisations Council.....	355
10.5.2 Local Government Reorganisation.....	356
10.6 Conclusions.....	357
10.6.1 Further Research Questions.....	358
Book List and References.....	360
 Appendices	
A The Drumchapel Survey: Respondents' Biographical Details.....	361
Age.....	361
Sex.....	361
Economic and Non-Economic Categorisation of Sample.....	362
Household Characteristics.....	363
B Details of Interviewees and Participants in Group Discussions.....	365

List of Figures

	<i>Page</i>
Chapter 3	
Figure 3.1 Different Types of Interview	77
Figure 3.2 The Drumchapel Questionnaire Survey	108
Chapter 4	
Figure 4.1 Glasgow's Peripheral Housing Schemes	116
Figure 4.2 Postcode Sectors in Drumchapel	117
Figure 4.3 Original 'Phase 1' Housing in a Typical Stonedyke Road	119
Figure 4.4 Typical Kingsridge-Cleddans Housing - in Poor Condition and Semi-Occupied	120
Figure 4.5 'Side-By-Side': Old and New Housing in Kingsridge-Cleddans	121
Figure 4.6 Typical (Old) Housing in the Golden Triangle	122
Figure 4.7 A Typical Close on Kinfauns Drive in the Heart of Golden Triangle	122
Previous Residence of Stonedyke Survey Respondents	136
Figure 4.9 Previous Residence of Golden Triangle Survey Respondents	136
Figure 4.10 Previous Residence of Kingsridge-Cleddans Survey Respondents	136
Figure 4.11 Drumchapel Shopping Centre Featuring the Most 'Run-Down' Section	143
Figure 4.12 The Central Area of the Drumchapel Shopping Centre	143
Chapter 6	
Figure 6.1 The Structure of the Drumchapel Area Management Group	191
Chapter 7	
Figure 7.1 The Backs of Up-Graded Tenements Belonging to Southdeen Co-operative	233
Figure 7.2 Southdeen Co-operative: An Example of New-Build Single-Storey Housing	234
Figure 7.3 Location of Community Ownership Housing	235

List of Tables

<i>Chapter 1</i>		<i>Page</i>
Table 1.1	Components in the Public/Private Mix of Welfare Provision	10
Table 1.2	The Decentralisation Continuum	20
 <i>Chapter 2</i>		
Table 2.1	The Characteristics of Organised and Disorganised Capitalism at the Level of the British Economy and Society	28
Table 2.2	The Growth of the Underclass in Britain	33
Table 2.3	Factors which have Potentially Contributed to the Formation of an Underclass, or Disadvantaged Specific Social Groups to which the Underclass Concept has been Applied	34
Table 2.4	A Summary of the Main Issues Mentioned in this Chapter and How They Are Looked At in Future Chapters	65
 <i>Chapter 3</i>		
Table 3.1	Community Groups Characterised by a Medium Level of Exchange	85
Table 3.2	Community Groups Characterised by a Low Level of Exchange	86
Table 3.3	Community Groups Characterised by a Medium to High level of Interruptions	87
Table 3.4	Oligarch Community Groups	87
Table 3.5	Interviews with Employees of Local Government	88
Table 3.6	Interviews with Regional and District Councillors	89
Table 3.7	Interviews with Employees of the Drumchapel Initiative and Associated Organisations	89
Table 3.8	Background Information on Community Groups	97
Table 3.9	The Nature of the Relationship with Service Departments	97
Table 3.10	The Nature of Contact with the Drumchapel Initiative	98
Table 3.11	The Nature of Contact with the Community Organisations Council	98
Table 3.12	Distinctions Along the Lines of Gender	98
Table 3.13	Perspectives on Community	98
Table 3.14	Population and Sample Sizes of the Survey Areas	105

Chapter 4		<i>Page</i>
Table 4.1	Summary of Responses to Statements Relating to Perceptions of Neighbourhood as 'Having Improved Over the Last Three Years'	124
Table 4.2	Significant Problems Associated With Drumchapel	125
Table 4.3	Population in Private Households by Age and Sex	128
Table 4.4	Registered Unemployed in Drumchapel and Glasgow in 1991	130
Table 4.5	Unemployment Levels in 1992 Compared by Postcode Sector	130
Table 4.6	Unemployment Levels Among Youths (under 25s)	130
Table 4.7	Estimated Nature of Income Support Recipients for 1991	131
Table 4.8	Comparison of Mortality in Drumchapel by Postcode Sectors	132
Table 4.9	Limiting Long-Term Illness in Drumchapel Broken-Down by Age	133
Table 4.10	Lone-Parents and Large Families in Drumchapel During 1990	134
Table 4.11	Length of Residence of Respondents Compared by Neighbourhood	135
Table 4.12	The Transfer List for Drumchapel in 1988	138
Table 4.13	Tenure of Housing in Drumchapel During 1990	139
Table 4.14	Housing Stock by Neighbourhood Area in 1990	141
Table 4.15	The Number of Shop Units in Drumchapel During 1992	142
Table 4.16	Voter Turn-out for the District Elections of May 1994	145
Table 4.17	The Voting Characteristics of Economically and Non-Economically Active Compared	145
Table 4.18	The Voting Characteristics of the Unwaged and Lone-Parents	146
Table 4.19	Primary Levels of Participation Compared by Survey Area	146
 Chapter 5		
Table 5.1	The Distribution of APTs Through Administrative Divisions of Strathclyde Region Based on Census Data	160
Table 5.2	The Main Principles of the Social Strategy for the Eighties	165

Chapter 6		<i>Page</i>
Table 6.1	Summary of the Main Developments Associated with the DI	194
Table 6.2	Responses to Statements Capturing the Remit of the Drumchapel Initiative	196
Table 6.3	Awareness of the COC Compared with Community Group Membership	211
Table 6.4	The Impact of COC Services on Residents Compared by Survey Area	212
Table 6.5	Awareness of Community Representatives Compared by Survey Area	217
Table 6.6	Comparison of Respondents Voting for CRs with Voting in Other Elections	218
 Chapter 7		
Table 7.1	Responses to Housing Statement Compared by Survey Area	229
Table 7.2	Summary of Characteristics of Drumchapel Housing Ownership Schemes	233
Table 7.3	Levels of Disability and Long-Term Illness in Drumchapel and Selected Neighbouring Areas in Glasgow	248
Table 7.4	A Summary of the 'Achievements', Potential or Actual, of the Three Community Groups Profiled	260
 Chapter 8		
Table 8.1	Proportion of the Economically Active Population Registered as Unemployed in Drumchapel and Two Neighbouring Areas Compared	268
Table 8.2	Responses to Statement 'Feeling Part of a Community'	269
Table 8.3	Has the extent of Community Feeling Increased on the Past Three Years?	270
Table 8.4	Reasons Provided to Account for the Increase in Community Feeling Over the Last Three Years	270
Table 8.5	Reasons Provided to Account for the Decrease in Community Feeling over the Last Three Years	271
Table 8.6	Geographical Area Which Comprises Community	271
Table 8.7	Summary of Characteristics Associated with KCHA and Cernagh Co-op Compared to the Conditions Identified by Wolch (1990)	275

Chapter 9		<i>Page</i>
Table 9.1	Community group Membership Broken Down by Gender and the Nature of Issue With Which the Group is Concerned	298
Table 9.2	Length of Membership of Community Group Members	298
Table 9.3	Regularity of Attendance at Community Group Meetings	299
Table 9.4	Summary of Reasons for Membership of a Community Group	300
Table 9.5	Responses to Statements Accounting for Non-Membership	301
Table 9.6	The Gender Composition of Drumchapel Community Groups	303
Table 9.7	Total Numbers of Women, Men, and Ratios by Different Group Types	305
Table 9.8	Positions of Influence Occupied by Women in Selected Drumchapel Community Groups	306
 Chapter 10		
Table 10.1	Summary of the Main Research Findings and Their Relationship to the Original Aims of this Work	333
 Appendix A		
Table 11.1	Age Distribution and Sex of the Sample by Survey Area	361
Table 11.2	The Economic Category of Males and Females by Sample Area	362
Table 11.3	Household Structure by Sample Area	364
Table 11.4	Household Size by Sample Area	364
 Appendix B		
Table 12.1	Individuals, Groups and Organisations Interviewed for this Research	365
Table 12.2	Interviewees Who Have <i>Not</i> Been Quoted Directly in the Text	366

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

No.	Full Title	Abbreviation
1	Area Liaison Committee	ALC
2	Area Management Group	AMG
3	Anti-Poverty Strategy	APS
4	Area of Priority Treatment	APT
5	Cairnsmore Residents Association	CRA
6	Cernagh Housing Co-operative	CHC
7	Chief Executive's Department	CED
8	Community Development Plan	CDP
9	Community Development Committee	CDC
10	Community Organisations Council	COC
11	Community Representative	CR
12	Disabled Action Group	DAG
13	Drumchapel Information Services to the Community	DISC
14	Drumchapel Initiative	DI
15	Drumchapel Shopping Centre	DSC
16	Fasque Place Parents and Users Group	Fasque Place
17	Gender Division of Labour	GDoL
18	Glasgow District Council	GDC
19	Greater Glasgow Health Board	GGHB
20	Kingsridge-Cleddans Economic Development Group	KCEDG
21	Kingsridge-Cleddans Housing Association	KCHA
22	Money Advice Centre	MAC
23	Peripheral Housing Scheme	PHS
24	Pinewood Residents Association	PRA
25	Strathclyde Regional Council	SRC
26	Social Work Department	SWD
27	Waverley Community Council	WCC
28	Waverley Residents Association	WRA
29	Women's Economic Dependency	WED

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

This study is concerned with the impacts of local government decentralisation on the lives of the people of Drumchapel. The dramatic changes associated with the British state and civil society in the 1980s serves as a starting point. As a decade, the 1980s witnessed major economic restructuring, and more significantly in relation to this work, upheaval in the structure and function of the welfare state. A substantial component of the welfare state is local government service provision, which has been directly challenged by central government initiated change, and indirectly challenged by the changing conditions of civil society. At the close of the 1980s, the once universally accepted pattern of provision had radically altered, and in some instances a mixed economy of welfare had become established.

Restructuring is of significance to this work for two related reasons. Firstly, some of the explanations for decentralisation are related to restructuring, and the nature of developments in Drumchapel are intimately connected with such changes. Secondly, a marginalisation of some sections of British society has taken place, and arguably an underclass of people who are largely excluded from mainstream society has come into being. As a concept, the underclass is of direct relevance to Drumchapel (see below).

Decentralisation is the core concept of this work. It has been welcomed as: "a new managerial paradigm bringing with it increased efficiency, flexibility and customer responsiveness, and also as a new political paradigm, bringing gains in terms of increased accountability and citizen participation" (Loundes 1991, p. 19). During the 1980s, decentralisation was broadly seen as a solution to many of the problems local government faced, including being part of the solution to financial constraints and to the problems associated with local government, in particular excessive bureaucracy and remoteness from the public.

The location of this work within that of decentralisation is related to issues which have been neglected. The perspectives of local people on the

decentralisation that has taken place, and the inadequate focus on the reality of empowerment, are two areas of relative neglect. This work aims to help redress this imbalance. The emphasis on the viewpoints of residents determined how the research developed and what approaches were adopted (Section 1.5.2). Work began from an exploratory stand-point, a consequence of which is that there are competing interpretations of phenomena observed. Therefore, this work does not claim to be value neutral.

Reasons behind the choice of Drumchapel as the research location focus foremost on the characteristics of the population. Drumchapel is a peripheral housing scheme located in the north-west of Glasgow, whose socio-economic profile is such that high levels of multiple deprivation prevail. Due to the persistence of poverty, a high level of activity on the part of the authorities has been evident in Drumchapel. Of greater significance to this work are the activities of local people via community groups, which have in some instances linked-up with the traditional remit of local government. The significance of some of the activities of the authorities and of the community is that they are characteristic of decentralisation.

Intimately connected with the multiple deprivation in Drumchapel and the developments related to decentralisation, is the concept of the underclass (in Section 1.5 its validity to Drumchapel is assessed). Other research into the underclass has mentioned that due to marginalisation and exclusion, a disassociation from mainstream society's values and norms has come about (Payne and Payne 1994). These observations are important to this work. In particular, this work looks at what alternative values and norms are associated with the underclass of Drumchapel. The importance of these alternative values and norms to decentralisation is then developed. Examples of alternative realignments are those based on collectivism, public spiritedness and non-profit initiatives. These underpin many developments that have been observed in Drumchapel and also connect with other concerns such as 'community'. They are of importance to decentralisation because they feed into such concerns as the components of community, reasons behind involvement in community groups, decision-making processes associated with service provision and efforts to improve the quality-of-life in general.

Some concepts were devised prior to embarking on field research, indeed they shaped it. Others were drawn-on after the data had been collected and enabled this to be placed in a wider context. By introducing and locating the concepts that are important to this work, useful background material is explored. Furthermore, an enhanced understanding of inter-linkages between concepts is gained. Section 1.1 is concerned with changes in the state and civil society, and more precisely, how these changes have been played out and their significance for the welfare state. Developing out of Section 1.1 are the two following sections: central/local relations (Section 1.2), and the public/private dichotomy in service provision (Section 1.3). The continuum of involvement by residents in decision-making processes comprises Section 1.4. Section 1.5 looks at Drumchapel as the research location, and the applicability of the underclass concept to it and to this research in general. The underclass concept was introduced and drawn-on after the field research had been completed. In Section 1.6 neglected areas of decentralisation are looked at and in order to facilitate the explanation of the data, two dichotomies in decentralisation - 'top-down' and 'bottom-up', and 'internal' and 'external' are introduced.

1.1 THE BRITISH CONTEXT AND STATE/CIVIL SOCIETY CHANGES

1.1.1 DISORGANISED CAPITALISM

This work would be incomplete if it did not thematise developments in relation to wider ideological debates. In this respect, the concerns of this thesis can be better understood by drawing on the theory of 'disorganised capitalism' (Urry 1988). The effects of disorganised capitalism give a better idea of what the broader shifts in the economy and society are doing 'on-the-ground', in this case in Drumchapel. In particular, there is an enhancement of the focus on the concept of the underclass.

To understand how disorganised capitalism is relevant to the concept of the underclass the characteristics of organised capitalism require consideration. In Britain, organised capitalism has come to an end, an outcome of which is the transformation of society, which is characterised by disruption and dislocation. Prior to this transformation, there was a consensus to maintain organisation, with degrees of control of the activities of capitalism being exercised by the state. Some of the main features or effects of organised capitalism and disorganised capitalism at the level of the nation state are included in Table 2.1 (Chapter Two).

Disorganised capitalism has been further developed by some on the Left in ways that are empathetic with this work. In particular, the work of Hall and Jacques (1989), Hall (1988) and Harloe *et al* (1990) can be drawn on. Hall (1988) looked at links between disorganised capitalism, Thatcherism and the 'attack' on local government. Urry (1988) looked at identity and association in relation to the working class, the underlying principles of which are transferable to the situation in Drumchapel.

1.1.2 THATCHERISM

The many and far reaching changes that are associated with Margaret Thatcher and her terms as Prime Minister (from 1979 to 1990) constituted the 'Thatcherite Project' (Hall 1988). There are a number of facets to the Thatcherite Project that are of interest to this research, because of their impact on the social fabric of Britain. The Thatcherite Project dovetailed in many respects with the disorganisation of capitalism. The concern with reducing the state presence in the economy was one facet that had consequences for the work-force. This has been achieved by privatisation of major public utilities, for example British Telecom in 1984. There was also less support for 'declining industries' in the form of subsidies and support when in financial difficulties (Jessop *et al* 1988). Instead, faith was placed in market forces to enable the strong to flourish and the weak to 'go to the wall'. This philosophy was based on New Right principles, and was in the name of efficiency, economy and competitiveness. The relationship between disorganised capitalism and Thatcherism are difficult to establish. Possibly Thatcherism was a response to the disorganisation of capitalism or it may have exacerbated it in some instances, for example, the apparent readiness to relinquish state control (see Table 1.1). Nonetheless, the situation in Britain bore some relation to the details in Table 2.2, where the characteristics of organised and disorganised capitalism are detailed. An important consequence of these economic changes was the rise in the number of unemployed, which is of obvious relevance to the concerns with the underclass (Section 1.5).

Having given a brief overview of the demise of large scale planning, of the rise of the significance of market forces and the logic of Thatcherism, how people in Drumchapel 'fit' into the picture can be considered. In the first instance they do not; in cold reality they are an excess to requirement. The

state has not been directly interested in the underclass, except as a drain on resources and as a potential social problem to be controlled.

1.1.3 PRESSURES ON THE WELFARE STATE

There is a mismatch between the demand for state welfare generated by the ever-growing array of social rights embodied in the concept of British citizenship and the finite supply of public finance from taxpayers (Salter 1995, p. 17).

Shifting attention to the welfare state, the present government, under the leadership of John Major, has embarked on a review of social security. In the foreword to a recent DSS document 'The Growth of Social Security' (DSS 1993), the Secretary of State wrote: "The aim is to improve the system, to make it better focused to protect the vulnerable; to ensure that we all have the means to cope with the needs and contingencies of modern life and to make sure the system does not outstrip the ability to pay". All parties now recognise the need to reform the welfare state. John Smith, the late Labour opposition leader, was instrumental in setting up a Commission on Social Justice, chaired by Sir Gordon Borrie. In addition, a growing body of expert opinion has questioned whether the system can be sustained indefinitely. Wide ranging acknowledgement for change is based on increased demand, resulting from the ageing of the population and changes in employment and family structures. These suggest that the cost of maintaining, let alone improving, welfare provision will continue to rise (Taylor-Gooby 1994).

Dovetailing with these changing perspectives on the welfare state has been a new emphasis in government pronouncements on the importance of voluntary activity. For example, it has been argued that "care in the community must increasingly mean care by the community" (DHSS 1981, paragraph 1.9). Conservative ministers have claimed that the obligations of citizenship included charitable work through 'active citizenship' (Patten 1988, p. 23). In these respects, the voluntary sector has been encouraged to play a larger role in service provision, particularly in social housing and social care.

The Government's attitude towards the welfare state and to the voluntary sector serve as a backdrop to many of the points made throughout this

Chapter and indeed this entire work. When decentralisation is looked at (Section 1.6), the significance of financial constraints and the growing demands of the population are apparent. Voluntary activity is a mainstay activity in this work, in so far as it refers to the involvement of local people in community based groups. There is an important distinction, however, in that this work looks at voluntary activity from the perspective of local people and how it can be of benefit to them, rather than how it can benefit the state by way of money saved.

Intimate with the changes in the structure and fabric of the British state and society has been a shift in public attitudes. Findings of *The British Social Attitudes Survey* (1994) provide an insight into how British society (in the most general of senses) perceives state service provision. Also, these findings act as an indicator of the sense of cohesiveness and degree of association between different social groups. Of most relevance were the following findings:

Statement	Agree	Neither	Disagree
<i>The welfare state makes people nowadays less willing to look after themselves</i>	41%	24%	34%
<i>The welfare state encourages people to stop helping each other</i>	32%	29%	36%

Source: *The British Social Attitudes Survey* (1994).

In response to both of these statements, nearly two-thirds of respondents either directly or indirectly supported such ideas, i.e. they did not disagree. Possibly these responses indicate support for the general reduction in the role of the welfare state. Directly through person-to-person contact, or indirectly via the media, these kind of attitudes in conjunction with public policy changes, impact on members of the underclass who have a fundamental and wide-ranging need for state welfare. This is important to acknowledge as it forms part of the back-cloth regarding rejection and exclusion.

What these findings may also represent is a hardened outlook within society, and the promotion of individualistic attitudes and the subsequent undermining of collective values. This hardening of attitudes has been

played out variously in different areas of Britain and/or amongst distinct social groups. Amongst the more financially secure, there has been a diminishing support for the welfare state, the opting into private health care, and an increased uptake of private education for their children (Mohan 1989). Amongst the less financially secure, but those who have nonetheless prospered under Thatcherism and include first time house buyers, there has been the opportunity to take advantage of easily available credit. There has been an 'I'm all right Jack' and a 'We've never had it so good' mentality. Consequences of these changes are that collective and communal values have been undermined.

To contrast with those who prospered, the most economically vulnerable have had little or no opportunity to participate in the 'opportunities' that have been created by Thatcherism. This is because there are not the financial resources to purchase goods and to participate in new cultural pursuits and networks that are the 'norm' for the rest of society. Amongst this section of society, i.e. the underclass, has been a hardening of attitudes as well; society has rejected them and so they have in turn rejected some of society's values, foremost ambition, individualistic values etc.. As an example, there is a resignation that full-time formal employment is an unachievable goal (Donnison 1992). People have become hardened to life and have less investment in the future. The Thatcherite Project has been significant in creating many of the conditions including: marginalisation, exclusion and alienation, all of which are relevant to this work.

1.2 CENTRAL/LOCAL RELATIONS

The Thatcherite Project also embraced the role of local government, whose function has radically changed since the election of a Conservative Government in 1979. Common to the majority of changes, has been a reduction in the autonomy of local government and/or a move away from its traditional role of provider increasingly to that of enabler. In relation to the provision of housing, Cole and Goodchild (1995) commented that - "buoyed by a third successive election victory and riding the crest of a credit led economic boom, the Conservative governments spelled out a future direction for its housing policy... The document [1987 White Paper - Housing: the government's proposals, cmd. 214, HMSO] sounded the death-knell for the local authorities' role as providers and

managers of social housing" (p. 53). Some parallels can be drawn between this and other services, though the outcomes may not be so severe. In general, the 1980s witnessed a deteriorating relationship between central and local government.

The role of local government was reduced partly because so much of it was controlled by Labour and partly because as a collectivist solution, it was in large part resistant to the majority of reforms, particularly those advocating individual choice. In adopting this stance, local government was often seen as being supportive or defensive of the positions of the most marginalised sections of society; sections that did not serve the interests of the Tories. From a less ideological perspective, local government was also seen as a bureaucratic nightmare which had to be trimmed back.

Though a deteriorating relationship was to be a much publicised characteristic of central/local relations, on different levels they have collaborated. For example, local government in conjunction with other agencies or programmes made efforts to tackle rising unemployment. However, regeneration strategies have largely been implemented against a backdrop of severe economic decline, and persistently high and rising unemployment. Thus there are limitations to what any regeneration strategy can achieve (McCarthy 1995). Local government found itself in a position of increasingly responding to and often unable to manage the upheaval associated with restructuring.

Superimposed on the above changes or sometimes a component of them, is a typical variation through space of the characteristics and role of local government. The political culture of the West Coast of Scotland is traditionally working-class, Socialist, white and male. Instinctively it is anti-Tory, and it has an historical antipathy to Westminster that is based in part on feelings of neglect by London that fit with the core-periphery model. Though Thatcherism was not firmly embraced, as was the case in many parts of Britain, there was a considerable impact in so far as the status quo could not be maintained. In comparison to authorities with a relatively economically prosperous resident base, Strathclyde Region and Glasgow District have had to commit more resources to tackling poverty. In addition, both these councils (in the case of Drumchapel) had to look at

alternative ways of operating, particularly between areas with differing levels of need. Chapter Five looks at SRC and GDC regarding how they responded to change and how they stand in relation to decentralisation.

1.3 THE PUBLIC/PRIVATE DICHOTOMY IN SERVICE PROVISION

The public/private dichotomy in service provision is a useful if not clear-cut division to understanding the political changes of the 1980s, i.e. the Thatcherite Project. The reference to 'private' equates with such areas of service provision as private health care plans and hospital facilities, pension schemes, and even home ownership which the more prosperous in society have been able to buy into. Even though provision of this nature comes under the 'private' heading, there can be a public element, for example tax relief to mortgage holders is a form of state subsidy. The term 'public' is used to refer to state sector services, i.e. the welfare state - those services provided by the National Health Service and by local government. Prior to the 1980s, these were more clearly defined in so far as they were funded by the state (i.e. public taxes) and universally available. Since the 1980s, with the impact of Thatcherism, in-roads into the public sector have been made. The private has expanded and diversified, often at the expense of the public. Former clear lines of distinction between the two sectors have become blurred.

Many of the developments observed within Drumchapel traverse this dichotomy. What may initially be regarded as private does have characteristics that are associated with the public. Services may be publicly funded but privately managed. To contrast with the above sort of 'private' there is a significant and growing private element in Drumchapel. A number of public utilities are state funded but privately controlled, as is the case with housing associations and co-operatives. Through such developments the welfare state is being perceptibly reduced. Of further importance is the observation that these developments can be publicly spirited in so far as they are generally inclusive of all. Some of the characteristics that are associated with the public sector of 'old', and that are evident in contemporary developments, include a non-profit making philosophy, or any profits generated are re-invested in the interests of all affected by the development. Relating to the concern with citizenship and the underclass (Section 1.5), this kind of reconstruction of public

spiritedness outside of the strict boundaries of the public sector is a focus of this work.

The complicated nature of these changes can be appreciated by referring to the work of Salter (1995). Three core components to service provision can be isolated: finance, provision, and regulation (Le Grand and Robinson 1984). Based on this, Salter (1995) produced combinations of these three functions in relation to the public/private mix. Comparisons of different combinations can be made, and the blurring of distinctions is illustrated.

TABLE 1.1: COMPONENTS IN THE PUBLIC/PRIVATE MIX OF WELFARE PROVISION

	<i>Finance</i>	<i>Provision</i>	<i>Regulation</i>	<i>Comments</i>
1	Public	Public	Public	Traditional British (Beveridge) approach. Private sector role
2	Public	Public	Private	Traditional (Beveridge) approach. Private sector role
3	Public	Private	Public	A growing part of national political agenda. Refers to non-departmental public bodies, where state finance is channelled through agencies, acting and regulating on the state's behalf
4	Public	Private	Private	State is financial distributor only
5	Private	Public	Public	State is in provider role, e.g. social insurance systems
6	Private	Private	Public	State only regulates private sector financing and provision
7	Private	Public	Private	Not relevant
8	Private	Private	Private	Not relevant

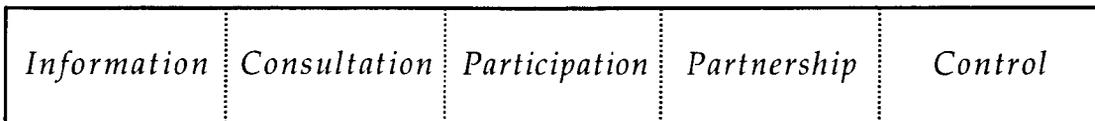
Source: Salter (1995).

The pressures placed upon the welfare state, and the shifting boundaries between public and private provision will be a continuing source of political tension. It is against this backdrop that the content of future chapters is considered. Core questions that it has been possible to answer at various points throughout this work are: (i) How have changes in the public/private split been manifested in Drumchapel?, (ii) Has it been the public or the private that has initiated change?, (iii) How have these changes also been played out with regard to the state/civil society relationship?, (iv) Have divisions between the state and civil society become blurred?

1.4 THE INVOLVEMENT OF LOCAL PEOPLE IN DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES

[C]ommunity involvement in regeneration can encompass a potentially confusing diversity of activity. It ranges from communities actively influencing and shaping policy development, to playing a role as implementors of regeneration programmes (Clapham and Kintrea 1992, quoted by McCarthur 1995, p. 63).

Throughout this work reference is made to the nature of involvement of local people in decision-making processes. The level of involvement and what this entails is the central characteristic of 'external' and 'bottom-up' decentralisation (Section 1.6). A more precise form of measurement of involvement is adapted from Stoker (1987) and is based on five-key terms that form a continuum:



These five terms themselves are somewhat vague and are open to a wide degree of interpretation. Their use does nonetheless enable a more thorough interpretation of research findings and understanding of situations which prevail in Drumchapel; they provide a context into which observations and findings can be placed. A definition of each of these terms can be provided. It is from the perspective of community groups and local people in Drumchapel, rather than that of the state that these definitions come.

First, 'information' is taken to mean the act of informing or telling. In the case of this work, an example might be a local authority providing an account of its intentions regarding a project to community groups. Clearly, regarding the distribution of power in such situations, decisions have already been made by the authorities and they are informing interested parties of those decisions. On the part of local people there is no opportunity to challenge, or to have an input into decision-making; they are simply informing of what is happening.

Second, 'consultation' is taken to mean 'a meeting arranged to consult', in which there is the giving and/or taking of advice. There is the opportunity for local people to have some input into decision-making. Points of view can be communicated and the authority may take these on board.

Third, 'participation' is taken to mean: 'to take part or share in something'. Possibly the most vague of the five terms, participation refers to something of a permanent presence on the part of community groups in a particular development. Though open to varying degrees of interpretation, participation is taken in relation to this work to mean an active and prolonged input, the opportunity to have a degree of influence in decision-making which may involve the chance to vote on issues. However, participation infers that the majority of power is still held by the authorities.

Fourth, 'partnership' means: 'the state of being a partner or partners' or a 'joint venture' (Concise Oxford Dictionary 1990). So community groups may have entered into a relationship with the local authority. Partnership does not necessarily mean equal standing, a community group may be a lesser partner regarding the amount of say it has and the power it can wield. Nonetheless, the term does imply a greater degree of involvement than does 'participation' and a lesser degree of involvement than 'control'. McCarthur (1995) has defined community partnership as "a contemporary example of the co-ordinated approach, revised and recast to suit the context of the 1990s" (p. 63).

Fifth, 'control' is taken to mean: 'the power of directing, regulating, commanding, and so being able to determine policy' (Concise Oxford Dictionary 1990). The degree of control may vary from a situation where the community group is answerable to no-one, through to virtual control and the authority has a minimal input.

1.5 DRUMCHAPEL, CITIZENSHIP AND THE UNDERCLASS

1.5.1 THE RESEARCH LOCATION

Located to the north-west of Glasgow (see Figure 4.1), Drumchapel with a population of 21,000 (1991 Census), is a peripheral housing scheme comprised predominantly of local authority housing. Eight neighbourhoods together form Drumchapel: Broadholm, Cairnsmore, Langfaulds, Kingsridge-Cleddans, Pineview, Stonedyke and Waverley (see Figure 4.2). More detailed profiles of these neighbourhoods and an understanding of what life in Drumchapel is like is provided in Chapter Four.

The reasons why Drumchapel was chosen as a location for this work are threefold. First, Drumchapel and its population has had to absorb disproportionately the repercussions of economic restructuring. Characteristics include: poor quality housing (until recently), high levels of unemployment, sickness and disability, and a reliance by the majority of the population on state benefits. In short, there is a persistent and widespread poverty in Drumchapel, and arguably most of the population is economically and socially disenfranchised (see below).

Second, Drumchapel is a geographically autonomous area in so far as it has clearly defined boundaries, being flanked on the west and south by open fields, and on the east and north by the Drumchapel and Garscadden roads respectively (Figures 4.1 and 4.2). The advantage of a well defined research location is that arbitrary data, e.g. community groups that cover part of the research area as well as other areas due to unclear boundaries, is not an issue. This sense of separateness is reaffirmed by its 'othering' by nearby residential areas.

Third, of the Initiative programmes established in different parts of Glasgow, the Drumchapel Initiative appeared to be the most developed at the time field work commenced. In contrast, the Castlemilk Partnership did not appear to be as active, and the Easterhouse Initiative was undermined by political infighting.

1.5.2 CITIZENSHIP AND THE UNDERCLASS

Conditions that prevail in Drumchapel can be linked to the citizenship debate and to the more contentious concept of the underclass. There are

varying definitions of the 'underclass', one being: "a subordinate social class; the lowest stratum in a country or community, constituting the poor and unemployed" (Oxford English Dictionary, 1992). In relation to this work this definition is too derogatory, and it does not make any reference to disempowerment and exclusion, which are considered important to this work. If the underclass has any value it may be as a term denoting those who may have formal (legal) citizenship but are "systematically denied access to substantive citizenship rights.... Substantive citizenship is concerned with the 'array of civil, political, and social rights" (Mitchell 1994, p. 25, see Chapter Two). If this denial of access is for a long enough period of time, Payne and Payne (1992) argue that: "there will be the formation of distinctive values, interests and cultural norms" (p. 2). Differences of this nature are relevant to Chapters Seven and Eight where the activities of community groups are conceptualised in relation to wider changes in civil society.

A pertinent question has been asked by Solomos (1991): "Why should people who are systematically excluded identify with the system which is excluding them?" (p. 23). This question has been taken up by this work in relation to developments in Drumchapel that are characteristic of decentralisation. In this thesis a consistent theme is what values are identified with and what associations are important to Drumchapel people? Furthermore, what aspects of the state (specifically public service provision) and civil society (specifically mainstream trends and developments) have been turned away from and what alternatives may have replaced them? These concerns enable the application of the underclass concept to the population of Drumchapel to be assessed.

Briefly, some aspects of the welfare state have been rejected, and/or more desirable forms of provision have been sought. This includes alternative forms of social housing, and a range of support from community groups (see Chapter Seven). Also of relevance to these kinds of developments is the public/private dichotomy (Section 1.3) which if applied to case-studies helps to explain changes.

1.5.3 THE RESEARCH METHOD

It is the perspective of Drumchapel residents, foremost those that are community group members, that have been the principal focus of this

work. With these perspectives established, the most significant issues for residents were isolated. Fundamentally this process depended on local people sharing their thoughts and feelings, and so the research methods used had to enable people to 'speak for themselves'.

The main method of collecting data was by semi-structured interviews undertaken with members of community groups active in Drumchapel. Directly linked to interviews was a questionnaire survey of a sample of the wider resident base of Drumchapel (see Chapter Three). The adoption of these two methods and how they were utilised, amounts to a 'bottom-up' approach to research. It has empowered individuals, as a research agenda has not been imposed from 'outside'. This approach is distinctive within the field of work on decentralisation, and on public service provision in general, the majority of which is from a 'top-down' perspective and/or has focused on the internal working of local government.

1.6 DECENTRALISATION

Throughout this section, previous points mentioned can be linked-in: the pruning of the welfare state and the emasculation of local government, changes in the public/private dichotomy in relation to service provision and the responses of the underclass to exclusion and even rejection from mainstream society.

1.6.1 WHAT IS DECENTRALISATION?

There is not a single definition of decentralisation, because it is "not a simple or a single concept. It represents the coming together of different purposes and different practices" (Stewart 1986, p. 36). Also, it is important to emphasise that decentralisation is not a new phenomenon (Loundes 1991) (see Chapter Two, Section 2.2).

The reasons for undertaking decentralisation are varied, the most significant being that due to substantial changes in the standing of local government especially in fiscal terms, councils have had little option other than to re-consider the services that have traditionally been available, and to make available services more positively received by the public (Gaster, 1991). This reason relates to changes in the welfare state,

and the broader changes in the state and civil society (Chapters Two and Four).

There are numerous characteristics associated with decentralisation. Each council is unique in the policies that it has pursued and the degree to which it has pursued them. Though individual local authorities are going to have unique objectives, Hoggett and Hambleton (1986) have identified some key ones common to all: (i) improving public services, (ii) improving planning and policy development and (iii) changing the relationship between public servants and the public. In the last case this can prove problematic (see below).

These concerns with decentralisation are developed extensively in Chapter Two and in Chapter Five, where Strathclyde Regional Council (SRC) and Glasgow District Council (GDC) are looked at in relation to decentralisation, though in SRC and GDC a specific decentralisation strategy has not been introduced. Nonetheless, individual developments that can be associated with decentralisation, along with the characteristics of and reasons for undertaking these, are detailed. Further, because of the extent of multiple deprivation in Drumchapel, there have been a variety of responses by SRC and GDC to poverty and various initiatives to improve the quality-of-life of the population have been devised (see Chapters Four and Six). There has also been a high level of activity on the part of local people, with the establishment of and involvement in community based groups.

1.6.2 NEGLECTED AREAS OF DECENTRALISATION

Limited attention has been focused on the possible problems that decentralisation may create; one exception is Loundes (1991). On the whole decentralisation has been viewed as something of a panacea for the ills of local government and there has been a reluctance to criticise it for this reason. Advocates of decentralisation have not adequately acknowledged that there are strengths as well as weaknesses in 'established' practices of local government.

Of particular concern to this work, are the following (potential) problem areas. There is the persistence of established working practices and cultures inside of local government. Then, there is the problem of

marrying the collectivist provision of services with meeting individual needs. More fundamentally, local authorities will have to discriminate between groups regarding the allocation of funding (Loundes 1991). Finally, there are concerns related to extending participatory democracy: decentralisation may aggravate inequalities between people with respect to resources and opportunities to become involved in service provision (Beuret and Stoker 1986). Possibly associated with this, divisions can develop between long established groups and newer ones (Lansley *et al* 1989).

These problems that have been mentioned in the decentralisation literature were evident in Drumchapel. The reason for these problems and how they relate to other concerns of this work are explored. A recurring theme in this thesis, for example, is how people are disempowered. The perspectives of the political Left on decentralisation acknowledge one means of empowering marginalised social groups, e.g. the underclass, is through decentralisation initiatives. However, there can be barriers to empowerment, including bureaucratic resistance on the part of local government to some developments.

Of most significance in relation to this work, is the lack of attention given to service-users in the decentralisation literature, who tend at best to be referred to as an afterthought. This is somewhat ironic when support of decentralisation is centred on its benefit to local people:

[D]espite the emphasis in the debate on consumers, very little of the research has specifically examined the impact of decentralisation on consumers... As in most reorganisations the interests of consumers and the public are used to justify the reorganisation, but once reorganisation has taken place, little effort is devoted to assess the impact that reorganisation has on them (Alaszewski and Manthorpe 1988, pp. 71-72).

Acknowledging this relative neglect, this work has looked at the relationship between decentralisation on the one hand and local people on the other. The application of the underclass concept to the population of Drumchapel enables some of the observations on decentralisation to be considered in a broader context where links with contemporary debates can be made. Responses or strategies on the part of the underclass to

exclusion draw potentially on different value systems from mainstream society. Regarding such strategies for coping, this work will illustrate how characteristics associated with the underclass can foster decentralisation.

A further concern of this work is the relationship between 'community' and decentralisation. Willmott (1986) has stressed that "decentralisation needs community", because such characteristics of community as the prevalence of groups and organisations, and the personal investment of individuals in developments that take place, should ensure that decentralisation initiatives are positively received. Apart from this acknowledgement by Willmott, there has been little attention given to this relationship. The links between community and decentralisation are of direct importance to this work, i.e. the impact of decentralisation on local people. It is also thought to be of additional importance because some of the characteristics of community link into the concern with the associations and value systems of the underclass.

Finally, narrowing-down the concern with the impact on local people and the dual emphasis on the underclass, distinctions with regard to gender require particular attention. The differential impact of decentralisation on women and men form a distinct concern of this work, an outgrowth of the research once it was under way. In peripheral schemes such as Drumchapel, there tend to be a higher proportion of women than men (see Chapter Four). Thus, because of the feminisation of poverty women can potentially contribute to the underclass in greater numbers than men. From this there are clear issues that require investigation: are there distinctions between women and men in any (dis)benefits accrued from decentralisation? These concerns dovetail with the accepted view that women participate in community groups to a greater degree than men do (Gallagher 1976). In relation to many of these concerns, the work of Wolch (1990) on the Shadow State is drawn on.

1.6.3 'INTERNAL' AND 'EXTERNAL', 'TOP-DOWN AND 'BOTTOM-UP' DECENTRALISATION

To enable a more precise understanding and to facilitate the presentation of this work, two dichotomies can be introduced into the broad and general concept of decentralisation: (i) 'internal' and 'external', and (ii) 'bottom-up' and 'top-down'.

Internal and external decentralisation refer to the structure of local government. The decentralisation that relates to the internal structure and operation of local government is referred to as 'internal decentralisation'. Examples include reorganisation of management structures so that there is an increased level of front-line management, or the establishment of area offices instead of one centralised location. An example in Glasgow is the area housing offices in outer estates, where people can visit for the majority of their housing related queries. Internal decentralisation is not a main feature of this work; however it is referred to where it links with external decentralisation.

By contrast, 'external' decentralisation refers to developments that are outside of local government's traditional structure and operation. The likely or potential impact is on local people. That impact is the opportunity to have some level of involvement in decision-making processes, i.e. the impact is far wider than internal administrative and/or organisational changes. There is likely to be an inter-linking with other agencies, for example other local authorities, the voluntary sector or health boards. External decentralisation is a prime means by which public/private distinctions have become blurred.

External decentralisation can be sub-divided into either 'top-down' or 'bottom-up'. Top-down refers to developments which have been initiated by the state. As the term implies, change is being brought about from above. Examples include the Drumchapel Initiative and the Community Organisations Council, which came into existence as SRC and GDC recognised a need for locally based organisations which facilitated close links with the community and intended involvement of the community in decision-making processes. The support of local people can be obtained and the delivery of services can be adjusted to suit local needs. Indeed, much of this reflects a fairly traditional view of co-ordination as a way of improving service delivery. Strategic community partnerships normally involve the development of organisational structures which facilitate active resident participation in a partnership initiative and accountability between the community representatives and the wider local community (McCarthur 1995). The appeal of such an approach is that there is a sense of ownership on the part of the community, a further outcome of which is that residents are more likely to 'guard' improvements (*op. cit.*). In this

way regeneration becomes more 'sustainable' and 'cost effective' - both high profile concepts of the late 1980s.

Bottom-up decentralisation is the diametric opposite. Change is initiated from the grass-roots by local people. It is of especial importance regarding inclusion/exclusion, and has been acknowledged by McCarthur (1995) who agreed "...though not unsuccessful, approaches to urban regeneration in the past often failed to improve the economic and social conditions of residents. This may in part be explained by the absence of local communities in decision-making processes" (p. 69). Examples in Drumchapel include the Disabled Action Group and Kingsridge-Cleddans Economic Group (see Chapter Seven).

This distinction between top-down and bottom-up is not always clear-cut and its application during this work sometimes reflects this borrowing. Thus, some aspects of development observed do not fit either category where local bottom-up ideas have been taken-up and supported through extra funding and resources by local government. The following continuum locates both dichotomies with examples that are contained in future chapters.

TABLE 1.2: THE DECENTRALISATION CONTINUUM

<i>Internal decentralisation</i>		<i>External decentralisation</i>	
<i>Structural</i>	<i>Geographic</i>	<i>Top-down</i>	<i>Bottom-up</i>
Devolved management	Establishment of area offices	Partnership regeneration strategies	Initiated by community groups

1.7 CONCLUDING POINTS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

An account of the context of the research, i.e. background factors and forces that gave rise to the conditions that prevail in Drumchapel has been given. In conjunction with this, five concepts that in the case of decentralisation are central to this work, or will assist in the presentation of research findings, have been introduced. Finally, why the research was conducted in the way that it was has been covered.

The core objectives are based around what the impact of local government decentralisation has been on the people of Drumchapel:

Objective One :

To assess the knowledge of the Drumchapel Initiative and the Community Organisations Council. Emanating from this objective has been the broad aim of eliciting perceptions held of these two organisations.

Objective Two:

To look at how residents have, to varying degrees, provided some level of input into different areas of service provision. This input can range from consultation through to control.

Objective Three:

Is based on the concept of community and sought to establish the effects of decentralisation on the characteristics of this in Drumchapel.

Objective Four:

To establish how decentralisation has been of differing significance to women and men in Drumchapel and how the impact of decentralisation relates to the position and roles of women in society.

In Chapter Two concepts that have been introduced here are looked at in greater detail. Much of the Chapter looks at decentralisation - its history, exploring what is thought to have been overlooked and the different components of the concept. Priority areas in relation to this work are also highlighted and explored.

An emphasis has already been placed on why the research was undertaken in the manner that it was. In Chapter Three a more detailed exploration of the research methods adopted, and the advantages and disadvantages of these, are assessed.

Chapter Four is a scene setting exercise. It is based on primary data sources, but importantly develops these to provide a more qualitative perspective on life in Drumchapel. Developed in particular is the previous consideration of the public/private dichotomy and the impact of universal public ownership on Drumchapel. Also it is explored how

citizenship has largely been abrogated and an underclass has come into being. The application of such concepts as these to a specific geographical area and population has resulted in a more personal and intimate look at the characteristics of this section of society.

Chapter Five provides a resume of Strathclyde Regional Council (SRC) and Glasgow District Council (GDC) with regard to decentralisation. Principally it is internal decentralisation that is examined. This Chapter also offers an insight into the attitudes of SRC and GDC towards decentralisation: the degree of enthusiasm, reservations and common concerns and problems. Finally, changes and developments in how both authorities operate are linked directly to decentralisation.

Chapters Six to Nine are concerned exclusively with the findings of field research. Though each chapter is concerned with a specific component of or perspective on decentralisation, the following questions are addressed: (i) what is the significance for individuals?, (ii) how meaningful are developments given the circumstances of some people?, (iii) what are the evaluations made by people?, (iv) how far does the public support the developments that have taken place?, (v) what difference, if any, does the direct involvement of local communities make regarding the impact on local problems? and (vi) what are the divisions amongst the public to developments?

Chapter Six is concerned exclusively with the Drumchapel Initiative (DI) and the Community Organisations Council (COC). These two organisations are direct manifestations of external decentralisation, and are a joint venture between SRC and GDC. The DI supports and promotes the social and economic development of Drumchapel. The COC is a forum for the community to contribute to decision-making processes via locally based groups and elected community representatives. An evaluation of these two organisations from the perspective of the community has not been undertaken before. Local residents, through qualitative interviews, largely determined what criteria were of significance when assessing the impact of these organisations. The continuum of involvement has been drawn on as it enables a more precise understanding of the extent of community involvement.

Chapter Seven presents work that is related to the establishment and development of community groups in Drumchapel. Case studies, which include housing co-operatives, the Disabled Action Group and an economic development group, form the mainstay of the Chapter. Here, the 'continuum of involvement' has enabled analysis of the reality of empowerment. Also, the public/private dichotomy is introduced in relation to the shadow state theory, and the relationship between the authorities and the community. Consideration of such concepts feed into the concern with alternative alignments and value systems which are linked with the underclass.

The effects of external decentralisation on the dynamics of community are examined on two levels: the neighbourhood and the whole of Drumchapel are the focus of Chapter Eight. Largely absent from work on decentralisation is the acknowledgement of the inter-relationships between decentralisation and community, i.e. how they influence one another (Willmott 1986). This is an aspect that is strongly acknowledged in this research where the particular impacts of decentralisation on the dynamics of community in Drumchapel are scrutinised. Changes in perceptions are presented and the implications of existing structures of community and changes in these are detailed.

Also largely neglected has been the differential impact of decentralisation with regard to gender. Chapter Nine takes the concept of gender and applies it to developments observed in Drumchapel. Distinctions between women and men and the potential impact of decentralisation is considered to be an important angle from which to approach the research findings, as it is established that women and men participate in qualitatively distinct ways. Of particular interest is the public/private dichotomy and how this mirrors the concept of female and male space. What this research has also attempted to do is to catalogue how women are involved and to record through the perceptions of those women interviewed how this involvement has impacted on their lives.

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CHAPTER TWO REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There is a large and varied literature which is drawn-on as background to this work. Due to the wide ranging nature of this literature there is a need to 'pin-down' what is important and what is less so. Besides offering a review, this Chapter will highlight deficiencies in the literature which this work attempts to fill. This is undertaken by exploring the strengths and weakness of other research undertaken, and illustrating how this research is important. Further, it is aimed to establish why and how various theories drawn upon throughout this thesis are of relevance. Finally, it is hoped to establish links between different areas of research, particularly links between contemporary debates and those with a more extensive history, for example decentralisation and community respectively.

The Chapter is divided into two sections. 'Changes in the Structure of Civil Society' (Section 2.1), is concerned with developments in civil society, and its interpretation. A back-cloth is provided against which future concerns can be pinned. 'Citizenship' and 'community' have an established history. There has been a renewed focus on new social groupings/social identities, citizenship and community because of the prevailing political climate and conditions within civil society. Last, a diverse range of literature that is less empirical in nature and is more recent in origin is included, such as gender and the shadow state.

'Decentralisation in local government' (Section 2.2) locates decentralisation as the central literature. Local government is the main provider of public services and is the organisation that is at the heart of decentralisation. The various challenges to and changes within local government throughout the 1980s are addressed, as are some of the problems of local government, in particular various critiques of its limitations *vis-à-vis* local democracy. The components and different types of decentralisation are examined, and in so doing pro-active and reactive responses to some of the acknowledged problems of local government are included. By proactive is meant 'top-down' or state initiated efforts. Of greater concern here is reactive or 'bottom-up' community action, the

literature of which has addressed a variety of concerns. Two relatively neglected areas of decentralisation which are a particular concern here are the problems encountered when decentralisation has been introduced and its impact on local people. Here, the relevant literature that exists is considered.

In the closing Section, 'Dovetailing decentralisation and state/civil society relations', the concerns of Sections 2.1 and 2.2 are drawn together. It has proven useful to isolate the critical concepts which are to be examined in future chapters. Therefore, the links between the literature referred to and this research are established through the construction of Table 2.4.

2.1 CHANGES IN THE STRUCTURE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

The purpose of this Section is to provide an up-date on how the state-civil society relationship stands after a period of restructuring which can be linked to the upheaval that has resulted from organised capitalism moving into a new stage, that of disorganised capitalism. The theory of disorganised capitalism acts as a back-drop to many of the concepts and theoretical approaches that are central to this work.

By looking at the working class, and how a variety of concerns have evolved from this, some insight is gained into the increasing complexity of society and how perspectives have developed on the nature of the relationship between the state and society. Relevant concepts that are either related to or have succeeded the concern with 'class', include the underclass concept, the notion of citizenship and gender.

Final concerns of this section are the shadow state concept, which enhances understanding of the research findings at various points throughout this thesis, and 'community' which is a concept that has a long history, and though having lost much of its popularity and perhaps even applicability, has emerged as an important concern to this work. The shadow state concept and community link-up with components of the underclass concept, citizenship and gender. The concept of gender, for example, is a central theme of the shadow state theory.

2.1.1 DISORGANISED CAPITALISM

The British economy and society are argued to be in a state of disorganised capitalism (Urry 1988). The components of this theory that are of importance to this work are related more to the effects of disorganised capitalism, principally on the structure and functioning of society and the response by the state, particularly local government, to the fall-out from capitalism moving into a new stage. The main characteristics of organised capitalism and disorganised capitalism can be summarised:

TABLE 2.1 THE CHARACTERISTICS OF ORGANISED AND DISORGANISED CAPITALISM AT THE LEVEL OF THE BRITISH ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

	Organised Capitalism	Disorganised Capitalism
1	Industrial, banking and commercial capital become increasingly centralised	Capital becomes detached from industry
2	Markets are increasingly regulated	Markets are less regulated by nationally based corporations because of the growth in the world market
3	The state provides extensive economic subsidies	Industrial cities have reduced in size and significance, instead small towns and rural areas have become a new focus for capitalism
4	Society's middle class are employed in ever greater numbers in bureaucratic related professions	Reduction in labour force numbers, i.e. working class, principally due to industrial restructuring
5	The public sector continues to expand	A growth in flexible forms of work organisation
6	Society is increasingly organised through a growing state bureaucracy, education system and the mass organisation of trade unions	The class vote in politics has much diminished, to be replaced by more issues based politics
7	Growing intervention by the state in social conflict.	Culturally society has fragmented and is now much more pluralist in character

In an organised capitalist condition, there is a spatial concentration of production, distribution and social reproduction. In moving from a state of organised capitalism, it may be in the interest of capital to relocate some of its operations elsewhere in the world. Therefore, the significance of the state at the national level has diminished, with for example the loss of a directive push for nationalised industries to locate in specific areas and cuts in the welfare state. Equally, there has been a greater emphasis on market forces, which does not fit comfortably with planning at a large scale (Thrift 1992).

The concept of disorganised capitalism could be contested, because at a global level capitalism seems to be ever more organised and able to exercise increasing levels of control. However, "what we mean by 'disorganisation' is not just a shift to a sort of high-entropy random

disorder; disorganisation is instead a fairly systematic process of disaggregation and reconstruction..." (Lash and Urry 1988, p. 8). More fundamentally, an important point is the scale at which the reorganisation is being looked at. At the global scale capitalism could be viewed as being better organised than it was previous. There are ever more options with new places to exploit, such as countries in the former Eastern Europe. At a national level, i.e. Britain, the changes in how capitalism is organised have resulted in it being more disorganised. The reasons for less organisation at one level and greater organisation at another level is that the capitalism at the national level is increasingly restrictive, as opportunities for exploitation and the maximisation of profits are more limited. The effects of the disorganisation of capitalism is that towns and cities have undergone major transformations.

The different effects of disorganised capitalism have arguably contributed to the formation of an underclass. It is the effects of disorganised capitalism, i.e. the repercussions of outcomes, that are relevant to the underclass concept. Importantly, this is not so in every case, and for some groupings there are other factors that are relevant. Also the level of importance of disorganised capitalism for different groupings that comprise the underclass is variable. The establishment of the long term unemployed has strong links with the theory of disorganised capitalism. Whereas, other links are more tenuous, as in the case of those people living in the rented sector, where there are not direct links with disorganised capitalism, only that this characteristic in conjunction with others is valid. The characteristics and constituent groupings of the underclass are looked at in Table 2.3, where the main explanatory factors behind the formation of the groupings as part of the underclass is indicated. Where the contributory factor is a facet of disorganised capitalism this is detailed.

2.1.2 THE WORKING CLASS, NEW SOCIAL GROUPINGS AND SOCIAL IDENTITIES

Civil society refers to activities outside of the state, that is "the private or non-state sphere... it is not simply a sphere of individual needs but of organisations, and has the potential of rational self-regulation and freedom" (Shonstock-Sassoon 1991, p 83).

In considering the diversity of civil society, the increasing complexity of which can be linked with the outcomes of disorganised capitalism, perspectives on the structure of and conflict within society are useful to explore. The specific concern here is with (neo) Marxist/Left viewpoints on class and how these have developed over recent years. In the present day context, and throughout the 1980s, the orthodox definition of the working-class as 'manual workers directly involved in the production of physical commodities' has been of declining relevance (Wright 1979, p. 30). The word 'working' is not always applicable as many people are unwaged, or work only on a part-time basis (Benton 1988; Bowlby *et al* 1986; Lash and Urry 1987) 'Class', though still valid, can be criticised as a construct on two fronts: it is increasingly stratified, and some of those strata, quite rightly, prefer to be identified along other lines, of which gender and ethnicity are the most immediate. Although the validity of the concept of the working-class has diminished, this is not to say that it can, and should, be jettisoned. Fundamental notions of exploitation and oppression that are intimately related to the concept are still very much of relevance. Indeed, as considered below the importance of such notions in relation to the underclass that are centred on disempowerment has increased.

In conjunction with the diminishing significance of the term 'working class', the location of struggle is in need of recontextualisation. Traditionally the work-place has been the site of struggle. However, the significance of the work-place has diminished due to the decline in the numbers of people engaged in full-time and permanent waged work and the emasculation of trade unions. Contemporary conflict is increasingly occurring outside of the work-place; there is an alternative venue in the community. Yet, as Fincher (1984) has pointed out this conflict is not necessarily class aware. This conflict in the community *vis-à-vis* the state is essentially the focus of this work. To broaden the analysis of conflict beyond the single factor of class, structuralists would probably insist on a more rigorous analysis of situations in which struggles take place. Yet, this approach presents additional problems. In advanced capitalist societies all struggles are not necessarily reducible to the single factor of class. As Graham (1990) has pointed out, '...class is central to a particular Marxist discourse but it does not mean that it is central to social life' (p. 61). Instead there are other struggles that can be linked into the concern

with class. To attempt to 'search out' the class aspects of a struggle may prove to be too reductionist.

Coincident with and possibly a direct reflection of the shift in focus from the work-place, which tended to feed into broader economic concerns, work on class became more concerned with factors that are essentially cultural. Though historical in context, one of the earliest works in this respect was by Stedman-Jones (1980). This type of focus on class weakened the dominant hold that traditional class perspectives of society had. Other forces and social divisions within society gained greater prominence and were able to establish niches of their own. This was the case in geography, which as a discipline began to consider a host of concerns that had previously been neglected; gender and race/ethnicity being two primary examples. The interaction of gender and class have been a concern of Bondi and Peake (1988).

At this stage, it is appropriate to introduce Lash and Urry's (1987) concern with the decentring of identities in society, which they consider to be an outcome of disorganised capitalism. Doing so fulfils two functions. Firstly, it illustrates how the concern with class has shifted to a cultural focus. Secondly, from a structural perspective, i.e. that of capitalism entering a stage of disorganisation, decentring provides one explanation how new social identities may have developed and therefore perspectives on how an underclass may have been established

Lash and Urry (1987) in their work on the relationship between capitalist disorganisation and cultural changes, discuss the decentring of identity with reference to society as a whole, though they are especially concerned with the working class. By the decentring of identity is meant a fragmentation of 'traditional' working class identities into smaller, increasingly autonomous groups. The working class, in the traditional sense, has been fractionalising and these different fractions have been evolving down different paths. Of course, the working class have always been composed of different sections who have sometimes been in opposition to one another; there have always been a diversity of identities. Divisions are arguably now more pronounced due to more variables that can be introduced to divide up the working class. For example, with the advent of Thatcherism, some of the working class have prospered. People

that aspired to middle class lifestyles have been referred to as the 'new middle class'. This is the group which has received the most attention, probably because it is most conspicuous in relation to consumption patterns, and significant in voting terms - it votes Tory, or at least did so - particularly in the General Elections of the 1980s and early 1990s.

Lash and Urry do not consider the fundamentals of how decentring has taken place. There are two possibilities. First, *all* groups that together constituted the working class have moved from a generally collective 'core' culture by proceeding along various paths. Alternatively, only *some* groups may have 'broken away' from this core to pursue different paths; importantly a core remains. Relatively, this remaining core are worse off. However, these two perspectives are reconcilable. The various traditional characteristics associated with the working class, that is the cultural constituents of identity, still exist. It is in addition to these, that there has been the development of other characteristics that can contribute towards identity.

The core of the traditional working class is of concern to this research, because it overlaps with definitions of the underclass. Some of the social groups which comprise this core are strongly represented in the Drumchapel population, including those registered as able to engage in waged work but are unable to find suitable work and those people who are engaged in low paid and/or part-time waged work (see Appendix). There are additional social groups that could comprise the underclass, but who are perhaps not traditionally part of the working class and so would not be considered a part of this traditional working class core, included would be single parents (see Table 2.3). Explored in the sub-section below is how a proportion of the British population now form the underclass.

2.1.3 THE UNDERCLASS

There are a variety of definitions of the underclass and many of these definitions refer to characteristics which link with some of the outcomes of disorganised capitalism. One definition is of those whose "lines in the social fabric have been eroded and in some cases all but severed. Such people have had their links cut with legitimate stable employment, not as a temporary phenomenon, but as a condition of existence" (Phillips 1992). Other definitions that are more rigorous include: "people who were

permanently removed from the labour market excluding those not of working age, those who retired early, students and people with long-term illnesses" (Buck 1991, quoted by Phillips 1992). Based on this definition, efforts have been made to quantify the underclass:

TABLE 2.2: THE GROWTH OF THE UNDERCLASS IN BRITAIN

Year	Number	Percentage of British Population
1979	1.96 million	4.2%
1986	4.58 million	9.9%

(Source: Buck 1991, quoted by Phillips 1992)

A further definition is provided by Donnison (1992), and is based on excluded groups: middle-aged men whose factories have closed, youngsters who never got a proper job, low-paid workers in marginal jobs, and lone-parents. But the underclass is a concept that can be defined using criteria other than those associated with economic activity (see below).

There is considerable debate as to the existence of an underclass, or of the value in acknowledging its existence. The problematic nature and the difficulty of confidently accepting or rejecting the underclass concept is acknowledged. "Although the concept of the underclass is contested, there is concern with the exclusion and isolation of those whose life-chances and lifestyles threaten to make them non-citizens. A wider but related concern has been the 'dependent' - those whose reliance on state benefit, arguably, is debilitating, going beyond a monetary relationship into a behavioural and attitudinal one" (Hill 1994, p. 243).

Furthermore, the underclass concept could be an alternative perspective on traditional class-based divisions that have become more entrenched since the early 1980s. However, growing disparities in income, levels of health, etc. are not an indication of a re-assertion of traditional class-based divisions. Rather, the growing disparities are between the *majority* of the economically active population and a "minority of welfare dependent rejects" (Donnison 1992). Such 'developments' have important implications for the notion of citizenship (see below).

Underpinning these thoughts on the underclass is the fact that 'mainstream' society has pursued its course of choices but there is not enough room for all sections, and so the most vulnerable and

economically least well placed have been left behind. In addition, other forces serve to underline a marginalisation process. For example, rigorous trimming of the welfare state disproportionately affects those who are most vulnerable. Together a range of factors constitute multiple overlapping dimensions by which individuals become excluded from society and which can contribute to feelings of alienation.

The main characteristics of or social groupings which may comprise the underclass are summarised in Table 2.3. Against these characteristics or social grouping, potential contributory factors to their formation or disadvantaged location in society are listed. Where and how the contributory factors are related to disorganised capitalism is also indicated.

TABLE 2.3: FACTORS WHICH HAVE POTENTIALLY CONTRIBUTED TO THE FORMATION OF AN UNDERCLASS , OR DISADVANTAGED SPECIFIC SOCIAL GROUPS TO WHICH THE UNDERCLASS CONCEPT HAS BEEN APPLIED

	Characteristic or associated grouping	Contributory factors	Relevance to Drumchapel*
1	Growth in numbers of un-waged & a decrease in the number of skilled & semi-skilled jobs	Structural changes in the economy - re-location of many areas of production overseas	Highly
2	Growth in low waged, part-time and temporary employment	Structural changes in the economy - increase in flexibility of the work-force to remain competitive	High
3	Increase in 'undesirable' housing estates	Structural changes in the economy - a decline in the significance of cities.	Highly
4	Those living in rented accommodation	Structural and ideological changes. The rented sector has become increasingly stigmatised and reduced in significance as increasing numbers of households become 'home owners'. The relative investment by the state has declined.	Highly
5	Older people	Cultural and structural changes in the economy and the upheaval in the welfare state, growing disparities between the prosperous and other groups	Moderately
6	Single parents	Behavioural and cultural	Highly
7	The long-term ill	Cultural and structural changes in the economy and the upheaval in the welfare state, growing disparities between the prosperous and other groups	Moderately
8	Ethnic minorities	Discrimination and racism have disadvantaged ethnic minorities in the labour market and housing	Little
9	No stake in accepted values, attitudes and behaviour	Cultural and behavioural. Either a result of above points or	considered

*: From a choice of 'highly', 'moderately' and 'little'.

Work on the underclass has principally been concerned with its definition, quantification, and its significance to society as a whole, along with its perceived threat to social stability (Mead 1986). These are not concerns of this research. However, broadly accepted themes of the concept that are of concern are that people have become marginalised: politically, economically, socially and culturally. The relationship between the underclass concept and the Drumchapel population, can be more thoroughly assessed when looking at these themes. In turn these themes are linked to decentralisation.

One outcome of the marginalisation of a section of society and potentially the creation of an underclass is that there are conditions for new social identities, alternative realignments or new patterns of social struggle to take root (Jessop *et al* 1988). (See Table 2.1 for a summary of conditions and effects). The new social identities around which people gather transcend some of the traditional divisions. These and other developments are embedded in a terrain that has spawned a new ideological perspective on life: there is a "proliferation of new points of antagonism, new social movements of resistance organised around them and consequently, a generalisation of 'politics' to spheres which hitherto the Left assumed to be apolitical; a politics of the family, of health, of food, of sexuality, of the body" (Hall 1988, p. 28). In a similar vein, Susan Smith (1989) has made reference to these new points of antagonism when mentioning the strength of shared systems of meaning as forms of resistance to political subordination. In other words, common ground that marginalised groups share can be the terrain on which struggle can take place.

Reference to struggle and resistance by groupings dovetails with the perspective on bottom-up and external decentralisation, whereby people resist deteriorating service provision, and in some instances are in conflict with local government over the characteristics of proposed developments. In future chapters, observations are detailed which reflect, in some respects, the points made by Hall (1988) and Smith (1989). However, in Drumchapel new social identities have not been observed in the manner referred to above by Jessop *et al* (1988). There is not the diversity in the population, for example, along the lines of ethnicity or sexuality. Rather,

collective forms of resistance have involved a more traditional social mix with a unifying factor probably being poverty.

2.1.4 THE NOTION OF CITIZENSHIP

Looking at citizenship illustrates the nature of exclusion and how marginalised some social groups can be. Importantly, exclusion and marginalisation are considered from a variety of perspectives, ranging from the more immediately political through to the more wide ranging and complex effects of poverty. These sorts of perspectives on citizenship underpin the concern with the underclass concept and the nature of its application to the Drumchapel population. In turn, the themes of citizenship, or more precisely the lack of citizenship, that are referred to throughout this thesis link with the developments associated with and impacts of decentralisation. Both Right and Left interpretations of citizenship are reflected in the development of the research findings on decentralisation.

Citizenship is a universal and adaptable concept, illustrated by the fact that it has been appropriated by both the political Right and Left. Not surprisingly these two appropriations are divergent in so far as the concept has been invested with diametric characteristics.

First, citizenship for the Right and for its popularity in general since the latter part of the 1980s is essentially related to policies in the Thatcher era (Held and Pollitt 1987). The breakdown in the post-war consensus, in which certain support mechanisms have been removed or reduced is of relevance (see Chapter One).

In the first instance, the onus is placed on the individual in the Right's interpretation of citizenship. There are a combination of rights and obligations that are transferred to the individual. The flip-side is 'active citizenship' (Kearns 1991), which is centred on people taking more responsibility, foremost for themselves, but also extending this responsibility outwards to the community. In relation to this research, 'to get involved' in some form of voluntary work would be a prime example. However, involvement of this nature is essentially manifested in a collective manner. Based on the experience of housing associations, Kearns (1991) explores how there is a limited number of active citizens,

who work collectively in the management of their own and their neighbour's housing. Active citizenship builds upon a sense of community, with feelings of association with a place (if community is geographically defined) and identifying with fellow residents.

In contrast, for the Left citizenship is more concerned with investing people with rights which can protect them. In particular, citizenship has been viewed as essential for vulnerable social groups, some of which can comprise the 'underclass' (see Table 2.3). It is a concept which allows for empowerment in the political process for the dispossessed (Hirst 1989). Citizenship tackles such problems as poor representation and exclusion, precisely because each person is invested with identical rights.

Though being intimately associated with the state, citizenship by-passes the functioning of the state; the individual is empowered. Thrift (1992) has summarised how citizenship holds the potential for this: "the intention was to redefine British democracy, making it more plural in response to an increasingly plural society and making it more accessible to those with fewer political resources" (p. 11). The problems of democracy are looked at in the next section in relation to local government.

However, for the Left there is a recurring problem manifested in citizenship. This problem is "the irreconcilable tension between the ideals of equality and universality embodied in the very idea of the citizen on the one hand and the 'post-modern' emphasis on difference and diversity on the other" (Hall and Held 1989, p. 3). Equality versus difference is a dilemma associated with decentralisation. Regarding the dichotomy between 'individual' and 'collective', in the case of the Left the ultimate emphasis is on particular social groups who would benefit.

There is an important spatial element to any consideration of citizenship from the perspective of the Left. Susan Smith (1989) looked at how geography is an important factor: "within a nation state, the right to work, pursue a chosen lifestyle and participate in political decisions are all socially differentiated, and may impinge in different ways on the structuring of society and space" (p. 150). Observations of this nature are not new, except that they are being made in relation to citizenship. The fundamental concerns of citizenship are centred on inequality and

welfare. Such concerns are well established in human geography, and obviously the spatial dimensions have formed a significant focus for many years (Smith, D. M., 1987; Eyles 1986, and Smith, S., 1989).

The nature and extent of citizenship is related to social fragmentation which in turn is related to the processes of disorganised capitalism. There are inequalities with respect to citizenship in so far as some people have more entitlements than others. Hill (1994) highlights the prevailing inequalities in relation to citizenship: "Social citizenship implies not only that there are entitlements common to all, but that people will share a common experience of universal services provided by a common process. To the extent that this experience is eroded, particularly because of 'welfare residualisation' through work-welfare schemes or 'social housing' confined to the poorest, the common experience of citizenship is undermined" (p. 77). So inequality in conjunction with poverty precludes citizenship, which for the Left represents varying levels of integration into 'mainstream' society.

In practice, the concept of citizenship has not had equal applicability with regard to gender; potentially it excludes women. This inevitable bias is due to the gender neutrality of the language of citizenship. A detailed critique of citizenship and its contours in specific relation to women has been provided by Lister (1993). A pivotal point of Lister's approach is the public/private divide. Though there is a reluctant acceptance of the importance of the influence of one sphere on the other, especially for women, there is still some reluctance over the necessity to embrace the 'private'. For example, Marquand (1989) believes that citizenship is nothing if it is not public. Issues associated with the domestic sphere are thought to be too remote to be included in any notion of citizenship. The demarcation of citizenship through space is going to have ramifications for people who spend much of their time in 'excluded' space.

Marquand's view can be contested. The position of women in the private sphere spills over into that of the public, and so women's experience of citizenship is restricted. Lister (1993) elaborates on inequalities between women and men in relation to participation in the political sphere, or political citizenship as she calls it: "the sexual politics of time is... pivotal in tracing the contours of women's political citizenship" (p. 10). In

contrast, Lister considers that men have fewer constraints on being political citizens, if they so choose. It may be argued that men are likely to spend longer hours in the work place; yet men have a greater choice over how they spend their time outside of waged work. Second, in relation to poverty, this may be hidden within the family where income is not shared fairly. Even in households where this may not be an issue, "the lack of security, rights and autonomy involved in a personal relationship of economic dependency and the sense of deference it can create are corrosive of any notion of citizenship rights (*op. cit.*, p. 6).

The applicability of citizenship both to different groupings in society and to this research in general is that "a reappropriation of citizenship must not simply be tied to an abstract set of rights guaranteed by the 'rule of law' but address the deeper bases of social power" (Taylor 1989, quoted by Lister 1993, p. 20). In other words, people of particular social groups that may comprise the underclass (listed in Table 2.3) should be enabled to improve their citizenship by having greater control over their lives. In the case of Drumchapel, through developments associated with internal and external decentralisation, even small measures of power associated with decision-making over public services can be of significance.

2.1.5 GENDER AND PARTICIPATION

Of concern to this research (and forming the basis of Chapter Nine) is gender, by which is meant socially constructed views of masculinity and femininity that result in differences between women's and men's attitudes, behaviour, and opportunities (McDowell 1986). Gender as a concept permeates every area of life. In relation to this research, there are specific areas where gender is of concern. The first is in relation to the various forms of participation in community groups. This, or related concerns, have been looked at by Edwards (1989) and Gallagher (1976). Gallagher related her work to the position of women in wider society: "the roles women have played in community action are the familiar background and supporting parts, or leading roles in exclusively women's groups which underline women's position in the family" (p. 121).

Participation in informal politics has the potential to be of greater significance to women than to men. Women can more readily relate to grass-roots involvement because it overlaps with components of the

sphere of reproduction; it is both more practicable and more personal. Such observations were made some time ago, i.e. the 1970s, and the situation may have altered since because of the restructuring of the 1980s. McKenzie and Rose (1983) referred to the importance of informal politics: "... community politics accommodates what is specific about both women's political interests and women's requirements for political organisation" (p. 36). Remaining at the grass-roots level, though broadening out concern to embrace other spheres of life, Bowlby *et al* (1986) thought it necessary to look at gender relations in the work place, the community and the home and to see how they all interconnect. Though such an approach is rational, in the case of this research interest is focused on the community and the home, and their interconnections.

Central to the activity of community groups in Drumchapel is the nature of service provision. The significance of patriarchy, a component of gender relations, to service provision is pertinent. There is a reciprocating relationship - on the one hand, the location and characteristics of service provision reinforce patriarchal relations, while on the other, economic and social relations, which embody patriarchal relations, determine the use of services (Bondi and Peake 1988). At the most general of levels, the welfare state *per se* has reinforced patriarchal relations. In effect, the universal safety net of the traditional welfare state developed a few holes through which some forms of need fell. Holes of this nature were anticipated, if not expected, to be covered by the informal sector, predominantly through the efforts of women (Wolch 1990).

Of specific interest to geography and at the same time reflecting the neglect of gender, has been the lack of scrutiny of public and private spheres. The Women and Geography Study Group (1986) advocate the dismantling of barriers which have been constructed between these spheres, as they are an oppressive division which facilitate the maintenance of power relations. To explain further, some key antonyms associated with the public and private spheres can be mentioned. The public sphere is male, political, and contested; whereas the private sphere is female, apolitical and uncontested (Rose 1990). Of particular interest is a comparison between the private and the public and how they can affect one another (*op. cit.*). In spite of recent social changes, the home or domestic sphere is still often viewed as female space and is not given the same attention as masculine

public space. Concerns of this nature are of particular relevance to this research. Participation in community groups can be affected by characteristics that are associated with the private sphere. This is particularly the case with women. Also the distinction between public and private spheres is less great in some instances in Drumchapel; domestic circumstances spill over into the public or political sphere.

2.1.6 THE SHADOW STATE

The 'shadow state' (Wolch 1990) embraces voluntary activity based upon groups and organisations that have supplanted some forms of state service provision. Of course, the voluntary sector is not a new phenomenon in itself. However, the nature and scale of activities with which it is associated have grown in significance over recent years. With this development in mind, the concept of the shadow state helps to redefine understanding of the voluntary sector in the political economy of the 1990s.

Wolch (1990) considers that the restructuring of the consumptive side of capitalist societies has coincided with the restructuring of production. State responsibilities have been redefined and the nature of the relationship between provider and user has altered. In this respect, the shadow state concept isolates a particular relationship between state and civil society, and looks at a specific outcome of restructuring and of changes in central-local relations. Decentralisation is a product of as well as a cause of restructuring (see Chapters Seven and Eight).

Some of the reasons for the Right supporting the shadow state are based on its efficiency, flexibility (in that it can respond to local conditions), and political expedience. Considering these three points together, constraints can be imposed and resources targeted to advance state interests. The attractions for the Right tie-in with wanting to reduce the significance of the welfare state and to the theme of active citizenship. Reasons for the Left supporting the shadow state are based on efficiency, but also on expanding participatory democracy, and the fact that it is a non-capitalist form of development. Indeed, "... the selective development of new voluntary groups by local authorities [especially Labour] could create new bases of support in areas where popular sentiment and demands remained inchoate and disorganised" (Wolch 1990, p. 109). For the Left, the

attractions mentioned dove-tail with some of the attractions of decentralisation.

Cautionary notes have also been sounded as to the role of the state in the activities of the voluntary sector. First there is concern over the 'statization of life', by which it is meant the state penetration into the lives of people (Wolch 1990). Though there has been a retreat from state intervention, there has been an extension into the lives of ordinary people; this is the new face of social control. Second, "instead of primarily providing services to meet our needs, the state will be involved in organising, supervising, extending and even reinterpreting our own self-help" (Croft and Beresford 1986, p. 29). Relevant here is the power to accept or reject applications for funding (see Chapter Six in relation to the Community Organisations Council). The voluntary sector can be regarded as something of a double edged sword, having two diametrically opposed characteristics: "one represents increased state penetration of many aspects of daily life; the other represents a revitalised democracy in state affairs" (Wolch 1990, p. 4).

2.1.7 COMMUNITY

'Community' is essentially an 'old' concept that is back in fashion. Definition is difficult and various ones exist. A recent and succinct definition is that of Thrift's (1992), who believes community to be an "association of shared interest and feeling" (p. 26). Along the lines of this broad definition, community has undergone something of a revival because of its association with other popular concepts and practices.

Community lost its popularity in the changing political climate of the late 1970s. Some sections of the Left had long been sceptical about community, believing it to be a romantic notion that was essentially a structure that performed a containment function. This was because community was a way of deflecting class antagonism due to an ideal of shared interests. Eyles (1986) believes that "community as ideology becomes super-imposed on the reality of the village as a social system" (p. 61). In other words, there is a reproduction of social relations via the encouragement of local loyalties and attachments (*op. cit.*).

There are two principal forms that community can take: that based on geography and/or that based on interest. Regarding both, Thrift (1992) has highlighted the need for a renewed focus on community, particularly in relation to changes in civil society that have taken place in the 1980s: "we need to know how geography intervenes and helps to constitute these communities [of interest], communities which are now rarely based on defined pieces of territory in ways that they once were" (p. 26-27). Clearly, Thrift is concerned foremost with interest communities, that are not necessarily defined by geography. His assertion is applicable to social groupings where there is a high level of mobility and where interests are not defined by territory. Other writers have made similar points, believing that communities defined by geography are of less importance than they used to be. Bulmer (1986) and Clarke (1982) believe geography to have little or no role. Other writers have only been a little more cautious in their reference to the demise of territorial communities: Eyles (1986) regards locality to be less of an arena for social life than it once was. Willmott (1986) put this another way when he said that "most residents look beyond their neighbourhood for most of their social relationships" (p. 100). However, in the case of Drumchapel, and indeed other areas with comparable population profiles, Thrift's understanding that territory is not as important as it once was can be contested. Territory is at the heart of the type of community that is of relevance to this research, even though this is cross-cut by communities of interest (see Chapter Eight). In addition to geography and interest, a third less tangible characteristic of community is that which is based on feeling: "in this application, the concern is with people's feelings, and also with the patterns of relationships that reflect, sustain and encourage those feelings" (Willmott 1986, p. 84).

Thrift has identified three associated concerns that should be investigated: the various forms of community, why people identify with them, and the level of commitment to them. In relation to the first concern, territory or interest are the main forms. Regarding the scale of community, whether there is more than one community and if so how these different communities of interest and geographical scale interact (see Chapter Eight). Why people identify with a community covers similar ground to that covered in relation to identity. Regarding the latter concern, the number and range of community groups that are active in a defined geographic area is a good indicator in a general sense of the prevalence of

community, and more specifically of the commitment that local people express towards the place in which they live.

Some communities have been described as being essentially defensive in character. They may be defensive of gains that have been made relative to other areas. Alternatively, they are defensive in relation to attacks based on moral judgements on how residents live their lives (Fischer 1977). Or, the social and economic deprivation which consumes an area can contribute to a sense of community that is defensive in character. This is because the community may attribute the deprivation to factors beyond the community boundary in the form of, for example, a perceived lack of state support for industry and/or poor efforts to alleviate unemployment.

Looking beyond communities that are essentially defensive, a more desirable notion of community that dovetails with some of the concerns of the Left *vis-à-vis* decentralisation can be mentioned. It is inevitable within a defined territory that, though some values are shared, others will be in conflict. In other words, there is the existence of different communities that are based on diversity. But most importantly this acknowledged creative diversity is balanced with commonality (Campbell 1988). Relating back to the emphasis on the diversity and the increased vocalness of social groups, that are essentially non-class political groupings, a politics of diversity that is based on some common understanding could develop (Hall 1988). This is an important project as it is one means of possibly squaring the circle of collectivism versus individualism.

In conclusion, community is an arena for some facets of active citizenship. Decentralisation needs community, as there has to be some level of collective input from local people if decentralisation is to be more than an administrative exercise.

2.2 LOCAL GOVERNMENT DECENTRALISATION

An understanding of the meaning of decentralisation requires and examination of its origins, its defining characteristics and its variety and form. There are specific concerns that are of relevance to this research, and these can be located against a review of the literature. Additional

perspectives on decentralisation that are often neglected are focused on. These perspectives are: (i) the potential pit-falls of decentralisation, (ii) the impact of decentralisation on local people, and (iii) the dovetailing of decentralisation with some of the changes in the state and civil society that have been noted in previous sections.

A shortfall exists between the intended or ideal purpose of local government and the reality for the majority of people. This shortfall, often in conjunction with other acknowledged problems of local government, has resulted in a variety of state initiated responses. Broadly, these responses can be referred to as 'top-down' responses, the first half of the dichotomy explained in Chapter One. The origins of some responses are to be sought at a central level, for example the Skeffington Report (1969) promoted consultation and participation, suggesting that "in a large, complex and socially advanced industrial nation like ours the principle of public participation can improve the quality of decisions by public authorities and give personal satisfaction to those affected by the decisions" (p. 1). The initiative is very much left to those who are affected rather than actively seeking input from local communities. With bottom-up activity, there are a variety of terms and concerns that cover protest and/or participation of local people. Some of the main terms of reference, listed by Fudge (1984), are: urban social movements (USMs), community action, community politics, urban struggles, and micro-politics. These terms are not mutually exclusive.

2.2.1 LOCAL GOVERNMENT BACKGROUND

For some writers local government is often embraced by the term 'local state', originally coined by Cockburn (1977) in her research in the London borough of Lambeth. Its application enables an analysis of local government as more than a facet of participatory and representative democracy and as an administrative organisation foremost concerned with the provision of public services; what local government is in a more conceptual sense can be addressed. Local government can be looked upon as performing one of three alternative roles. First, it is an appendage of the central state, essentially working for the benefit of capital. Therefore, its aims and objectives are inseparable from those of the central state (Cockburn 1977). Second, and contrasting with this first role, local government can work against the interests of the central state and capital,

in so far as it protects the interests of local people, particularly the vulnerable (Goodwin 1992). Third, local government is an institution of conflict and compromise between, in Marxist terms, classes but more broadly between various social groupings (see previous section). All three roles have been observed at different times and in different contexts. Local government has many contradictory characteristics.

Corresponding to the first role various and far reaching changes in local government's mode of function have been imposed by central government. These have made local government an appendage of the central state. Compulsory competitive tendering, right-to-buy legislation in relation to council housing, and rate and poll-tax capping, are examples of how the autonomy of local government has been undermined. Effectively the local state has been restructured via the "marketisation" of public services (Goodwin 1992). Further as Goodwin adds, "those services which have remained in public sector hands have been increasingly subject to a standardised central control, or a fragmented and non-elected local control (p. 81). Riddell (1989) has quantified the extent of this change by referring to roughly fifty separate acts which have been passed since 1979, all of which have reduced the independence of local authorities. Additional factors which account for the changing role of local government are related to the context in which it has had to operate which has seen unprecedented changes; local economies have been undermined and socio-demographic changes have resulted in an increase in local government obligations. Goodwin (1992) summarised this upheaval: "the institutions and policy arenas of the local state, together with the social relations which operate through and around them, have all been reformed as Thatcherism has attempted to forge a new historic bloc, as part and parcel of the new economic and political settlement" (p. 94).

Broadly equating with the second role mentioned above, since approximately 1980 virtually all aspects of local government have come to be politicised. Given a fillip by the advent of Thatcherism, the New Left came to prominence in many of Britain's cities. "New Left councillors refused to limit their activities to simply providing social services, housing, refuse collection and libraries... They also challenged established assumptions about the 'non-political' nature of local government"

(Lansley *et al* 1989, p. 91). In this respect, what New Left local authorities, or indeed any local authority that reacted against the developments of the 1980s, represented was a "site where a variety of social bases can demonstrate alternative values and practices" (Goodwin 1992, p. 87). Indeed, there was intense conflict throughout the 1980s as changes were contested.

Having acknowledged the different roles of local government, after the conflict of the 1980s local government *appears* to have become less controversial in so far as there is less resistance to change. It may even be construed that local government is more accepting of central government policy, and thus a component of reformist politics. However, the disempowerment of local government cannot be overlooked when considering its more conciliatory appearance. Further, some elements of local government are supportive of oppressed groups and engage in activities that run counter to the image of local government as an appendage of the state. Equal opportunities policies, anti-racist training, the establishment of Priority Areas are all relevant developments to mention in this context (see Chapter Five).

The final role of local government is that of interceptor and dissipater of conflict, developing as a facet of social democratic class relations (Duncan and Goodwin 1982). In this respect, relatively recent restructuring of the welfare state, of which local government is a key part can be seen as "a continually contested element, within a basically political compromise" (Cochrane 1989, p. 33).

After a period of conflict, restructuring and compromise, "...the local state's prime role has shifted accordingly and it no longer appeals to the whole community as the key provider and manager of an expanding range of collective services, but rather comes increasingly to be seen as the shepherd of the dispossessed (*op cit.*, p. 87). Yet, in Drumchapel some of the 'dispossessed' population are also rejecting public services. Rejection is not by purchasing services from the private sector as is implied by Goodwin; it is by pursuing or even creating alternative options such as taking over the management of public housing (see Chapters Seven and Nine).

2.2.2 COMPONENTS OF DECENTRALISATION

The term 'decentralisation' is vague, principally because it is applicable at a variety of scales and in different contexts. Also, there is no consensus as to the processes that constitute decentralisation. Stewart (1986) sums up this situation: "decentralisation is not a simple or a single concept. It represents the coming together of different purposes and different practices" (p. 38). Thus, it is to be understood that there is not a single definition of decentralisation - it can mean many things to many people. At its most general level, a definition which embraces much of what is labelled decentralisation in local government was provided by Loundes (1991).

According to Loundes (1991), decentralisation is not a new phenomenon, in so far as managerial decentralisation has been in operation for a long time. Such a form of decentralisation is generally associated with function rather than area. Also, Beuret and Stoker (1986) acknowledge that the localisation of service delivery, which is one of the more popular trends observable in local government during the 1980s, is not a new concept; this has been in existence before decentralisation became a popular strategy. Municipal decentralisation has been in evidence across Western Europe since the 1950s (Norton 1987). Specific examples include: Swedish, Norwegian and Spanish Cities, which have experienced local approaches to administration. In Britain, the Local Government Act of 1972 gave councils the opportunity to allow community representatives to have an input into local government by co-opting lay-persons onto committees (Hambleton and Hoggett 1986). Also, previous 'experiments' in area-based approaches are easy to find, one example from the early 1970s being the Sunderland Study (Fudge 1984). Also, Newcastle's Priority Area Teams were established in 1976. To these area teams budgets were devolved to spend on projects. Decisions on how to spend the budget as well as other business was performed via monthly meetings that were open to the public (Stoker 1987a). However, regarding the situation in Newcastle, Hambleton and Hoggett (1986) noted that overall the teams were relatively powerless, and decision-making was strongly centred within local government.

From the above examples, it is clear that decentralisation is not new. Having acknowledged this, reasons for the emergence and establishment of decentralisation as a coherent strategy or set of strategies in the early

1980s needs to be looked at. In the literature three accounts can be isolated, which are bound up with what was seen as being 'wrong' with local government. First, is the critique which focused specifically inside local government and which is concerned with shifting the balance of power: "traditional working-class councillors saw decentralisation as a new version of corporate management and as a mechanism for reducing the power and status of traditional departments and the professionals associated with them" (Alaszewski and Manthorpe 1988, p. 68). Hoggett (1986) states this another way: decentralisation is the first significant attempt to 'break-free' from the constraints inherent within the post-war alliance forged between social democracy and public sector professionals. Overlapping with this point is that decentralisation can be a challenge to the paternalism of old-style Labour politics (Stoker 1987a).

Second, is the argument centred on enhancing participatory democracy, i.e. external decentralisation. "Populist councillors saw decentralisation as a way of increasing public participation and enhancing democratisation. Younger, intellectual councillors saw decentralisation as a method of politicising the people" (Alaszewski and Manthorpe 1988, p. 68).

Local government is normally considered an important facet of democracy, enabling self-determination at the local level. Most immediately, democracy is exercised by the periodic holding of local elections in which residents participate by casting their vote. This system is referred to as 'representative' democracy. By this process representatives are entrusted with decision-making on behalf of the electorate. Hampton (1987), Newton (1976) and Dearlove (1973), have all looked at the role of councillors in this respect. Representative democracy has many flaws, chief of which is that there are groups in society whose interests simply are not represented. Different groups have different experiences of local government. It is widely agreed that higher status groups usually have more knowledge concerning its structure and organisation. Stoker (1987) mentions how more than two-thirds of social groups 'A' and 'B' (as defined by the Registrar General) were well-informed about the functioning of local government, whereas less than one-third of social group 'E' were described as well-informed. The structure of local government and its associated formal procedures can be discriminatory to some people who find many practices alien (Stewart and

Stoker 1988). Also, 'high status' groups make disproportionate use of local services relative to their need. Evidence also exists concerning the distribution of welfare services in such a manner as to favour 'high status' groups (Le Grand 1982). Dunleavy (1980) believes that democracy is a myth; the low, and falling, turn-outs and the undemocratic voting process are two reasons offered to support this assertion. Castells (1983) has also been critical, believing that the "...exercise in democracy is limited to some isolated, although crucial votes, choosing between a limited number of alternatives the origin of which has been largely removed from public information, consciousness, opinion and decision" (p. 317).

An outcome of these problems is a detachment from and a growing insularity to the local population and their diversity of needs. Two critiques of local government considered by Hoggett and Hambleton (1987) elucidate this situation. First, the political critique perceives local government as being a monolithic bureaucracy from which people feel alienated. Second, the management critique perceives local government as being an inward looking organisation, detached from the outside world.

Third, and sometimes traversing both other approaches, is a critique which is focused on fiscal hardship. Due to substantial changes in the fiscal standing of local government, councils have had no option other than to re-consider the services that have traditionally been provided, and to available improve services so that they are viewed more positively by users (Gaster, 1991). Hambleton and Hoggett (1986) relate this reason particularly towards the personal social services. For the personal social services it is thought that there is the need to become more efficient and hence reduce expenditure. A more cynical reference to decentralisation in this respect is that made by Alaszewski and Manthorpe (1988): "during a period of resource constraint, decentralisation may be a mechanism by which the centre tries to pass the responsibility for and administrative costs of decision-making to the periphery, but seeks to retain effective control and the benefits of service provision" (p. 72).

2.2.3 DIFFERENT TYPES OF DECENTRALISATION

Decentralisation comes in many forms and each council is unique in the policies that it has pursued as well as the degree to which it has pursued them.

The nature of decentralisation is influenced by a variety of background factors. The most significant have been identified by Hambleton and Hoggett (1986). First, there is ideology. People can be political pawns: local people have become a political football - used by the Left and Right. The political Right tend to look on local people as a power-base that is an alternative to local government. In contrast, the Left regard local people as a potential force of opposition to central government. The previous reference to Blunkett and Jackson (1987) illustrates this point. In this respect, 'the question for local authorities is not 'should we decentralise?' but what form of decentralisation will further our values and policy priorities?' (Gaster *et al* 1990, p. 1). A second concern lies with the objectives, which are not necessarily clear. If the objectives are many they may not be compatible with each other, nor compatible with the wider aims of local government. Though local authorities are going to have objectives that are unique to each one, Hambleton and Hoggett (1986) have identified some key ones that are likely to underpin all local authorities decentralisation aspirations: (i) improving public services, (ii) improving planning and policy development, and (iii) changing the relationship between public servants and the public. A third and final concern is how decentralisation is undertaken, in that there is more than one pathway which is going to be determined to some extent by the objectives.

How decentralisation is to be undertaken, and how this relates to the organisation of local government depends on the key question of whether the decentralisation of a single-service will take place or whether a multi-service approach is to be adopted. With multi-service decentralisation the services provided necessarily become integrated at the local level (Hambleton and Hoggett 1986). Integration should counter duplication of some aspects of services, and also prevent 'passing the buck', where, for it to take place, team-work with staff from different departments is necessary. Thus, in Rochdale, an authority adopting the multi-service approach, new departments have been created which transcend traditional departmental boundaries (Gaster 1991). Single service decentralisation is more common, a central component of which is increased autonomy over resources for field level professionals (Stewart 1987). An example of where decentralisation of one service department has taken place is the Kent Community Care project (Hambleton and Hoggett 1986).

The outcome of internal decentralisation undertaken by local government have been assessed by Gaster *et al* (1990). They concluded that some criticism is due, mainly because they believe the principle mode of operation is still based on bureaucratic professionalism and representative bureaucracy. To support this claim they mention many estate, neighbourhood and area office structures that have been created within which out-posted staff had control over the resources they needed to deliver an effective service. It is therefore more accurate to refer to developments that have taken place in some local authorities as modifications to existing ways of working. However, these are still positive developments that potentially can have beneficial knock-on effects. As a consequence of these modifications users have better access, inter-departmental working and collaboration are improved, and services have become more responsive due to the opportunity the authority has to take into account the ideas and the opinions of users (Loundes 1991, Stewart 1987). Indeed, this latter point touches a concern expressed elsewhere in the literature - that decentralisation does not have to involve a move away from the state provision of services. The emphasis is placed on the quality of services and not necessarily with who is making decisions about providing them. This reference to quality coincides with a reference by Mulgan (1991) to the lessening of the grip on public expenditure by central government and the ascendancy of concern with quality; this has developed to be a 'buzz-concept' of the 1990s in central and local government.

Shifting attention to that of external decentralisation, there is an interest in welfare pluralism. This is a model of decentralisation which is concerned with expanding and strengthening the non-statutory sector, rather than placing an emphasis on shifting power from within a local authority, outwards to empower local people (Hoggett and Hambleton 1986). Therefore, decentralisation does not have to involve a move away from the state provision of services. The non-statutory sector could be strengthened by increasing the level of consultation, providing more resources and in being selective so as to enable this sector to take over responsibility for some areas of service provision. Welfare pluralism recognises the strengths as well as the weaknesses in local government service provision and acknowledges that some areas could be better served

by the non-statutory sector. It appears that at the heart of any debate on decentralisation is what and why particular areas of service provision should remain the sole responsibility of local government? In other words, there is the question as to the extent to which people could or should be empowered. What needs to be balanced is, on the one hand the fact that some aspects of service provision cannot be done away with; on the other that there has to be an awareness of professional hegemony.

A most important element is that of extending participatory democracy, i.e. external decentralisation. To enhance understanding of external decentralisation and to tie down more specifically the extent of this, Stoker (1987a) suggests that it is useful "... to think in terms of a spectrum where management is entirely controlled by users; through to situations where a joint management committee of local users and local authority officials is responsible; and at the other extreme where users are involved on a consultative basis" (p. 9).

The London Borough of Islington has been one of the more innovative in this respect. A principal aim of decentralisation is to make local government more accessible, in both the geographical and participatory sense. Although there are variations between different councils, a characteristic common to all is a commitment to a more open and accessible form of government (Hambleton and Hoggett 1986). A consequence of this would be a development of policies that have been arrived at in consultation with local people. One initiative associated with Islington Council, is the devolution of power to twenty-four neighbourhood forums. These forums determine how resources are utilised and the manner in which services are provided in each neighbourhood area. This form of decentralisation has been intended to breakdown the 'bureaucracy culture' or professional hegemony, but this has proved problematic.

2.2.4 DECENTRALISATION AND PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

Only a limited amount of attention has focused on the possible problems that decentralisation may create. Indeed, on the whole decentralisation has been viewed as a panacea for the ills of local government, and there has been a reluctance to criticise it for this reason. Some exceptions are Burns *et al* (1994) and Loundes (1991). Advocates of decentralisation have

not adequately acknowledged that there are strengths as well as weaknesses in the aspects of local government that they would like to change. Overall, some good points of local government are overlooked - the baby may be thrown out with the bath water. For example, local government is thought to be too bureaucratic. Yet, there are advantages in bureaucratic procedures: for example, it can counter rash decision-making. Potential pit-falls are also associated with the outcomes of decentralisation; if enough caution is not exercised some undesirable by-products may be generated. There are four principal concerns. First, defining the limits of decentralisation; there is still a role at the centre for local government. Second, old habits die hard: there is the persistence of established cultures inside local government. Third, there is the problem of squaring the circle of the collectivist provision of services *vis-à-vis* meeting individual needs. Fourth, there are a variety of concerns relating to participatory democracy, that is when local people via community groups become involved in decision-making processes. These concerns are explored further when the findings of this research are presented.

It is not realistic to expect that every component of local government could undergo decentralisation. It is not legally possible, and it is undesirable (Loundes 1991). The relationship between the decentralised part of an authority and the non-decentralised part should not be overlooked - otherwise there is a high possibility that power will remain at the centre (Hambleton and Hoggett 1986). At the same time as acknowledging this, decentralisation needs a strong centre that can follow a proposed strategy; otherwise many Left principles could be in jeopardy (Gaster *et al* 1990). The centre of a local authority would be required to provide policy frameworks and strategies, and ensure such universal standards as equal opportunities were implemented and adhered to as well as other important features associated with leadership (Gaster 1991). Clear lines have to be drawn between those decisions which affect overall policy resource distribution and political priorities, which must remain a collective and to some extent a central process; and the decisions which should be taken at a neighbourhood level (Blunkett and Green 1983). Decentralisation should not take place for the sake of it. Rather, what parts of local government could be seen to benefit from such a development should be decentralised (Gaster 1991). It might even be the case that central control is likely to increase regarding policy formation

and will act as a countervailing force to some aspects of decentralisation that are not necessarily an advantage (Alaszewski and Manthorpe 1988).

A second concern of relevance to all local authorities is how the (internal) decentralisation of service provision to area-based offices is implemented. Difficulties persist in that some criticisms of practices associated with service provision are being reproduced. Of relevance here is the persistence of a bureaucratic culture and professional empire-building which protect self-interest. There is an assumption that staff located in neighbourhoods will not be as elitist as their counterparts in centrally-based offices: "decentralising social services without examining their ideology and orientation is unlikely to do more than create smaller versions of existing services and patterns of relationships" (Beresford and Croft 1984, p. 22). Developments such as these add to the complicated nature of decentralisation and provide ammunition with which departments can defend the status quo (Hoggett 1986). There is a possible danger here as they are in a form that is not as familiar and so might be overlooked and unchallenged. 'Going-patch' and community social work are thought to be examples of recouplements, rather than policy revolutions. According to Hoggett (1986) such examples are not characteristic of decentralisation and should not be associated with the concept.

These problems have implications for external decentralisation. Taking the case of Islington, though it was not the intention of the Council to devolve power entirely, the actual development of decentralisation has been limited by deep-rooted administrative systems that are not always suited to decentralisation because traditional ideologies have yet to be won over. An additional dimension is that of professional encroachment by the 'back-door' into neighbourhood facilities (Smith, T. 1989). This may occur particularly where local people are involved in decision-making processes and where professional advice is still necessary. In other words, the self-interest of professionals may persist. More broadly, there is a possibility that decentralisation could be exploited *per se* or watered-down for users other than those originally intended (Boddy 1984).

Also decentralisation is not always linked to other developments that are taking place. In particular, there has not been a sufficient link-up with the

expansion of the voluntary sector. Such neglect could lead to an unnecessarily complicated provision of services: "the problem might loom large of how people would find out who did what, who decided what, who represented who and who was accountable for what" (Gyford 1987, p. 62). A scenario of this type will not empower people, who will be confused and despondent due to the uncoordinated choice, and impenetrable and disjointed provision of services (*op. cit.*).

A third concern is related to a central tenet of the Left: 'equality of distribution' (Blunkett and Green 1983). The gross inequalities that prevail in society demand that some attempt be made to redress such imbalances. Equality of distribution can be most effectively undertaken through collectivist means. Thus, positive discrimination of a sort can be observed in most local authorities, though especially in Labour-controlled authorities. In SRC, Areas of Priority Treatment have been designated (see Chapter Five). It is perhaps ironic that some elements of decentralisation may undermine this. Therefore, a challenge for local government is to resolve the difference between providing services that meet the needs of individuals and providing services for the whole of a community. In this respect, decentralisation may be viewed as a mechanism which is further fracturing the welfare state, which is the most striking example of collectivist provision. Loundes (1991), has focused especially on this dilemma. Though less of a priority in their work, Gyford (1987), Hambleton and Hoggett (1986), Hoggett (1986), Pollitt (1988), and Stoker (1987) are further references to this dilemma. In the opposite vein, Hoggett (1986) has argued that collectivism is not being undermined, rather decentralisation would take place within "the framework of an enhanced and revitalised collectivist provision" (p. 23). Yet, arguably, this assertion is too general as the impact that decentralisation is likely to have on services provided collectively is going to be dependent on the type of decentralisation taking place. As previously mentioned there is not a single blue-print.

The expansion of participatory democracy, i.e. external decentralisation, can pose problems. This is not to suggest that this should not take place. Rather, caution needs to be exercised when promoting its extension. Hambleton and Hoggett (1986) acknowledge that decentralisation is intended "to benefit particular sections of the population more than

others" (p. 7). One means of circumventing this outcome is to limit it to specific geographical areas, i.e. those identified to be the most 'deprived'. Glasgow exemplifies this option well, an option which also ties in with the above discussion on the 'equality of distribution'. However, Hambleton and Hoggett (1986) believe that there are disadvantages to limiting decentralisation to specific geographical areas, because a "selective approach fails to offer a fundamental challenge to on-going local government policies and practices" (p. 16).

With participatory democracy, there are additional concerns. First, who should participate in any decision-making processes? It would seem most appropriate that this should be users of a particular service. However, 'service user' is a term that is often taken for granted, and is not so easily defined. Pollitt (1988) identified several categories of service user: (i) current users, (ii) eligible applicants for a service, though not yet receiving that service, (iii) those that are eligible but are non-recipients, (iv) future users, though not presently eligible, and (v) gatekeepers. The debate over who ought to be involved in decision-making processes is something that has been relatively neglected in comparison to other components of decentralisation.

Over and above the challenges of defining service users, there are difficulties associated with the people who do actually participate and/or become representatives of a community. More precisely, concern is centred on the potential that decentralisation holds to lift the lid-off of inequalities between people with respect to resources and opportunities to become involved in service provision (Beuret and Stoker 1986). The manifestation of inequality in this respect can have repercussions at two levels: that of the individual and at that of community groups. Regarding individuals, a fear exists over the control of neighbourhood forums by oligarchs and parochial elites (Stoker 1987). In a similar vein, Deakin (1984) warns against "a self-appointed clique taking decisions unaccountable to and divorced from local people" (p. 29). Davies (1987) has also expressed similar concerns, believing that the majority of people do not have an association with neighbourhood groups, consequently their views may not be expressed. Hence, those groups who do have a chance to become involved in decision-making processes, need to be assessed as to whether they are credible and representative. A more

fundamental problem is that of involving all sections of the community. Difficulties in involving ethnic minorities and the elderly, for example, are well known and widely recognised. In the case of Islington, under-representation of some sections of the community was countered by allocating a set number of positions on forums (Hoggett and Hambleton 1987).

At the level of community groups something of a cultural divide can exist between long established groups and newer ones (Lansley *et al* 1989). This can lead to conflict between diverse groupings which can hinder progress when it comes to priorities and the allocation of resources. The heterogeneous nature of a community was brought into clearer focus by such difficulties and forced the acknowledgement that it is not a question of one diverse community but a series of communities (see Chapter Eight). Loundes (1991) stressed that local authorities must ensure that all groups have the opportunity to express their views. There may be more laudable groups that have not articulated their demands to the same degree.

More fundamentally, local authorities will have to discriminate between groups regarding the allocation of funding, as this is not finite (Loundes 1991). With respect to all of the concerns mentioned, at some stage final decisions are going to have to be made about the allocation of resources and the fact that some people are going to benefit, whereas others are not (Gyford 1987). Effectively, local authorities are going to be indicating that some issues are more 'deserving' than others. To some extent the dilemma over equality of service provision *vis-à-vis* meeting the needs of individuals and/or community groups, is again being played out. In addition to, though perhaps in conjunction with, the making of such difficult decisions is the possibility of political bias regarding support for community groups. Specifically, the role of political parties is queried, and Gyford (1987) is sceptical that they will not be active. A dimension, noted by Lansley *et al* (1989) is that there can be variable levels of involvement by community groups due to councillors, perhaps, being selective in what they choose to hear.

2.2.5 THE IMPACT OF DECENTRALISATION ON LOCAL PEOPLE

Service-users have received little attention in the decentralisation literature. At best, service-users are referred to on the tail-end of

discussions concerned with other components of decentralisation. This is ironic when a good deal of the argument in support of decentralisation is centred on the benefit to local people. Alaszewski and Manthorpe (1988) are particularly critical of the neglect. Other writers have also been critical, Beuret (1987) comments on the absence of the views of citizens in the work of Hoggett and Hambleton (1987); the overwhelming majority of views expressed are those of middle-aged, white, male professionals. In a similar though separate vein, Smith, T. (1989) has called for the establishment of links between work that is being undertaken on decentralisation with work on formal/informal welfare systems and social networks. Smith's concern is pitched at a more conceptual level than the criticisms of Alaszewski and Manthorpe and Beuret. Nonetheless, by implication there is a need to devote attention to the views of local people.

Though the impact of decentralisation on local people has been relatively neglected, there are some studies that have focused on this concern. One of the few empirical studies from the users perspective was undertaken in Walsall, which as one of the earliest to decentralise has also been among the more radical local authorities. In Walsall, it was found that "in the process, many users who had previously felt intimidated and helpless when faced with a remote bureaucracy, were given the self-confidence and practical means to discuss, demand, argue and oppose" (Beuret 1987, p. 58). Second, is the work of Croft and Beresford (1986), who studied consumers' perspectives on recent changes in the delivery of social services in East Sussex. Their findings point to a lack of knowledge on the part of the public over social services *per se*, an observation which was not helped by the fact that social service departments were failing to consult people effectively. Not surprisingly, the occurrence of meetings on a more frequent basis in order to obtain more information and what participation would entail were important views expressed by interviewees. The work of Croft and Beresford (1986) is qualitatively distinct to the research presented in this thesis. First, their work is concerned with one specific service; this research takes a broader approach and embraces a range of other issues simultaneously. Second, the nature of the changes that Croft and Beresford researched were pre-planned, established and essentially associated with internal decentralisation. In contrast, this research has taken a bottom-up approach looking at developments and their impact

that are more associated with external decentralisation, and that were not so pre-planned and finely tuned.

A third and final piece of research to mention was undertaken by Stoker and Loundes (1991). Their work comes closest in nature to the research undertaken here, in so far as they were concerned with an evaluation of decentralisation in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, particularly from customer and citizen perspectives. However, there are two principal distinctions. First, quantitative research techniques were used to obtain customer perspectives. They rely almost entirely on a MORI poll, in which divisions of satisfied/dissatisfied were used. This emphasis on quantitative techniques, though appropriate for the nature of research undertaken in Tower Hamlets, would be limiting for this research (see Chapter Three). Second, and in relation to a comparison of customer perspectives of services before and after decentralisation, reasons why customers were more satisfied was basic. For example, there is no breakdown along the lines of gender, or in relation to different issues. The only variables introduced were those of the ethnic origin and location within the Borough of the customer.

Other than the three examples cited, there has been some other interest shown in local people/users of services. This has tended to be at a more conceptual level and/or in relation to the logistics of decentralisation. Hambleton and Hoggett (1986) have noted that "the producers and consumers of a council's services know far more about how things are and how they could be improved than either councillors or senior officers. There is a tremendously rich store of knowledge and imagination here waiting to be uncorked" (p. 5). Beyond this acknowledgement, the literature has been concerned more with the significance of decentralisation for local people and how the nature and extent of the involvement of local people can vary. What is required is dependent on the type of decentralisation that is taking place. Earlier on in this Chapter, the variety of forms that decentralisation can take were assessed. Community groups, committees, councillors and professionals need to understand the limits of decentralisation and what their role is, for example, whether they can only advise, or where they have more power to exercise (Loundes 1991). A related point is what local people believe is required of themselves. If a lot is expected, but little or no support is

provided, then people are more likely to feel alienated and negative about decentralisation. Conversely, if support is provided then people are more likely to feel positive and become more involved.

2.3 CONCLUSIONS: DOVETAILING DECENTRALISATION AND LOCAL STATE/CIVIL SOCIETY CHANGES

Some of the features of decentralisation can be linked in a more conceptual sense with the impact on civil society. A useful observation is made by Mulgan (1991), regarding the poor demarcation between the state and civil society, the indistinct boundary between public and private space. Perhaps a more precise observation is that distinctions between spheres have shifted or become increasingly blurred. Through external decentralisation, functions of the state have become relocated increasingly within civil society. With external decentralisation and the (partial) taking over of responsibility for some services, what was formerly the preserve of the private sphere has become the public.

However, to refer to boundaries between these spheres should not imply that interaction between them is prevented. On the contrary, as emphasised by Hambleton (1987) there is a correlation between stimulating the non-statutory sector and area-based (state) initiatives. The significance of this link between the non-statutory sector and the (local) state is that the traditional cleavage between provider and user has been bridged, this relates to the previous reference to welfare pluralism. Perhaps a new cleavage has developed within local government (Gaster 1991), and field-work staff may look upon area based initiatives in a different light to senior management (Hambleton and Hoggett, 1986).

External decentralisation has the potential to extend the boundary of civil society towards those social groups who may have become marginalised or even excluded, and who may comprise the underclass. This potential is based on the assertion that one facet of external decentralisation, that of direct user democracy, can provide the opportunity for (politically) marginalised sections of society to participate in decision-making processes, because participation is more accessible and of direct relevance to peoples' interests (Stoker 1987). Participation within a framework of locally based external decentralisation can be of greater relevance to people

because the issues that are being considered are going to be locally based and have some degree of relevance to peoples lives. The sorts of issues that receive attention and more importantly how they receive attention are characteristics that can distinguish members of the underclass from mainstream society. This point is developed further in Chapters Seven and Eight, where the nature of issues which Drumchapel people take-up and pursue is looked at. In these respects, relatively marginalised and therefore powerless sections of society, including women, ethnic minorities, and economically poor people, are most likely to benefit from decentralisation (Beuret 1987). Regarding the position of women in particular, their participation in community groups, in conjunction with how community and the home are interconnected vis-à-vis the concept of public and private space, are re-introduced in relation to other concepts and research findings in Chapter Nine.

New patterns of social life that are the outcome of the disorganisation of capitalism and the processes of restructuring can influence 'traditional' demarcations between (female) private and (male) public space, and how women perceive themselves in relation to the (local) state in particular and to men in general. These new patterns may lead to the emergence of new issues around which conflict is centred. This point is of particular importance because it highlights how the application of the underclass concept to areas such as Drumchapel becomes increasingly complicated. The assertion that the multiple and overlapping social groups that can collectively constitute the underclass in British society (see Table 2.3), means that there is the potential for new lines of conflict and contestation to develop between some of these constituent social groups of the underclass. In the case of Drumchapel, this may be between long term unemployed men and some groups of women, including those who are lone parents or share other characteristics including a reliance on Income Support and residency in poor quality housing.

However, there is a more critical perspective on this form of empowerment, which overlaps with the previous mention of the characteristics of the shadow state theory (Wolch 1990). In brief, there is the possibility of using local people, particularly women, as a cheap source of labour. The effects of disorganised capitalism are being manifested in relation to women and waged/un-waged work. Where previously

women may have relied on the wages earned by a male partner or they may have engaged in waged work themselves, now women may be unwaged or engage in waged work on a limited basis. Instead women may devote much of their time to activities that would have previously been the preserve of the state.

A final concern relates to community groups and their relationship with local government, within which more specific concerns of Chapters Seven and Eight can be located. For some writers concern is centred on the possible co-optation or compromise of community action. Cockburn (1977) is critical of how local government is responsive "when territorial working-class community groups arise there is a set of officers and councillors, in a sense waiting for them, to whom the community group is of vital relevance and who have their own preconceptions which they will bring to bare on its activities" (p. 159). Pickvance (1976) reached a similar conclusion after looking at the role of local authorities and describes how inter-departmental conflicts over scarce resources can lead to different departments harnessing the potential that informal groups possess with regard to bolstering their own arguments and defending their position. This highlights the contradictions in, and the diverse role of, local government. It is at the level of the Drumchapel Initiative and the Community Organisations Council (Chapter Six) that this contradiction is most immediately manifested. A theme that is also apparent in both Cockburn's and Pickvance's work is that of manipulation. Alternatively, that the development of groups can be hindered by exclusion from developments due to the discriminatory practices of the state was highlighted by Dunleavy (1981), who found housing-based community groups were often excluded from housing issues and policy development because of their attitudes and expectations.

In contrast, more recent work has highlighted the positive aspects of the relationship between community groups and local government and identified reasons for mutual support. Related to the politicisation of local government has been a changing attitude towards, and a developing relationship with, the public. It has been acknowledged by many on the Left that informal groups that exist outside of the political mainstream have an invaluable contribution to make. Blunkett and Jackson (1987) considered that such groups "... speak directly on behalf of their members

or users, and the important task is to give the energy they represent a permanent and assured place in local politics" (p. 92). An example of where councils have supported and worked with campaigns against privatisation initiatives is that of Housing Action Trusts in which selected local authority housing estates were to be turned over to private landlords. Campaigns such as these have their roots in local communities. Labour authorities tapped into this grassroots reaction and provided publicity and advice.

This Chapter has aimed to not only cover a variety of issues in isolation, but more importantly to establish how some aspects of these diverse issues are inter-linked. A central plank of this research is to redress the neglect of the impact of decentralisation on local people. A pre-requisite has been a consideration of literature that is concerned with recent changes in civil society, and the relationship that local government has with civil society. It has proved useful to refer to such discussions about contemporary society as changes in the voluntary sector, shifts in the public/private dichotomy, the citizenship debate, and the inequalities that prevail with respect to gender. These concerns enhance understanding and broaden perspectives on the research undertaken.

The motives behind and the variety of reasons to account for decentralisation have been mentioned; principally these are changes in society and stresses on local government. An increase in demand-making by different social groupings is a reflection of the continuing stresses under which local government has been placed. Growth in demands are also a cause of wider changes in society, for example, the growing cleavage between 'haves' and 'have nots'. Disadvantaged social groups have placed greater pressure on the state, in conjunction with central state stresses on local government. In addition, representative democracy has failed some sections of society, which feeds into explanations for the enhancement of participatory democracy. The notion of active and entitlement citizenship resurfaces in relation to the representative and participatory structures of the Drumchapel Initiative and the Community Organisations Council.

TABLE 2.4: THE MAIN ISSUES AROUND WHICH THE RESEARCH FINDINGS ARE PRESENTED AND HOW THESE ARE LOOKED AT IN FUTURE CHAPTERS

Issue	There have been significant changes in the structure and functioning of society and of the state. These changes have had an effect on the nature of the relationship between society and the state.
1	

Key Questions	Method of illustration
a) How are the demands and stresses which act on local government relevant to understanding the nature of decentralisation? Local government in particular has been placed in a reactionary position, in trying to deal with the economic and social restructuring that has significantly impacted on the population that it serves.	<p>1) SRC's and GDC's approach to tackling poverty is looked at and a potted history of both authorities regarding decentralisation is provided. A particular perspective is on how SRC and GDC have developed their approach to tackling disadvantage and multiple deprivation, and how they have increasingly looked at empowering marginalised sections of the Glasgow population. <i>(considered in Chapter 5)</i></p> <p>2) How decentralisation has been a tool of expedience and compromise on the part of local government is illustrated. <i>(considered in Chapters 6 & 7)</i></p>
b) How have divisions between the state and civil society become blurred after the upheaval and restructuring of disorganised capitalism in general and the effects of decentralisation? What is the importance, if any, of the blurring of these divisions for the positioning of disempowered social groups that may form part of an underclass?	<p>1) How community groups have affected the boundaries distinguishing activities associated with the state or civil society, and how the roles of each sphere have been re-defined. The relevance of this re-defining for specified social groups is then explored. <i>(considered in Chapters 7 & 9)</i></p> <p>2) Conceptually, what the significance of shifts in boundaries for the welfare state and for the shadow state is looked at. <i>(considered in Chapters 7 & 9)</i></p>
c) How changes in the role of the state as provider have affected the lives of Drumchapel people, and how have people responded to these changes? Underlying this question, is the response of vulnerable social groups to cut-backs or the stagnation of service provision and how these same social groups have shaped the changing face of state service provision at a very local level.	1) Reactions to restructuring of the welfare state, whether this be bottom-up or top-down decentralisation. The activities of community groups in relation to service provision are looked at. <i>(considered in Chapters 4, 6, 7 & 9)</i>
d) The effects of marginalisation and exclusion have taken their toll on social groups that comprise the Drumchapel population and who are potentially members of an underclass. In turn, how have some sections of the Drumchapel population have empowered themselves?	1) The level of activity in Drumchapel has been assessed, i.e. the increase in the number of community groups and the range of issues with which they are involved. <i>(considered in Chapters 7 & 9)</i>

Issue	The citizenship debate and the emphasis on rights and obligations is of potential importance to the empowerment of an underclass which has been disfranchised on many fronts.
2	

Key Questions	Method of illustration
a) How does active citizenship, as manifested through community involvement, lead to empowerment? i.e. how can the opportunities created by decentralisation potentially enhance the quality of life of Drumchapel people?	1) Through case studies, including the DAG and KCEDG, the nature and extent of empowerment as perceived by local people is explored. <i>(considered in Chapters 6, 7 & 9)</i> 2) Developing out of the above point and placing gains in a wider context, the strength of alternative citizenship is looked at. <i>(considered in Chapter 7)</i>

Issue	Concern with decentralisation has focused predominantly on its appeal. In contrast, the less appealing and/or problematic aspects have been overlooked. In particular, the difficulties that decentralisation processes can encounter and the problems that decentralisation can create have been neglected. For example, there is a dilemma within local authorities and on the political Left in general of squaring the circle of the equity of distribution versus the different needs of the population. Decentralisation raises the profile of this dilemma.
3	

Key Questions	Method of illustration
a) What are the differences in the level of social and economic well-being between different sections of the Drumchapel population? This concern is of direct relevance to any consideration of the applicability of the underclass concept to Drumchapel. Importantly, the fact that the Drumchapel population is not one homogeneous whole and that there are distinctions between different neighbourhoods in Drumchapel can be highlighted. Therefore, the underclass concept cannot be applied in blanket fashion.	1) Overview of Drumchapel and the constituent neighbourhoods. The variation in characteristics and developments in each of the neighbourhoods is looked at. <i>(considered in Chapter 4)</i>
b) Is there the persistence of established cultures inside of local government and the defence of the status quo regarding its relationship with the public? In particular, have any of the practices and attitudes of local government been disempowering to local people and therefore entrenched their position on the margins of society? Following on from this concern, are there any developments, whether associated with internal or external decentralisation, which have had an effect on such practices or are some developments perpetuating established cultures? Underpinning these concerns is whether or not local government judges potential members of the underclass in ways that disempower them, and if decentralisation has cut across this situation what have been the effects of this?	1) Considered are group member perspectives on local government attitudes, what they perceive to be 'right' and 'wrong' with local government. <i>(considered in Chapters 6 & 7)</i>

<p>c) Is the allocation of resources by the authorities to community groups and/or neighbourhoods perceived as fair or are there inequalities? This has implications for how people view some components of top-down decentralisation. Foremost, how receptive people are to decentralisation will be influenced by their perceptions of decentralisation processes. More broadly, the pattern of resource allocation will have implications for how decentralisation is impacting on the population, regarding such concerns as citizenship and empowerment. It is essential to take into consideration such concerns when looking at the proximity of different social groups in Drumchapel to the underclass concept.</p>	<p>1) Detailed are distinctions between groups, in some aspects of their relationship with local government, e.g. the level of contact, extent of support and knowledge and receipt of resources available. <i>(considered in Chapters 3 & 7)</i></p>
<p>d) Do community groups understand the limits of decentralisation, i.e. what the role of local structures is and what their role can be?</p>	<p>1) An analysis and comparison of what community group members see the purpose of decentralisation as manifested in local established structures to be. <i>(considered in Chapters 6 & 7)</i></p> <p>1) The nature of the relationship that community groups have with service departments. <i>(considered in Chapter 6)</i></p> <p>1) Perceptions of structures introduced by local government (DI and COC) that are there to support the community. <i>(considered in Chapter 6)</i></p>

<p>Issue</p>	<p>In the decentralisation literature there has been a relative neglect of the mutual significance of decentralisation and community. As is illustrated, there are different characteristics of community that can broadly be associated with different neighbourhoods and that are partially influenced by the social group(s) that reside therein. There are particular characteristics of the Drumchapel population that can be better understood through the underclass concept and that are relevant to the development of decentralisation.</p>
<p>4</p>	
<p>Key Questions</p>	<p>Method of illustration</p>
<p>a) Are the community related values etc. that may be held by the Drumchapel population distinct, especially if compared with the rest of society. In turn how any distinct values etc. relate to the characteristics of the underclass concept is considered.</p>	<p>1) An exploration of the feelings of association with neighbourhoods and perceptions of community and community activity amongst different sections of the Drumchapel population is undertaken. <i>(considered in Chapter 8)</i></p>
<p>b) How do the characteristics of community have the potential to be important to the processes of decentralisation? More precisely, it is the characteristics of community that have been shaped by the characteristics that form part of the underclass concept, and include marginalisation, exclusion and the development of alternative structures of support that are of particular interest.</p>	<p>1) How community group members perceive their own neighbourhood, other neighbourhoods and Drumchapel as a whole since developments began is looked at. <i>(considered in Chapter 8)</i></p>

<p>c) What has been the impact of decentralisation on the structure and functioning of communities in Drumchapel? This concern is very much the reverse of point (b) above, and considers if and how decentralisation processes have increased feelings of marginalisation and exclusion or have provided opportunities for local people to pursue concerns that enable them to feel included in something else and therefore empowered in different ways from those perhaps more usually associated with mainstream society.</p>	<p>1) To look at the established characteristics of community, as based on geography and interest in Drumchapel. (<i>considered in Chapter 8</i>)</p>
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<p>Issue</p>	<p>Within the Drumchapel population there are many social groups (see Table 2.3), to which the application of the underclass concept may be pertinent. Within many of these social groups there are distinctions between women and men regarding needs that can potentially be met by some form of public service provision. These distinctions along the lines of gender are important in any analysis of the impact of decentralisation on the population of Drumchapel.</p>
<p>5</p>	

Key Questions	Method of illustration
<p>a) Multiple deprivation has had some effect on the population structure and the characteristics of community in Drumchapel. With these points acting as a backdrop, what is the significance of gender to involvement in community based groups?</p>	<p>1) Quantified are the number of women and men who are involved, and their designations within group structures. Other characteristics of group members are explored, including their history of involvement. (<i>considered in Chapter 9</i>)</p>
<p>b) Have there been any distinctions between the genders regarding the impact of decentralisation?</p>	<p>1) The nature of issues that are pursued by community groups, and the tangible aspects of developments are looked at. Whether these developments are of greater benefit to one gender in particular is then assessed. (<i>considered in Chapter 9</i>)</p>
<p>c) What are the interconnections between the community (as public space) and the home (as private space) and how have these changed with the effects of decentralisation?</p>	<p>1) In understanding how and why changes in the public and private have occurred, this is a reciprocal concern between the processes of decentralisation and the underclass concept as it has been applied to the Drumchapel population, as there is an exploration of whether the mix of the features associated with decentralisation on the one hand and the characteristics of the Drumchapel population on the other hand resulted in the development of distinct interconnections between the spheres of the community and the home? (<i>considered in Chapter 9</i>)</p> <p>2) In considering certain characteristics of the underclass, i.e. within a framework of exclusion and disempowerment, how the crossover between the two spheres is of especial importance to the involvement of women is explored. (<i>considered in Chapter 6, 7 & 9</i>)</p>

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CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

A crucial component in any research process is deciding on the range of research methods to employ in order to gather data. The origins of this study, and its position in the wider context of restructuring in state and civil society largely underpinned the nature of the research process along with the actual tools of research that were employed. Decisions of this kind were also shaped by the related philosophical and theoretical position of the work appropriate to meet the objectives discussed previously.

To progress from this starting point, it is necessary to look at the value of the methods chosen. The most appropriate entry into doing this is to re-cap on the core objectives of this work once again. This work did not have a neat set of questions to be answered. There was the very broad aim of what the impact of local government decentralisation has been on the people of Drumchapel. This can be broken down further into three broad concerns: (i) to assess the knowledge of and perceptions held by local people of developments associated with decentralisation, (ii) to look at how residents have provided some level of input into some areas of service provision, and (iii) to consider the effects of decentralisation, for example, whether or not decentralisation has provided opportunities for local people. What is clear with these listed concerns is that people had to have the opportunity to 'speak for themselves'; people were sharing their thoughts and feelings and the research methods employed had to permit this.

It was decided that a multi-method approach, i.e. more than one research method, was the most appropriate way to proceed because of the range of objectives. To explain this approach further and to introduce the content of sections to follow, the three stages to the research can be mentioned. First, background information regarding what Strathclyde Regional Council (SRC) and Glasgow District Council (GDC) had done in the way of decentralisation was required (Chapter Five). This was an information gathering exercise to provide a back-cloth to the main body of the research, and relied on documentary analysis and some interviews with key

persons in both authorities. This stage is thought to be self-explanatory, and so is not pursued any further.

The main thrust of this research has been the gathering of data that relates to psychological constructs, the main examples being: attitudes, perceptions, perspectives, thoughts and feelings. This essentially qualitative based information was gathered during the process of semi-structured interviews with community group members. This was thought to be the most appropriate method to employ as there were contradictions and ambiguities in the nature of data sought, and semi-structured interviews were the most effective means of teasing these out.

Finally, some sort of quantifiable assessment as to the impact of decentralisation was required, and it was decided that the most appropriate means of undertaking this was via a questionnaire survey of a sample of the resident population. Some aspects of the survey can be looked upon as surface information in so far as it was factual. Other aspects of the survey dealt with 'submerged' information, exploring the attitudes that people held.

3.1 METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL UNDERPINNING

Qualitative research embraces a wide variety of approaches. What is common to all, is that they aim to "uncover the nature of the social world through an interpretation and empathic understanding of how people act in and give meaning to their own lives" (Eyles 1986, p. 380).

Qualitative techniques have been employed by anthropologists, psychologists and sociologists for some considerable time; for example in 1934 by Znaniecki in his work *The Method of Sociology*, published by Farrer and Rhinehart (as identified by Eyles 1986), and by Becker *et al* (1961) in the field of anthropology. In contrast, human geographers began to acknowledge and make use of this approach to research from the late 1960s onwards.

The cross-fertilisation of ideas that often take place between disciplines, and the challenging of the quantitative stance that dominated geography, largely accounts for the shift away from purely quantitative research.

Though there are distinctions between qualitative and quantitative approaches, and there has been an emphasis on the appropriateness of the former, these two methods can complement one another. Using more than one method is more likely to be favoured and is often referred to as triangulation (Burgess *et al* 1984). In relation to this research, the qualitative approach aimed to uncover and gather data that quantitative techniques would have missed. On a more theoretical level, Eyles (1986) has referred to qualitative techniques as representing the "methodological equivalent of the philosophical critique of positivism" (p. 382).

3.1.1 THE SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW: CONTEXT AND APPROPRIATENESS

The interview *per se* is the core component of the qualitative approach to research. A broad definition of the interview is that it is a "conversation between interviewer and respondent with the purpose of eliciting certain information from the respondent" (Moser and Kalton 1971, p. 271). There are a variety of forms of interview, that can be located on a continuum that ranges from the most formal, i.e. the interview is characterised by pre-planned highly structured questions, through to the informal, i.e. not pre-planned, and shares characteristics with the conversation.

FIGURE 3.1: DIFFERENT TYPES OF INTERVIEW

INFORMAL				FORMAL
Unsystematic questions Completely unstructured	Casual conversation	'Unguided'/ Non-directive	'Gently guided' /Focused, Semi-structured	Firmly guided/ Systematic/ Standardised Highly structured
			- --- - ---	

(Source: Gardner 1978, p. 59).

The characteristics of the interviews that comprise this research have been located on the above continuum by a box; it is gently guided though there were some elements of the unguided as well. To understand more precisely the approach to interviewing adopted, some descriptions of interviewing techniques can be mentioned. A gently guided interview, which approximates with the style of interview adopted in this research: "leaves the interviewer to decide, on the spot, how to work in and phrase questions" (Coolican 1990, p. 81). Though describing the non-directive interview, which was further along the continuum than the interview style of this research, Gardner (1978) nonetheless does capture some points that are of importance to this research: "the method avoids imposing any

hypothesis or any assumption about the existence of an attitude... whatever is of importance to the respondents is what he (*sic*) chooses to talk about" (p. 57). This account makes a point that is of central importance to the approach to this research.

Early acknowledgement of the advantages of the more informal approach to interviewing in a context that bears some relation to this research was made by Gardner (1978) on the work of Zweig (1948) and his book *Labour, Life and Poverty*. In order to research attitudes amongst the working class, Zweig found that casual conversation with working class men was more fruitful in eliciting the desired information than questionnaires and formal interviews (Gardner 1978).

"The semi-structured interview is appropriate to use when the flexibility of informal interviewing is necessary but a framework to interviews is also given and so ensures that all relevant topics are discussed" (Gardner 1978, p. 95). A broad idea of what is to be researched is concerned with perceptions, attitudes and understandings. Smith (1988), in particular has questioned "the primacy of common sense understanding as the foundation of all formal systems of knowledge" (p. 19). The problem is how to understand the world and the phenomena that it contains in a manner that is characteristic of the individuals or groups that are the focus of research. Central to the point being made is the concept of meaning (interpretations of reality). Upon first thought, 'meaning' is a straight forward term, but it harbours a complex maze of sub-meanings and alternative interpretations which substitute different realities for different individuals. But these meanings are based on the same phenomena. The bridge between alternative realities can in some way be constructed with the utilisation of research techniques which enable "the acquisition of insider knowledge" (Eyles 1988, p. 2).

The research to be undertaken in Drumchapel had to satisfy criteria associated with the conditions in which communication between the researcher and researched took place. Interviewees had to be able to articulate their own thoughts and feelings by drawing upon a repertoire that was their own. If interviewees felt 'uncomfortable', then such a situation was likely to jeopardise the quality and meaning of information relayed. The vocabulary used could not be superimposed onto the

interview; otherwise the conditions under which communication takes place would be 'sanitised'. What would have been gained was the interviewer's meaning and not the interviewee's. Consequently, artificial constructs that may guide the research, such as 'common sense' and 'academic' knowledge were reduced to a minimum. What remains is a basic use of language which is as far as possible non-judgemental and free of assumptions.

These points undermine the use of formal interviews; in the search for meanings exploration is a key concept allied to which is the need for flexibility to ebb and flow with the present situation. Formal interviews are standardised; the researcher must have a clear idea of the information sought and the direction in which the interview is going to proceed. The major disadvantage with the formal interview is that specific parameters are artificially constructed around replies, the consequence of which is that the knowledge which respondents share is likely to be 'forced' in particular directions.

With the informal or semi-structured interview, flexibility is possible in so far as use can be made of the most effective vocabulary *vis-à-vis* each interviewee. The order of procedure is not of importance, the researcher can raise questions in a manner that is most suitable to the situation. Throughout an informal interview the researcher has to be sensitive regarding linking-up what is being said by the interviewee to a wider context. Though there is flexibility, there should be a pre-planned framework in which broad areas for discussion are listed. Thus, the interview has direction, though within parameters that are sufficiently wide to enable the interviewee to develop their own thoughts.

3.1.2 SAMPLING PROCEDURE FOR GROUP INTERVIEWS

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in a number of different contexts. Two concerns which are looked at here are that some interviews were with one person, whereas others constituted a group interview, i.e. there were at least three people present. Second, the location of interviews varied *vis-à-vis* the hierarchical scheme presented in Chapter One. With these points borne in mind, individuals and/or groups that were interviewed were sorted into the following categories:

- (i) informal community group committee members.
There are a number of groups and organisations that are in operation in Drumchapel that represent a cross-section of local 'needs': education, housing, child care, and health based ,
- (ii) members of the Drumchapel Initiative and the Community Organisations Council,
- (iii) local government officers in service departments, and
- (iv) local government councillors.

Given the 'bottom-up' emphasis of this study, the first group is of particular importance. This research was principally concerned with the attitudes of local people to the impact of decentralisation on Drumchapel. The remaining groups which can be considered together, though of importance, occupy the role of providing more "objective" information, the value of which was to afford comparison and contrast with interview data provided by the informal groups.

With respect to the group interviews a sampling strategy was largely a redundant feature, in that from the outset the intention was to interview every community group that was active within the boundary of Drumchapel. A list of the groups operating in Drumchapel was obtained from the COC. However, the list was not up-to-date. Community groups which were difficult to contact were often reached during the process of interviews with other community groups, and this was the most effective way of gaining information. Initially, community groups were contacted by letter, though only one-fifth of letters sent were responded to. As this was not always productive, it was followed by the telephoning of groups, or calling in person to the appropriate address. After some persistence, (and good fortune) 27 community groups were contacted. All were interviewed between July 1991 and October 1991, always within Drumchapel either in a community flat (with which many groups have been provided), a members home, or a community centre/public building at which the group held its meetings.

In addition to community based groups, individuals located in more formal structures were interviewed. Two levels within the formal structure were discernible: community based organisations, i.e. the

Drumchapel Initiative (DI) and the Community Organisations Council (COC), and SRC and GDC departments. The DI and COC employed a relatively small number of staff. As all were based in Drumchapel contacting as many as possible was not difficult. More problematic was establishing who to contact within SRC and GDC departments. There were a variety of locations where important potential interviewees could be found: local offices in Drumchapel concerned with Housing or Social Work, district or divisional offices and council headquarters.

As local government is a large and complex organisation, knowing who to contact was essential. Contact was established by two means: community group members mentioned relevant contacts within local government either as a direct recommendation or names were mentioned during general discussion. Additionally, more formalised channels were used to establish contact, i.e. a letter and/or a formal introduction by a local government officer/worker, which contrasts with the more informal approach to meeting community group members. Individuals who were contacted inside local government can be regarded as gate-keepers to relevant knowledge and/or other necessary contacts. Those interviewed were identified as key individuals who worked in Drumchapel at the time of conducting the research or had done so previously. Alternatively, potential interviewees were identified because at least some of their work activities related to Drumchapel.

3.2 THE INTERVIEW STRUCTURE

The process of a typical meeting was as follows. The interviewer's role as a facilitator rather than a participant was explained to the group; it centred on questions or statements being made in order to generate discussion. Before interviews took place an agenda was prepared. This was quite basic in so far as specific questions were not listed in advance. The agenda of the meeting was run through briefly with the group, by mentioning the headings of each section. The first section doubled as an 'ice-breaker' between the researcher and the group members as all members present would be able to respond.

1. Introduction of each community group member present: name, status within the group, length of membership, reasons for involvement, membership of other groups in Drumchapel.

2. To all within the group: request for background information on history of community group: length of establishment, reasons, number of members, regularity of meetings, main issues that are dealt with, communication with client group, variation in the level of interest by local people over the years, gender and age composition of the group.

3. If applicable, the nature of the relationship with appropriate service department, for example tenants associations with the Housing Department. This included extent of contact, perception of department, successes and failures, and problems.

4. Knowledge of changes that have taken place within Drumchapel over the past few years, i.e. the establishment of the Drumchapel Initiative, and the Community Organisations Council was explored; the level and nature of contact, perceptions that are held, and how assistance has or has not been given.

The above list was not necessarily worked through in a methodical manner. A meticulous 'forward march' over terrain covered was not anticipated; there was more of a multi-directional approach. Points covered at the beginning of an interview were sometimes re-introduced later to 'link-up' with new information that surfaced during the course of conversation. However, subject areas included in the pre-planned framework were eventually covered.

Interruption was kept to a minimum unless interviewees strayed excessively from the central themes. Relevant subject areas were introduced as and when appropriate: i.e. to maintain momentum. Overall, informal interviews were a self-exposition on the part of the interviewee.

All interviews were tape recorded, with the consent of those present. The literature concerned with informal interviews sometimes makes reference to the possibility of objections to recording interviews (Burgess, J. *et al*

1988a; Burgess, R. 1982). In the case of all groups, there were no objections. Most group members had previous experience of tape recorders for the purpose of interviewing; often groups themselves used them. Having emphasised the ready acceptance of the use of a tape recorder, there were a minority of members who were somewhat apprehensive about speaking and having their voice recorded. However, this self-consciousness soon disappeared once the interview got under way.

The main advantage of using a tape-recorder was that there was the opportunity to listen repeatedly to particular areas of an interview. On one occasion some difficulty was had with understanding what a group were saying as the pace of conversation was very fast. Repeated listening enabled a fuller understanding and some comments were captured that would have undoubtedly been lost if only written notes were being taken. Further, different interpretations of the meaning of what was being said could be gained through more than one listening of an interview. Finally, listening to the early interviews it was possible to identify some of the weaknesses in the style of addressing questions.

3.2.1 OBSERVATIONS ON THE DYNAMICS OF GROUP INTERVIEWS

The conditions of communication and the context in which data were collected can be looked at together in relation to group interviews. In doing so the applicability of the semi-structured interview to this research is further illustrated.

In the context of qualitative research, the group interview is a gathering of a small number of people, usually between four and seven (Burgess *et al* 1988a). Often the individuals that constitute the group do not know one another prior to group formation. In other words, the *raison d'être* of the group is the research; the researcher has orchestrated the formation of the group. In direct contrast to this type of group there is the group which is comprised of individuals who are familiar with one another; i.e. the *raison d'être* of the group is independent of the research that is taking place. The latter situation prevailed in this research: committee members of existing community groups were interviewed in a group. The fact that members of a community group knew one another to varying degrees prior to the interview taking place is of significance regarding the context in which data were collected. A group of people who have had the

opportunity to associate with one another and to become relaxed, should enable those individuals to share in a discussion in which they are familiar and comfortable. This type of social setting should facilitate communication, which should in turn enable a more thorough exploration of key points, and so enhance data collection.

The average length of time of an interview was one hour; the longest was two hours and the shortest was half an hour. Some community groups were taciturn and so the interview ended after a short period of time.

After the field work was completed and analysis of data began, the dynamics of group interviews could be usefully related to one of four constructed categories. These categories were devised by this researcher, and were based on the researcher's own perceptions of the experience of each group interview as well as the quality and quantity of data gathered.

Though these categories were not used in any extensive way in this work, they were usefully referred to when analysing the results of interviews. The integrity of data, particularly its representativeness of the group could be discerned, for example exercising caution if considering comments made by a member of an oligarch-type group. In addition to providing an insight into group dynamics, consideration of the four categories enhances understanding of the challenges of undertaking group interviews and some of the issues associated with the researcher/researched relationship (Section 3.3). The four categories of group are:

- (i) medium level of exchange group: people tested out their views on other group members,
- (ii) disciplined group: usually each group member contributes in an orderly fashion,
- (iii) undisciplined group: a high level of interruptions, and
- (iv) oligarch group: interview dominated by one member.

(i) Medium level of exchange

The characteristics of this type of group were as follows. Through careful listening, there was a high level of absorption of the points made by the interviewer. The atmosphere was relaxed due to the tacit and direct

acknowledgement that the group was comprised of members who knew each other well; such groups were at ease with themselves.

Regarding the actual data collected, this was done in the following manner. In the first instance, there were individual responses to the opening question or statement made by the interviewer. This response was usually followed by the perspectives of other group members on the point - sometimes supporting the first point made, at other times disagreeing, and at yet others introducing another viewpoint. Superimposed onto this primary data, derived from the semi-structured interview, was secondary data by which is meant the initial conversation set-off other thoughts and exchanges.

This category of group was the ideal type in so far as the interview flowed, there was a good level of interaction between group members and the interviewer, and qualitatively and quantitatively the most data were generated.

TABLE 3.1: COMMUNITY GROUPS CHARACTERISED BY A MEDIUM LEVEL OF EXCHANGE*

1	Langfaulds Residents Association	5	Southdeen CAFE Project
2	Lochgoin Parents' Association	6	Fasque Place Parents & Users Group
3	Southdeen Housing Co-operative	7	Disabled Action Group
4	Drumchapel Elderly Forum		

* Additional data relating to these and other community groups is located in the Appendices.

(ii) Disciplined group

In this category of group the atmosphere was most formal, and not as relaxed as that of category one. A positive aspect of this type of group was that information was clear, and tended to be fully understood by group members; there was very little misunderstanding or misinterpretation of points. There was only a minimal interchange of information between group members and most communication was between one group member and the interviewer. In this respect, there was a higher level of "directed leadership" of the group, in so far as there was a greater reliance on "stimulus material" (Burgess *et al* 1988b).

As a consequence of the characteristics of this type of group, opinions held by different group members were not tested out on one another; so commonly held perspectives did not develop. A great deal of data were

collected in these type of conditions but it was 'pure' and largely unchallenged.

A minority of group members interviewed were very reticent and only a limited amount of information was obtained. Efforts were made to encourage more conversation, for example, by asking them to develop a point made. But such efforts were not always successful. In one particular case of the Kendoon Co-operative, which had only become established as a steering group some three weeks prior to interview, it was unsure of future developments and was naturally cautious in the information offered. In contrast with the more established housing co-ops, they had yet to develop their confidence as a group, to talk about their experiences and to be critical of public services.

TABLE 3.2: COMMUNITY GROUPS CHARACTERISED BY A LOW LEVEL OF EXCHANGE

1	Kingsridge-Cleddans Housing Assoc.	4	Kendoon Housing Co-operative
2	Cernagh Housing Co-operative	5	Pinewood Residents Association
3	Kingsridge-Cleddans Economic Development Group	6	Phoenix Tenants Hall

(iii) Undisciplined group

During these group interviews all members speaking at once was a problem that recurred. There was an incomplete understanding of points being made by the interviewer due to a failure to completely absorb the point. Due to this, group discussions became disjointed as the interviewer had to interject to encourage only one person to speak at a time and to re-direct conversation to points of relevance. Also, some group members were unable to make a point or did not finish what they had to say, as they were overwhelmed by interruptions. A consequence of this was that there was sometimes an atmosphere of growing tension due to frustration among some individuals at not being able to express themselves adequately.

This type of interview was the least rewarding. Not only was the data of a poorer quality, some of it was lost in the competing babble of voices on the tape recording. Fortunately this problem was identified in the early days of field work. Subsequently, efforts were made to minimise interjections and to encourage only one person to speak at a time.

TABLE 3.3: COMMUNITY GROUPS CHARACTERISED BY A MEDIUM TO HIGH LEVEL OF INTERRUPTIONS

1	Cairnsmore Residents Association	4	Compass Care
2	Waverley Community Council	5	Cleddans Residents Association
3	Drumchapel Information Services to the Community (DISC)		

(iv) Oligarch group

The final group was the oligarch group. Groups of this nature, as the name implies, were dominated by one person. Though to varying degrees, this situation prevailed in three of the group interviews.

TABLE 3.4: OLIGARCH COMMUNITY GROUPS

1	Waverley Tenants Association	3	Flexicare
2	Pineview Co-operative		

In the case of Waverley Tenants Association, domination by the Chair was at its most prominent. Though five people were present at the interview, most of the talking was done by the Chair. When other members spoke, it was to support points made by the Chair. Efforts were made to counter this, principally by addressing questions directly to other group members and encouraging them to speak. However, it became clear that the Waverley Tenants Association operated in this fashion and efforts at the time of the interview could do very little to redress this domination by one member.

The primary disadvantage of the group interview method is that there can easily be a lack of consistency between different groups. Who is to know that the more reticent groups would have communicated more with a different researcher? Furthermore, it must be conceded that the first interviews were largely a learning process, from which mistakes were learned about how best to approach certain subject areas. It was more a case of getting into a familiar routine, which conveyed confidence to group members.

3.2.2 INTERVIEWING WITHIN LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND DRUMCHAPEL BASED ORGANISATIONS

Other interviews also took place with elected Regional and District councillors, Housing, Education and Social Work employees, and staff of the Drumchapel Initiative and the Community Organisations Council.

The principal distinction between interviews with community group members and those within local government and Drumchapel based organisations was that the latter were on a one-to-one basis. There was only one exception to this and that was the interview with community workers, at which three were present.

These interviews had an approach that was comparable to those with community group members; a list of key-points *similar* to that listed previously was followed. However, interviews did vary in that they were more formal than group interviews and often concern over what would be happening to data was expressed. Indeed, there was greater reticence over comments made, something probably due to diplomacy and an unwillingness to compromise a professional status. Interviews with local government councillors were also distinct in so far as points covered during the course of discussions with community group members were explored from an alternative perspective; an inevitability of the distinct positions which councillors occupied inside, rather outside, of local government.

Comparable points to those with community groups were explored from a diametric perspective. Thus, the data could sometimes be linked with related points made by community group members; assertions were supported or an alternative perspective was provided. In addition, perspectives on the DI and the COC, and links between these organisations and with service departments were explored. Information of this nature was sought essentially for background purposes. Tables 3.5 and 3.6 detail who were interviewed within local government:

TABLE 3.5: INTERVIEWS WITH EMPLOYEES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

1	Development Officer, Drumchapel Housing
2	Senior Development Officer, SRC Chief Executives.
3	Director of City Housing, GDC
4	Co-ordinator, SRC Women's Unit
5	Principal Officer, Community Education, SRC
6	Community Workers, Drumchapel Social Work, SRC
7	Assistant Area Manager, Drumchapel Social Work

TABLE 3.6: INTERVIEWS WITH REGIONAL AND DISTRICT COUNCILLORS

	Councillor
1	SRC Cllr Drumchapel Ward
2	GDC Cllr Blairdardie Ward*
3	GDC Cllr Drumchapel Ward

*: Blairdardie Ward covers the Stonedyke area of Drumchapel

Interviews with key figures in the DI and the COC were comparable to interviews with councillors. In addition, the relationship between the DI and the COC, and both organisations links with service departments was explored. Data of this nature had not been covered previously during group interviews; as with some data gathered whilst interviewing councillors, this was essentially for background purposes. Table 3.7 details DI and COC staff interviewed:

TABLE 3.7: INTERVIEWS WITH EMPLOYEES OF THE DRUMCHAPEL INITIATIVE AND ASSOCIATED ORGANISATIONS

1	Director, DI	5	Chair, COC
2	Former Director, DI	6	Comm. Reps., COC
3	Director, Drumchapel Opportunities	7	Co-ordinator, Flexicare
4	Director, COC	8	Development Officer, Drumchapel Community Business

3.3 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESEARCHER AND RESEARCHED (THE EFFECTS OF INTERPERSONAL VARIABLES)

During the process of group discussions, the researcher's input was minimised to the asking of open-ended questions; discussion amongst group members present was then allowed to develop. Even though the input of the researcher was kept to a minimum, it was inevitable that the nature of data collected was probably influenced to some degree by the researcher. Some potential forms of bias can be identified in advance and countered. These include how questions and statements are structured and delivered. Other forms of bias are beyond the control of the researcher, including the extent to which interviewees responses may be affected by distinctions in how they relate to women and men.

It is necessary to consider the relationship between the researcher and researched as it will have a bearing on the nature and extent of information collected (Coolican 1990; Kalm and Cannell 1957; and McDowell 1992). Concerns of this nature can have important repercussions for the way in which the research develops, particularly

points of interest that were generated and concepts that were fed into and developed.

The relationship between the researcher and researched involves looking at various components. Most immediately, the dynamics of communication between the researcher and researched require attention. Regarding gender specifically, the difference that this can make "...to what we know and how we know it" (McDowell 1992, p. 405) needs attention. In relation to group interviews, three possible variations could have occurred: (i) interviewing a mixed group, (ii) interviewing a group of men, which did not occur and so can be omitted, and (iii) interviewing a group of women.

Interviewing a mixed group of men and women was the situation that occurred on 17 occasions. Women usually formed the majority; there was either one, two or, as on one occasion three men present. Contrasting with the all-female groups, there were some distinctions worth noting. There was not a standard pattern, though for simplicity, two principal characteristics regarding the extent of contribution from men, can be distinguished. Either the man or men present "took a back seat" and contributed less often than *most* of the women present. Or, and this was the situation where there was just one man present, the man was the group leader. It should be stressed, however, that the role of the man in such situations did not necessarily equate with domination of the interview, as in the "oligarch groups". In all community groups, men did not participate in the same numbers as did women (see Chapter Nine).

A female researcher interviewing a group of women was a variant that occurred on 5 occasions. In the female/female situation there tended to be more of a rapport established. Such a feeling is quite personal and difficult to prove. However, it was felt that on such occasions the interviewees were willing to enter into greater detail. For example, the Co-ordinator of the Southdeen CAFE Project, seemed more willing to enter into detail of the problems of getting women to attend various activities and mention was made of 'possessive' husbands, of how men lack understanding and do not possibly always give women the support that they need. It is doubtful that comments of this nature would be made to a male researcher. Ease of conversation assumed empathy. This is not to suggest

that all men would not be able to establish a rapport, only that it would be less easily achieved. However, the rapport established, in some instances, was not universal to all interview situations that were exclusively female. Indeed, when women research women there is assumed to be a "baggage of commonality" (McDowell 1992). Though undoubtedly significant this was not universally so and other factors may be of equal or even greater significance. Going beyond this assumed baggage of commonality is the necessity to uncover differences between women as well as differences between men and women.

Irrespective of the position of being an outsider, though undoubtedly related to this, there was the necessity to negotiate in order to gain access to knowledge (Eyles 1988). By negotiate it is not intended to mean some overt form of trade-off. Rather, an extremely subtle, if not sub-conscious, negotiation to win acceptance was required. In this respect, it was important how the presentation of 'self' was undertaken; credibility was a key consideration. Quite simply, people are going to be reticent if they find a researcher unacceptable due to her or his manner or even appearance.

In conjunction with 'winning-over' interviewees, there had to be an awareness of personality and psychology on the part of the researcher. Though close enough to pick-up on perceptions and behaviours, it was also necessary to be at a great enough distance to enable the conceptualisation of knowledge, i.e. as far as it is possible to objectively interpret interviewee's comments and to consider their applicability to the overall research project (Smith 1988).

How the researcher 'came across' to the group is going to be critical for the effective collection of valuable data. Included, is how questions and statements were presented. The actual wording of questions was as straightforward as possible; there was an initial question or statement and then if appropriate there was some elaboration. Double-barrelled, complex, ambiguous, leading or emotive questions were avoided. Promoting helpful feedback, stressing important points, and relaying what the interviewer thinks the interviewee said was important (Coolican 1990). Assumptions about group members' knowledge of particular issues was minimised. In the ordering of questions, there was a degree of flexibility so as to accommodate the thought processes and associations

that group members sometimes made between areas of discussion. Care was taken to relate to all members in the same manner; tone of voice, the level of eye contact, and acknowledgement of what was being said was kept consistent. Feedback enabled group members to realise they were making sense and being productive; also that they were not being misrepresented. "They can alter or qualify what they've said. This process also keeps the interviewee actively involved and confident" (Coolican 1990, p. 89).

Ensuring that all members present had an opportunity to express their views was a further factor that had to be ensured, in order to guard against any bias. A particular concern in this respect are those group members who are more reticent and who may have important points to contribute but for what ever reason do not always share their thoughts. To take account of this, the majority of researchers encourage more reticent members by a range of actions which include: eye contact, encouraging smiles and nods, and where necessary the specific asking if they had anything to contribute to the discussion. At the same time, care has to be taken not to 'put anyone on the spot', as doing so may have negative repercussions as a person becomes self-conscious and more reluctant to contribute to the rest of the discussion. In light of this, care was taken not to encourage more reticent members by prompting in too direct a manner. It was thought unwise to ask one member if they agree/disagree with what a colleague said, as this may make them feel as if they are criticising a colleague. Instead, encouragement was given by asking in a more lengthy and diffusive manner: "obviously a lot has been said, and may be your views are similar, but would you like to add something", or "would you go along with what is being said or do you have slightly different feelings?", being examples.

What was felt to be a valuable resource during interviewing, was my training some year ago in counselling (mainly telephone, but some face-to-face as well). At times, this experience enabled me to promote non-directive questioning, to ask open and closed questions, and where appropriate to empathise with what was being said, though in the latter case care was taken not to appear patronising. Times when this experience proved useful was when members present discussed more personal matters as they dovetailed with their participation in the community

group. For example, with Cernagh Housing Co-operative, one member began talking of how her husband had left her abruptly. Clearly, she was still coming to terms with his departure. As the researcher, it was felt important to acknowledge what she was saying to emphasise that such a situation must be difficult. Then the discussion was steered back on course. To 'cut-off' the interviewee whilst she was 'opening-up' about this aspect of her life was thought to have potentially jeopardised the rest of the interview; the woman in question would have felt undermined and other members present might have thought this insensitive.

There were problems with the interview process, though these were not of a serious nature. The most challenging situations were concerned with some group members putting down one another. As all group members knew one another prior to the interview, there was a history of interaction. This familiarity sometimes meant that there was less reticence when it came to disagreeing with one another. At times, it was difficult to ascertain whether accepted familiarity had been overstepped.

Sometimes it was thought necessary to intervene in as tactful a way as possible. It had to be explained that there was not necessarily a right or wrong answer, and that all viewpoints were valid. Though it was stressed at the outset that my role was not one of a referee, on a few occasions it was felt that I had little choice other than to lapse into this role.

Cultural factors were considered to be of just as much significance, including the place of origin, language used, and mannerisms. All such characteristics were discernibly different between the researcher and researched. As McDowell (1992) has also indicated, the importance of "our own social location in the interpretation of our work" (p. 405) ought to be acknowledged. The cultural factor of background was of particular importance. As an "outsider" in every sense; this researcher was not from Drumchapel, Glasgow, or even Scotland. This is discernible as soon as a sentence was uttered. The position of being an "outsider" in relation to the ease of access to groups and the direction in which interviews developed was of importance. Either, being an outsider can facilitate or inhibit the research process. Alternatively, the position of outsider could have no effect. Though it is impossible to be conclusive as to whether this was of benefit or a liability, in general it was thought to be an advantage.

Regarding the degree of shared experiences that I may have had with interviewees, the fact was that there were considerable differences in background, including: social class and nationality. Though there were differences, it was thought that these did not act as barriers to communication. There did appear to be an acknowledgement that as an 'outsider', I would not have the same depth of understanding about issues as residents of Drumchapel had; this acknowledgement was accepted and not used in a manner that hindered the interview process, for example any suspicion of my outsider status. Though I would never pretend that I had a thorough understanding of all issues affecting Drumchapel residents, I do not regard myself to be naive, and have lived for two years previously on an inner-city local authority estate in London, where some of the problems encountered are comparable.

Focusing specifically on language, which prior to interviewing was thought to harbour some difficulties, it was found that differences of language were not as great as first envisaged. This was perhaps due to people tending to speak at a slower pace than was usual, so that the researcher could 'keep-up'. Further, group members would occasionally interject if it was felt that terms being used were too colloquial for an outsider to understand.

Beyond immediate language distinctions other less definable cultural distinctions such as physical appearance and general manner did not appear to lend to the construction of barriers and difficulties of communication. Physical appearance was "casual", and was not thought to be alienating to the majority of people who were met. Regarding general manner, an awareness of the possibility of people feeling somewhat awkward *vis-à-vis* a researcher were minimised by projecting an air of amiability. There was not an attempt to be "one of them", that would be patronising. To support the point being made the comments of the Chair of DISC can be mentioned. Apparently, some months previous to my undertaking interviews, a newspaper reporter from London had visited Drumchapel for an "article on poverty". The interviewee explained that "she was very la de da" and did not have an idea about anything.

A concern that embraces the above mentioned focus on gender and cultural factors is that of unequal power relations. At the same time, consideration of these unequal power relations can be pitched at a more fundamental level. McDowell (1992) has identified that there are unequal power relations inherent in most interview situations: "both interviewer and interviewed try to come to an understanding of what is taking place around them" (p. 407). Perhaps assumptions are made that when the focus of research is an area or a group of people who are broadly recognised to be economically and politically powerless, and the researcher is perceived to be from a relatively powerful institution. Nonetheless, those who are the subject of research are at a disadvantage. However, it should be emphasised that this inequality in power relations is not unidirectional; it works both ways. In the case of this research, often there was the assumption (quite justified in some instances) by interviewees that the knowledge possessed of Drumchapel and of particular subjects by this researcher was minimal. Interviewees were more willing to enter into great detail and explain in full the background and reason for a particular situation. Also the assumption that this researcher knew very few local people projected a safe situation for interviewees to reveal thoughts that were critical of others. On the other hand, it may have had undesirable consequences regarding the relaying of inaccurate information; the researcher's ignorance could have been played on by some interviewees. This was something that was guarded against from the outset in so far as all information that was not concerned with personal attitudes was double-checked.

Considering these potential unequal power relations from a different perspective, according to many group members interviewed people were pleased, I was informed, that an interest was being taken in their community group and/or Drumchapel in general; there was almost a gratefulness that their story was being told. McDowell (1992) has also referred to this as "making visible the claims of the less powerful" (p. 409). Once data had been collected, power over its use was in the hands of the researcher; what was included and what was excluded was my decision.

A final component of the researcher/researched relationship that requires mentioning is concerned with ethics. This has been broached by referring to the latter aspect of unequal power relations. The most important

ethical considerations in relation to research are: (i) confidentiality, (ii) the degree of 'honesty' when explaining what is being undertaken, and (iii) the exposure of people to research from which they are likely to gain nothing and which might even be of detriment to them (Burgess, J. *et al* 1988a, Burgess, R. 1984; Eyles 1988). The first concern of confidentiality was assured in so far as information imparted would not be repeated in other interview situations. More fundamental than this assurance is the fact that confidentiality was not really an issue; data sought was not of a deeply personal nature. Regarding the second concern, there is no reason to 'hide' the reasons why the research was being undertaken, most especially in relation to residents of Drumchapel. With the last concern it is difficult to see how this specific research could be of harm. Local people did not gain anything, maybe apart from the opportunity to 'let off steam'. Also, although people were effectively doing me a favour, they did have the opportunity to refuse.

3.4 THE PROCESSING OF INTERVIEW MATERIAL

The specific question of the processing of taped interview information can be looked upon as a lynch-pin as it connects the collection of data via the interview process and the writing-up of research findings. The manner in which transcriptions are 'processed' into a form that effectively forms the basis of chapters, or sections thereof, is much neglected. Indeed, Jones (1985) sheds light on why there has been this relative neglect: "The analysis ... is a highly personal activity. It involves processes of interpretation and creativity that are difficult and perhaps threatening to make explicit" (p. 56).

i. The 'tidying-up' of the interview material

All taped interviews were transcribed in a series of four diaries and their contents were then typed onto a word processor, the advantage of which being that interview material could then be 'moved around' in any process of sorting. An administrative tidy-up and referencing of the data was undertaken. This was based on the numbering of each interview chronologically. Also, individual contributors who participated in a group interview were identified by their initials and the position which they held in the group, e.g. secretary. It was then possible to re-order the

material in order to group together themes, but always knowing the original source of the interview material (see below).

ii. The organisation of the interview material

Explaining how the interview material was ordered and refined will inform how the analysis took place. In the first instance, interview material was sorted and then allocated to a file that was based on the subject areas that were identified prior to undertaking the interviews (see Section 3.2). These subject areas are referred to below, where a full table is devoted to each one. At this stage there were six files, though the interview material of each group was not yet merged with that of other groups.

Reading through the newly created files it was apparent that the majority of interviews had a series of consistent themes running through them (listed in column 2 of tables 3.8 to 3.13). Treating each interview separately, these themes were distinguished from one another by introducing a series of sections.

TABLE 3.8: BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON COMMUNITY GROUPS

<i>Sections from interview</i>	<i>Grouping of points of interest to emerge from interviews</i>
How and why the nature of informal groups can vary between neighbourhood areas	
Perception different groups hold of Drumchapel	- own neighbourhood - other neighbourhood - all Drumchapel
How local groups have expanded both numerically and regarding the nature of issues addressed.	- positive components, confidence building, gaining concessions - negative components, issues being tackled, impact, disillusionment

TABLE 3.9: THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP WITH SERVICE DEPARTMENTS

Background/history of community group.	-the distinction between different areas regarding the delivery of services by local government -the path to co-op housing, experiences of contact with the 'authorities' -the involvement of the wider resident base in developments
The impact of developments on different components of the population.	- the co-op committee: internal development of the group and individual self-development -the significance of the community group for all of Drumchapel

TABLE 3.10: THE NATURE OF CONTACT WITH THE DRUMCHAPEL INITIATIVE

Awareness of the DI	-different levels of awareness and variation with geography. -explanation of different levels
Attitude to the DI	- feelings of alienation and exclusion - empire-building practices
How assistance has or has not been given	- pattern emerges of geographical variation in DI activities

TABLE 3.11: THE NATURE OF CONTACT WITH THE COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS COUNCIL

Awareness of the COC	-different levels of awareness and variation with geography. -explanation of different levels
Attitude to the COC	- a voice for the people? -obligation and pragmatism - perspectives on community reps
How assistance has or has not been given	- empire-building practices
Community Representatives	-perspectives of and values attached to them -contact with and use made of them

TABLE 3.12: DISTINCTIONS ALONG THE LINES OF GENDER

The characteristics of community groups	-gender composition -the roles occupied by women
The participation of women	-factors that were thought to affect this -what limits women from participating
The outcomes of participation	-changes brought about by women who participate -the benefits gained

TABLE 3.13: PERSPECTIVES ON COMMUNITY

Neighbourhood communities	-the enhancement of these through developments -how communities have 'assisted' decentralisation
The Drumchapel level of community	-the impact of decentralisation on this level -attitudes towards Drumchapel as a whole
The relationship between the Drumchapel level and neighbourhood levels of community	-views held by group members that are defensive of their own neighbourhood

iii. The selection of key themes for inclusion in the thesis

At this stage a decision was made on what themes to focus on and develop for inclusion in the thesis. To inform this decision making, there were criteria for selection that are mentioned in order of importance. Firstly, the frequency or popularity of comments was considered, so for example if

all community groups interviewed, continually made the same point or responded in the same way, then those series of comments were retained for further interpretation. Secondly, if there were linkages with other areas, e.g. between comments made about the DI and COC, that were thought by this researcher to be of interest, then they were retained. Ultimately, decisions had to be made by this researcher as to what material should be completely eliminated, i.e. some bias must be acknowledged in the selection of extracts.

iv. The refinement of interview material by cross-checking

Now that all of the interview material had been re-ordered and placed in a series of files, the crucial task was to refine and ultimately reduce the mass of material as there were many repetitions by individuals in the same group and between groups. Interpretation was assisted by the continual sorting and refinement in the following manner.

Refinement phase 1 focusing on each group interview separately: Often a point would be made by one member of an interview group. Other members present would then make similar points, either reinforcing the original point or on occasion disagreeing (see below). It was possible to ring-fence these sections of the interview and to introduce sub-headings. In some instances the first point made would be highlighted for potential inclusion in the thesis and the number of supporting comments from other group members was noted. Or if there was disagreement, then a summary of that would be noted at the end of the primary point being made. In this way specific sections of one group interview could be more rigorously ordered and also the length of transcriptions could be considerably reduced.

Refinement phase 2 comparing and contrasting different group interviews: Up to this stage, the interview material from different groups remained distinct even though it had been sorted in relation to themes. Now the interview material from different groups in each sub-section was merged. Decisions were made by this researcher to select certain points to be representative. Those quotes from different community groups that were concerned with the same issue, e.g. supporting or disagreeing about something were dealt with in one of two ways.

Either, the quote was chosen for further consideration if it captured something of the point that all groups were making, i.e. it was considered by this researcher to be the most representative. At various points in the thesis the number of community groups that made similar comments has been quantified, so that some indication of the representativeness of an extract can be gained.

Or, a group of extracts from a range of community groups were chosen for further consideration that related to one another, so forming different stages in the development of a theme. On other occasions different interview comments presented alternative perspectives on a situation. This difference of view was evident and highlighted in relation to the Community Organisations Council, where differing perceptions were held by a variety of groups of this organisation (Chapter Six). Less often, there were differing views between members of the same community group, so during a group interview there would be disagreement and even argument. Either these differing viewpoints could be reconciled, perhaps one member had misunderstood what a fellow member was saying. However, where disparate opinions persisted, then this was noted.

v. Interpreting the interview material

With a manageable volume of interview material that was ordered into subject areas and then further ordered into specific themes, there was now an attempt to interpret the interview material, an undertaking which involved a number of approaches.

First, there were some comments made that effectively spoke for themselves and no further interpretation was required, e.g. extract 27K (p. 189), which is essentially a factual statement. Though, the validity of such comments were, if possible, checked against other sources.

The more detailed accounts of an experience or a situation that were provided by participants in group interviews were interpreted further by this researcher. This was necessary for a host of reasons, including to provide context to what was being said, or to establish links between one comment and another. In the case of the latter this was especially so, where a theme was in the process of being developed and comments illustrated different stages in that theme. More fundamentally, some

comments were in need of clarification. Occasionally, related commentaries (i.e. the views of other group members present) further informed the comment that was of principal interest to this researcher, and these were drawn-on to inform the interpretative process. For example, a sense of the depth of feeling about an issue was conveyed by scrutinising the material that surrounded a comment.

The interpretation of interview material also centred on the significance of comments in relation to such concerns as:

- (i) the significance for Drumchapel,
- (ii) the significance for a theme that has been picked-up on by this researcher whilst transcribing and rereading the interview transcriptions,
- (iii) emanating from the last point, the significance in relation to contemporary concerns as represented in the literature. The significance could be that a cluster of comments support or are contrary to a perspective in a contemporary debate.

Another way in which interview material was interpreted was based on the choice of language that was used by interviewees, perhaps to capture the degree to which an issue was important. This was done in conjunction with the other approaches noted above.

The manner in which interview material was gathered is analogous to a 'bottom-up' approach to research, whereby themes were allowed to emerge through discussion. Dovetailing with this approach is the top-down approach, in which, "conversations are studied for the light they shed on particular theoretical or practical issues" (Burgess *et al* 1988, p. 322).

vi. The relationship between the interview material and the sample survey questionnaire

The first section of the questionnaire was concerned with biographical information, the sections that followed this were initially constructed by referring to the pre-planned areas that would be covered in interviews.

More specifically, the wording of questions in different sections was influenced by two factors. Either by the sorts of themes that began to emerge from analysis of group interview material. Regarding the community based organisations of the DI and COC, for example, the awareness of and attitudes towards these were explored in the questionnaire as these were issues that came strongly through during group interviews. Alternatively, some questions were not influenced by any interpretation and analysis of interview material, such questions were predominately factual. For example, those questions that relate to contact with community groups sought to establish the relationship between the resident base and community groups. Having made this point it was possible to compare the responses from the Sample Survey to some of the comments of community groups members.

3.5 THE QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

The third stage of the research process consisted of a questionnaire survey. The questionnaire is valuable for gathering information that is then often employed for comparative purposes: in order to confirm and/or understand further variances that exist in populations (Bulmer and Burgess 1986). There are two important characteristics of the questionnaire. First, it sets out to confirm what is already observable; non-observable phenomena are not looked at (Kalm and Cannell 1957). In other words, the underlying causes and mechanisms that are at work beneath the information that the questionnaire has unearthed have still to be brought to the fore. Second, a premise of Positivism is that it is "objective"; the prevalence of subjectivity is not acknowledged to the extent that it ought to be.

3.5.1 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE QUESTIONNAIRE AND THE WIDER RESEARCH

In the first instance, the questionnaire was not considered appropriate for the nature of this research. The main emphasis of the research was on the attitudes of people towards the developments associated with decentralisation, in which there was a stress on the need for people to speak for themselves. By this it is meant that there was little point introducing a set of questions on pre-determined points of interest. To do this would be to decide for the people on what they should have attitudes

(see previous section). However, though the questionnaire was thought inappropriate at the primary level of research, it was thought to be of value at a later stage. After the majority of research had been completed, it was necessary to "test-out" some of the findings on a sample population of Drumchapel residents. By such means, some sort of validation of the perspectives of community group members could be achieved. Also, beyond validation, the significance of the perceptions of community group members could be explored in a broader context. By pitching the second stage of the research at residents, it was the intention to explore similar material as previous. The questions were an end in themselves and not a means to an end. In some respects, questions were devised to complement the interviews undertaken. This complementarity is achieved in a number of ways. Data obtained in this manner, after analysis, generated a number of research issues which could be related to some of the concerns with decentralisation (see Chapter Two). Further exploration of the context in which these concepts are applicable is required. Such an exploration is potentially enabled by the undertaking of a questionnaire.

First, questions were geared to the gathering of data concerned with participation at a number of levels. The link between data of this nature and the aims of this research is clear; participation by local people is a central plank of decentralisation. Whether people vote in elections, are more likely to contact their Member for Parliament, and are more likely to be a member of a community group are all indicators of participation. Also in looking at participation at a number of different levels it is possible to establish whether participation is 'cumulative'. Second, the questionnaire was concerned to establish the extent to which established local structures (the Drumchapel Initiative and Community Organisations Council) have had some impact on Drumchapel. Assessing this is of considerable importance as these structures are the central pillar of 'top-down' decentralisation in Drumchapel and their impact on the awareness of the community is obviously of great interest. A questionnaire provides the opportunity to assess the extent to which developments associated with decentralisation have permeated downward to the individual.

Finally, it is necessary to establish whether or not, and if so how distinctions between different sections of the Drumchapel population

exist. By exploring the characteristics of participants, patterns of participation may be discernible and distinctions between respondents may be isolated. But, characteristics of this nature do not explain the findings of the questionnaire survey, rather they are just one dimension. Nonetheless, links can be made to wider concepts.

3.5.2 SAMPLING PROCEDURE FOR THE QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

The survey was aimed specifically at residents of Drumchapel who were not 'key figures' in any groups or organisations. 'Key figures' are not only members of a community group, but act on its committee. A sampling procedure was necessary to select a set number of residents who were representative of the population of Drumchapel as a whole. To maximise coverage of the Drumchapel adult population, such variables as age, sex and occupation/non-occupation were taken into account. The significance of this sample was that it should be representative of the Drumchapel population as a whole, and in so doing capture as broad a range of views and behaviour as possible.

There were two related dimensions to the sample procedure, geographical representation and the socio-economic characteristics of the population. The first dimension of geographic representation is important in two respects. It was on the characteristics of the seven neighbourhood areas that comprise Drumchapel that the sampling procedure was based. The two polar opposites with respect to social and economic well-being are Stonedyke and Kingsridge-Cleddans. Stonedyke is the most prosperous neighbourhood towards the eastern edge of Drumchapel. Conversely, Kingsridge-Cleddans is recognised as being the most socially and economically deprived neighbourhood, and this is towards the western edge of Drumchapel. Midway between these two neighbourhoods is an area of Drumchapel that exists in the imagination rather than on any formal plan of Drumchapel. This area is termed locally the Golden Triangle, and centres on the Drumchapel Shopping Centre embracing the three corners of Cairnsmore, Broadholm, and Langfaulds (see Figure 4.2).

TABLE 3.14: POPULATION AND SAMPLE SIZES OF SURVEY AREAS

	Estimated population	Sample size	Sampling percentage
<i>Stonedyke</i>	3,400	59	1.8%
<i>Kingsridge-Cleddans</i>	3,100	62	2.0%
<i>Golden Triangle</i>	2,900	61	2.1%
<i>Drumchapel Total</i>	20,500	182	0.86%

Within the neighbourhood, a sampling procedure was adopted which minimised bias regarding the spatial concentration of respondents. Thus, the possibility that a specific issue affecting only one part of a neighbourhood was removed. The housing on the one main road passing through each of the three neighbourhood areas was the focus of the questionnaire. The aim was to complete one questionnaire from one flat in every second close. The situation never arose where every household in a close refused to participate in the survey. Thus, geographically the survey was not concentrated at one end of a neighbourhood, rather a swathe of households from one end to the other were included.

3.5.3 UNDERTAKING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Prior to undertaking the questionnaire proper, a pilot survey was performed in order to highlight any design problems. Twelve households, four in each of the three sample areas, were contacted.

An unavoidable aspect of the survey was refusals. The number of refusals was: Stonedyke (12), the Golden Triangle (15) and Kingsridge-Cleddans (7). This was thought necessary to monitor as the eventual sample population may be biased with respect to who participated. Obviously if the sample population were heavily biased, for example, regarding age then the value of subsequent responses could be queried. The nature of refusals was not of major importance, and the majority were from elderly residents. The greater tendency for this age group to decline is understandable because of the suspicion of strangers. The fact that the number of refusals varied from one sample area to the next is a reflection of the age structure of the different neighbourhoods.

The fieldwork was undertaken during weekday evenings and at weekends during the day-time, in the hope that a broad range of respondents would be contacted. Residents who were employed in waged work would be

unlikely to be present during the day-time on weekdays (unless engaged in shift work). Thus, potential bias associated with excluding those in waged work was eliminated, or at the least minimised.

3.5.4 CONTENT OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

Approximately half of the questionnaire was devoted to questions that required a straight forward *yes* or *no* response. In the first instance, the questionnaire sought to acquire factual or biographical information. A number of questions that collectively enable some comparison to be made with 'official' data sources on the population of Drumchapel were included. Official data include unemployment figures, age/sex profiles, and the health of the population. By such means, the extent to which the findings of the questionnaire are representative of the Drumchapel population according to official data sources can be identified.

Even questions that were thought to be possibly sensitive were responded to without problem. One such question was concerned with use of the Money Advice Service. Use of this particular service is likely to indicate financial problems, either due to debt or the claiming of welfare benefits. Thus, it was anticipated before the undertaking of the questionnaire that this question may not be answered properly. However, this was not the case and there were a number of respondents who were quite open about their use of the service.

The second major component of the questionnaire was concerned with gathering attitudinal data. For these questions or statements, an attitudinal sliding scale ranging from one to five was presented to interviewees on a card. The numbers were designated to the following degree of response: 1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = neither agree nor disagree, 4 = disagree, and 5 = strongly disagree. Interviewees then had to indicate which number represented their attitude most closely. Questions had to be carefully worded to achieve simplicity of understanding, though this had to be balanced against sufficient length and depth of wording in order to convey the point of interest. The attitudinal sliding scale was used for the following areas of the questionnaire: attitudes towards public services, within which some developments in structure and function should have filtered through to local people are sought.

Utilising attitudinal sliding scales has its advantages and disadvantages. Provided the questionnaire is quite specific, this is an efficient way to gain the perspectives of a relatively large number of people over a short period of time (Johnston, 1986). There is a consistency that minimises bias: identical questions/statements are posed to every participant.

The main disadvantages of using attitudinal sliding scales are, first, that nuances of meaning are lost. Second, it is suggested by some researchers (Coolican 1990; Moser and Kalton 1971) that participants in surveys are generally reluctant to select numbers 1 and/or 5, as they are extremes. Most people prefer to select numbers 2, 3, or 4, as they are perceived to be less controversial. The significance of such observations, if they are valid, is going to vary depending on the characteristics of the sample population and the nature of questions posed. Regarding the Drumchapel population, responses to statements on the perception of neighbourhood elicited few "strongly agree/disagree" replies. One explanation is that an evaluation of the housing stock is less controversial than an evaluation of tenants, who constitute neighbours and friends.

Distinctions between the response categories of 'Don't Know' (DK) and 'Not Applicable' (NA) are important. These two categories were offered with questions that contained an attitudinal sliding scale. The two categories of DK and NA are of importance to Question 28, Section F, which sought to establish whether the interviewee knows of the DI, whereas question 29 contains four statements. If the interviewee does not know the existence of the DI, the responses to the four statements cannot be given, i.e. the category NA must apply. Whereas, with a positive response, then the four statements can be responded to. It emerged that many interviewees, though knowing of the existence of the DI, could not provide an account of its remit. A lack of knowledge of the remit of the DI has important implications regarding the impact of the DI on the community.

FIGURE 3.2: THE DRUMCHAPEL QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

Questionnaire number:

Location code:

Section A: Background Details

- 1 Sex Female Male
- 2 Age (estimated) 18 to 25 26 to 39 40 to 59 Over 60
- 3 Occupation (if applic.)
- 4 Un-waged status (if applic.) Unemployed Disability Student Retired
- 5 How many people live in the household?

Section B: Participation in Formal Politics

- 6 Is your name on the Electoral Register? Yes No
- 7 Did you vote in the last General Election? Yes No
- 8 Did you vote in the recent District election? Yes No
- 9 Did you vote in the last Regional election? Yes No

Section C: Details of Living Circumstances

- 10 How long have you lived in : your home any other Neigh -hood Drumchapel
- 11 Do you want to move from your present home? Yes No
- 12 Do you want to move from this neighbourhood? Yes No
- 13 Do you want to move from Drumchapel? Yes No
- 14 Are you on the transfer list? Yes No
- 15 For a place to be a community, do you agree/disagree that the following are important:
- 15a. Relatives living close by 1 2 3 4 5 DK N/A
- 15b. Friends living close by 1 2 3 4 5 DK N/A
- 15c. Meeting points, e.g. pubs, local clubs, shops 1 2 3 4 5 DK N/A
- 16 Do you agree that it is a community around here? Yes No
- 17 What area makes up your community? Drumchapel Neigh -hood Street
- 18 Do you agree/disagree that the following have improved over the last 3 years:
- 18a. - the housing stock 1 2 3 4 5 DK N/A
- 18b. - the tidiness of the environment 1 2 3 4 5 DK N/A
- 18c. - the attitude of tenants to the area 1 2 3 4 5 DK N/A
- 18d. - your neighbourhood as a place to live 1 2 3 4 5 DK N/A

19 Is there a main problem that you associate with living in Drumchapel?

Section D: Participation and Community Groups

20 Do you belong to a community group?

Yes No

21 If 'Yes', what is the name of the group?

22 How long have you been a member

23 What were your reasons for joining?

24 If 'no' to Question 19, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following:

24a. - 'Don't have enough time'	1	2	3	4	5	DK	N/A
24b. - 'Don't know enough about community groups'	1	2	3	4	5	DK	N/A
24c. - 'A waste of time, nothing is achieved'	1	2	3	4	5	DK	N/A
24d. - 'Not interested'	1	2	3	4	5	DK	N/A

(For non-members of housing groups only)

25 Do you know of your local housing group?

Yes No

26 Have you ever contacted your local housing group?

Yes No

27 Do you agree/disagree that the group does a good job:

27a. - complaining for tenants	1	2	3	4	5	DK	N/A
27b. - getting improvements done to the environment	1	2	3	4	5	DK	N/A

Section E: The Public Housing Service

28 To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements:

28a. - 'The standard of housing has improved over the past 3 years'	1	2	3	4	5	DK	N/A
28b. - 'The Housing Dept. are interested in issues that concern you'	1	2	3	4	5	DK	N/A
28c. - 'The Housing Dept. are responsive to your own and the communities needs'	1	2	3	4	5	DK	N/A
28d. - 'People have enough of a say in how money is spent on housing'	1	2	3	4	5	DK	N/A
28e. - People like me should have more of a say in housing issues	1	2	3	4	5	DK	N/A

Section F: Local Representative Structures

- 29 Do you know of the Drumchapel Initiative? Yes No
- 30 To what extent do you agree or disagree that the Drumchapel Initiative is concerned with:
- | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|----|-----|
| 30a. - 'Upgrading the housing stock' | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | DK | N/A |
| 30b. - 'Improving the quality of services' | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | DK | N/A |
| 30c. - 'Bringing jobs into the area' | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | DK | N/A |
| 30d. - 'Working with local people to bring about change' | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | DK | N/A |
- 31 Do you think that the DI does a useful job? Yes No
- 32 Do you know of the COC? Yes No
- 33 To what extent do you agree or disagree that the COC:
- | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|-----|
| 33a. - 'Keeps you in touch with what is going on in Drumchapel' | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | DK | N/A |
| 33b. - 'Brings together community groups' | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | DK | N/A |
- 34a. Do you know of Flexicare? Yes No
- 34b. Do you know of Furnishaid? Yes No
- 34c. Do you know of The Money Advice Centre? Yes No
- 35a. Have you ever used Flexicare? Yes No
- 35b. Have you ever used Furnishaid? Yes No
- 35c. Have you ever used The Money Advice Centre? Yes No
- 36 To what extent do you agree or disagree that the services are valuable & much needed in Drumchapel?
- | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----|-----|
| 36a. - Flexicare | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | DK | N/A |
| 36b. - Furnishaid | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | DK | N/A |
| 36c. - The Money Advice Centre | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | DK | N/A |
- 37 Do you know of the Community Representatives? Yes No
- 38 Did you vote in the recent elections for them? Yes No
- 39 To what extent do you agree or disagree that the Community Representatives are:
- | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|-----|
| 39a. - 'Easily accessible' | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | DK | N/A |
| 39b. - 'They represent the interests of local people' | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | DK | N/A |

3.6 CONCLUSIONS

There are important reasons for emphasising the method chosen at different stages of the research process. In undertaking this research, three distinct methods have been drawn on: documentary analysis, semi-structured interviews, and a questionnaire survey. Though distinct, these different methods complement one another. Indeed, this complementarity was a particular concern of this research. Closely associated with complementarity is the appropriateness of a method relative to the stage of the research. Taking these points together, it has been illustrated in this Chapter that different methods have been more effective in certain situations at eliciting the desired data. Having emphasised the appropriateness of methods, it must not be overlooked that as well as advantages, there are disadvantages in using any method. The disadvantages have not been avoided, they have been acknowledged and accepted that they cannot always be eliminated. Though there is an inevitability in this, in some instances the disadvantages can be minimised, as in the case of the influence of the researcher.

More fundamental than the practicalities of applying different methods at different stages of the research process is the concern with how the application of the methods chosen complement or support the premise of this research. Here the premise is that research into changes in local government service provision rarely includes the perspectives of (potential) recipients of those services. Instead there is the assumption that it is known what is best for people. Second and more precisely, a central tenet of decentralisation is improving at the very least accessibility and sometimes the degree of involvement of local people in service provision. These characteristics of decentralisation, and the research undertaken on this subject, demand that methods, and their employment, create situations whereby local people have an opportunity to speak for themselves about what has taken place.

The situation and conditions effectively demanded that the above mentioned methods be employed. Shortfalls in some aspects of these methods have been looked at in this Chapter. However, these shortfalls are far outweighed by the importance of undertaking research in the manner adopted.

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CHAPTER 4 DRUMCHAPEL IN CONTEXT

A pre-requisite to looking at the impacts of decentralisation is an understanding of the character of Drumchapel, its population and wider context. It is only then that an insight into how, why, what and where decentralisation has occurred can be gained. In this respect, there are two aims to this Chapter. One is to provide an overview of the area of Drumchapel; essentially it is a scene-setting exercise to enhance understanding of the content of future chapters. A second is to locate the account of Drumchapel in the wider sphere of urban/social structural relations, which will enable many of the points made to be attached to a broader conceptual framework. In this respect, the concept of the underclass forms the backbone of this Chapter.

Typically, a profile of a deprived area such as Drumchapel is built upon the use of various data, including statistics which relate to the unemployed, lone-parents and housing benefit claimants. Though the validity of such data can be acknowledged, their presentation in isolation is of only limited value. There are instances where purely statistical data have become appropriated for use as indicators to define the problem. The presentation of statistical data can be a convenient way of 'packaging' the reality of a lot of people of certain social groups. That is, people are viewed as a problem about which something has to be done; rather than looking at the reasons behind the circumstances which surround their existence as social groupings. In some instances, such data are quoted to such a degree that their significance is lost and their implications are given little thought; this is particularly the case with the media. In relation to the concerns of this research, such presentations omit the reality behind the data. A 'common-sense' train-of-thought that is based on such representations can easily omit important points.

Introducing the underclass concept enables a more valid location of this work in a broader context, and provides a format with which to go beyond a purely statistical view. The underclass can be a derogatory term that is particularly associated with the New Right to indict the liberalisation of

society, declining morals and the damaging effect of the welfare state (Murray 1989, Mead 1986). The use of the concept here is not in this vein; rather it is used in relation to exclusion. The intention in this Chapter is *not* to stigmatise. Instead it is to provide a more comprehensive profile which can link-up with the concern with decentralisation. What is of concern to this work is an in-depth understanding of the myriad of overlapping constraints, the extent of exclusion, and feelings of alienation which are features of social groups which collectively constitute the underclass.

To get a 'feel' for these sorts of issues as well as to counter the above concerns expressed over the use of purely statistical presentations, this Chapter goes beyond the sole presentation of quantitative data. The conditions and issues behind data are looked at so that a more in-depth understanding of what it is like to live in Drumchapel is gained. A more 'creative' account is provided, through the use of qualitative observations and reports. Thus, a more meaningful context is developed in which future chapters can be positioned.

4.1 DRUMCHAPEL AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOODS

At the four 'corners' of Glasgow large housing schemes are to be found (Figure 4.1), in the north-east Ruchazie, Garthamlock, Cranhill, Barlanark and Easterhouse, in the south-east Castlemilk, in the south-west Pollok-Nitshill, and in the north-west there is Drumchapel. The housing stock in Drumchapel, its relationship to the City of Glasgow, and the socio-economic characteristics of residents bear many similarities with other Peripheral Housing Schemes.

Drumchapel is perceived from the "outside" as a clearly defined area of Glasgow, within which conditions are fairly constant. To illustrate this point, the status of 'Area for Priority Treatment', which other PHS have been accorded as well, can result in a blanket application of the concept of deprivation being applied to an area. Passing through Drumchapel by the most direct of routes, this impression is supported; the main thoroughfare of Kinfauns Drive cuts a swathe through the rows of tenements. Yet, this is an over-simplified picture which ignores the quite considerable diversity to be found within the area. Drumchapel comprises seven

Figure 4.1 GLASGOW'S PERIPHERAL HOUSING SCHEMES

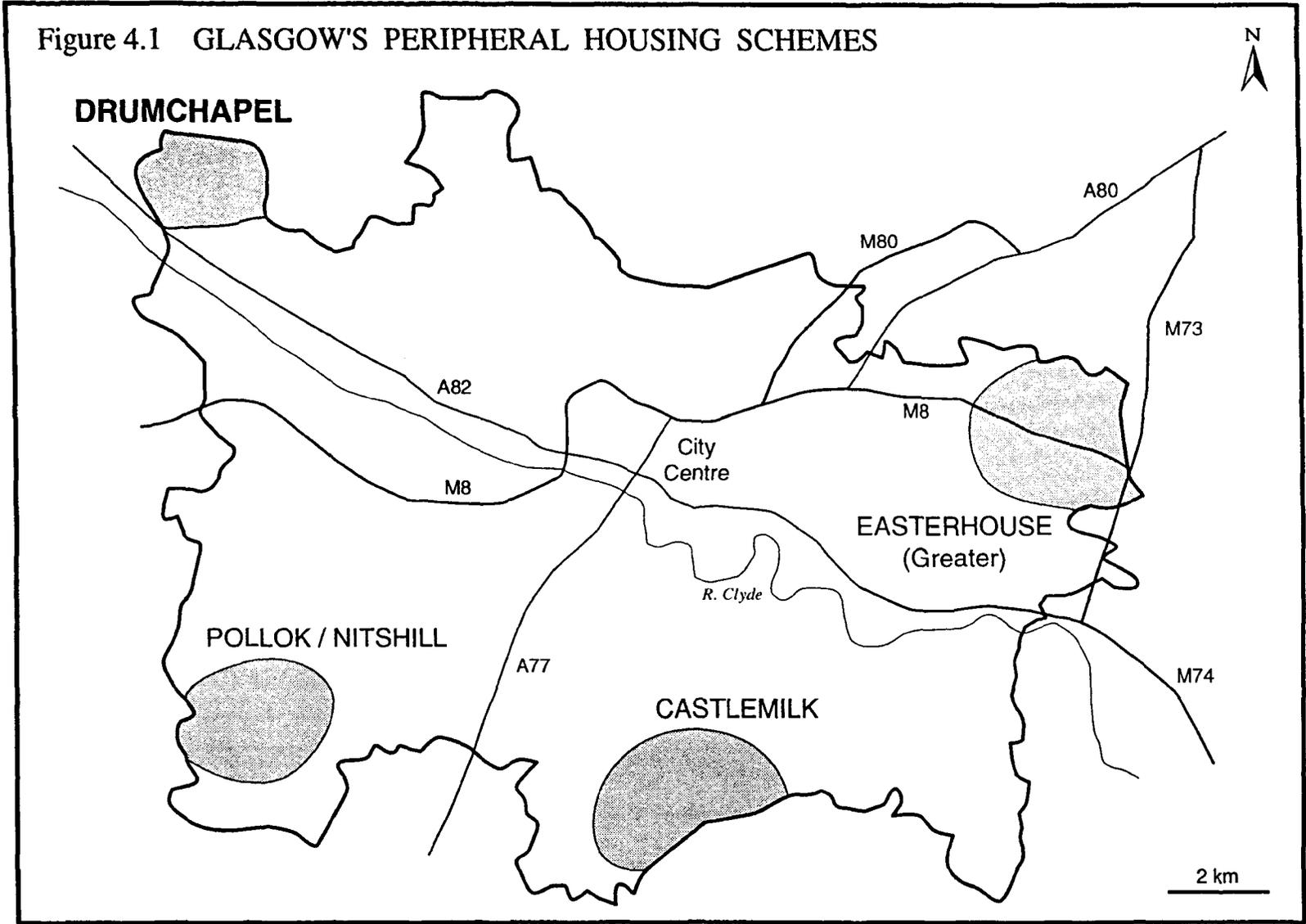
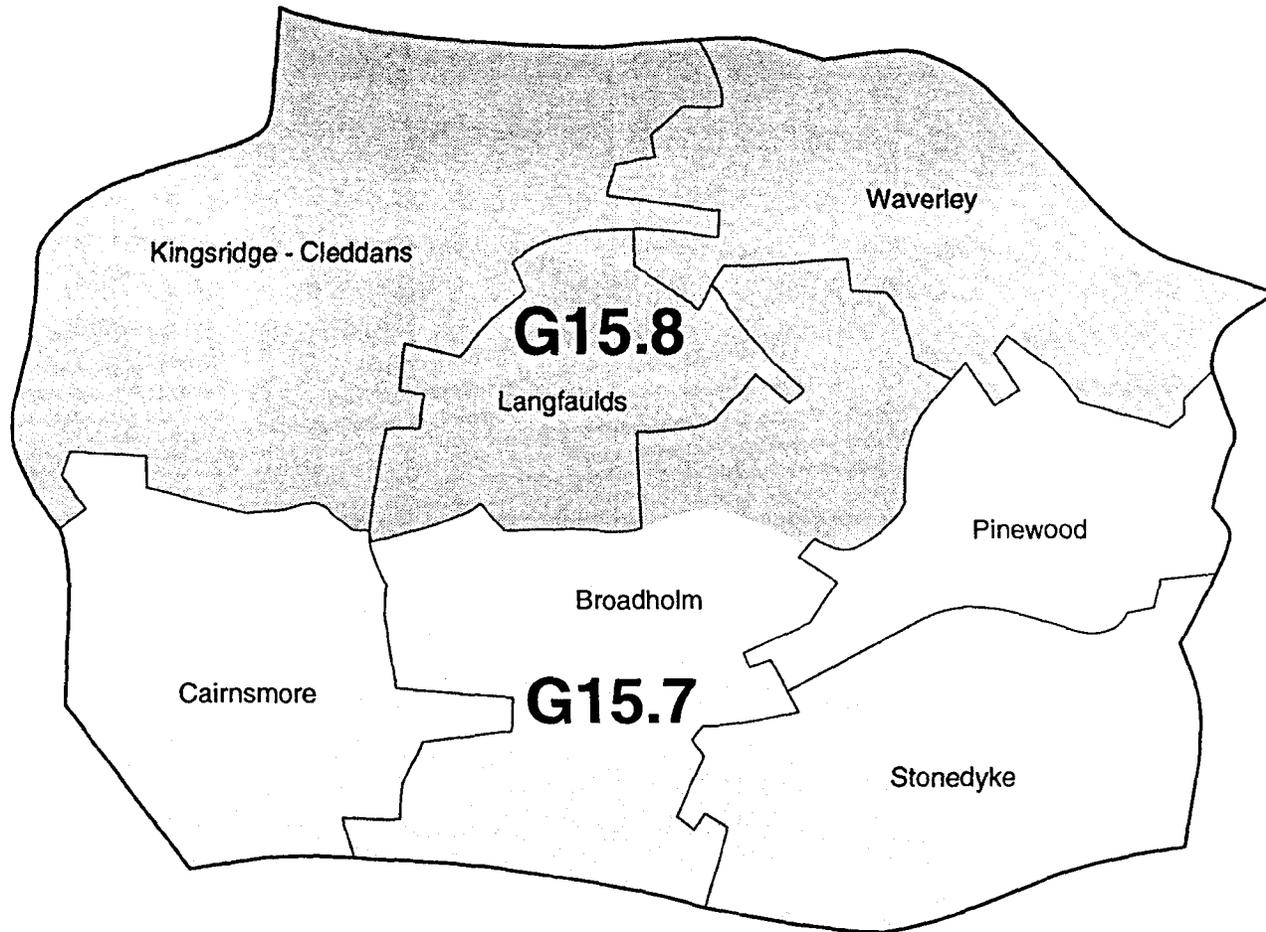


Figure 4.2 POSTCODE SECTORS IN DRUMCHAPEL



Scale 1:15,000

neighbourhood areas: Broadholm, Cairnsmore, Langfaulds, Kingsridge-Cleddans, Pineview, Stonedyke, and Waverley. The principles of neighbourhood planning, for example services and amenities required by a certain threshold population, were *largely* absent at the time of construction of neighbourhoods. For example, children were 'bussed' to schools outside of Drumchapel in the early days, i.e. the late fifties and early sixties, and amenities such as sports facilities were lacking. Rather, what distinguishes neighbourhoods is that they are products of different building phases, making them physically well defined. In particular, the emphasis on neighbourhoods was devised by the Planning Department of Glasgow District Council to facilitate the administrative functioning of the Housing Department. Yet, neighbourhood areas are not only associated with local government; they have been invested with significance by local people. This significance is pursued in Chapter Eight, where perceptions of residents as to how they view their turf is the central mainstay.

Profiles of the neighbourhood areas are necessary as they often form the geographical context for material considered throughout this work. These profiles are followed by the presentation of survey data which relates to residents perceptions of their local environment.

4.1.1 STONEDYKE

Located in the eastern portion of Drumchapel, and separated by Garscadden Burn, is Stonedyke. Alternatively known as Scheme 1, Stonedyke was the site of first construction in Drumchapel.

Though mainly comprised of local authority housing, Stonedyke does contain some houses that are owner-occupied; in 1990 nine of the only thirteen properties which had been purchased in Drumchapel as a whole were located in Stonedyke. Overall, the local authority housing is desirable, principally due to the use of superior building materials, though up-grading of most of the stock is required. Residents of other neighbourhood areas regard Stonedyke as an area to aspire to. Indeed, this is a dominant feature of internal migration within Drumchapel, with movement into Stonedyke from other neighbourhood areas. Thus, some 78% (46) of the Sample Survey who resided in Stonedyke had previously resided elsewhere in Drumchapel. Though less quantifiable, the desirability of Stonedyke is also reflected in the ambience of the area, in

which a certain pride is evident; gardens are well maintained, and vandalism is minimal.

Stonedyke residents are distinctive in a number of ways. The population as a whole is more stable, with low levels of out-migration. The age profile is more middle-aged and elderly, while unemployment levels are relatively low (see Table 4.5). In general, Stonedyke is economically more prosperous, evident in the higher levels of car ownership.

FIGURE 4.3: ORIGINAL 'PHASE 1' HOUSING IN A TYPICAL STONEDYKE ROAD



(Note the relative high number of cars and the general well kept nature of the area).

Due to Stonedyke's perceived relative high status, it is sometimes a 'forgotten part' of Drumchapel by the authorities and the residents of other neighbourhoods. The level of contact which community organisations have with Stonedyke is much lower and in some instances non-existent when compared to other neighbourhoods of Drumchapel. Arguably Stonedyke is almost not a part of the 'problems' which blight Drumchapel.

4.1.2 KINGSRIDGE-CLEDDANS

The neighbourhood of Kingsridge-Cleddans (K-C) contrasts with Stonedyke. Located at the opposite end of Drumchapel, K-C is geographically distinct due to its location on a hill. Formerly the two separate neighbourhoods of Kingsridge and Cleddans were merged administratively by the City Housing, this was due to declining populations and after consultations with local tenants groups. This was

an amicable process based on the mutual belief that amalgamation would be more effective regarding efforts to improve K-C.

At the time this research was being undertaken, the housing stock in K-C was in dire need of up-grading, with years of neglect having taken their toll. In conjunction with this extensive neglect there is a very high void rate, with the result that many houses are boarded-up. Out of 1,271 properties 513 (40.3%) are voids (see Table 4.14). There is a general neglect of all aspects of the physical environment: grass is not cut, gardens are neglected, tiles fall from roofs, litter is strewn everywhere, and vandalism is rife. Glasgow City Housing has acknowledged the environmental problems of PHS and has attributed these to the failure of their design. The following extract captures something of the situation in K-C: "The steep gradients combine with poor lay-out and narrow streets to produce a generally unattractive, uninspiring and often oppressive environment. Open space, such as it is, largely derelict and trespass through closes and between buildings has become a serious nuisance" (Glasgow District Council, quoted by Gibb 1983).

The location on a hill is linked with *some* of the population decline, both by local residents and local government officials. There is a high rate of population turnover, with long-term residents (i.e. those with adequate housing points) opting to move to Stonedyke or some such similar place. In many respects K-C is the sink area of Drumchapel, e.g. unemployment is chronic, with estimates as high as 70% (Drumchapel Opps. 1992).

FIGURE 4.4: TYPICAL KINGSRIDGE-CLEDDANS HOUSING - IN POOR CONDITION AND SEMI-OCCUPATION



FIGURE 4.5: 'SIDE-BY-SIDE': OLD AND NEW HOUSING IN KINGSRIDGE-CLEDDANS



(Note the visibly poor quality of building material used in Figure 4.5. Eventually the 'old' tenement will be replaced. Clearly there are lower levels of car ownership than in Stonedyke (Figure 4.3).

The impression of K-C is of an area that is in desperate need of improvement. However, recent developments hold some potential: a housing co-operative, and housing association, together with the Kingsridge-Cleddans Economic Development Group have been established in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The last mentioned has implemented a neighbourhood regeneration project, which aims to "empower the community to take advantage of opportunities arising and develop complementary and alternative economic activity in the area" (Drumchapel Initiative Urban Aid Application 1991). At the time of field research definitive results were some time off, though considerable demolition and rehabilitation of properties and a number of projects designed to revitalise the area had been approved (Chapters Seven and Nine).

4.1.3 THE GOLDEN TRIANGLE

At the heart of Drumchapel lies the area known as the Golden Triangle, a label given by many of the community activists interviewed. It consists of the area surrounding the Drumchapel Shopping Centre, and parts of Broadholm, Cairnsmore, and Langfaulds (see Figure 4.2). The name captures something of the characteristics of the area. 'Golden' refers to the attractive features and the desirable location, and 'Triangle' refers to the approximate shape of the area. The Golden Triangle is located at the heart

of Drumchapel and is familiar to the majority of residents as they have to either visit it for shopping or pass through on public transport.

It is an area to which many residents of Drumchapel aspire. Based on Survey findings, 15% (9) of respondents from this area had resided previously in either K-C or Waverley. This desirability is based on the propinquity of leisure and shopping facilities and, less tangibly though equally significant, on factors such as being where 'things are happening' and its reputation in Drumchapel as 'respectable'. Examples of developments that have taken place include the opening of the Mercat Theatre and landscaping of derelict land. Part of the respectability is accounted for by the concentration of 'high profile' residents within its boundaries including a District councillor, employees of the Drumchapel Initiative and community representatives.

FIGURE 4.6: TYPICAL (OLD) HOUSING IN THE GOLDEN TRIANGLE



FIGURE 4.7: A TYPICAL CLOSE ON KINFUANS DRIVE, AT THE HEART OF THE GOLDEN TRIANGLE



(Note the well kept nature of the environment and the individualisation of homes).

In relation to Stonedyke, the Golden Triangle possesses similar characteristics: the environment is well maintained and there is a stable population. However, it is distinct from Stonedyke in several respects, having a less ageing population structure and lower levels of conspicuous

consumption, in particular of car ownership. (Further references are made to the Golden Triangle specifically in Chapters Six and Seven).

4.1.4 BROADHOLM, CAIRNSMORE, LANGFAULDS, PINEVIEW AND WAVERLEY NEIGHBOURHOODS

The remaining neighbourhood areas fall somewhere between Stonedyke and Kingsridge-Cleddans, both geographically and with respect to socio-economic indicators. The two extremes have satisfactorily illustrated the variation within neighbourhoods and different contexts within and to which decentralisation needs to address. Falling between these are the neighbourhoods of Broadholm, Cairnsmore, Langfaulds, Pineview and Waverley, which together form the central area of Drumchapel in which the majority of the population lives. Each of these neighbourhoods contain desirable housing as well as pockets of housing that are boarded-up or in a poor condition.

In Pineview and Broadholm, two housing co-operatives have been established and work commenced at the end of 1992 on up-grading the housing stock. Traversing Langfaulds and Pineview is the housing co-operative of Southdeen, which has been established for six years and manages some 500 refurbished houses. There is a certain irony that some of the most significant developments are taking place in Langfaulds, Pineview and Kingsridge-Cleddans, yet, the most sought-after housing is located in and around the area of the Shopping Centre and Stonedyke. However, this irony is possibly explained by the durability of stigmatisation.

4.1.5 RESIDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR ENVIRONMENT

Against the objective measurement of the previous section we need to define how these neighbourhoods are perceived by their residents. Here, assessment of the local environment was reduced to five criteria, respondents being asked whether they agreed/disagreed that there had been improvement over the last three years: (i) the condition of the housing stock, (ii) the quality of the environment which surrounds the housing stock, (iii) the attitude of tenants to the neighbourhood, (iv) the reputation of the neighbourhood, and (v) the overall desirability of the neighbourhood as a place to live. The last two statements were a self-assessment by each individual respondent.

TABLE 4.1: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES TO STATEMENTS RELATING TO PERCEPTIONS OF NEIGHBOURHOOD AS HAVING IMPROVED OVER THE LAST 3 YEARS

Statement	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	d/k
1 <i>Housing stock</i>	1% (2)	4% (8)	30% (54)	34% (67)	21% (38)	-
2 <i>Environment</i>	-	10% (18)	30% (55)	37% (68)	15% (27)	.5% (1)
3 <i>Tenants</i>	1% (1)	3% (6)	54% (99)	24% (48)	8% (14)	.5% (1)
4 <i>Reputation</i>	1% (2)	5% (9)	54% (98)	31% (56)	2% (4)	-
5 <i>A place to live</i>	-	3% (5)	65% (119)	21% (39)	3% (6)	-

Few respondents agreed or strongly agreed that any of the aspects of the neighbourhood had improved over the past three years. In particular, the housing stock was perceived to have deteriorated over the past three years. A high level of disagreement with statement one could be because an evaluation of the housing stock is less controversial than an evaluation of tenants, who constitute neighbours and friends. The most positive response concerned statement two, to which nearly 10% of respondents thought that there had been some environmental improvement: reference was made to greater efforts by the council to collect litter, to improve pathways and to maintain grass verges.

Acting as a check on the consistency of answers is the comparison of responses to the "desire to move from a present house" against responses to the "perception of improvements in the housing stock". Mutually supportive answers were given: those respondents who did wish to move from their neighbourhood were twice as likely to strongly disagree that the housing stock had improved. Conversely, those respondents that did agree, almost exclusively expressed no desire to move.

Distinctions in the nature of response by neighbourhood was considered. The main points to note are that Stonedyke and K-C respondents were most likely to disagree with statements one and two, whereas Golden Triangle respondents were more likely to neither agree nor disagree. The pattern of some of the responses is understandable as they correspond with observed conditions. Primarily in K-C, responses are endorsed by the condition of housing and the environment at the time of conducting field research (see also Table 4.14 on the number of voids in K-C). The negative perspective of Stonedyke respondents cannot be related to the observed condition of the housing and environment. Seeking other explanations,

perhaps in making comparisons with areas outside of Drumchapel respondents have higher expectations, and consider their neighbourhood to be overdue for upgrading. Other findings are less easily accounted for. In the case of K-C, where a negative perspective on 'reputation' could be anticipated, this is not borne out by responses.

In summary, these findings show that K-C, which has the potential for the most negative perceptions, scores similarly to Stonedyke. There are likely to be distinct reasons for the similar response profiles of both neighbourhoods. Stonedyke is separated from the rest of Drumchapel (see sub-section 4.1.1), and has a different level of expectation when it comes to the general up-keep of the area. In contrast, K-C is characterised by a distinct set of conditions associated with the underclass (see sub-section 4.1.2). As will be demonstrated later in this work, this is of significance regarding appraisive perceptions, values, strengths of association and identity. Such factors may be working in diametric ways in two neighbourhoods that occupy opposite positions on the socio-economic spectrum of well-being in Drumchapel.

There was some complementarity between resident perceptions of their immediate neighbourhood and some of the more significant problems identified with living in Drumchapel as a whole. A range of answers were collected that have been grouped into six categories:

TABLE 4.2: SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH DRUMCHAPEL

<i>Housing</i>	<i>Safety</i>	<i>Amenities</i>	<i>Tenants</i>	<i>Transport</i>	<i>Employment</i>	<i>None</i>
24% (48)	10% (18)	12% (21)	11% (20)	2% (4)	3% (5)	34% (66)

Over one-third of respondents did not indicate there to be, or were unable to articulate any major problems attributable to living in Drumchapel. Of those problems specified, some are accounted for by the characteristics of respondents; for example all those who considered safety to be a problem were elderly people. Further, it is of interest that a lack of amenities was raised by residents of K-C and Stonedyke, and only three residents of the Golden Triangle mentioned this.

Responses to the statement that the housing stock had improved were compared to the numbers citing that housing was the main problem. There was a level of mutual support in the pattern of responses: 87% (42

out of 48) of respondents (strongly) disagreed that the housing stock had improved also cited housing as a main problem. There was also some consistency in answers in relation to (strongly) agreeing that improvements had taken place in the neighbourhood over the past three years and mentioning that no problems were associated with living in Drumchapel. Adding support to the research findings was the nature of problems cited when compared to whether a respondent wanted to move. Of those respondents who wanted to move, four-fifths (79.6%) identified a problem with living in Drumchapel. In comparison, just over one-third (34.2%) of respondents who did not want to move, identified a problem with living in Drumchapel.

Those respondents who did not identify any significant problem attributable to living in Drumchapel accounted for 34% (66) of the total sample. Biographical data for these respondents was analysed to see if there was any common characteristics in these respondents background. One characteristic was that the majority of these respondents, % (46 of the 66) had lived in Drumchapel for more than five years and can be regarded as long-term residents.

4.2 THE POPULATION OF DRUMCHAPEL

As apparent for the other peripheral housing schemes, Drumchapel has strikingly different demographic traits from the city as a whole. As for the city, there has been a substantial decline in the overall population of the area, and what is of particular importance are the characteristics of the decline. A knock-on effect of the nature of its decline is linked to the levels of unemployment and reliance on state benefits. Of related importance is the health of the population and changing household structures.

4.2.1 POPULATION DECLINE

The population of Drumchapel peaked at 34,768 in 1971 (1971 Census). Since this date, there has been a relentless decline and in the early 1990s the population was 21,500 (1991 Census). This represents a decline of 40%. The decline in the number of households over the same period has been from 8,838 to 7,756, a fall of 12%.

The implications of this decline for the community of Drumchapel is illustrated by the issue of school rolls: in 1988, rolls of the eleven primary schools were at 58% of capacity, and for the three secondary schools the same figure was only 30%. As a consequence of such figures, two secondary schools have been closed (Department of Education, Strathclyde Regional Council 1992).

Principally because of the effects of population decline on the viability of service delivery, District and Regional councillors, the Drumchapel Initiative and the Community Organisations Council alike would like the population to stabilise at 20,000. For comparison, the PHS of Castlemilk is also to be stabilised at 20,000 (McGregor and Oakman 1991). The figure of 20,000 is important because it acts as a land-mark in the psyche of all with an interest in Drumchapel. From a local government perspective, if the population were to fall below this figure it would have implications for the level of service provision, particularly the strength of argument to maintain services in a climate of limited resources and possible cut-backs.

A backdrop to the concern over a declining population in Drumchapel, was the broader concern over the population of Glasgow falling below 700,000 at the time of the 1991 Census. This figure was also a psychological land-mark, a fall below which would be set-back for a City which was re-inventing itself as a flourishing place that had fought the devastating effects of industrial decline. It transpired that the population had fallen from 762,288 in 1981 to 645,000 in 1991 (1981 Census and 1991 Census respectively). Pacione (1995) considers the regeneration of Glasgow per se and in doing so underlines the close link between such PHSs as Drumchapel and the City as a whole: "The greatest challenge is renewal of the peripheral estates, ... developed as part of the solution to the housing problems of the inner city, ... [which] exhibit signs of social, economic and environmental decline of a magnitude at least equal to that which confronted the city at the beginning of the century" (p. 192).

The modest aims of Drumchapel may be difficult to achieve in the wider context of population decline in Glasgow and when transfer requests out of the area have been at a consistently high level. There may even be competition from different areas of Glasgow to attract additional people,

which means that area initiatives in different PHS will be competing with one another for a declining or at best a stagnant population.

Since these initial observations on population decline, there is generally more optimism about the buoyancy of the Drumchapel population, perhaps in part because it has a strong sense of community. Since this research was completed the Drumchapel population has probably fallen to slightly below 20,000. Importantly, it is likely to increase again with the creation of one housing association, three co-operatives and the start of small scale private sector house building. Especially with private sector house building, there will be some in-migration by the end of this century. For these reasons, the next comprehensive population count, the Census of 2001, will probably show a similar count to that of the 1991 Census.

In moving from the status of a peripheral estate, with poor housing, limited services and the attendant social problems, Drumchapel has undergone a *degree* of transformation. Though there are still high levels of deprivation, the long term viability of Drumchapel is more secure. The unease over the declining population has abated and the aim of stabilising the population has almost definitely been successful. In future there may even be population growth.

4.2.2 AGE/SEX COMPOSITION

Table 4.3 provides a breakdown of the age/sex composition of the population of Drumchapel.

TABLE 4.3: POPULATION IN PRIVATE HOUSEHOLDS BY AGE AND SEX

Age Group	Drumchapel					Glasgow	
	Males		Females		Total	Females	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.	%
0-15	2,790	51.5	2,627	48.5	5,417	59,209	48.9
16-24	1,207	44.7	1,488	55.3	2,695	44,850	51.8
25-59	3,111	43.5	4,040	56.5	7,151	157,351	51.9
60+	1,038	40.4	1,529	59.6	2,567	86,313	60.5
Totals:	8,146	45.7	9,684	54.3	17,830	347,723	53.2

(Source: Strathclyde Regional Council 1994, based on 1991 Census Small Area Statistics).

In all of the age groups for Drumchapel and Glasgow, with the exception of under 15 year olds, women outnumber men. However, the proportion of women who live in Drumchapel and are aged between 16 and 24, or 25 and 59, is considerably greater than the equivalent proportions for Glasgow. The proportion of women in Drumchapel between the ages of 25 and 59 is 56.5% and the equivalent figure for the whole of Glasgow is 51.9%. There is clearly a far greater gender imbalance in Drumchapel which is likely to have implications for the community organisations and service departments operating in Drumchapel. For the population of Drumchapel that is aged 60 and over there is more of a gender balance that is also more in line with the corresponding proportions for the Glasgow population.

Some caution is necessary, however, as to the accuracy of the Census. Some residents, principally young adult males, purposely avoided inclusion in any population counts due to the Poll Tax and the possible withdrawal of benefits. There may be as many as 750 males not counted (Millard 1992). The implication of this, and the converse of the point made above, is that some services will fail to sufficiently target some sections of the population, i.e. young adult males.

4.2.3 THE UNWAGED (UNEMPLOYMENT)

Economic disenfranchisement (i.e. unemployment) is a cornerstone of the underclass concept, as well as being one of the most important indicators of the prosperity of an area. Drumchapel has experienced the effects of change in the wider economy disproportionately, and its level is unacceptably high. Economic decline that began in the 1960s impacted principally on the unskilled sector of the work-force. It is workers of this category who were most concentrated on PHS. For all of Drumchapel, the latest figures for men and women are listed in Table 4.4. Unemployment figures are available for two postcode areas of Drumchapel, between which there is some variation.

TABLE 4.4: REGISTERED UNEMPLOYED IN DRUMCHAPEL AND GLASGOW IN 1991 *

	Men	Women	Total
<i>Drumchapel</i>	41% (1,481)	27% (728)	35%
<i>Glasgow</i>	24%	13%	19%
<i>Strathclyde Region</i>	16%	9%	13%

*: Percentages are of the total number of 16 to 64 year old males and 16 to 59 year old females who are recorded as able to engage in waged work, i.e. they are either engaged in waged work or are registered as unemployed. The percentages do not relate directly to the population figures contained in Table 4.3, as these figures will include such groups of people as the 'sick' and 'disabled' - they would have to be subtracted before the figures in both tables tallied.

(Source: Chief Executive's Department, Strathclyde Regional Council 1994).

TABLE 4.5: UNEMPLOYMENT LEVELS FOR 1992 COMPARED BY POSTCODE SECTOR

	G15.7 (East)		G15.8 (West)		District
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
Male	1147	37.7	868	44.6	25.0
Female	295	13.1	219	17.5	11.8
Total	1442	27.2	1087	34.0	19.6

(Source: The Drumchapel Opportunities 1994)

As a percentage of all economically active people in Drumchapel, postcode sector G15.8 (West) registers considerably higher levels of unemployment for both men and women than does postcode sector G15.7 (East) (see Figure 4.2 for respective postcode sectors). This difference in postcode sectors corresponds to the different levels of socio-economic deprivation noted previously.

Young people contribute disproportionately to the unemployment level. Table 4.6 provides a breakdown of the level of unemployment amongst young people for two postcode areas of Drumchapel.

TABLE 4.6: UNEMPLOYMENT LEVELS AMONG YOUTHS (UNDER 25s)

	YOUTHS (16-19 YEARS)			YOUTHS (20-24 YEARS)		
	<i>G15.7 (East)</i>	<i>G15.8 (West)</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>G15.7 (East)</i>	<i>G15.8 (West)</i>	<i>District</i>
Male	34% (137)	45% (132)	38%	42% (226)	52% (186)	34%
Female	29% (103)	40% (88)	30%	18% (71)	23% (50)	17%
Total	32% (240)	43% (220)	34%	32% (297)	41% (236)	27%

(Source: The Drumchapel Opportunities 1991)

For youths aged between 16 and 19, female levels of unemployment are relatively close to that of males. Yet, for those in the next age group, 20

and 24 years, female levels of unemployment are less than half that of males. Females have possibly become mothers by the time they have reached their early twenties and instead register for other benefits. This observation corresponds to points made in the section on health; the level of teenage pregnancies is higher than for the City as a whole.

According to Drumchapel Opportunities (1992), the occupational aspirations of unemployed people were very low, most being concentrated at the vulnerable and unskilled end of the labour market. The most frequently cited occupations sought were cleaning and labouring. These low occupational aspirations are related undoubtedly to the fact that three quarters of registered men and women had no formal qualifications. The population of Drumchapel who are able to seek work face formidable barriers in gaining access to the labour market, due to problems of basic literacy and numeracy, low self-esteem and poor child-care facilities (Cumella *et al* 1992).

4.2.4 WELFARE DEPENDENCY

Reference to an unnamed study by MacLennan and Gibb (1988) of a "poor area of council housing" looked behind the most frequently cited indicator of economic inactivity - the level of unemployment and considered the situation from a different perspective. The 'official' unemployment rate was 31%, yet, because of the high concentration of sick, disabled, retired, and lone-parents who cannot leave their children, only one household in three had even one member in employment. Table 4.7 contains a breakdown of Income Support recipients.

TABLE 4.7: ESTIMATED NATURE OF INCOME SUPPORT RECIPIENTS FOR 1991*

Type of Benefit	Number	% of total benefits	% of total adult population
Unemployed	2,282	41.6	18.4
Lone Parent	1,521	27.8	12.3
Pensioner	935	17.0	7.5
Sick	488	8.9	3.9
Others	253	4.6	2.0
Benefit Total	5,479	100.00%	44%
Adult population Total	12,413	-	100.00%

(Source: The Drumchapel Opportunities, 1992)

For all people who are not in waged work the state benefit system is their source of income. It is well documented how state benefits are greatly

below wage levels. Changes in benefits and taxes have taken most from the poor and given most to the rich (Donnison 1992). The growing proportion of the population in Drumchapel who are not in waged work, according to Table 4.7, totals 45% of the adult population. These people are likely to find themselves increasingly ghettoised and on the margins of a culture which is oriented around work.

4.2.5 THE HEALTH OF THE POPULATION

Another dimension to socio-economic deprivation is that of the health of the population. Consideration of mortality is one of the most potent illustrations of inequalities. Table 4.8 provides data on mortality for two postcode sectors in Drumchapel, and compares these to those for all Glasgow (see Figure 4.2). People who have a long-term illness, health problem or disability are limited in their daily activities.

TABLE 4.8: COMPARISON BY POSTCODE SECTOR OF MORTALITY IN DRUMCHAPEL

Cause	Number of Deaths POSTCODE SECTOR G.15.7* Standardised Mortality Ratio (Glasgow = 100)			Number of Deaths POSTCODE SECTOR G.15.8* Standardised Mortality Ratio (Glasgow = 100)		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Cancer	10 (112)	6 (91)	16 (102)	21 (132)	14 (108)	35 (120)
Heart Disease	14 (111)	9 (104)	23 (108)	21 (120)	15 (112)	36 (116)
Respiratory Disease	5 (173)	1 (58)	6 (116)	5 (106)	8 (148)	11 (127)

(Source: Greater Glasgow Health Board 1991), * Figures are the annual average for 1992-93.

For all diseases, the total populations of both postcode sectors register a standard mortality rate (SMR) that is above the average for Glasgow. If the two postcode sectors are compared, clearly G15.8 has a considerably higher SMR for all diseases. These figures are further evidence of the much higher levels of deprivation that exist in postcode sector G15.8, much of which covers the neighbourhood of Kingsridge-Cleddans. Women who live in postcode sector G15.7 have a SMR that is more in line with that for all of Glasgow. Though, the one death attributable to respiratory disease, which results in a SMR of just 58, is probably an exception and a higher number of such deaths would usually occur in a year.

**TABLE 4.9: LIMITING LONG-TERM ILLNESS IN DRUMCHAPEL
BROKEN DOWN BY AGE***

	Men	Women	Total	District	Region
<i>All ages</i>	20.7% (1676)	18.7% (1814)	19.5% (3490)	17.8%	14.7%
0-15	5.9% (165)	3.5% (93)	4.8% (258)	3.2%	2.5%
16-29	8.2% (146)	6.8% (159)	7.4% (305)	5.1%	4.3%
30-59	30.6% (789)	26.3% (849)	28.2% (1638)	18.8%	14.3%
60+	55.3% (676)	63.4% (713)	59.6% (1289)	72.9%	78.9%

(Source: Chief Executive's Department, Strathclyde Regional Council 1994)

Taking another measure, the weight of babies born in Drumchapel and other 'deprived' areas tends to be lower than that of babies born elsewhere. The percentage of babies weighing less than 2.5 kg at birth for the entire area covered by Greater Glasgow Health Board was 11.0%. In Drumchapel the equivalent figure is double and in some cases treble this: for post code sector G15.7 (East) the figure is 23.2% and for G15.8 (West) it is 35.3%. Though figures only reveal the extent of difference between two postcode sectors and the whole of the Greater Glasgow Health Board area, the variation in figures is positively correlated to the level of socio-economic deprivation: G15.8, which covers Kingsridge-Cleddans, has previously been isolated as the most severely 'deprived' area within Drumchapel. The reasons why babies have such a low birth weight is accountable to many factors, including the poor diet of the mother, and premature birth due to stress and other reasons. Such factors are likely to be disproportionately in evidence in Drumchapel. Data of this nature are a good indicator of the interconnectedness of many variables that are necessary for a healthy population.

Research has shown that good health is synonymous with happiness and low stress levels (Donnison 1992). The significance of determinants such as happiness and low stress levels are easy to agree with if they are attainable. Yet, if the content of previous sections is recalled, it is difficult to envisage how such a state can be attainable when happiness and low stress levels are conditions that people in Drumchapel find are for ever being challenged and undermined by grinding poverty and the frustration of powerlessness to be unable to attenuate conditions.

4.2.6 CHANGING HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURES

Between 1955 and 1975, the majority of applicants for council housing were nuclear families, one or more members of which were in

employment (Maclennan and Gibb 1988). Applicants of this nature are now in the minority and have been superseded in numbers by applicants who are not in employment and/or are not part of a nuclear family. One-third of families with children of school age and/or below are headed by a lone-parent. In one area where research was undertaken, 75% of property let was done so to un-waged and/or lone-parent families (City Housing, Drumchapel, 1992).

TABLE 4.10: LONE PARENTS AND LARGE FAMILIES IN DRUMCHAPEL DURING 1990

Households	Drumchapel	District %
Lone adults with children	30.0% (992)	17.7
Households with 4+ children	7.9% (262)	4.7
Lone adults with 4+ children	1.2% (41)	0.5

(Source: Drumchapel Initiative, 1992)

Changes in household structure emphasising the most vulnerable underlines the significance of other figures: un-waged, health and population decline. Furthermore, due to such concentrations and imbalance in the population structure compared to previously, stresses have been placed on the community.

4.3 LENGTH OF RESIDENCE AND INTERNAL MIGRATION

The nature of migration is of importance regarding population composition as well as the stability of an area. Together, these points relate to the dynamics of "community", which forms the basis of Chapter Eight.

Migration has important implications *vis-à-vis* networks of support; it could be anticipated that such networks would be undermined. This is likely to have important implications for the prevalence of a sense of community. The extent to which an individual identifies with an area, that is their sense of attachment, bears some relation to their length of residence and their migration history (Janowitz and Kasarda 1974).

The dynamics of migration are likely to be distinct in a PHS relative to other local authority areas as well as to the private sector (Maclennan and Gibb 1988). According to data for 1985, the average council tenant in Glasgow moves house once every fourteen years, a figure that is

approximately half that of home-owners, and tenants that do move house are most likely to do so within the same housing scheme (*op. cit.*).

These findings relate to a PHS as a whole, and do not distinguish between different areas within. It is likely these findings would not apply to the least desirable areas, e.g. Kingsridge-Cleddans. Indeed, Survey findings provide a contrasting picture of migrant activity. Certain neighbourhood areas were found to have a turnover rate of almost one-quarter of their population in just one year. The significance of this figure is highlighted further if it is compared with the same figure for the most desirable areas in Drumchapel, which is just five per cent. These findings are supported by those of the Sample Survey. In spite of the steady rate of out-migration, within a PHS there will be a certain amount of inertia with respect to population turnover; for example heads of households remaining while younger family members leave.

From the Survey, length of residence in Drumchapel ranged from less than one year to thirty-eight years. Respondents of retirement age were more likely to be long-term residents, whereas there was a greater likelihood that younger respondents had arrived in Drumchapel more recently. However, there were some exceptions to this pattern. A small number of people over the age of fifty had only recently moved into Drumchapel, and 17% of twenty to thirty-five year old people had lived for all or a majority of their life in Drumchapel. The figures in Table 4.11 provide a breakdown of findings by neighbourhood area.

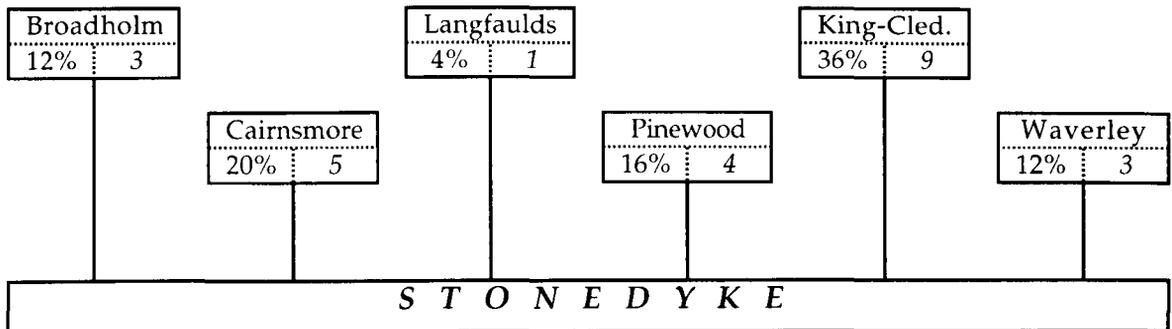
TABLE 4.11: LENGTH OF RESIDENCE OF RESPONDENTS COMPARED BY NEIGHBOURHOOD

No. of years	Stonedyeke	Golden Triangle	Kingsridge-Cleddans	TOTAL
<1 year	3% (2)	2% (1)	8% (5)	4% (8)
1-3 years	5% (3)	3% (2)	16% (10)	8% (15)
3-10 years	39% (23)	48% (29)	27% (17)	38% (69)
> 10 years	53% (31)	48% (29)	48% (30)	49% (90)
TOTAL	59	61	62	182

Previous residence in another neighbourhood was compared for each sample area. Comparing sample areas, it was found that 12% of Kingsridge-Cleddans respondents had previously resided in another neighbourhood of Drumchapel, a figure considerably lower than corresponding figures for Stonedyeke (42%) and the Golden Triangle (51%).

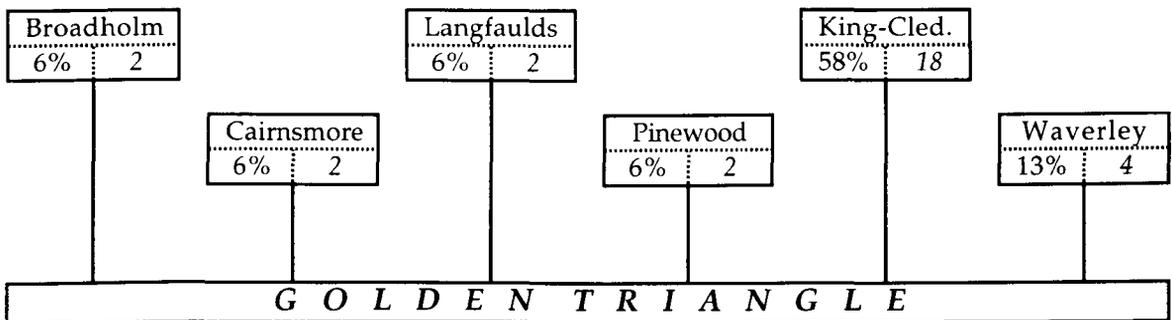
The three diagrams that follow provide a detailed breakdown for each sample area of the previous residence within Drumchapel of respondents.

FIGURE 4.8: PREVIOUS RESIDENCE OF STONEDYKE SURVEY RESPONDENTS*



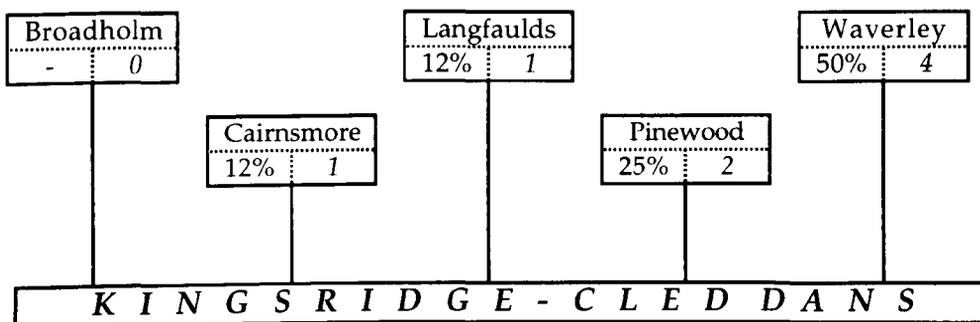
(*: % in the figure are a proportion of the total figure of 59 for this sample area).

FIGURE 4.9: PREVIOUS RESIDENCE OF GOLDEN TRIANGLE SURVEY RESPONDENTS*



(*: % in the figure are a proportion of the total figure of 61 for this sample area).

FIGURE 4.10: PREVIOUS RESIDENCE OF KINGSRIDGE-CLEDDANS SURVEY RESPONDENTS*



(*: % in the figure are a proportion of the total figure of 62 for this sample area).

The neighbourhood of Stonedyke is not included in Figures 4.9 or 4.10 because no respondents living in Kingsridge-Cleddans or the Golden Triangle had previously resided in Stonedyke. Kingsridge-Cleddans is a neighbourhood that has experienced high levels of out migration, and this is reflected in the number of residents who now reside either in the

Golden Triangle or Stonedyke, but who gave Kingsridge-Cleddans as a place of previous residence. Retired respondents in particular had lived previously in another neighbourhood; 35% of retired respondents had formerly lived in Kingsridge-Cleddans. This figure is accounted for by the fact that older respondents are more likely to have the required number of housing points to obtain a transfer. Furthermore, approximately 20% of respondents in younger age-groups had lived elsewhere in Drumchapel. This was most usually because the respondent had spent their childhood in another neighbourhood area.

4.3.1 HOUSING TRANSFER REQUESTS

The attitude of tenants towards Drumchapel is reflected in the number of transfers requested to move away from Drumchapel. Data obtained from Drumchapel Housing and from the Sample Survey is constructive. With the Sample Survey, three consecutive and related questions addressed the wish to move from the present house, neighbourhood area, and Drumchapel. Asking the same question, though relating it to a progressively larger context, provided an insight into the geographic scale of (dis)satisfaction. In other words, whether responses were to the immediate physical limitations of the house, or to the wider perceived negative aspects of a neighbourhood, or were indicative of attitudes towards Drumchapel.

Of the sample total, 25% (45) wanted to move from their present house; 20% (36) wanted to move from the neighbourhood, and 17% (31) wanted to move from Drumchapel. It is evident from these figures that there is a stepped reduction with respect to scale. Of those respondents who wanted to move from their house, there is a rump who wanted to leave Drumchapel altogether. The converse of this assessment is that one-third of people who want to move out of their present house wanted to remain in Drumchapel, and one-fifth of those who wanted to move did not want to leave the neighbourhood. Regarding age, of respondents under the age of forty, approximately one-third wanted to move from their present house. In comparison, only approximately one-tenth over the age of forty wanted to move. Movement from the existing neighbourhood and from Drumchapel reflected the same pattern, though even fewer over-40s wanted to move. Only 12% (21) of the sample total had actually placed their names on the transfer list. Interestingly, few waged respondents

wanted to move, the figure being just 12.5% of this category. These figures contrast with those contained in Table 4.12, which summarises data from Drumchapel Housing.

TABLE 4.12: THE TRANSFER LIST FOR DRUMCHAPEL IN 1988

Nature of Transfer	Number of Households requiring a transfer
Move out of Drumchapel	1,959 (28%)*
Move within Drumchapel	2,736 (39%)
Move into Drumchapel	356

(Source: City Housing (Drumchapel), 1992) (*The bracketed figures are the number of transfers as a percentage of 7,167 households in Drumchapel in 1991).

Compared with the Sample Survey, the difference in the level of transfer requests may be accounted for by the difference in time between the collection of data (four years). During this time some requests have been processed and demand is now lower. Other residents may have changed their minds about moving elsewhere, principally due to the length of waiting time.

Regarding both sets of data, if the link between level of transfers and satisfaction is accepted, then there is a high level of dissatisfaction with living in Drumchapel. In addition, there is the possibility that the positive pulling power of other areas outside of Drumchapel exert their own influence. However, the factor of overcrowding does account for some transfer requests. From Drumchapel Housing data, and for the same year, 1988, there were 678 requests for transfer on these grounds (City Housing, Drumchapel, 1991), representing 15% of the total number of all transfer requests and 8.6% of all council tenants in Drumchapel.

Importantly, however, transfer requests to remain within Drumchapel are higher than requests overall. This somewhat unexpected finding may be explained pragmatically: householders perceive a greater chance of gaining a transfer to another neighbourhood in Drumchapel than to leaving it. It may reflect dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood and/or the house, but not with Drumchapel *per se*, an indicator perhaps of attachment to the area in general. Movement from one neighbourhood to another within Drumchapel would represent a less significant dislocation. Such a move would enhance householder utility (better housing, and improved environment) but do so without severing social connections. Those

residents who have lived in Drumchapel for a short period of time are less likely to request to move elsewhere because they would be placed at the bottom of a very long transfer list.

Voluntary moves into Drumchapel are comparatively rare. Five respondents had previously lived outside of Drumchapel, and had been residents for three years or less. Three of these five had stipulated Drumchapel as a desired choice because either relatives or friends were already residents. Compared to other areas in the city voluntary moves into Drumchapel are very low. If the number of transfer requests seeking to leave the area is lower than might be predicted, the fact is few households live in Drumchapel out of choice rather than habit.

4.4 PUBLIC SECTOR SERVICE DOMINATION

4.4.1 HOUSING TENURE

The housing of Drumchapel is remarkably homogeneous in two respects. In respect of housing tenure, 95% of property was local authority owned in 1989. The remainder of the housing belongs to either one of four housing co-operatives or the one housing association that have been established in Drumchapel. Less than one per-cent of housing is owner-occupied, and that figure is due to 'Right-to-Buy' legislation that was implemented in the 1980s. The 'Right-to-Buy' has only benefited those few residents of PHS who have the resources to purchase and who do not want to move elsewhere, i.e. such residents are long established in an area.

TABLE 4.13: TENURE OF HOUSING IN DRUMCHAPEL DURING 1990

Tenure	Number	Percentage
Glasgow District Council	6,787	94.6
Council Home Sales	13	0.2
Other Private Housing	62	0.9
Co-operatives	305*	4.2
	7,167	100.0

(Source: City Housing, Drumchapel, 1991) (*This figure does not include Cernagh, Pineview nor KCHA who later officially achieved co-op/association status)

Concerning housing-type, upon first sight Drumchapel appears to be composed exclusively of tenement properties that are either three or four storey. In fact, some 90% of properties are tenemental. Emerging from this homogeneity are three multi-storey blocks, which account for 5% of

housing in Drumchapel. Though almost 'invisible' amongst the dominance of tenement properties, there are small clusters of single-story pensioners' houses as well.

4.4.2 WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE HOUSING?

The near homogeneity of housing tenure is only interrupted by the considerable variability in the standard of housing. In 1991, 16.4% of the housing stock was 'below tolerable standard' (Turok 1991). Different neighbourhood areas of Drumchapel tend to be comprised of housing that is of a similar standard, the effect of which is that there is a patch-work of housing standards.

With the exception of a few pockets of housing that have been refurbished in the late 1980s by GDC, Turok (1991a) has listed that 21% of housing in Drumchapel required re-wiring, 93% required roof-renewal, 81% window renewal, and 99% wholesale heating. Statistics of this nature reveal that residents have to brave a harsh climate on two counts. First, and most importantly, they reveal the generally low standard of housing that has to be tolerated. Residents of this PHS have little comfort each winter if they have insufficient heating, and have to suffer the likelihood of damp housing due to the need for roof-renewal and window replacement. Second, the statistics illustrate the scale of the problem that GDC has to overcome or contain. A harsh economic climate over the past fifteen years, in which the fiscal resources of local authorities have been progressively reduced has meant it has been impossible to maintain public sector housing to a decent standard (Butcher *et al* 1990; Forrest and Murie 1988).

Aside from the need for large-scale improvements, there are a growing number of empty (void) houses. Currently Drumchapel has some 1,000 void houses, which is approximately 10% of the total stock (City Housing Drumchapel, 1991). A high number of voids affect the quality of life in Drumchapel and are costly to the City in maintenance terms and lost rent. Table 4.14 contains a breakdown of the number of voids by neighbourhood area.

TABLE 4.14: LOCAL AUTHORITY HOUSING STOCK BY NEIGHBOURHOOD AREA IN 1990

Neighbourhood Area	Total Stock	Number of Voids	
Broadholm	1,391	172	12.3%
Cairnsmore	661	8	1.2%
Kingsridge-Cleddans	1,271	513	40.1%
Langfaulds	1,117	12	1.1%
Pinewood	721	55	7.6%
Stonedyke	912	15	1.6%
Waverley	1,094	120	10.9%
Total	7,167	895	11.0%

(Source: City Housing Drumchapel, 1991).

Voids tend to be concentrated in particular areas: Kingsridge-Cleddans and Waverley contain the highest numbers, because of the difficulty of letting. A 'catch 22' situation develops from an established number of voids in a neighbourhood area. Potential tenants are unwilling to accept offers of housing in these areas due to their run-down nature, and the number of voids cannot be reduced by the obvious means of moving tenants into an area. Indeed, the extent of dereliction can be so extensive that not even the most 'desperate' of applicants for housing are willing to accept offers.

To break the monopoly that local government had on housing, large-scale privatisation was promoted by central government. This privatisation was made possible on a large-scale via the establishment of Scottish Homes, a government funded body that encourages the establishment of housing associations and housing co-operatives. Many of the housing associations and co-operatives have been established on residual local authority housing estates. This is of mutual benefit in so far as local government has removed some of the most problematic housing from its stock, while central government is able to loosen the monopoly of the local authority as a landlord.

Until the latter half of the 1980s all housing in Drumchapel was local authority owned. Since that time, three housing co-operatives and one housing association have been established. Numerically the number of houses involved in this change of tenure is not substantial (see Chapter Seven). Furthermore, the location of the housing co-operatives and housing association is on the periphery of Drumchapel. Nonetheless, their establishment is not to be ignored. Considering the near monopoly

of the public this is a significant development to which the response of the community is of interest.

4.4.3 THE DRUMCHAPEL SHOPPING CENTRE AND ITS CUSTOMERS

Constructed in familiar Sixties concrete, the Drumchapel Shopping Centre is single-storey and the shops are single-units with the exception of Gateway Supermarket. The affliction of many Sixties buildings is in evidence: a domination of concrete and recti-linear harshness. There is a uniformity that is only broken by the more recent addition of the supermarket. Efforts have been made to break the monotony of this monochrome scene with some livelier colours: red, blue and yellow are splashed about. In evidence is a brightly painted children's play area, and sign-posts directing shoppers in different directions.

Apart from a few outlying shops in the seven neighbourhood areas of Drumchapel, most of which are closed, residents are dependent on the Drumchapel Shopping Centre (DSC) for the majority of their shopping. Indeed, there is a lack of competition and thus choice as to where to shop. One outcome of this is that it is likely that residents will pay more for groceries than elsewhere (The Guardian 1994).

The shops that together comprise DSC provide basic essentials. Many have closed, leaving boarded-up premises. Table 4.15 provides a breakdown of shop units, including the number of 'vacants'. It requires little imagination to envisage the siege atmosphere that a high number of unoccupied and boarded-up shops induces.

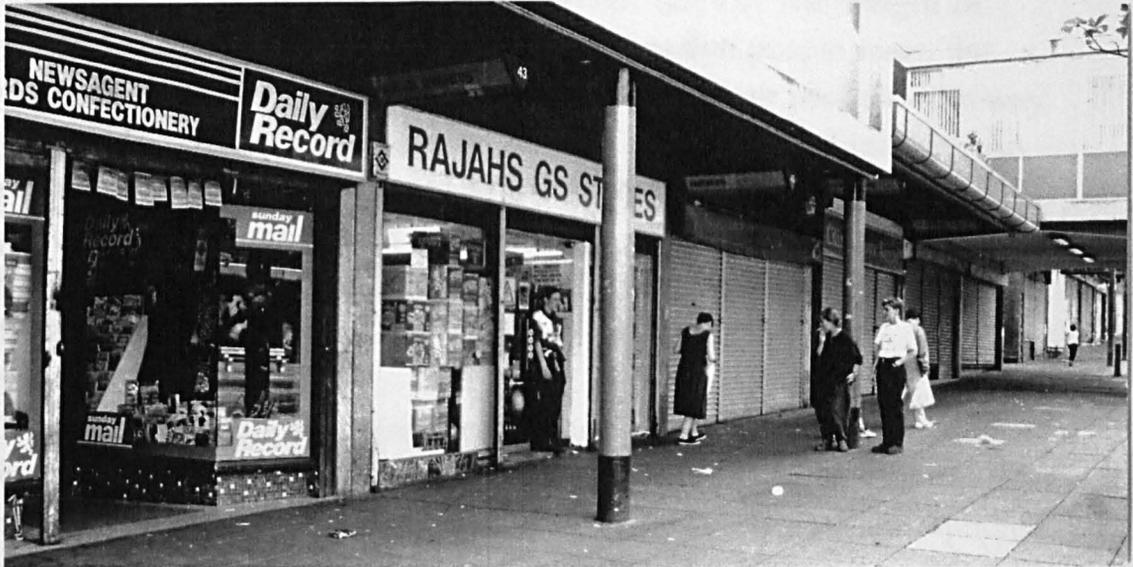
TABLE 4.15: THE NUMBER OF SHOP UNITS IN DRUMCHAPEL DURING 1992

	Shopping Centre	Neighbourhoods	Total
<i>Occupied</i>	32	24	56
<i>Vacant</i>	14	3	17

(Source: Drumchapel Initiative, 1992)

The remainder of premises provide assistance to Drumchapel residents: the Drumchapel Initiative and the Citizens Advice Bureau occupy some of the units. There is a creeping domination of the thrift shops that re-cycle everything from children's toys, to clothes, and furniture. These are a throw-back to the 1930s.

FIGURE 4.11: DRUMCHAPEL SHOPPING CENTRE, FEATURING THE MOST 'RUN-DOWN' SECTION



(Note Figures 4.11 and 4.12 were taken late Saturday PM).

FIGURE 4.12: THE CENTRAL AREA OF THE DRUMCHAPEL SHOPPING CENTRE



DSC is utilised by a variety of 'customers'. There are a number of stray dogs that inquisitively go about their business. Then there are a number of regular drinkers who use DSC as a place to gather to consume alcohol. Throughout the day, some of the entrances are occupied by groups of people 'swigging' from cans of Tennents Lager. Lastly, there are people who have come to DSC to purchase goods or to use other services, such as the Post Office. There is something quite distinct about the shoppers in Drumchapel, distinct when compared to the majority of shoppers elsewhere; though shoppers in Drumchapel probably resemble shoppers in other 'deprived' areas. The present Drumchapel Initiative Director has

noted how people in Drumchapel "*look poorer, you can see it in them, the way they are dressed ... they look so different*" (28 v). The weight of poverty and hardship is evident in the clothes that people wear, the expression on their faces, and most noticeably in their posture - the way that they hold their body together through the excesses of tension. An economic emaciation of customers is evident. This is added to by the presence of security guards at the one and only supermarket who 'cover' exits to ensure that a 'chancer' does not attempt to leave without paying for any goods.

This account of the shopping facilities and customers has given an insight into life in Drumchapel - it is a central focus where people visit out of necessity or as a place to gather. It reinforces the desperate atmosphere that pervades much of Drumchapel and the economic emaciation that is hidden behind social statistics. The nature of demand in Drumchapel, the bread-line existence of many residents is pervasive; there is no market for shops to sell 'fancy goods'. Rather, there has been a growth in popularity of food co-operatives, selling basic foodstuffs at the lowest price possible.

4.5 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

A fundamental tenet of decentralisation is that it should enhance participatory democracy (Hoggett and Hambleton 1987). For this to take place, local people need to become involved. Involvement in community groups complement more orthodox forms of political participation, e.g. voting. Not unreasonably for people to have an active interest in participating, some level of involvement in more basic forms of participation should exist.

Arguably the most basic form of involvement is the act of voting during elections. Yet, this is not possible if people are not registered to vote. Of 182 respondents, 89.6% (163) said that they were on the Electoral Register. The 10.4% (19) of respondents who were not registered is a relatively high proportion. Closely associated with electoral registration is voter turn-out at elections. At the most recent General Election, in April 1992, this figure was 80.2% (146). Of course, some 10% of the sample were not registered to vote, and so of the sample who were registered to do so the turn-out was 90%. This figure compares favourably with the national average of 77%

(Wood and Wood, 1992). Of principal interest are those respondents who are registered to vote but did not do so - the 19.8% of the sample.

Concerning voting in the District Election, of May 1992, a similar pattern prevailed to that for the General Election. This pattern, however, was based on a much lower turn-out: 53.8% (98) of the sample population voted.

These figures should be interpreted cautiously, where according to Table 4.16 official turn-out for the 1994 District Elections was considerably lower. Respondents may be claiming that they have voted when they have not.

TABLE 4.16: VOTER TURN-OUT FOR DISTRICT ELECTIONS OF MAY 1994

	Drumry	Summerhill	Blairdardie	Glasgow	Scotland
<i>% Turn-out</i>	28.9	28.2	38.3	32.4	41.3

(Source: Glasgow Herald 1992, p. 12). (Drumry and Summerhill Wards correspond to the majority of Drumchapel, whereas that of Blairdardie covers only a small portion of Drumchapel).

For voter registration and voting in the General and District Elections the differences between women and men were small. Regarding the Electoral Register, 10% of women and 11% of men were not included. This small margin between the genders widened with regard to the General Election: 18% of women did not vote, whereas 22% of men did not. However, this gap narrowed again with the District Election: 46% of both women and men did not vote.

The voting characteristics of respondents were further considered in relation to their (non)economic status. Such consideration is relevant to the application of the underclass concept to the Drumchapel population (next section). Table 4.17 summarises variations.

TABLE 4.17: THE VOTING CHARACTERISTICS OF ECONOMICALLY AND NON-ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE COMPARED

Characteristic	Active	Non-active	Difference
<i>Name is on the ER</i>	90%	89%	1%
<i>Voted in General Election</i>	87%	77%	10%
<i>Voted in District Election</i>	58%	52%	6%

TABLE 4.18: THE VOTING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE UNWAGED AND LONE-PARENTS

	Electoral Register	General Election	Difference
% <i>Yes un-waged</i>	80%	52%	28%
% <i>Yes lone-parent</i>	83%	75%	8%

(Sample sizes: un-waged = 25, lone-parents = 12)

The largest difference in the level of turn-out between economically active and inactive was for the General Election. There was a difference of 10% which is not explained by an equivalent difference in numbers who are registered to vote. Closer attention to the economically inactive respondents found that it was the unwaged and lone parents specifically who were *least* likely to vote in a General Election, even though they were registered to do so.

A final cross-tabulation is that between voting characteristics and the Sample Survey area. Table 4.19 summarises responses:

TABLE 4.19: PRIMARY LEVELS OF PARTICIPATION COMPARED BY SURVEY AREA

	<i>Stonedyme</i>	<i>Golden Triangle</i>	<i>Kingsridge-Cleddans</i>
<i>Electoral Register</i>	86% (51)	97% (59)	85% (53)
<i>General Election</i>	81% (48)	92% (56)	68% (42)
<i>District Election</i>	44% (26)	79% (48)	39% (24)

Though doubts exist over the accuracy of data collected, assumptive links between voter registration and turn-out on the one hand and levels of deprivation on the other hand are not borne out. Kingsridge-Cleddans recorded the lowest levels of participation which is supportive of the underclass theme, as K-C has the highest concentrations of potential underclass members. However, Stonedyme records figures that are relatively close to that of K-C. Recalling that these three areas represent different levels of well-being, it would be expected that Stonedyme would register the highest participation levels. Further, Kingsridge-Cleddans is the closest to official data sources. There is the possibility that K-C residents were more 'honest' or accurate in their responses. This may be because less awkwardness is felt at not having registered or voted as there is a detachment from mainstream society.

Concerning the now defunct Poll Tax, it is strongly suspected that some residents deliberately avoided registration in order to avoid payment

(Paddison 1990). The reason for this avoidance is the correct belief that the Electoral Register and the Community Charge Register are closely linked. There is a suspicion that it is predominantly young adult males who are most likely to avoid registration to vote, so that they can avoid registration for the Poll Tax (Millard 1992). Young adult women are less likely to avoid registration by this means because, as the registered occupant, they often are the 'official' head of household.

4.6 CONCLUSIONS

Throughout this Chapter a variety of data have been presented. The impression gained from this data is likely to be the 'tip of the iceberg', and the reality is considerably more complex. Importantly, this concluding section will consider in more detail the significance of this data, by looking behind the figures.

In the first instance the data can be looked upon as an illustration of the effects of restructuring and upheaval, i.e. the fallout from the disorganisation of capitalism. In considering what the figures mean, the significance of the underclass concept for the Drumchapel population and the conditions in which decentralisation has taken place can be looked at. Finally, this concluding section will form a transitional stage in the research from that of scene-setting to that of looking directly at the research findings.

4.6.1 EXCLUSION, MARGINALISATION AND DISEMPOWERMENT

What is required is a more qualitative feel of what it is like to live in Drumchapel. It is, for example, instructive to look at exclusion, which is a central component of the underclass concept. Other components of the underclass such as the lack of choice and disempowerment are embedded within the statistics discussed in this Chapter.

What is clear from the data presented on the nature of housing at the time of field research is that many residents of Drumchapel are unable to exercise any choice in where they live. Living in damp housing, with insufficient heating is a reality for many. There is virtually no likelihood of having the opportunity to transfer elsewhere due to an insufficient number of housing points. The private sector is not an option. Buying a

house is beyond the means of the overwhelming majority of residents. Renting private sector housing is less secure and anyway its availability is very limited.

With a high proportion of the adult population not engaging in waged work, reliance on Income Support or unemployment benefit is the alternative. To live on Income Support is not possible; it only permits existence. Social Security reforms have led to increasing isolation, and to diminishing relative value of welfare benefits (Dean and Taylor-Gooby 1992). The high levels of the unwaged has the cumulative effect of increasing isolation. People struggling for jobs at the unskilled end of the job market tend to gain information about job vacancies from family and friends, rather than from job centres. If the majority of the population in some neighbourhoods are unemployed, then information gained 'through the grape vine' is going to be non-existent (Donnison 1992).

An example of the retreat of welfare support is that in 1988 the Social Fund replaced Social Security grants for essential items such as a cooker. Applications can be made for loans that then have to be repaid over a set period of time. The Social Fund is a painful irony because in order to qualify for a loan, the applicant has to be able to re-pay the loan. The majority of Income Support recipients receive insufficient state benefit to qualify for such a loan. Those refused loans from 'legitimate' sources have little alternative than to borrow money from 'loan sharks' who prey foremost on the vulnerable living in poverty. Interest charged on money borrowed is often in the region of 200-300%. A situation can soon develop whereby only a proportion of the interest is ever repaid.

Something of an alternative to surviving solely on Income Support and/or loans from whatever source is to work (if this is possible) without declaring that work to the relevant authorities. Research undertaken by a team at Exeter University into survival mechanisms of people who live in poverty revealed that two in three males work for cash without declaring this to the relevant authorities. This was regarded as legitimate by the community and was recognised as the only way to survive: "People who play the game by the rules end-up seriously in danger of homelessness, seriously in poverty to the extent of being destitute and seriously under

threat of their family breaking-up. Without the sanctioned bending of the rules, people would be in very severe trouble indeed" (James *et al* 1991, p. 111).

Parents who are dependent on Income Support or low wages are by-passed by a consumer culture in which they cannot afford to participate. Under such conditions, people lose self-respect when they do not have choices. "Being a good parent is linked to a range of circumstances such as the strength of the community, self-esteem and the family's financial resources" (The Guardian 1992). The significance of all of these impacts is that support networks have been undermined, and it is unlikely that there are the informal economic structures that permit support between relatives, neighbours and friends.

There has also been an outward migration, especially by those who are the most 'advantageously' placed regarding employment opportunities, and choose to live elsewhere. It is likely to have been 'stronger' members of the community, who are more confident, articulate and able to draw on inner strengths, who have moved away. Due to out-migration of this nature, support networks are going to be weakened economically, physically, and psychologically. The community contains a growing proportion of elderly, sick and disabled people, as well as the unwaged. Overall, there is an increased strain on the entire community, which takes its toll; psychological problems of depression and feelings of hopelessness increase. Coming full circle, such conditions are debilitating and hinder the gaining of employment and lead to serious health problems.

Significantly, paralleling this undermining of traditional family support networks is the rise in the importance of non-family networks. A familiar sight in Drumchapel is that of groups of young women gathering outside of a close or neighbours visiting one another. Observations of this nature could be the outward signs of mutual systems of support: baby-sitting, advice, or financial aid. Thus, non-family support networks may have become as important and effective as those of the family.

A final consideration is the extent of involvement with the formal political process, i.e. voting in elections (Section 4.5). Expanding on the previous findings, one in ten of the sample are excluded from the

democratic process, either due to a failure in the system or due to intention on their part. It would be anticipated that members of the underclass would be less likely to vote than the rest of the adult population. This is because alienation from political institutions corresponds with a more widespread alienation from consumer society and the arena of employment. Previous research findings found nothing conclusive. More people do vote than would be expected. Caution needs to be exercised as there is the concern of whether people were being honest. Official voter turnout figures for the District elections are probably more reliable than these Sample Survey findings. There is limited support in so far as Kingsridge-Cleddans respondents were less likely to vote. To support the experiences of Drumchapel, comparable research undertaken by Dean and Taylor-Gooby (1992) can be mentioned. They obtained data pertaining to political participation, and found that 63% of Social Security claimants always or nearly always voted. Political effectiveness was perceived by the underclass to be less so than mainstream members of society, though perceptions were not greatly different. In Chapter Seven, voting characteristics are contrasted with the nature and extent of involvement in community groups.

There is the possibility that there is a loss of interest in the formal political process. Due to exasperation with the lack of change in the political system, the related undermining of life chances and the relative lowering in standards of living compared to the majority of the population, people do not bother. The act of casting a vote is not likely to be perceived as holding the potential to change life situations. Irrespective of the reasons for exclusion, disenfranchisement of this nature is of relevance to the notion of citizenship; a cornerstone of this concept is the opportunity for individuals to have the power of the vote.

How stigmatisation caused by the aforementioned conditions might impact on people is a concern. Coping with public contempt is not some dim and distant problem that has little bearing on the lives of Drumchapel residents. It is very much a reality with the political line of some of the press and media, and the attitude of the state being manifested in continual changes to the welfare state. Coping with public contempt may lead to despair and further alienation from the rest of society.

Differing perspectives on the forces affecting social cohesion have been presented. As a consequence there are mixed interpretations and subsequent contradictions; on the one hand the social fabric of Drumchapel is disintegrating, on the other there are alternative support mechanisms coming into play. Though acknowledging the variable interpretations of data, it may appear from the content of much of this Chapter that a hopeless situation prevails in Drumchapel. But, an important emphasis is that many of the points made are based on a combination of assumptions drawn from mainstream society's values and priorities. It is therefore important to acknowledge that there are alternative ways of seeing situations.

4.6.2 DRUMCHAPEL, THE UNDERCLASS CONCEPT AND DECENTRALISATION

The data presented throughout this Chapter constitutes a series of indicators of the high levels of multiple deprivation that prevail in Drumchapel. Inferences can be made from the data, and in a quantitative sense, an argument can be made for a significant proportion of the Drumchapel population forming a part of the underclass. Drumchapel has high numbers of its population comprising many of these social groups such as the unemployed, those engaged in low paid waged work, single parents and people with poor levels of health. In addition, almost all of the population of Drumchapel live in public sector housing. Indeed, many of the population belong to more than one of the social groups that have previously been identified as possibly comprising the underclass.

Though links have been established between the concept of the underclass and the Drumchapel population, it is important to emphasise that due to the lack of an agreed definition, "... proof of the actual existence of an underclass remains as elusive as ever" (Hill 1994, p. 70). Crucially the underclass is not the same as the poor - "all those in poverty are not necessarily part of a distinctive and excluded group which persists through time and is actually or potentially detached from the labour market. But poverty more widely construed does bear on citizenship status and community membership. Poverty is also growing, as inequality grows; thus the threat to social inclusion deepens" (*op. cit.*, p. 79). In future chapters, the themes of inclusion and exclusion, in conjunction with that of marginalisation, are considered to be of additional importance to the underclass concept and its application to Drumchapel.

In this concluding section, what life might be like in Drumchapel has been explored, particularly strong themes of this exploration have been how and why people are marginalised and excluded. Some forms of marginalisation and exclusion can be measured in direct ways, for example, by voter registration and turnout at elections. However other forms of marginalisation and exclusion are less easily measured and instead rely on more qualitative forms of assessment. Aside from the difficulty of always assessing the extent of marginalisation and exclusion, the complicated nature of their impacts on the social fabric and community structure of Drumchapel have been highlighted.

What remains is a complicated picture of the many negative effects of marginalisation and exclusion on the quality of life of Drumchapel people as individuals and as part of a community. Importantly, there is also the potential for positive outcomes, possibly as a result of people adapting to their circumstances. Residents have re-focused their time energy and devised coping strategies to survive. In many respects, there has been a resistance to the effects of disempowerment. Local people have made attempts to empower themselves by alternative means, including different ways of participating in or associating with society. The rejection of some practices that are characteristics of the majority of society, may motivate some people to pursue alternative lifestyles through the increasing organisation of society at a smaller scale. Conditions of this nature, can have implications for decentralisation in so far as they may encourage associated opportunities.

In claiming that favourable conditions for the progression of decentralisation can exist, it is important to emphasise that decentralisation is not a new model of public service provision which happens to 'fit' the conditions in Drumchapel. Instead, there is a more dynamic situation, whereby decentralisation has been shaped by the conditions on the ground. Further chapters will resume this theme and develop it in relation to specific aspects of decentralisation.

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CHAPTER 5

GLASGOW DISTRICT COUNCIL AND STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL, *VIS-A-VIS* DECENTRALISATION

The purpose of this Chapter is to help to set in context the content of future chapters. Insights are provided into the perspectives of Strathclyde Regional Council (SRC) and Glasgow District Council (GDC) on decentralisation. That decentralisation has taken place is not in question. What is not so transparent is the extent and nature of this. Such a mapping provides essential background information.

The location of this Chapter is important. Future chapters look almost exclusively at external decentralisation. To analyse this immediately would be inappropriate, as there is a need to understand the background of 'top-down' developments. Thus, in this Chapter there is more of an emphasis on internal decentralisation, i.e. that which is associated with the administrative functioning of a local authority. It is important to establish what efforts SRC and GDC have made in the way of decentralisation, and see how the proposals and policy developments have given expression to decentralisation. This will assist in understanding the stance of both authorities and of their service departments, besides the perceptible attitudes of both authorities towards decentralisation.

This research is set in the early 1990s when SRC and GDC were still in existence. In April 1996, regional and district councils in Scotland were replaced by new unitary authorities, Drumchapel is now covered by Glasgow City Council.

Developments pre-dating the late 1980s and associated with SRC and GDC are dealt with separately because both authorities have distinct histories regarding their establishment and subsequent unfolding. These distinctions have to be taken into account when developments associated with decentralisation are examined. In addition, the scale of operation of the two authorities varies greatly and they are responsible for the provision of different services.

SRC is considered first. Structures that have been introduced by SRC and warrant attention are Areas for Priority Treatment, and two types of committees: Community Development Committees and Area Liaison Committees. Of complementary importance are two strategy documents; *A Social Strategy for the Eighties* and *A Social Strategy for the Nineties*. Their content is analysed in relation to some of the characteristics of decentralisation. With GDC there are two principal concerns in relation to decentralisation; Area Management and Community Councils, along with the inter-relationships between these.

5.1 STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL

Any consideration of Strathclyde Regional Council (SRC) and its policies *vis-à-vis* decentralisation has to begin with SRCs approach to the problem of poverty. As Young (1987) has said, "what has laid the ground for and to some extent encouraged a decentralisation of sorts was the recognition in 1977 by SRC that multiple deprivation was the key problem that had to be tackled" (p. 4). Issues of poverty that were to be given priority have demanded responses from SRC that can have the decentralisation label attached to them. However, decentralisation has not taken place as part of a consciously articulated strategy. Rather, SRC may be regarded as pragmatic in the way that it has operated. Many of the ambitious developments proposed (though not always implemented) in other local authorities throughout Britain are not associated with SRC. Instead, emphasis has been placed on the way that it is 'not in the business of crash programmes and hopeful rhetoric - but rather of a long-term process of transforming the way people think about themselves and what they are capable of and of reshaping our methods of implementation accordingly' (SRC 1983, p. 17).

5.1.1 AREAS FOR PRIORITY TREATMENT

The year 1976 was a watershed for tackling multiple deprivation. Since its inception, SRC was aware of the insensitivity of local government policies, especially to people living in peripheral housing schemes that characteristically register high levels of multiple deprivation (SRC 1983).

Three particular characteristics of service provision were recognised as being unacceptable and in need of changing. First, there were thought to

be inferior standards of service provision: "far too many of our disadvantaged people had to make do with second class services or none at all because investment or staff had been directed or had gravitated towards the better areas" (Stewart 1983, p. 2). Second, an unfavourable attitude of 'blame the victim' prevailed among some local government employees, an attitude overdue for challenging (Young 1987). Undoubtedly, the unacceptability of some services contributed to a third characteristic of service provision - that of the under use of services in these same areas. Consequently, there was an awareness of the need to tackle the feeling of hopelessness towards local government that pervaded some communities. In relation to these three unacceptable characteristics, SRC set itself objectives, principally to break the "vicious circle of hopelessness and cynicism which prevailed in so many of the areas and generating understanding within local government of the nature of these problems..." (SRC 1983).

The response to multiple deprivation on the one hand, and the insensitivity of service provision on the other, was the establishment in 1976 of forty-five Areas for Priority Treatment (APT) (Young 1982). Based on a number of indicators, areas that 'scored' above a set-level were designated APT. The logic behind such a method was that resources could be more effectively targeted to those people most in need.

Other developments ensued, some of which are of relevance to decentralisation. In the years following the establishment of the APTs some structural change to SRC's operation took place. It was clear from the outset that APTs needed local administrative structures able to look closely at the nature of service provision. This local structure was headed by a councillor and would also include local officers from relevant departments, for example Social Work and Education. Who else should be involved was not given much attention relative to the importance of identifying actual APTs and rectifying what was wrong with service delivery (*op. cit.*).

Looking back to the time at and around the designation of the APTs, Young (1987) believes that there was possibly an over-reaction against centralisation. But this over-reaction was only true in some respects; power was still located at the Centre. There was, however, a lack of

direction as to what was wanted. Staff and resources that were directed towards APTs were 'left to get on with it', with insufficient guidance from the centre of SRC. It was eventually realised that greater co-ordination by the centre of SRC was necessary. The outcome was the creation of a Chief Executive's Department (CED) in 1981, which was largely concerned with implementing the Social Strategy and servicing developments thereafter. Based at the centre of SRC, the CED influenced the remainder of SRC on a number of levels. Due to its proximity to elected members and the majority of decision-making processes, the advantage of the CED is that it is able to oversee relevant service departments *vis-à-vis* the Social Strategy, and so exert some influence via relevant committees. Interestingly, the CED may be able also to have some impact on external decentralisation. In order for the CED to fulfil its *raison d'être*, it gave support to the development of political and area representation in APTs (Martlew 1988).

Closely associated with SRC's acknowledgement that in order to tackle multiple deprivation it would be necessary to assess service delivery, has been the realisation that multiple deprivation should also be tackled through community development. A principal concern was to empower people, usually through community groups, provided with support through the provision of resources. To assist in the process of community development, a Community Development Committee (CDC) was set-up in 1978, a function of which was to provide support to community groups and to establish Area Development Teams. This was given a higher profile in the early 1980s.

In particular, the APTs were used as the means of 'pushing' resources in a positive discrimination mode to areas that registered relatively high levels of deprivation. At the time of the inception of APTs, decentralisation did not have a high-profile as a concept or objective. Even so, some characteristics of decentralisation are to be found in the APT approach.

An evaluation of APTs since their inception would provide a valuable indication as to their 'performance'. Yet, SRC lacked even the mechanisms for the monitoring and evaluation of what has actually happened in APTs. An initial assessment of APTs would involve an analysis of data relating to the prevalence of poverty, and to see whether

the extent of poverty had increased or decreased over a period of time. However, doing this reveals very little, particularly SRCs capacity is limited more to ameliorating the conditions of poverty rather than actually reducing it. Rather, APTs have operated in a situation of increasing challenges associated with the overall increase in poverty *per se*; there has been major social and economic restructuring from approximately the time APTs were established. Indeed, between 1981 and 1991 the level of poverty across the Region doubled (SRC 1994). As the nature of poverty has changed, different areas have undergone different changes; divisions of Strathclyde have provided different results. The changes that have taken place in different divisions are captured in some ways in the Table:

TABLE 5.1: THE DISTRIBUTION OF APTs THROUGH ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF STRATHCLYDE REGION BASED ON CENSUS DATA

Division	1971 Census 114 APTs	1981 Census 88 APTs	1991 Census 'worst' 90 areas*
<i>Glasgow</i>	52	39	52
<i>Renfrew</i>	14	11	17
<i>Argyll/Dumbarton</i>	6	6	3
<i>Ayr</i>	10	10	6
<i>Lanark</i>	32	21	12

(Source: Strathclyde Regional Council 1992) *: In theory these would be covered by APTs

A criticism of the APT approach is that it has lacked an adequate focus, especially as the geographical distribution of poverty has changed over the years. In undertaking some assessment of APTs, and with respect to changes in poverty, their remit and structure has not been sufficiently flexible to deal with the multi-faceted nature of poverty and its various configurations over space. Reflecting this, APTs have been replaced by 'priority areas', of which there are three levels which relate to different extremes of poverty and its changing geography. SRC have explained this in greater detail: "designating 90 APTs would not reflect the scale of deprivation across the Region, nor its more dispersed nature..... It is inappropriate to impose an approach which is only area based on a problem which is not only area based but which is much more dispersed" (SRC 1992, p. 3).

In other respects, there has also been the acknowledgement that SRC's approach to poverty has not been focused enough, and indeed that it has been too broad (SRC 1994). To address these shortfalls, SRC began

allocating resources by alternative means: "...allocating all resources according to needs should be given additional weight, by providing better information on different indicators of deprivation, and by ensuring that this is pursued much more, both in terms of decisions at the regional level and at the local level" (SRC 1992, p. 5). Areas would no longer merit priority for *all* services and activities, only those which are justified in terms of needs indicators.

5.1.2 A SOCIAL STRATEGY FOR THE EIGHTIES

Based on an analysis of what had taken place between 1977 and 1983, the report 'Social Strategy for the Eighties' (Social Strategy) was published in 1983. This may be regarded as an attempt to highlight the shortfalls of the APT approach. The designation of APTs was only the beginning of any attempt to have a significant impact on multiple deprivation. Only limited improvements had taken place, and in general, conditions were still very much the same, though there were improvements in the housing stock (SRC 1983). In particular, it was realised that the APT approach had neglected to have an adequate programme focus.

The compilation of the Social Strategy was not only determined by a review of SRC policy during the 1970s. Some influence is likely to have been exerted, as Martlew (1988) identified, by the CED. The establishment of the CED itself led to pressure for further change, as the task with which it had been invested could not be fulfilled unless new ways in which to develop, implement and monitor the Social Strategy were looked at. In addition, there was increasing pressure from councillors to have a greater input into the process of policy-making.

Contained within the Social Strategy is the intention to "...create the circumstances in which local people - particularly in council housing estates - would more confidently take action against the social conditions in which they lived" (Young 1987, p. 1). Building on the lessons learned from APTs, the Social Strategy believed it necessary to: (i) determine more clearly its priorities. Services were to be prioritised including those for the elderly, youth, unemployed, under-five's, and single-parents; (ii) develop the Council's information base to correspond with the Council's concerns, and (iii) develop and support the social infrastructure of the APTs. In order to attempt to achieve these aims, positive discrimination would be

pursued. Of course, positive discrimination was central to the introduction of the APT. However, in the Social Strategy, the intention was more explicit and detailed. Positive discrimination meant "...the concentration of political, professional and community resources, commitment and energy in new approaches as well as providing new resources" (SRC 1983). Explicit was the commitment that resources would be targeted in order to improve services for the most needy. To implement these objectives several changes were necessary.

The pressure exerted by the CED was mentioned previously as a contributory factor to promoting change. Those that did ensue bolstered the role of the CED, so that the updated aims/objectives of the Social Strategy could be pursued more effectively. Thus, from within the centre of SRC, the CED was in a better position to support activities that were taking place in the APTs. Yet, looking at the CED from a different perspective, internal decentralisation tended to buttress the power of the centre of SRC. Given the structure of SRC, this was perhaps unavoidable: the CED has to co-ordinate a fragmented structure, and in order to do so it is necessary sometimes to over-ride the authority of service departments. The 'hidden-role' of the centre is a recurring point mentioned previously concerning APT and is mentioned later in relation to more recent developments.

An increased involvement by elected members was also thought desirable. Traditionally, there is a 'tension' between officers and councillors, based on the reality of where power lies within a local authority. Regarding this 'tension', councillors have sought to have a greater degree of involvement in certain areas of policy-making which have traditionally been the preserve of service departments. Complementing this, councillors wanted to represent the interests of people more directly. It has already been mentioned that only limited improvements had taken place within APT, and it was recognised that 'new approaches', mentioned above, were necessary. Another new approach was inter-departmental collaboration over some issues. The outcome was the introduction of member-officer groups. Thus, concerning new ways of working and delivering services, "councillors are evolving a sub-structure, which cuts across the traditional hierarchical approach to decision-making and devolves certain questions to grass-roots level" (Martlew 1985, p. 37).

However, the introduction of member-officer groups, though an important development, does need to be kept in perspective. Procedural simplifications have been superficial when compared with the manner in which the majority of services are administered, i.e. they still reflect very traditional practices. Policy-making processes have become more accessible, though again, that accessibility is limited to within SRC; representative democracy is very much dominant.

From the points that have been made, there is a sense of meeting the needs of APTs by restructuring administrative arrangements at the Centre. These changes themselves could be a precursor to more radical alternatives, i.e. internal and external decentralisation. However, likely to be of greater importance are the more general changes in society's expectations of the standards of service delivery in and the role of local government. In relation to local government there has been pressure for increased accountability and scrutiny, the increasing salience of citizenship and a move towards empowerment *per se* (see Chapter Two). Changes of this nature dovetail with many of the characteristics of internal and external decentralisation.

Changes in the Chief Executive's Department, and the introduction of Community Development Committees and Area Liaison Committees have been considered in relation to overcoming the short-falls of the 1970s efforts to tackle poverty. Each, in their own way, illustrate how internal decentralisation has taken place. Their significance to external decentralisation is now considered.

Returning to the Social Strategy Report, SRC asked itself some fundamental questions about the nature of the relationship that local people/communities have with itself. In relation to community action, it asked: (i) how many people are now prepared to fight for their rights?, (ii) are they more knowledgeable?, (iii) are they being given a chance to work in partnership with the local authority?, (iv) do they have access to appropriate advice and resources? Concerning the take-up of services, the question is asked: "are resources going to those who need them most?" (SRC 1983, p. 10). On the one hand, questions of this nature illustrate a positive awareness of what a local authority can do in relation to enabling local people to have an involvement in service provision. Yet, on the

other hand, these questions reveal the distance between this awareness and the nature and extent of the commitment required to create the conditions where favourable responses to such questions could be given.

The reality of involving people is not as evident. Communities were contacted during the process of conducting the Social Strategy review. In 1982 activists from the APTs were invited to two 'unique conferences' where there was the opportunity to express views. This invitation was mentioned in various relevant literature and may be an indication of SRC's awareness of the importance of mentioning such facts (SRC 1983, Young 1987). Obtaining community perspectives in this manner raises questions as to the 'quality' of information that is gleaned from communities. An inaccurate and/or inadequate picture may be obtained. At these conferences there is a clear inequality between local government on the one hand and the community on the other regarding levels of confidence and experience of procedures. With the 'Social Strategy for the Nineties' no such conferences were organised and the community viewpoints were obtained by the publication of an open letter inviting written comments. Furthermore, in contrast to the involvement of activists, within the completed Social Strategy itself, scant reference is made to the involvement of local people, the ways in which the community were consulted, and how this was dependent on the goodwill of SRC. In light of these reservations, the questions that SRC asked of itself are unlikely to have obtained the kind of answers which would portray SRC as a local authority that has a close relationship with 'the people'.

TABLE 5.2: THE MAIN PRINCIPLES OF THE SOCIAL STRATEGY FOR THE EIGHTIES

	Main Themes	Main courses of action
<i>Strategic concerns</i>	a) Poverty	1. Through the Welfare Rights Service a wider range of action on income protection and maximisation. 2. The establishment of a Poverty Working Party.
	b) Health	1. A Regional Group on Health and Deprivation.
	c) Housing	1. Action (unspecified) to pull together different strands of housing policy
	d) Employment	1. Creation of a Joint Board for Community Business with a one door approach for communities. 2. A working group will explore the needs of the unemployed.
	e) Education	1. The extension of Adult Education opportunities through local area structures and new education sector planning. 2. To develop pre-five services in areas of low provision.
	f) Community Development	1. Greater involvement of the Community Development Committee in services relating to community health, ethnic minorities and youth services.
<i>Area based developments</i>	a) Continued need for an area based element to the Deprivation Strategy	1. A more precise targeting of activities
	b) Area Profiles produced for use by Deprivation Groups.	1. Identify main deficiencies and remedies such as altering budgets, improving co-ordination and providing extra resources.
<i>Switching of resources</i>	a) "A more rigorous and aggressive approach to the implementation of its policy of positively discriminating in favour of the most disadvantaged"	1. New guidelines issued to direct new urban programme towards the areas and concerns of the strategy.
	b) Positive discrimination	1. Precise standards of provision to be achieved. These would vary from area to area according to relative need.
<i>Commitment of members and officers</i>	a) Time is made available	1. The streamlining of structures to ensure that the tasks identified receive sufficient attention.
	b) Appropriate skills are available	1. Expanding the level of officer secondment, to ensure that appropriate skills are on hand
	c) The creation of training opportunities	

5.1.3 DIVISIONAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEES

In 1986 the importance of the Social Strategy was raised by developing political structures. Five Community Development Committees (CDCs) were established at divisional level. This development is in contrast to the one previous CDC that was established in 1978. The remit of these committees is to pursue the Social Strategy and community development policies of the Council. They were invested with some importance, as all councillors had to be involved, and they were not only advisory, in so far as they have full committee status (Young 1987).

CDCs are of significance concerning decentralisation. First, they are an illustration of the commitment being expressed to decentralisation, in so far as a measure of power has been devolved from the Centre. However, there are limitations, and Young (1987) cautions that CDCs could become too guarded over the power that they possess, an indirect acknowledgement that decentralisation should be associated with expanding participatory democracy as well as the internal devolution of power. A second point concerns the balance of power inside of SRC. Traditionally committees that are concerned with public services and the allocation of resources (i.e. finance committees) have been the most powerful. By comparison, strategy committees have been more marginal (*op. cit.*). With the establishment of CDCs there was an alteration in the balance of power to the advantage of strategy committees. Even though CDCs are primarily associated with internal (administrative) decentralisation, this shift in the balance of power is of significance to external decentralisation, because the remit of CDCs, effectively strategy committees, is to facilitate community development. An additional potential benefit is that service committees, and the policy developments that are produced are going to have to accommodate some of the requests of strategy committees. This contrasts with previous arrangements, when service committees could 'hinder' community development by not enabling service departments to be more responsive.

5.1.4 AREA LIAISON COMMITTEES

In 1986 Area Liaison Committees (ALC) were established. A variety of local structures, including Area Development Teams and Area Profile Groups were the precursors to ALCs. ALCs are "advisory committees providing a local forum for identifying problems and needs, recommending changes in existing practice and monitoring progress"

(Hemfrey 1988, p. 3). Their remit includes: (i) "ensuring local groups and the wider community are kept fully informed and involved in the work of the committee" (*op. cit.*); ALCs act as a conduit for Urban Aid, which 75% of ALCs considered to be their primary role, (ii) "increasing the accountability of staff to the communities they serve", (iii) 'maintaining effective communication with agencies outwith the Council" (*op. cit.*).

In 1990 there were twenty-three ALCs in operation in Glasgow, covering the majority of APTs. In APTs where social and/or economic initiatives have been established, of which Drumchapel is one, ALCs have been superseded by the initiative structure (see Chapter Six).

ALCs occupy a position in the structure of SRC, between the community and Divisional Community Development Committees. There is variation between ALCs concerning who participates. From within SRC, different ALCs have lead officers from different departments. Other officers along with councillors who would be expected to attend have an overall poor record of attendance. A consequence of this is that "the absence of dedicated staff in ALCs... has diminished their effectiveness" (SRC 1990a, p. 12). From outwith local government, the majority of ALCs invite a wide range of community groups to participate. However, there are inconsistencies, principally surrounding the position of community councils who have equal status with community groups, even though community councils claim to be representing other community groups. In addition, issues raised at meetings are not considered to be of significance (Interview with Councillor Gordon, 1992). Due to these problems, their role continues to be under review.

From the perspective of the community, the reality of the ALCs is that meetings can be cancelled or declared inquorate due to the poor attendance of officers and/or members. When meetings are held, only a limited range of issues are tackled, and these are not necessarily the issues that a community would like to see on the agenda. The functioning of ALCs in this fashion must take its toll on community groups; the views of communities are not being taken seriously.

In 1991, the ALCs were reviewed by the Chief Executive's Department. After consultation with participants in ALCs, a number of areas of

weakness came to light. First, the involvement of elected members and of local staff is variable. This has been related to such factors as the lack of clear authority being given to lead officers and restricting their performance. Second, there is a lack of integration of decision-making by departments at the local level. In light of these problems, it has been recommended that a closer relationship between the identification of assessed need and the allocation of resources at the local level is undertaken. Third, there is a lack of clear targets - "It was suggested that it may be that the responsibilities given to ALCs were such that they did not allow them to focus their attention on specific issues in a manner that allowed them to achieve their goals" (SRC 1991, p. 8). Fourth, there is a lack of consistency not only between sub-regions but also within them. Whilst some degree of local flexibility can and should be accommodated, there is little doubt that a standard approach would improve accountability, ensure credibility and bring clear benefits (SRC 1991). Achievements were variable and depended upon the input of member and officer time and the level of community involvement (*op. cit.*). These various problems identified add up to ALCs lacking credibility, access to resources, adequate support, clearly defined links to committees, and accountability.

5.2 STRATHCLYDE REGION AND THE NINETIES: FURTHER DIRECTIONS FOR DECENTRALISATION

Two factors may have some impact on SRC *vis-à-vis* its policies towards decentralisation in the future: a review of SRC by outside consultants (the results of which were never to be put into action), and a review that was undertaken by SRC itself of the Social Strategy.

5.2.1 SAUS REVIEW OF SRC

In December 1989, SRC commissioned The School for Advanced Urban Studies (SAUS) to undertake a review of decentralisation within the Council (Cumella *et al* 1990). The purpose of the review was to "...prompt new thinking about how decentralisation might fit into future Strathclyde strategy for the 1990s" (SRC 1990, p. 2). This did not include decentralisation initiatives pursued by individual departments.

The SAUS review addressed decentralisation directly, and is indicative of a development in SRC thinking. By the end of the 1980s/early 1990s nationally, decentralisation had become a 'buzz term'. Aware of and possibly influenced by the trend and by developments in other local authorities throughout the United Kingdom (see Chapter Two) SRC began to embrace the idea. This had come to a head by 1994 with the introduction of a new decentralised community structure. In part its inception was due to the threatened disbanding of the regional councils in the Government's proposals on local government restructuring. Even when these proposals 'hardened' - the regions were to be abolished finally in April 1996 - SRC continued with its decentralisation proposals (see Chapter 10 for a consideration of the implications of this). The significance of this insecurity is that perhaps there was a less cautious approach towards decentralisation as the Council thought 'what have we got to lose?'

An important distinction exists between the situation that prevailed before and after the commissioning of the SAUS report and updating the Social Strategy, following which the term 'decentralisation' was used differently. Previously, there had been a reactive association of the concept with the established APTs, some of the characteristics of which conveniently overlap with the aims of decentralisation. Since the Social Strategy update, the concept has been applied in a more proactive manner, informing proposals rather than being attached to an established feature such as APT status.

There were nine main recommendations in the SAUS report on which SRC focused. The first recommendation of interest is concerned with the Social Strategy: "The Council needs to establish a fresh strategic direction for the 1990s which continues to develop the values and priorities of existing strategies but also addresses new strategic priorities facing the Council" (SRC 1990a, p. 9). In close conjunction with this first recommendation is a second which focused on a comprehensive approach to decentralisation: "[To] strengthen the strategic role of the centre of the authority by, for example, creating a new strategic policy forum to advise the Policy and Resources Committee. The opposite side of the same coin, would be to 'strengthen powers of local decision making structures so that more decisions are taken locally" (*op. cit.*, p. 10).

The significance of an up-dated strategy with a purposeful direction is of direct importance to decentralisation. This importance stems from the problem of 'strategic confusion' that had emerged during the 1980s, and which overshadowed developments mentioned in the previous section. Strategic confusion had come about because any decentralisation that has taken place in such departments as Social Work and Education had not been linked to the Social Strategy. SRC as a whole had placed a high priority on the Social Strategy, a priority that had required commitment from these same departments. In general, for decentralisation to be effective, a local authority needs to have a strong centre with a clearly defined strategic role over matters which include positive discrimination (Stoker and Loundes 1991). Yet, the role of the centre of SRC had not been adequately defined. This, allied to the proliferation of area-based initiatives, that have varying levels of devolved power, resulted in uncertainties. Alongside the expansion of area-based decentralisation, functional (service related) decentralisation was an essential corollary.

The third recommendation is concerned with extending corporate working, and adds support to recommendations one and two: "...to investigate the desirability of creating a Community Services Department to provide central and local support to local structures" (SRC 1990a, p. 13). It has already been acknowledged that the operation of service departments needs to be related to the strategy of the centre of SRC. Again, recommendation three is a means by which this can be encouraged. Areas with high social needs would require greater co-ordination than was presently possible under existing structures. In this respect, recommendation three is a more precise and tangible reiteration of points that were made in the Social Strategy for the Eighties. Linked to this point is the awareness that local initiatives tend to devote most attention to new developments as these do not 'interfere' with departmental structures and functions. When first established Initiatives were intended to facilitate decentralisation, though there was a lack of any detail as to how this would be achieved (SRC 1990). Clearly this particular objective of the local initiatives has not been given a high priority, and instead new developments have captured the attention. Again, with the above recommendation, the original remit of the initiatives may receive a greater level of support.

The fourth recommendation is concerned with the localisation of services: "The Council should investigate the potential of establishing more localised service delivery points on a 'one door' basis which extend joint provision with the relevant District Council wherever possible" (SRC 1990a, p. 12). This recommendation is already in practice within Strathclyde, though only in the East End of Glasgow. A number of neighbourhood offices have been established which serve populations of less than 10,000. In effect, this recommendation is an expansion region-wide of developments that have already been tested and are considered to be successful.

The fifth and final recommendation of interest is concerned with external decentralisation: "The Council should develop its policy of empowering communities on a region-wide basis by: (i) retaining a strong commitment to community development at the local level, (ii) enhancing the powers and responsibilities of local area committees, (iii) supporting the provision of independent community development resources to local communities" (SRC 1990a, p. 15). The essence of this recommendation is not new; since SRCs inception it has stated many times that it has a commitment to community development (the establishment of Community Development Committees illustrates this). More specifically, reference to 'enhancing the powers and responsibilities of local area committees' is not new, and was something that was reiterated in the 'Social Strategy for the Eighties'. Nonetheless, one development that is new is the suggestion by SRC itself that an evaluation and 'impact assessment' should be a part of the above recommendation. If implemented, this would be a commitment to external decentralisation in so far as the effectiveness of developments would be monitored.

Having considered these various recommendations and their significance, it is revealing that SRC believe that this final recommendation is essential because: "democratisation at the local level is inextricably linked with other decentralisation themes referred to by SRC, particularly corporate working and devolved management" (SRC 1990a, p. 15). With SRC acknowledging such a link it would be expected that reference to this would have been made in relation to the other SAUS recommendations listed. However, there are no such references by SRC. Though

acknowledging the importance of recommendations, SRC does not appear to appreciate the mutual importance and necessary breadth of thinking required to embrace internal changes in conjunction with external decentralisation.

Instructive here is how the SAUS review of SRC was undertaken. To help examine current practices and to develop new ideas, SRC favoured SAUS using an 'interactive approach', which involved the following: (i) interviewing people involved in the five case study area initiatives, (ii) senior officers, and (iii) some senior councillors (SRC 1990a). It is not clear what is meant by 'people involved' in the area initiatives. However, in the case of the Drumchapel Initiative (see Chapter Six) the majority of those involved were not local people. Indeed, there is no mention of involving local people whether residents and/or community activists, a point which hardly corresponds with SRC's emphasis elsewhere on involving and empowering local people.

5.2.2 A SOCIAL STRATEGY FOR THE NINETIES

A document responding to the changing social needs, 'The Social Strategy for the Nineties' was published towards the end of 1993. The general content of the review was in the same vein as previous: "to reduce deprivation and disadvantage, by targeting the Council's services and resources on the basis of need, and by influencing investment and service delivery by other agencies" (SRC 1992a). In addition, an 'Implementation Plan' to address the issues that communities face was developed. Regarding implementation, and referring specifically to service users, acknowledgement was given to the diversity of needs and the many guises that disadvantage can have; inequalities of gender that women have to encounter is one particular issue being targeted.

In an open letter by Councillor Gould, the Leader of SRC, that was circulated in the closing months of 1991 to ALCs and to some community groups, it was stated that "the more that people are able to contribute constructively to the review process, the more successful the outcome is likely to be. I therefore see it as essential that local people and community groups are involved from the start" (Gould 1991, p. 1). A growing emphasis was placed on the role that local people will have in the formulation and the implementation of the reviewed strategy. True,

involving local people is not a new concept to SRC; attention was given to community development in the 1970s. Rather, the viewpoint of local people and their involvement in general appears to have been invested with greater significance. However, the extent to which people will have an input is not clear. Whether people will be involved throughout the review, or if their involvement is limited to consultation in the early stages is unclear, though at present it appears that the latter is the case. Thus, this greater investment in the views of people, is still more rhetoric than reality. It appears that ultimately key decisions about the nature of the Social Strategy in the 1990s will be made within SRC.

To date, what decentralisation has taken place has done so in a confused and piecemeal manner. Nonetheless, two major strands are discernible. One is geographical, and has been manifested in the creation of APTs. A second, which is grafted onto the first, is that of policy areas in which there has been a collaboration between members and officers over particular issues. The outcome of this inter-linkage has been special initiatives in a number of areas, of which the Drumchapel Initiative is an example (see Chapter Six). Regarding these changes, it is clear that "developments are predominantly 'authority oriented' (internal decentralisation) rather than 'community oriented' (external decentralisation), despite the pressure to increase community involvement" (Martlew 1988, p. 36). The few developments that are concerned with external decentralisation are marginal to the day-to-day functioning of the Council. Young (1987) best captures the characteristics of SRC in accounting for the limited distance travelled towards real decentralisation and the relative neglect of external decentralisation specifically: "our machinery has remained geared to the efficient delivery of services, and not to the management of social change..... For all the surface image of dynamism, the fundamental reality.... is caution, inertia and occasional chaos" (p. 11).

5.3 GLASGOW DISTRICT COUNCIL

Glasgow has a history of structures that bear small relation to decentralisation. From the turn of the century up to the early Seventies, Ward Committees were a means by which local people came together in the interests of their local areas and petitioned Glasgow Corporation (Duncan 1988). Aside from Ward Committees, a good many of the

developments that are significant are concerned with housing. Briefly, as long ago as 1956, Area Housing Offices were established, though this was largely an administrative decentralisation rather than an outward shift of power from the centre. It was not until the late 1960s that local people had some opportunity to have an input into local government with the introduction of Comprehensive Planning Working Parties. These comprised residents, local officers and councillors. In addition, there has been the establishment of residents and tenants associations, housing associations, and housing co-operatives (see Chapters Six to Nine).

5.3.1 AREA MANAGEMENT

Within a four year period from 1967 to 1970, three major Government committees and two Royal Commissions reported on various aspects of the way in which local government works. The Government's answer was the 'Community Approach'; in other words how local authorities would give the population which they served a greater say in decision-making. However, these proposals did not affect the centralised structure of local government. Area Management was introduced in 1974 by the Department of Environment under the title 'Area Management Trials'.

In Glasgow, a more immediate reason identified by Horner (1987) and McFadden (1982), helps account for the development of Area Management, and the break in hegemony of the Labour Party during the late 1970s. It was thought that the public had felt itself to be alienated from local government, and powerless with respect to service delivery. Hence, Labour was prompted to search for more effective ways to deliver services and Area Management was the most favoured response. While in opposition, the Labour Party produced the policy document 'New Horizons on Housing', which proposed the formation of Area Housing Groups; initially, Area Management was housing-led, spearheaded by the District Housing Manager (City of Glasgow District Council 1984).

At present there are ten AMCs in Glasgow City. There are three components to Area Management: (i) central service committees, (ii) programme area teams, which comprise senior officers, whose remit is to look at the effectiveness of policy issues and to report via joint officer/member working parties to resource committees, (iii) area management committees, comprising GDC and SRC members, MPs and

local community representatives (Horner 1987). Area Management was to be complementary to programme area teams which dealt with policy areas and not geographical areas.

In June 1980 the remit of Area Management was to "monitor the effectiveness of the Council's policies and services at a local level through supervision of the AMTs and of service department activities" (*op. cit.*). In 1983 the remit was expanded, and now incorporates the following: (i) to improve the delivery of services and to make them more responsive to local needs, (ii) to improve the identification and analysis of local problems, needs and opportunities, (iii) to devolve decisions with purely local implications from central committees, (iv) to give local people more say in the work of the Council by guaranteeing representation on committees (City of Glasgow 1989). Few constraints were placed on how the AMC developed. Allowances were made for the uniqueness of each area covered. Consequently, there is some diversity in their structure and function.

Area Management has now evolved as far as it can in its present form as an advisory/supervisory body, and since the mid to late eighties the position of AMCs has changed very little (Horner 1987). There has been some suggestion of developing AMCs further, but no tangible developments are on the agenda. If developments are to take place the position of AMCs *vis-à-vis* the corporate management structure of the Council would have to be borne carefully in mind; any developments in Area Management would probably include changes elsewhere in the structure of the Council.

Up to 1984, Area Management was on course to establish itself as little more than a talking-shop (McFadden 1982). There was a need to raise the profile of Area Management and to invest it with a more significant role. This need was addressed in 1984, when AMCs were enabled to direct their own revenue. AMCs provide the opportunity for the devolvement of decision-making away from the centre if they have implications that are locally-based. Allocations in the financial year 1989-90 ranged from £400,000 to £900,000. Yet, every decision is still subject to the scrutiny of the centrally based Policy and Resources Committee.

5.3.2 AREA MANAGEMENT AND DECENTRALISATION

As a 'decentraliser' Jean McFadden, the Leader of GDC, in discussion on Area Management believed previous attempts to make GDC more 'user-friendly' and accessible were largely piecemeal and uncoordinated. With Area Management, "we [GDC] were groping towards improving the delivery of services, to make them more responsive to local demands.... We were trying to improve local problem identification, recognising the difficulties, both of communities and of members of a large authority" (McFadden 1982, p. 103). In 1980, GDC decided on "a more co-ordinated manner in which to decentralise and to encourage participation" (*op. cit.*). To McFadden, decentralisation as a concept was firmly on the agenda of GDC, and Area Management was the manifestation of this. It is interesting, however, that participation is referred to as a separate entity to decentralisation. It therefore appears that decentralisation meant internal/administrative developments and not an external devolution of power to local people. Indeed, the potential influence of Area Management on central policy-making needs to be kept in perspective. Central committees decide whether or not recommendations made by AMCs are taken on board. Though AMCs consider proposals before commitments are made by central committees, they have no power to over-rule any such decisions made.

Burns *et al* (1994) update of Arnstein's Ladder focused on 'citizen empowerment (the 8th rung of the modified ladder) and mentioned three closely linked areas of decision-making that can be opened-up to public involvement: operational practices, expenditure decisions and policy-making. Though operational practices are fundamentally determined by centrally (or nationally) agreed guidelines, through the development of Area Management some aspects of operational practice has been devolved. There are closer links, for example, between the Housing Department and Social Work which influence some areas of practice. Some budgets, though relatively small in size, have also been devolved, though it has already been acknowledged that many decisions made have to be approved by centrally-based committees. Overall, shifts in power regarding citizen empowerment are very limited.

For elected members the existence of Area Management has meant that councillors have a greater influence in two respects: on the Council

per se, and over activities in her/his ward (City of Glasgow 1989). Influence should be greater due to an enhanced understanding of local needs and opportunities. As a consequence of this, more appropriate solutions to local problems, that might otherwise become 'lost' in bureaucracy can be promoted by the councillor. However, there are factors that undermine this vision of a councillor's role. First, as a survey of community councils showed, it was found that 60% of community councillors thought that the level of commitment of elected members was not adequate (Duncan and Hemfry 1988). Second, regarding the internal decentralisation of power to AMCs there has not been a delegation of decision-making at member level. McFadden (1982) noted the experience of members who are most associated with Area Management. Though a comment made some time ago, it is the least experienced members who tend to be involved, whereas the experienced and 'senior' members tend to be involved in centralised service committees, i.e. where the real power lies. Related to experience is the level of influence that a member is likely to have inside GDC. Peripheral members, both geographically and in terms of their level of influence, are going to be in the least powerful position. Related to the divide between AMCs and the Centre, is the nature of voting by members on AMCs who can also be eligible to vote on centrally-based committees. While under the scrutiny of local people, elected members may vote in the manner that a community would wish, while in the secrecy of meetings at the centre they may vote quite differently and in a manner that is in opposition to local preferences.

Within service departments and at officer level, there has been some delegation. This is principally so within the Housing Department (McFadden 1982). The decentralisation of functions, however, do not necessarily involve delegation of authority. Most departments, other than that of Housing, despite having decentralised their function, have not delegated authority to the same extent. Indeed, McFadden thought that Area Management was viewed by local government officers as a method of improving and extending the corporate management process within the community. In this respect, suggestions by local groups would only be adopted when compatible with the Centre. Two further criticisms of Area Management are that department representation is too junior, and there is a lack of commitment (*op. cit.*).

Area Management has, in some respects, added to a two tier-system of local government, a development which is something of a double-edged sword. On the one hand, the centre of a local authority has the potential to devote greater attention to strategic concerns if it is freed of direct responsibility for details that are locally based. Yet, and on the other hand, if power is still concentrated at the Centre, as it is, then it may be argued that Area Management is little more than a tool that has been introduced by GDC for the benefit of the administration. Relating these observations to Burns *et al* (1994) typology of citizen participation, Area Management can be located as an 'effective advisory body' of the sub-local sphere (the 7th rung of Arnstein's re-worked ladder).

Based on the observations made in this section, it seems that if local authorities want to develop a high level of citizen empowerment, then "they will need to restructure their committees and departments and shift the culture of the organisation towards one which welcomes citizen participation. Citizen participation cannot be added on 'at the edge' " (Burns *et al* 1994, p. 174).

5.3.3 COMMUNITY COUNCILS

Under the provisions of the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973 community councils have been established in most areas. These constitute a participatory infrastructure which is independent of local authorities. They were required as it was recognised that reformed local government, i.e. Regional and District councils was too remote from local communities. A scheme for Glasgow was submitted in 1976 and there are approximately one hundred community councils in operation in Glasgow District, serving populations that range from 2,500-12,000 (Duncan 1988).

The principal aim of community councils is to enable a more 'grassroots' involvement in local issues, which it is thought should "ascertain, co-ordinate, and express to the local authorities for its area and the public authorities the views of the community" (HM Government, quoted in Bidwell and Edgar 1981, p. 148). It is possible that expectations of the community councils role are too ambitious; "...the hope that permanent structures such as community councils would be able to stimulate greater public discussion is unrealistic and possibly detrimental in the long term to the life chances of the poor and underprivileged" (*op. cit.*, p. 150). It has

been mentioned that community councils are intended to be a participatory facet of local democracy. Yet, they appear to be more representative in their mode of operation. Boaden *et al* (1982) summarise this point when they consider if "statutory and quasi-statutory organisations whose relevance to participation is more assumed than demonstrated" (p. 38). In this respect, many forms of participation are illusory.

By intention, the Act avoided investing community councils with a specific role; instead they were to be charged with a rather vague responsibility to "ascertain, co-ordinate and express the views of the community and take action on its behalf" (Duncan 1988, p. 3). The year 1982 was significant for community councils in Glasgow as this was when they were co-opted onto Area Management Committees (discussed below), and their representative role was made statutory. However, there is considerable diversity in this respect, as AMCs are given freedom to function in a manner that is most suitable to the area that they serve.

From the account of the background and the aims/objectives of community councils, it is clear that *per se* they are designed to enhance external decentralisation. At their inception, community councils occupied a consultative position, providing GDC with the views of the immediate communities that they serve. Thus, community councils may have been of more of a benefit to GDC rather than to the communities themselves. Nevertheless, the role of community councils has developed over time, and however small in some areas they have extended the boundaries of external decentralisation. In the early 1980s, community councils were reluctant to take on board further responsibilities which GDC had proposed. The reason for this reluctance was the concern that further responsibilities may disadvantage their principal role. This reluctance has since diminished, and community councils are now more enthusiastic to take-on such responsibilities. Given time to adjust to the political environment within which they function, the role of community councils has become more established. No longer are community councils "the vociferous defensive minorities of the Seventies, but primarily through their integration within the local authority decision-making structure, they have become more progressive and coherent organisations" (Duncan 1990, p.15). In theory at least, community councils

are now endowed with a role that is more than merely consultative.

A Glasgow-wide survey of community councils was undertaken by Duncan and Hemfrey in 1988. The survey found that community councils were positive about Area Management on the following grounds: (i) there is the opportunity to raise issues, (ii) a good working relationship *can* develop between service providers and users, (iii) access to information has been improved, both directly and via an improved understanding of the structure and function of local government. The significance of such findings *vis-à-vis* the delivery of services is that councillors and community groups are inevitably closer to the point where decisions about day-to-day service delivery are made. Therefore, service department representatives can be contacted and communicated with on a more regular and informed basis. Consequently and from the stand-point of public service departments, a greater familiarity with local issues and an increased sensitivity to the needs of local people appears to have taken place. In turn, resources have the potential to be allocated more appropriately.

The position and the role of community councils in relation to Area Management is contrasted by Duncan (1990) with developments in other local authorities which have undergone decentralisation. Glasgow is considered to be in a more advantageous position when it comes to extending local democracy:

For most local authorities, decentralisation has simply meant pursuing a consumerist approach of devolving the administration of certain services to local offices, or extending representative democracy through the establishment of Area Committees, which are composed solely of local councillors, neither of which has increased public access to decision-making. Glasgow is one of the few Councils, which in extending local democracy, has sought to involve wider sections of the community in decision-making on a wide range of services (Duncan 1990, p. 10).

Yet, concerning Area Committees elsewhere, a number of examples can be provided that have enabled an increase in public access to decision-making. The London Boroughs of Islington and Tower Hamlets and

Walsall Local Authority, have introduced changes which have enabled local people to participate in decision-making processes (Stoker and Loundes 1991). In addition, there are a number of local authorities that have produced strategies for the decentralisation of power to varying degrees, though tangible developments may not have taken place. Furthermore, concerning the increase in local democracy due to the co-opting of community councils onto AMCs, in the first instance this may be so; yet there are details that are omitted. Most importantly, the impression given is that AMCs are powerful bodies, and that the input of community councils in to AMCs is of significance. However, AMCs have very limited powers, and can always be over-ruled by centre-based committees. This particular point, as well as other short-falls of Area Management is considered in the proceeding section.

Aside from the significance of AMCs there are further and more basic points that can be made concerning the position of community council representation *vis-à-vis* councillors and local officers. A very general point is the disadvantageous position of community council representatives concerning knowledge and experience of committee procedures, and the overall functioning of local government. When such disadvantage encounters the 'hard-nosed' methods of *some* members and local officers then the reality of increasing local democracy is called into question.

A final point concerns the representativeness of community councils themselves. True, Duncan does acknowledge that the level of support for community councils within communities can vary considerably from place to place. In an area where support is very low, it is likely that the community council only remains in operation due to the persistence of the Chair and perhaps one or two other committee members. Again, this is an important point that should be included in any equation that claims that an expansion in local democracy has taken place.

The functioning of community councils within the city is not uniform, illustrated by the fact that there are varying levels of involvement in Area Management Committees. Second, there is a divergence of views between councillors and members of community councils, over what their role ought to be. Although a clearly specified role was intentionally avoided at

their inception, and though some 'tightening-up' of definitions has taken place, this is still not sufficient. Prior reasons that justified such an informal set-up have been overtaken by the need to strengthen the role of community councils via an accurate endorsement of their function and role.

When the remit of AMCs is considered, the reality of participation for local people is far more limited. Little seems to have been achieved regarding empowerment. For the most part people, through their representation on AMCs, play a reactive role. This reactive role is due to the predominant direction in which items for discussion pass, from the centre of SRC to the AMCs. In addition, the role of Area Management is much curtailed. AMCs have no tangible authority to reject a proposal that they may disagree with; their role is one of advisor. What advice is forwarded by AMCs is dependent on its suitability *vis-à-vis* GDCs agenda and the goodwill of members.

The above criticisms of Area Management and community councils collapse into the need to empower local people via an increased role for local people and AMCs; most obviously by devolving further budgetary and decision making powers to Area Management level and allowing local people to have a more effective input into decision-making processes through community councils and/or by co-opting other community groups onto AMCs. However, concerning community councils specifically there are restrictions that limit their further development. Within the current structure of local government the development of community councils is restricted due to an absence of statutory political power and legal underpinning, as well as a more fundamental lack of resources.

If such restrictions were overcome, there are potential problem areas. One of the more important 'dangers' from the stand-point of GDC is that, community representatives may upset the status quo by challenging decisions made. In some respects, this may be something to be promoted. However, this is also likely to be something of a Pandora's box; if empowerment of local people is to take place, a host of questions and issues can be raised about representation (see Chapters Six, Seven and Eight).

Whatever the outcome of such a debate, a more fundamental dilemma for GDC, as with any local authority that is decentralising, is the question of how far is devolution to AMCs consistent with city-wide policy objectives and traditional principles of equity and fairness in service delivery across the city? Underlying this is the more basic question of: "do we want representative democracy or participatory democracy?" (Horner 1987, p. 23). These two forms of democracy are being viewed as mutually exclusive. Though perhaps something of a balancing act, it should be possible to have both in existence side-by-side.

5.4 CONCLUSIONS

In acknowledging that there can be very broad demarcations around the interpretation of the characteristics of decentralisation, this Chapter has adopted a wide ranging perspective of developments within SRC and GDC, and in so doing drawn parallels with the characteristics and processes of this concept.

What has emerged from this Chapter is that within both authorities there is a lack of an overview of where they are going regarding decentralisation. If SRC and GDC were to develop further in relation to decentralisation, there are two identifiable tasks that it would be instructive to undertake. Firstly, a review of developments that have taken place already within departments and that relate to decentralisation. This would include an assessment of past priorities, such as their appropriateness and continuing applicability. Secondly, and directly influenced by the first undertaking, the intentions and priorities for future decentralisation need to be recorded and placed within a longer term strategy.

There are two additional points to make about the concerns of this Chapter. Firstly, due to the historical legacy of both authorities and their distinct areas of service provision, developments have been varied in their nature and extent. Contrasting with this situation is the primary focus of Chapter Six, which are SRC's and GDC's joint initiatives in Drumchapel. Secondly, and in comparison with some of the examples of Chapter two, relative to the overall structure and function of these two

authorities, the efforts in the direction of decentralisation are modest. This is something to be borne in mind when regarding the content of future chapters, and so is the fact that findings relate to one locality. That is to say, the remainder and majority of these authorities operations are untouched by the developments observed in Drumchapel.

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CHAPTER 6
THE DRUMCHAPEL INITIATIVE AND
THE COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS COUNCIL

In a large peripheral estate a diverse range of needs are expressed through interest and/or community groups. In Drumchapel the meeting of local needs is focused through the development of umbrella organisations that have been implemented by local government. The Drumchapel Initiative (DI) and the Community Organisations Council (COC) were established as a joint venture by Strathclyde Regional Council (SRC) and Glasgow District Council (GDC). It is these organisations that form the focus of this Chapter.

At the outset it would be useful to give to the content of this Chapter a brief history against which it can be located. In Chapter One, the effects of economic restructuring, and the impact of Thatcherism on local government and the welfare state were considered. How the effectiveness of local government in tackling the effects of poverty and generally providing support to those in need was examined. These pressures and forces are of significance in understanding how such local structures as the DI and COC came to be established. Relating to these forces, though on a more practical level, local structures are an administrative necessity. They can channel resources more effectively, and provide support to the local community; the processing of Urban Aid applications is one example. Importantly, and from an ideological standpoint, locally established structures are in keeping with the principles of community development and the tackling of poverty, at the heart of which is the empowerment of local people (see Chapters Two and Five).

To illustrate how as locally established structures the DI and COC are representations of the process of decentralisation in local government, some of their stated concerns can be mentioned: providing a support function for community groups, assisting in the improvement or creation of new public services for people, and involving local residents in decision-making processes, e.g. via three community representatives.

In relation to the research undertaken on the DI and COC, the emphasis is on how aspects of both organisations are of significance to internal and external decentralisation. With external decentralisation, a concern is the extent to which participatory democracy has been enhanced. It was found that because of the diversity of groups, which in some cases are synonymous with different political demands within the estate, the perceptions of local government are replicated through the development of such umbrella organisations. These perceptions include: 'them and us' in so far as local people feel excluded from these organisations; a lack of awareness on the part of the DI and COC of local issues; and exclusion of some members and representatives of different neighbourhood areas and/or community groups.

The DI and the COC have the potential to impact on Drumchapel in a variety of ways. In presenting the research findings, it should be understood that there are distinctions between the impact on community groups and that on individual residents. In this respect, the perspectives of community group members obtained through group discussions, and those of individual residents obtained through the questionnaire survey are the two data sources. How the individual views top-down initiatives is important in its own right, though it is useful also, where possible to compare them with the perspectives of community group members.

6.1 THE DRUMCHAPEL INITIATIVE

In 1986 the DI was launched, and it has been summarised as "... a joint economic and social initiative, combining the community of Drumchapel, Glasgow District Council and Strathclyde Regional Council" (The Drumchapel Initiative 1992, p. 4). Much of this section is concerned with internal decentralisation as opposed to external decentralisation because of the overall remit of the DI coincides with the former type of decentralisation. The influence that the DI has over service departments is an example of the concern of this Section. Also, attention is devoted to the 'Drumchapel Strategy', a document sanctioned some time after field research was completed (approximately April 1992). The Strategy not only details future aims and objectives, but also incorporates developments that have already taken place. Thus, in looking at the Strategy, past activities are considered.

The DI has a broad remit to "improve every aspect of life in Drumchapel" (The Drumchapel Strategy, 1992, p. 4). More specifically, there are four principal objectives. Two social objectives are to improve the quality of services that people receive, and to up-grade the housing stock of Drumchapel. Two economic objectives are to lower the unacceptably high level of unemployment, with an especial emphasis on training, and to revitalise the local economy. To achieve these objectives two sub-initiatives that operate independently of the DI have been established. The first is concerned with community development and is called the COC. The second is concerned with economic development, and is called Drumchapel Opportunities (DO).

6.1.1 INTERNAL DECENTRALISATION

A widely espoused reason for encouraging decentralisation is to make services more responsive to local people (Gaster 1991; Loundes 1991; and Stewart 1987). The most obvious way to achieve this is by promoting the direct involvement of (potential) service users (see Chapter Two). The involvement of service users is being encouraged by the DI via 'behind the scenes' activities, which are characteristic of internal decentralisation.

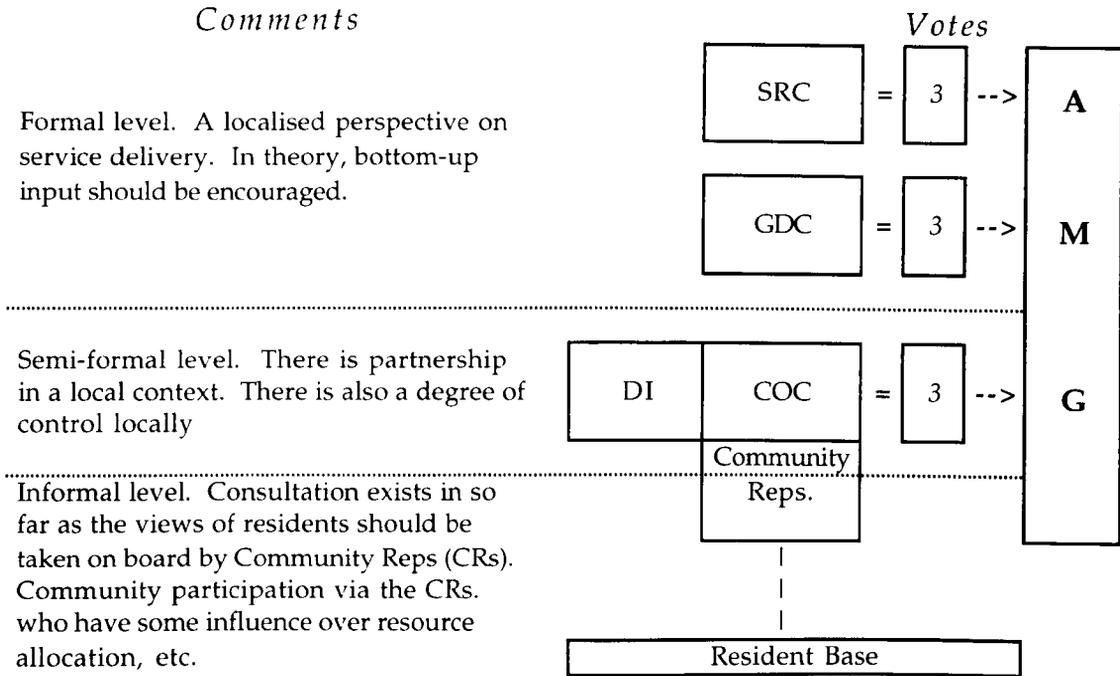
If the DI is to pursue its objectives, a necessary requisite is an enhanced relationship with service departments. This requires the transcending of service department boundaries in a variety of ways. Part of the challenge which faces the DI, and which has been tackled, is to foster closer working relationships with service departments, e.g. functional change may be required for a closer relationship to be achieved. This is a sensitive area of operation which is likely to result in friction between service departments and the DI, where the former feel that local 'intervention' is a counter to orthodox practice (Hoggett 1986). Indeed, during discussions with some representatives of Education and Social Work, criticism was expressed regarding being told 'what to do'. Nonetheless, what is important for service recipients is that service departments implement changes (in some cases they have been) to the way in which they function.

There are two ways the DI is using its position to influence the nature of service delivery. The first is concerned with the actual status of the Director. Gaster *et al* (1990) considers Directors of such organisations should be able to "... bring about effective corporate working and

management of services in the area" (p. 7). Thus, a local authority department not 'toeing-the-line' will be obliged to do so. However, there is no direct control over service departments; a request has to be made to the Area Management Group (AMG) to sanction this. A different example is concerned with the creation of posts that have one foot inside a service department and one foot inside the DI. In relation to the Social Work Department (SWD), the post of the Assistant District Manager can be mentioned. It is anticipated that this division of time will contribute toward the fulfilment of the goals of the DI due to a simultaneous influence over the SWD. A post of this nature should facilitate policy development, that complements the intentions of the DI. However, there are difficulties associated with this as the SWD has an obligation first and foremost to meet statutory requirements. In this respect, policy development is limited to newly created services.

The spending power of the DI, i.e. fiscal decentralisation, is another component of internal decentralisation to consider, as this largely determines the range of activities of the DI. Most important here is the community budget, which is controlled by the Area Management Group (see Diagram 6.1 for composition and structure). For the financial year 1992-93 the community budget was £450,000 (Drumchapel Initiative 1992). Though a relatively small amount there is an emphasis on using this as matching funding or as a catalyst to initiate projects which may attract other sources of funding. Additional sources of funding include the Drumchapel City Housing General Environmental Budget, which the AMG approves and so has a degree of control over. For 1992-93 this budget was £250,000 (City Housing 1993). A small degree of influence can also be exerted by the AMG when it reports to the centrally based Policy and Resources Committees of both local authorities (Drumchapel Initiative 1992, and see Chapter Five). Finally, though all service departments hold full control over budgets which remain centralised, the DI has the potential to have some indirect influence over these budgets via the Drumchapel Strategy. Of relevance as well is the spending power of the COC (Section 6.3). Combined, the amount of money over which there is direct local control is impressive relative to the present economic climate of financial cut-backs and the relatively small size of Drumchapel.

FIGURE 6.1: THE STRUCTURE OF THE DRUMCHAPEL AREA MANAGEMENT GROUP*



*: Under Section 57 of the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973, two-thirds of the membership of such a committee must be elected members. Three SRC councillors, three GDC councillors and three local residents (community representatives) comprise the Drumchapel AMG.

6.1.2 EXTERNAL DECENTRALISATION

Developments in external decentralisation attributable to the DI are limited because the COC was established to concentrate on this. Nonetheless, more basic functions of the DI could potentially enhance external decentralisation. First, the DI is a useful source of information, and it may be regarded as a gatekeeper to knowledge of what organisations are most appropriate for community groups to contact. An example is Scottish Homes in relation to community ownership of housing. Some such contacts are accessible without the involvement of the DI. Yet, DI involvement serves as a 'seal of approval'. The Director made reference to this point, as did some community group members, though the latter did so in a more negative vein (see Section 6.2). Second, and also important, the DI acts as a conduit for the allocation of resources, most usually in the form of small scale grants. Prior to the establishment of the DI, modest grants were available from the Local Grants Committee of SRC. However, resources were more restricted and the release of funds was more reactive rather than proactive. In contrast, the DI is in a position to provide additional information and support over and above initial requests - as

with Pineview Tenants Association who requested the use of DI facilities and were then encouraged to submit grant applications for the purchase of their own equipment. Of greater significance to the long-term viability of community groups is the position of the DI in relation to applications for Urban Aid, where such applications have to pass through the Initiative.

Collectively, these examples may be regarded as support services of the DI. Their significance is that community groups will be better equipped to function. Support services of this nature should dovetail with 'background' activities of the DI and its relationship with service departments mentioned above. Thus, the DI has the power to decide the extent to which community groups can benefit from the available support, and so is able to influence the extent to which community groups contribute to developments that take place (see Chapter Seven).

Beyond basic support functions, the DI has the potential to enhance external decentralisation in more extensive ways. Through Regional and District policies, the DI can complement support services. Policy and strategy documentation, such as the Community Development Plan (1992) (CDP), forms an important component of the Drumchapel Strategy, being concerned with the position of the community relative to broader developments. Fundamentally, there is a clear commitment on paper to the involvement of local people in service provision: "non-involvement, with the community in the provision of services is simply not an option. The Strategy has a commitment to community involvement to the highest level possible" (*op. cit.*, p. 36). It is also stressed that service departments must have clear service plans for working in Drumchapel, and *should* decentralise decision-making and budgets as far as is possible. In relation to Social Services, the DI Strategy stated that "...the Social Services within Drumchapel will be provided on a basis of partnership between the local community and the providing agencies, statutory and voluntary. Services should meet local needs, be accessible and understandable" (*op. cit.*, p. 22). It has also been stressed by the DI that it is essential that there is a clarification "by community agencies and groups of their perceived role within such a development strategy" (*op. cit.*, p. 36). The tone of the CDP relative to expanding participatory democracy is ambitious, while realistic in knowing the limitations of such expansion.

The CDP can be examined further in relation to the spectrum of levels of involvement (see Chapter One). Regarding information and consultation, these have been in evidence to varying degrees in Drumchapel for many years, the existence of tenants associations being one example. Of more interest regarding external decentralisation, is how the remaining three levels of participation, partnership and control have developed. It is evident that the most ambitious form of community development, that of control, is being pursued. At the same time problems have been identified that could have implications for the pursuance of a CDP, as the reality of enactment would have to overcome several difficulties. On the part of community groups there are negative perceptions of service provision and a lack of confidence (see Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine). On the part of service departments, professionalism is felt to be undermined as a transfer of power that has not been sufficiently negotiated (Hoggett 1986). Indeed, this situation prevailed with regard to the relationship between the Social Work Department (SWD) and the Disabled Action Group (DAG). There is a widely reported friction based on the unwillingness of the SWD to relinquish power. The DAG believe that because the SWD fear that their role will be undermined, they have ensured 'a perpetuation of dependency' and a consequent restriction on empowerment of disabled people. The perceived attitudes of the SWD toward disabled people has resulted in its exclusion by the DAG; there is a culture of domination that the DAG has chosen to break with (see Chapter Seven).

Of further relevance to external decentralisation is the Anti-Poverty Strategy (APS), which forms part of the wider Strategy for Drumchapel. The concern is less with what the APS aims to achieve, as with the nature and tone of discussion. What is revealing is that beyond the familiar concerns with material deprivation, attention is devoted to less tangible and more qualitative problems such as "...exclusion, denial of expectation, isolation and loss of self-esteem, and disempowerment" (Drumchapel Initiative 1992, p. 32) The use of such language indicates an important development. There is a growing awareness that the direct involvement of people, i.e. an extension of participatory democracy, is necessary if the DI is going to achieve some measure of success. However, empowerment is a vague term that could be married with a spectrum of terms that range from 'consultation' to 'control' (see Chapter One). The APS does not

pursue this point any further, leaving the nature of empowerment as unclear.

Overall, any kind of assessment of the DI and its influence over the nature of service provision is difficult to determine. Departmental strategies are still in the process of being finalised; strategies at a Drumchapel level as well as at a departmental level were formerly requested in December 1991. Nonetheless, if detailed strategies do come into effect, and progress is reviewed at regular intervals, then some positive outcomes should be witnessed. In particular, service departments will be obliged, if they are not satisfactorily doing so at present, to work with local people.

TABLE 6. 1: SUMMARY OF THE MAIN DEVELOPMENTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE DI

	Details of Development	Significance	Relevant objective*
1	SRC departments have been encouraged to have more of a Drumchapel focus, e.g. the Social Work Assistant Manager has developed working groups on Community Care and Criminal Justice.	A less general application of policy and a greater sensitivity to the unique needs of the area. There may be more of a community input through consultation etc..	A
2	Succeeded in challenging and changing SRC's Structure Plan regarding the use of the Goodyear site.	Prioritise developing employment opportunities for locals rather than developments per se that may not impact as significantly on Drumchapel people.	B, C
3	Environmental improvements, e.g. a landscaping programme around the shopping centre.	The appeal of Drumchapel is raised, for residents and the 'outside world'.	-
4	Promoted community influence on the AMG, principally through setting-up of COC.	See Figure 6.1. In theory more grass-roots involvement, accessible to local people and sensitive to local issues.	Primarily A, but also B, C, D
5	Some influence over centrally based policy and resources committees of SRC and GDC.	Increased budgets, e.g. the community budget and more 'matching funding' available. A more proactive rather than reactive release of funds	Potentially A, B, C
6	Production of various documents, e.g. Community Development Plan.	Raises the profile of Drumchapel and focuses on issues	A, B, C, D

(*The Objectives of the DI mentioned previously were: (A) to improve the quality of services that people receive, (B) to revitalise the local economy, (C) to lower the unacceptably high level of unemployment, and (D) to up-grade the housing stock of Drumchapel).

6.2 COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES ON THE DRUMCHAPEL INITIATIVE

If the Drumchapel Initiative doesn't make a difference to people's lives then it won't have been a success (The Bulletin, Glasgow District Council, 1991, p. 5).

The DI itself has placed emphasis on involving the community of Drumchapel in economic and social regeneration initiatives (see Section 6.1). This emphasis can be assessed by considering community perspectives on the DI. Two means have been adopted to undertake this: through a Sample Survey of the resident population of Drumchapel, and by exploring the perspectives of community group members during group discussions (see Chapter Three and Appendices). There are distinctions in these two data sources, in so far as the relationship of the latter with the DI has the potential to be more specific and immediate.

In looking at the views on the DI held by community group members, four themes were discernible: (i) awareness of the DI, (ii) alienation and exclusion, (iii) alleged geographical discrimination in the activities of the DI, and (iv) institutional empire-building practices.

6.2.1 KNOWLEDGE AND AWARENESS OF THE DRUMCHAPEL INITIATIVE AMONG THE RESIDENT BASE

The Sample Survey set out to assess the impact of the DI on the wider resident base, and so make some comparisons with data from community groups. The questions sought to measure awareness of the existence of the DI, knowledge of its remit, and perceptions of its effectiveness.

Awareness of the actual existence of the DI was extremely widespread, with only 4.9% (9) of the sample *not* knowing of its existence. The prominent location of the DI in the Drumchapel Shopping Centre makes these findings unsurprising. Also, eight of these nine respondents did not engage in waged work, i.e. they were unemployed and/or lone-parents with child care responsibilities.

Three statements that captured the broad aims and subsequent activities of the DI were offered for comment to Sample Survey participants. The responses to these statements can be taken as an indicator of the extent to which the activities of the DI have filtered down to the population at

large, and can be regarded as a preliminary impact assessment or evaluation of the DI.

TABLE 6.2: RESPONSES TO STATEMENTS CAPTURING THE REMIT OF THE DRUMCHAPEL INITIATIVE

Statement	Area	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
1. Will help to up-grade the housing stock	Stonedyke	0	7.3% (4)	5.4% (3)	31.1% (17)	1.8% (1)	54.5% (30)
	Kingsridge-Cleddans	0	13.3% (8)	15.0% (9)	33.3% (20)	1.7% (1)	36.7% (22)
	Golden Triangle	1.7% (1)	15.5% (9)	13.8% (8)	17.2% (10)	0	51.7% (30)
2. Improve the quality + range of different services	Stonedyke	1.8% (1)	16.4% (9)	7.3% (4)	10.9% (6)	3.6% (2)	60.0% (33)
	Kingsridge-Cleddans	1.7% (1)	16.6% (16)	25.0% (15)	5.0% (3)	0	41.6% (25)
	Golden Triangle	3.4% (2)	22.4% (13)	6.9% (4)	6.9% (4)	0	60.3% (35)
3. Help to bring job opportunities to Drumchapel	Stonedyke	27.3% (15)	16.4% (9)	9.1% (5)	1.8% (1)	3.6% (2)	42.6% (23)
	Kingsridge-Cleddans	50.0% (30)	18.3% (11)	1.7% (1)	1.7% (1)	1.7% (1)	26.7% (16)
	Golden Triangle	60.3% (35)	15.5% (9)	1.7% (1)	0	0	22.4% (13)

For statements one and two, approximately half either 'neither agreed or disagreed' or 'did not know'. With the third statement, this proportion had fallen to 28%. This finding suggests that though almost all respondents did know of the existence of the DI, a significant proportion had little idea as to its remit. Amongst respondents who were able to 'agree' or 'disagree', most associated the DI with employment opportunities. This may be explained by the high profile which unemployment, and efforts to alleviate it, receive in Drumchapel from a host of agencies including SRC.

Stonedyke respondents were distinct in their understanding and perception of the DI. The distinctions are probably accounted for by the fact that there is less activity on the part of the DI in the neighbourhood of Stonedyke. Also, there is only one active community group, the Stonedyke Residents Association, located within Stonedyke. Therefore, awareness of the DI that may have been communicated through community groups to members and then onto neighbours and friends is likely to be very limited in comparison to the many and varied

community groups that are active in the other neighbourhoods of Drumchapel.

These findings reveal something of how effective the DI is in communicating with the wider resident base. Clearly, there is a limited knowledge amongst residents, which possibly indicates that there is a poor dissemination of information. Furthermore, there is also the indication in these findings of the need to look at innovative ways of communicating with the population, for example, through informal social events.

Interestingly, there were distinctions between respondents registered to vote and those that were not. Those not registered were five-times more likely to know nothing of the DI's remit. This finding may indicate how some residents have (increasingly) been excluded or voluntarily withdrawn from 'avenues of participation' in mainstream society; by for example being un-waged or not registered to vote. Possibly, there is a dissociation, and this appears to extend to an awareness of organisations that are active within their immediate social space.

6.2.2 LEVELS OF AWARENESS OF THE DRUMCHAPEL INITIATIVE AMONGST COMMUNITY GROUPS

Predictably, all members of the community groups who participated in group discussions knew of the existence of the DI. However, there was a small level of confusion amongst some group members that was associated with discerning the differences in the functional roles of the DI and the COC. Beyond this basic assessment, there were a range of responses. At one extreme there were those group members who possessed very little knowledge. A frequent remark, typified by a member of Cairnsmore Residents Association, was:

Its just beginning to get off the ground, I don't know (35 m).

There was no improvement on this limited response. The DI had been in existence for over five years at the time group discussions were held, and in this time it has been able to provide information and assistance to community groups. Such comments as were made during group discussions can only undermine the DI.

In contrast, five community groups made comments that correspond with the views expressed by the Chair of Pineview Co-operative:

Well, we try to get money out of them. It doesn't always work. We go to meetings monthly (26 d).

Perspectives of this nature are understandable; community groups are going to be principally interested in how the DI can assist them. However, the tone of conversation at this point in the group discussion indicated feelings of being obliged to show an interest in the DI. That an agenda had been imposed by 'outsiders' was a feeling that prevailed in six of the group discussions.

The inability of the majority of community groups to outline the remit of the DI reflects failures of this organisation itself on two fronts: regarding communication with community groups and the community in general, and to provide adequate information about its general remit and more specific developments.

In contrast to the above levels of awareness, a minority of community groups (three) were able to give more detailed responses. The first exception was Pinewood Residents Association (PRA), the Secretary of which responded with a view to the whole of Drumchapel:

The DI office is really good. They've had a hand in getting things up and running. I think people are starting to sit-up and take notice that it's there for the taking. I didn't realise there was so much going on in Drumchapel. There's different people you can go to (32 k).

A further response was provided by one community member of Fasque Place Parents and Users Group (Fasque Group):

The DI is a very powerful contact because they have got direct access to all the power and influence. Maybe Fasque Place's long term future is in a new build. We couldn't do that on our own, so there's that contact (34 r).

The Fasque Group appeared to have the most accurate and detailed understanding of the DI. The first sentence sums-up the 'middle position' of the DI. However, what is more revealing is that the DI is implicitly not

thought to possess power and influence to an extent that is significant. This more detailed level of knowledge is perhaps related to the on-going interactive relationship that the Fasque Group has with the Education Department.

6.2.3 ALIENATION AND EXCLUSION

Reference to the DI was predominantly in a negative vein as the extracts to follow will illustrate. Feelings that were conveyed during group discussions were clustered around three principle issues of dissatisfaction. The most significant point made, in a quantifiable sense, concerned the feeling of exclusion and centred on the dearth of local people employed in the DI. The Secretary of Southdeen Co-operative emphasised:

There's hardly anyone in a top position stays in Drumchapel. The people employed in the DI are not Drumchapel people (27 r).

Some assessment of this claim can be made in relation to staff composition, information relating to which was obtained by this researcher from the DI itself. With the exception of specific projects which are embraced by the DI, 'positions of influence' are occupied by individuals who have been previously employed by local government. The Director, for example, was formerly an employee of Glasgow District Council Planning Department. Overall, the DI does not employ residents of Drumchapel to an extent that it could be described as community led.

However, the DI does not claim to be community led (Section 6.1). The COC was intended to fulfil this role of enabling local people to have some level of input into decision-making processes. Furthermore, a degree of professionalism is required for some of the developments to take place (Lansley *et al* 1989). An understanding of the responsibilities and structural functioning of service departments is a case in point; developments of this nature would inevitably have to be internal. In this respect, it is difficult to avoid the concession that the employment of 'outsiders' is necessary.

There is an irony associated with the DI on two fronts. First, the Drumchapel Strategy stressed the necessity for a clarification of the roles of community agencies and groups. Yet, there is a lack of such clarification.

The lack of knowledge, and mistaken perceptions as to the role of the DI held by community groups is evidence of the problem. A lack of clarity is something that is likely to undermine any decentralisation process. As Loundes (1991) suggests; community groups need to understand the limits of decentralisation and what is their role. In some instances a community group may be expected to occupy a position of consultation. In other instances a more intensive role may be required, i.e. a community group may be expected to be partners and be required to vote on proposals. A lack of clarity as to their role was an underlying reason for the negative perceptions of a good many community groups. Second, the DI provides various support services and is working to influence the functioning of service departments. One outcome of this influence is to enable community groups to participate and to even enter into partnership with service departments. Yet, such ambitions are not directed at the nature of the relationship that community groups have with the DI. The former Chair of Waverley Community Council elaborated more thoroughly on the reasons why there is a lack of local people employed by the DI.

The DI is putting forward their ideas. They have the right to make policy decisions.... We feel if the thing was changed then maybe there would be a lot of things done in Drumchapel (15 i).

The last sentence implies that the DI is not achieving anything of significance. However, various projects are being supported by the DI, and the establishment of play areas for children and the funding of pre-five care are two examples. Again, reference to the lack of information and even accountability of activities is relevant. More importantly, implicit in this extract is the extent to which the activities of the DI positively correlate with the interests of the Drumchapel community. The DI is in a favourable position to influence service departments as well as to initiate and/or support projects. But is this the desired impact as far as the Drumchapel community is concerned? A detailed invective by a committee member of Southdeen Co-operative answers this question:

They've not got the feeling the likes of we've got, we know the issues and we try and address them as we can to make our lives better. I think what they're going to have to do is come to the people and have umpteen different public meetings and ask - 'what is it Drumchapel needs most ?'.... But they're not doing that, and that's where I

think they're falling flat on their faces. They say - 'Oh it would be a good idea to put a play park here'. Well fair enough it might be a good idea. But that might not be what the people want; there might be something else that's more important. They failed to ask us, the people, what we want. They tell you what you want rather than asking you (27 r).

Clearly, there is a strong belief that the DI lacks sufficient understanding of the needs and priorities of the community. There is a perceived insensitivity that is linked to the almost exclusive employment of "outsiders". The suggestion made is that it is not so much a case of the wrong decisions being made, as of mistaken priorities - there are more urgent projects that are being delayed or are not being pursued. A second important point concerns the question: "*what is it Drumchapel needs most?*" This appears to be a call for consultation, and interestingly, there has not been a use of language that intimates a call for partnership or control.

6.2.4 ALLEGED GEOGRAPHICAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE ACTIVITY OF THE DRUMCHAPEL INITIATIVE

There is a geographical bias in the attentions of the DI. Community group members believed that some neighbourhood areas had been by-passed regarding the allocation of resources. How some community group members felt was explained by the former Chair of Waverley Community Council:

It hasn't done anything to the Waverley area. Its done something to the Waverley Neighbourhood Centre. But if I hadn't of got it from the DI, I'd have got it from the District. But the biggest majority of work that's been done is where the DI is, not in different areas of Drumchapel (15 j).

It is claimed that there is a disproportionate focus of resources on the area in the immediate vicinity of the DI Office; conversely there is an alleged neglect of other areas of Drumchapel. Comments of this nature can be validated by looking at some of the developments, a number of which have taken place in the Golden Triangle, a sobriquet for the area which flanks the DI offices. A primary example is the Mercat Theatre. In addition, there have been landscaping and environmental improvements.

However, developments are observable elsewhere. The Kingsridge-Cleddans Economic Development Group is one example, and the reference earlier to the Fasque Group (34 r) is a second. In the light of these examples, the former Chair's perceptions are imprecise. These mistaken perceptions of how different areas of Drumchapel are fairing under the DI attest to the territoriality within Drumchapel. (The expression of this territoriality through local turf politicking by activists is a focus of Chapter Eight).

The quality of the environment and the level of socio-economic deprivation in different neighbourhood areas inevitably has an influence on the nature and extent of developments in which the DI is likely to have an interest. Chapter Four showed how Kingsridge-Cleddans is the most socially and economically deprived neighbourhood area. Thus, it is understandable that there is a greater sense of urgency by the authorities regarding action taken in Kingsridge-Cleddans. Regarding the high level of activity within the Golden Triangle, this is largely explained by its location at the heart of Drumchapel. Inevitably, this is going to be a prime site for Drumchapel-wide developments to take place. Though community group members, as suggested by WCC's former Chair, essentially related the variations to neighbourhood areas, this was *not* the determining factor. Rather, the apparent geographical bias is coincident with distinct variations in socio-economic well-being, i.e. need, this being a determinant of how the DI prioritises neighbourhood requirements within Drumchapel.

During the analysis of group interview material, a relationship was observable between, on the one hand, the attitude that groups have towards the DI, and on the other hand, the quality of environment and the extent of social and economic deprivation that prevails in their own neighbourhood. Those groups located in the immediate vicinity of the DI, in the neighbourhoods of Cairnsmore and Langfaulds, and those located at the periphery of Drumchapel, in Kingsridge-Cleddans, were more supportive of its activities. These neighbourhoods are where most developments have taken place. Conversely, groups located mid-way between these 'supportive' groups, were the most dismissive of the DI. This included groups in Pinewood and Waverley, though Pinewood Residents Association was an exception.

6.2.5 INSTITUTIONAL 'EMPIRE BUILDING' PRACTICES

A final criticism of the DI concerns what may be described as 'empire-building', a term that captures something of the diverse range of criticisms made. The two extracts below capture the feeling that the DI was too powerful and that it had established its own agenda which was detached from the most urgent needs of Drumchapel. Part of that agenda, which some community group members perceived, was that the DI has been continually strengthening its own position, absorbing initiatives in order to "*justify its own existence*". Some commented in general, non-specific accusations, as for example:

They're trying to justify their existence down there. The Initiative is coming from the people in the streets. They're stealing our ideas (Southdeen Co-operative committee member, 27 t).

All members of the Southdeen Co-op were highly critical of the practices of the DI. An account provided by Southdeen Co-op members of a visit by elected members from an English authority to the DI and a subsequent tour of Drumchapel can be usefully summarised. Apparently, the visitors were taken to view the recently upgraded houses of Southdeen, and improvements were attributed to the DI itself. This was met with anger and frustration by the Co-op Committee, given their history of years of struggle against an indifferent Council, and their determination to improve the standard of their housing (see Chapter Seven).

A more specific example was provided by the Co-ordinator of DISC, who discussed the Young Person's Benefit Project. The tone of the extract below captured the feeling of group members:

They're taking all the credit for it [improvement to the area]. They are trying to get rid of it and amalgamate into some sort of social work group. The kids themselves done a Report, on what they wanted in Drumchapel. The Report's there, it wasn't just the kids, they had all sorts of experts.... Its been totally disregarded because the Initiative didn't put it forward. That is what you'd call true community participation, but it isn't allowed. Anything that is really worthwhile, as far as they're concerned, that can put them in a better light, that is what will get the go ahead (31 h).

A problem appears to develop due to the procedure that proposed projects have to pass through if funding is required. A consequence is that the DI can come to dominate and overshadow the community group originally associated with the project.

To elucidate why the majority of community group members feel as they do about the DI, it is useful to summarise the evolving relationship between the DI and a 'typical' community group (a summary which was based on a combination of DI written information, an interview with the DI Director and community group interview material). First, there is the development of the community group with possible assistance from the DI. Perhaps, ambitions are made aware of, by developing confidence, providing skills training, and offering practical assistance in the form of grants and material support. Second, there is increasing interest by the DI, in so far as there is further encouragement to make an application for Urban Aid funding. At this stage, it is likely that the project will be scrutinised by the DI to ensure that it corresponds with its wider goals. Third, the DI promotes and lists the project amongst many others that are being pursued in Drumchapel. When a project is located within the broader agenda of the DI, and receives promotion and publicity through the DI, community groups feel that their role in the project is being undermined. There does appear to be some validity to these claims, as the present DI Director in making reference to procedures inadvertently revealed that he thought the associated kudos was of little significance. Viewed from the community, the DI is conducting itself in an insensitive manner.

6.3 THE COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS COUNCIL

The remit of the COC is centred on the principles of community development. Through such means as involvement in decision-making processes, and the improvement of services and/or the development of new ones, the COC aims to empower people. How the COC 'measures up' to these intentions was a concern. In particular, participation and representation are focused upon because these are the spheres in which the remit of the COC is centred.

The COC may be regarded as something of an extension of the DI; it was created by the DI to promote the interests of the community of Drumchapel. However, though close connections between the two organisations exist, the COC is not dependent on, or answerable to, the DI.

The objectives of the COC can be divided into three areas. First, the COC aims to create a viable local economy and develop employment opportunities for local people. Second, the social objective is to attract and retain residents and improve the quality of life for people living in the area. Third, and concerning community involvement, the objective is: "to increase the number of local people engaged in the process of regeneration and to develop the local management of services by the community" (COC Annual Report 1991). In addition to these stated objectives, a specific function of the COC is to act as a representative body for community groups.

The COC was formed in 1987, one year after the DI. Community groups, if they so wish, can become members; some one hundred are presently so. In 1988, the COC was registered as a Company Limited by Guarantee and so has charitable status. Prior to the formation of the COC, an informal organisation was in existence, founded by local community groups with the aim of establishing a united voice for the needs of Drumchapel. This former organisation had few resources and even fewer powers (Former DI Director). With the encouragement of the DI, this organisation was re-launched as the COC. The first DI Director, adequately summarises the situation prior to the establishment of the COC:

We helped to transform a forum of groups into a company and into a doing group of groups rather than a talking-shop... which could have ended up as a piece of puppetry. It had a constitution you could drive a horse-and-cart through. I was told it was a case of whatever suited the official who was helping them to deliver some sort of 'community participation' into the Initiative that could be seen to be working (20 p).

Hence, the DI "batted-out" a good deal of the responsibility for assisting the development of participatory democracy to the COC. From these modest beginnings the COC has burgeoned to become a powerful organisation. To illustrate the present standing of the COC, its 1992-93 financial turnover of

£1.7 million can be mentioned, along with the employment of some fifty staff (COC Annual Report 1992).

6.3.1 EXTERNAL DECENTRALISATION

Literature produced by the COC has stressed how the regeneration of Drumchapel *must* involve the community. Direct community control and management are areas that receive particular emphasis. As the Chair of the COC stressed "*the way forward is for local people to have more effective control over their own future*". The COC has a more specific remit than the DI, and does not have to divide its commitment between service departments and community groups. It is less constrained in the support that it offers.

One of the central planks of the COC is that of the "*local management of services*" (COC Annual Report 1992); something which contributes to a wider agenda of enabling local people to have "*control over their own future*" (*op. cit.*). The COC has identified particular needs in Drumchapel, and as a consequence new and locally based services have come into existence. There are three categories of service provision. First, an infrastructure that supports people who are experiencing economic hardship has been created. Two services in operation are a furniture recycling scheme and a Money Advice Centre. Second, and with respect to developmental work, the COC employs a number of professionals, including architects and financial advisors, whose expertise can be drawn upon by community groups. This is a form of empowerment in so far as community groups can utilise on-site skills they would otherwise be unable to afford. Third, services are provided that are concerned with community care, having expanded into the provision of home-care support for adults with high dependency needs. The service which is provided by the COC is called Flexicare. As the name implies, it is a system of care that is more flexible than that provided by the Social Work Department (SWD).

The Flexicare service is more responsive to local needs, as local people are able to have an input into service delivery. Efforts have been made by Flexicare to consult users of the service through the use of questionnaires; it is hoped that feedback will identify possible shortfalls. The Manager of

Flexicare, who is also a resident of Drumchapel, explained the main distinctions between this service and that provided by the SWD:

The home-help service try to fit the people into the service. What we are trying to do is mould our workers and the skills that they have in the services that they can provide around what an individuals needs are. So there is a clear difference. What we also do, we sit down and look at what kind of tasks the home-help does do, when they're in there. We make sure we don't do the same tasks... We do an awful lot of personal care where the home-help service does a lot of domestic care. We liaise very closely with the home-help service, obviously because we're not in the business of duplicating anything they're doing. We find that many of the folk we're working with, they're working with, but we have different roles within that. What I find myself doing is taking on a kind of brokerage role where I'm trying to negotiate services for a person (40 c e).

Prior to the establishment of Flexicare, a Drumchapel Community Care Forum existed. The Manager referred to this Forum as *"a whole range of professional people and carers who could really see that there was a lot of support on offer for people, but that there was also great gaps"* (40 h). Mention of the involvement of professionals and carers is an indication that there was a close working relationship between local people who cared for a relative or friend and paid professionals who were also involved in the care process.

Flexicare represents an important development in relation to the breaking down of barriers between voluntary and statutory sectors. In their work on social service departments in East Sussex, Croft and Beresford (1986) referred to the arguments against allowing the community to become involved in service provision put forward by service professionals, for example the loss of confidentiality. These reservations appear to be invalid regarding Flexicare, where the community has demonstrated that it can act responsibly.

6.3.2 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION

According to the COC (principally extolled in the COC Annual Report 1992), participation in Drumchapel has been enhanced because community groups no longer operate in isolation, instead they have been

brought together in a more co-ordinated fashion. At regularly held meetings, community groups theoretically have the opportunity to participate in the policy formulation of the COC. At Area Management Group meetings, the COC has then to 'fight its corner', and if in disagreement may be out-voted by others present, including District and Regional representatives. Nonetheless, there is a direct opportunity to participate in decision-making processes, which may be regarded as a partnership in so far as the community, or representatives thereof, are given equal status with District and Regional councillors. A useful insight into the nature and the extent of participation is provided by the Director of the COC:

Its not a them out there and us. This organisation is made up of community organisations, they form the members, they elect a board of directors, they manage this organisation. We hold board meetings, we hold quarterly membership meetings, we hold annual general meetings. This involves us in making representation through the AMG, through our elected representatives on that AMG. So one of the main strands of our activity is very much that representation enabling local people to have a voice (39 e).

According to the COC Director, local people (via community groups) can participate in the process of developing services, all aspects of which should be overseen by local groups. These ideas were *not* supported by Regional and District councillors in terms of their broad perceptions of the role and importance of the COC. As a District Councillor and long-term resident of Drumchapel, and a Regional Councillor respectively put it:

The COC should represent Drumchapel. In a lot of ways I don't think they do at the moment. You just have to read their minutes, everything is noted. There doesn't seem to be any discussion. If there is any discussion it's not minuted. That means that the representations from the Executive are taken on without any argument. That shouldn't happen in any democratically elected group. There should be discussion and argument. Everything the five members of the Executive say can't be completely compatible with the other forty people in the room. It's a strange way. As I say I have questioned John McManus [the COC Director] a few times. Two officers on their Executive have full voting rights, I wouldn't have that. Officers are there to advise, not to lead (45 e).

What they're doing, they should be undertaking projects that are appropriate to themselves rather than have a high profile so that they can impress outsiders. Invariably, outsiders are impressed by what the COC is doing, I'm impressed by what the COC is doing. But its got to be always borne in mind that this is supposed to be the community's agenda that's been set. I would have thought, subjectively, that the danger in the COC type of model is that it becomes professionally run, the professionals and the employees set the agenda (41 o).

Though made from different perspectives, both councillors are making the same points about the COC. However, it is worth noting that they are principally critical of the way in which local people and community groups are not involved in decision-making to the extent that they ought to be. In this respect, these extracts are similar to the institutionalisation criticism, whereby the COC is acting non-democratically by not working with the community. Prior to the formal establishment of the COC there was a community forum that can be regarded as exclusively community-led; with the succession of the COC 'professionalisation' effectively occurred by the 'back-door'. In literature concerned with decentralisation, this encroachment has been highlighted (Lansley *et al* 1989; Smith, T. 1989; and Boddy 1984). These viewpoints may be symptomatic in some instances of deeper tensions that prevail between elected members and officers, as has been identified in local government literature (Beuret 1987; and Stoker 1987).

The representativeness of the COC can be assessed by looking at the nature of its membership. There are approximately one hundred community groups registered as members, representing virtually all such groups in Drumchapel (COC Annual Report 1992). However, only approximately six community groups regularly attend meetings. The problem of attendance was mentioned by individual community groups (which was usually non-existent), the DI Director, a District Councillor and a Regional Councillor.

With the exception of only two community groups (the DAG and the Elderly Forum), all the others did not feel a close association with the COC. If they require support, most usually funding, then they will approach the COC; otherwise there will not be any contact. Since its establishment, the COC is thought by virtually all community members interviewed to have

evolved into an organisation that is distant from local people. It is somewhat ironic that it has been stressed by the COC Director, John McManus, that "*the COC is the community, it is the community groups, it is not separate*" (39 k). On these research findings, the COC is a community organisation in name only. Specifically, comments made by community members are synonymous with those made in the literature about the failings of local government.

6.4 COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES ON THE COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS COUNCIL

In light of interviews with community group members, with the Sample Survey it was thought useful to focus on levels of awareness concerning the COC amongst residents. This may give some indication of the impact and by implication the success of the COC. In addition, is the level of awareness of COC services because of the level of need in Drumchapel. From another perspective, the relationship which the COC has with the population of Drumchapel is important, as this may indicate if it is overcoming the problems associated with local government highlighted previously, or whether it is simply reproducing them.

The sub-sections that follow the presentation of the Sample Survey findings deal with group interview material from which various quotes have been extracted (sub-sections 6.4.2, 6.4.3 and 6.4.4). Three particular themes that emerged from the scrutiny of group interview material are as follows. First, the extent to which members of community groups thought that the COC was significant (A voice for the people). Second, the relationship between community groups and the COC (Obligation and pragmatism). Third, there is a need to understand the basis of views: what the reality is for local people and what their interpretations of COC events and practices are, i.e. what is seen to be wrong with the operation of the COC (e.g. empire-building practices). An additional component to any assessment of the COC is to highlight any distinctions in the population that can be related to the underclass debate.

6.4.1 RESIDENT PERSPECTIVES ON THE COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS COUNCIL (SAMPLE SURVEY FINDINGS)

Establishing the extent of awareness of the COC amongst the wider resident base acts as an indicator of the overall impact of the COC on Drumchapel. To the Drumchapel population, the COC has the potential to be of significance in a number of ways, principally, through such services as a Money Advice Centre, Furnishaid - a furniture recycling project, and Flexicare - a flexible home care service. It is the general level of awareness and perception of these various services that was sought.

The Sample Survey found that knowledge of the actual existence of the COC was surprisingly low at 20% (38) of the total sample. The majority of residents had never heard of the COC. By neighbourhood, there was a distinction in awareness levels. Of the 38, 44% (17) resided in the Golden Triangle, 22% (8) in Stonedyke, and 33% (13) in Kingsridge-Cleddans. A similar pattern emerged as with other Survey findings, where for example, Stonedyke was the area with the least level of awareness.

Predictably a higher proportion (44.7%) of respondents who knew of the COC were a member of a community group:

TABLE 6.3: AWARENESS OF THE COC COMPARED WITH COMMUNITY GROUP MEMBERSHIP

	<i>Yes: know of COC</i>	<i>Don't know of COC</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Member</i>	44.7% (17)	25.7% (37)	29.7% (54)
<i>Non-member</i>	58.3% (21)	74.3% (107)	70.3% (128)

Involvement in community groups appears to be of importance as it has increased the level of awareness and knowledge of activities at a Drumchapel level. Even so, 25% of members did not know of the COC. Of possible relevance, here is that 39% of total members did not attend community group meetings (see Chapter Nine). In effect there is a layering of knowledge: only some are aware of the COC, those who are participants, non-participants being less likely to be aware of such a major community initiative/body.

Awareness of the COC was explored further by considering knowledge and use of three services set-up by the COC: the Money Advice Centre, Furnishaid, and Flexicare. Table 6.4 summarises responses:

TABLE 6.4: THE IMPACT OF COC SERVICES ON RESIDENTS COMPARED BY AREA

Service	Survey area	Awareness of	Use of
<i>Money Advice Centre</i>	Stonedyke	76% (45)	12% (7)
	Golden Triangle	95% (58)	41% (25)
	Kingsridge-Cleddans	93% (58)	42% (26)
	TOTAL	88% (161)	32% (58)
<i>Furnishaid</i>	Stonedyke	52% (31)	7% (4)
	Golden Triangle	77% (47)	10% (6)
	Kingsridge-Cleddans	69% (43)	5% (3)
	TOTAL	67% (121)	7% (13)
<i>Flexicare</i>	Stonedyke	39% (23)	0
	Golden Triangle	57% (35)	5% (3)
		35% (22)	2% (1)
	TOTAL	44% (80)	2% (4)

There was near universal awareness of the Money Advice Centre (MAC). The distribution of awareness follows that for the DI and COC *per se*. Almost one-third of respondents had used the service as well and though the extent of use was not ascertained, this could range from a one-off enquiry about a benefit through to extensive debt counselling. The high level of use by Kingsridge-Cleddans residents is perhaps understandable in relation to their relatively high level of reliance on state benefits and/or low incomes. Surprisingly, of the 21 who did not know of this service, 17 were un-waged.

Again, Stonedyke was distinct in that it recorded a lower level of awareness. This distinction is probably related to the lower levels of activity by the DI and COC in Stonedyke. Also, information about these services that could have been conveyed by community groups to the general resident base is restricted because there is only one active community group within Stonedyke.

The overall level of awareness of Flexicare was considerably lower than for other services. This is understandable considering that it is a more specialist service, where knowledge and use occurs out of necessity. The distinctions between areas are somewhat different when compared to the responses for the two previous services. Awareness is least in Kingsridge-Cleddans possibly due to the population containing fewer elderly/disabled people. Conversely, where pensioner housing is located within the Golden Triangle, and probably accounts for the higher level of awareness here.

6.4.2 A VOICE FOR THE PEOPLE?

The first theme drawn from interviews with community group members concerns the perceptions that were held of the COC's significance. The positive views that were expressed by group members were related to two of the principal objectives of the COC. The first objective is concerned with enabling local people to participate. The Secretary of Lochgoin Parents' illustrated the nature of positive views held regarding participation:

The COC, I suppose, has given Drumchapel people a voice. There has always been a few people who have always got involved. But more and more you see ordinary people, who are not politically motivated, becoming involved (21 i).

The above extract is a basic endorsement of one facet of the COC. Reference to the "voice" that Drumchapel people have been given is a new development. Most importantly, according to this committee member, it is 'ordinary people' who are becoming involved, and by implication not community activists. Also, it is revealing how activists are seen as not working for the principal benefit of Drumchapel. Rather, they are active for 'political' ends - which are not synonymous with the needs of Drumchapel. The conclusion from the above extract is that the COC is accessible.

Though the COC was viewed in a positive light by Lochgoin Parents, they themselves had not had contact with the COC. Explanations for the lack of contact, such as a lack of time or insufficient commitment to become more closely associated with the COC, were not conveyed during the interview. In light of a lack of a firm explanation of no contact between Lochgoin Parents and the COC, perhaps the onus is on the COC to be more proactive in its contact with groups and illustrate more convincingly how it can be of assistance.

In contrast with the above view, which was limited to only a small number of community groups (three), an alternative perspective was held by the Chair of the *former* Drumchapel Community Council (DCC).

They say they're listening to the community, which they probably are, they listen to certain areas in the

community. But there are large grey areas in Drumchapel which are not being serviced. They don't know the COC exists. They think it's just another part of the Initiative that has been set-up in Drumchapel for some reason or other and its spending an awful lot of money (3 e).

There is reference to a 'selective deafness' on the part of the COC. The Chair, by self-definition is a local activist, having been associated with various projects and has a history of informal participation. The majority of activists have very little contact with the COC, the reasons for which are either due to exclusion by the COC, or avoidance by some activists. Reference to "grey areas" is also a point to note. During the process of group discussions, it was clear that some community group members had difficulty differentiating between the DI and the COC. Frequent references were made to activities specific to the DI in relation to the COC and vice versa. It appears that in some instances these organisations had been assimilated into peoples' consciousness as one disjointed whole.

6.4.3 OBLIGATION AND PRAGMATISM

For the second theme that was drawn from group interviews, two extracts have been selected from members of Southdeen CAFE Project. The Co-ordinator commented on the DI, and holds similar views of the COC.

We're on the COC, but we don't have anything where we're heavily involved with them. We're involved when we have to be, because we need to be basically. They hold the purse strings so everything has to go through them. I think the basic idea is good. I don't know that it operates that well. It's for certain people. The same people go all of the time. I think people use it because they feel that it's appropriate to be there, but it's not necessarily what they would like to see (30 h).

I don't think people are all that happy with either of them. But they're there and they use them (30 l).

Reference to "certain people" contradicts the comments made by Lochgoin Parents. The Co-ordinator does not perceive there to be "ordinary people" getting involved. Attached to such views is the feeling that there is an obligation to be involved in the COC, and that many local people who are involved are not sufficiently expressing their true thoughts and feelings.

The second extract concerning pragmatic responses originates from Cernagh Housing Co-operative. The Chair, though unwilling to enter into detail, believed:

There's a lot of politics here so you have to be careful.... We don't have anything to do with them, they're not a very approachable body to my experience anyway. My personal view is the architect leaves me very cold.... Because we're not funded any other way other than Urban Aid we have to include the COC. They're in such a position that because its Urban Aid funding that we've got to use. That's the only reason why I'm involved with the COC. So basically your hands are tied, you don't really have freedom of choice. Its the politics again you have to be seen to use them (18 b).

Though these extracts are personal views, they are largely based on fact, and cannot be dismissed as a misunderstanding. References to "they hold the purse strings" by the Co-ordinator of Southdeen CAFE Project and "we're not funded any other way other than Urban Aid so we have to include the COC " by the Chair of Cernagh are precise in so far as the COC (with the DI), determines what Urban Aid applications are considered.

A mixture of expedience and compromise are being exercised by community groups, in which case their true thoughts are unlikely to be communicated to the COC. Half-hearted participation as and when necessary appear to be a characteristic of many community groups that were interviewed. Due to a lack of contact with the COC, opportunities may be missed out on.

6.4.4 INSTITUTIONAL 'EMPIRE-BUILDING' PRACTICES

The third and final theme to be drawn from group interviews concerned the institutional empire building practices that were associated with the COC, as well as the DI. The last Chair of the now defunct Drumchapel Community Council (DCC) expressed a great many views on the COC in this respect. The most succinct viewpoint was:

I've got a feeling the COC is trying to do everything in Drumchapel, they're trying to put their finger in every pie. Like the Drumchapel News, they've took over that" (3 n).

Though concerned with a more specific matter, similar feelings were expressed by the Co-ordinator of Drumchapel Information Services to the Community (DISC). The emphasis again was placed on the interests of the COC in the local paper - 'The Drumchapel News':

The Community Print Unit, the community formulated this and the COC stole it. It is now the COC Print Unit. Now they're going to steal 'The Drumchapel News', or as we all call it 'Not the Drumchapel News' because it's not the real Drumchapel. That is the COC paper, everything is beautiful, and it's not (31 1).

Apart from acting as a further illustration of the perception of the COC on this matter, reference to 'The Drumchapel News' serves to illustrate another point. 'The Drumchapel News' is a monthly paper, reporting on any issues that are thought to be of relevance to the community. Naturally, many issues have been concerned with the DI and the COC. In November 1991, the COC took over responsibility for the production of 'The Drumchapel News'. The reason for this take over is not entirely clear, as the paper was widely regarded as being a successful community venture that operated on a limited budget. For these reasons, some community group members voiced suspicion during group interviews as to the reason for the take over. In particular, the views of the Co-ordinator of DISC sum-up the feeling that there was an ulterior motive. His views were representative of six activists. This suspicion may have some validity if the adage that information is power is accepted and that the COC can control the content of reports on developments that it is associated with.

6.5 COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES

An important additional focus of this Chapter is that of community representatives (CRs), who though affiliated to the COC deserve separate attention as they have potential implications for the involvement of the community in decision-making processes.

Bi-annually there is the election of three community representatives (CRs) to the Drumchapel Area Management Group (AMG). Any resident of Drumchapel can put themselves forward for election, though invariably CRs have been a member of one or more community groups. Potentially,

CRs serve the interests of all of Drumchapel, and are one of the most direct routes by which local people have their interests represented in local government decision-making processes. CRs have full voting rights at AMG meetings and thus hold the potential to influence the course of decisions. For these reasons, CRs are significant in the context of Drumchapel. However, in the context of the District or Region their significance diminishes; the outcomes of AMG meetings have to be sanctioned by centrally based committees, which are not accessible to the people of Drumchapel (see Chapter Five).

There are distinctions between CRs and local government councillors. In highlighting distinctions, a principal reason for the popularity of decentralisation is highlighted: it is a potential solution against the distant and alienating processes of local government (Loundes 1991; Hoggett and Hambleton 1986; and Stoker 1987a). CRs are a more informal mode of contact for residents, and so should be more accessible, for example, there is the likelihood of encountering CRs in various contexts locally such as community groups and socially. CRs should be more discerning of local needs as they are embedded in the community and are just as enmeshed by issues as are all residents. CRs are non-party political, the significance of which is that potential conflict between an allegiance to a place and toeing-the -line of their Party centrally does not occur. For these reasons, it is anticipated that CRs would be well known and have broad appeal to the community of Drumchapel, i.e. to members of all or most community groups and to residents in general.

6.5.1 RESIDENT PERSPECTIVES ON COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES

Drawing on the Sample Survey of the resident base of Drumchapel, the potential of CRs for external decentralisation can be 'tested' through the perceptions residents have of them. Amongst the residents who participated in the Sample Survey, one-third (60) knew of the existence of CRs. Kingsridge-Cleddans respondents were approximately twice as likely to have heard of the CRs, as Table 6.5 illustrates.

TABLE 6.5: AWARENESS OF COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES COMPARED BY SURVEY AREA

Stonedyke	Kingsridge-Cleddans	Golden Triangle	Total
22% (13)	50% (30)	27% (17)	33% (60)

In attempting to account for variable levels of awareness between neighbourhoods, previous points concerning the popularity of CRs can be reiterated. Four of the eight candidates, at the CR election of March 1992, resided in K-C, and one of these was elected. Furthermore, of these four prospective CRs, three were active members of local community groups, the significance of which is that they are *likely* to have a high profile in the neighbourhood. In the Golden Triangle there was a surprisingly low level of awareness. One explanation is that just one local resident stood and was elected unopposed. Even so, it could be anticipated that a higher level of awareness would prevail because of the central location of the area and the higher degree of activity there. These findings contrast with awareness of the COC, which at 19.8% was low, and where of the neighbourhoods the Golden Triangle recorded the highest level of awareness.

Twenty-four (13.2%) of the total sample voted for CRs. Of course, a low voter turnout will follow-on from just one-third of the sample knowing of the CRs. Whether respondents who know of CRs voted for them as well is a possible indicator of the significance with which they are invested.

TABLE 6.6: COMPARISON OF VOTER TURNOUT FOR COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES AND OTHER ELECTIONS

Voted in General Election & for CRs	Voted in Regional Election & for CRs	Voted in District Election & for CRs	Did <u>not</u> vote in District election, but voted for CRs
100% (24)	55% (14)	75% (18)	25% (6)

These voting patterns may indicate that those who voted for CRs are conventional participators in society, i.e. they are likely to vote in all or most elections. Such people may feel obliged to vote; they may even feel a responsibility to do so. Perhaps such people feel a part of wider society, in which they have an investment, and are contributing through voting. The profile of those residents who knew of CRs, and especially those who voted as well, illustrates that they are the *least* disinherited of the Drumchapel population. In contrast, respondents who were not registered to vote, did not vote for CRs either.

These findings are also an indication of the 'quality' of the external decentralisation that has taken place. Though it has been mentioned already that voting by CRs at AMG meetings is in itself an important development, these findings shed light on a more specific location or stage in the outward movement of power from the centre of a local authority to residents; that is the link between CRs and the resident base of Drumchapel. With only one-third of residents knowing of CRs and just over one-third of that proportion voting for them, links between CRs and residents are not strong. This may mean that it is a case of 'hit-and-miss' as to whether the right issues are addressed and that community views are represented effectively at meetings.

6.5.2 COMMUNITY GROUP PERSPECTIVES ON COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES

The perspectives of community group members on CRs was explored during group interviews. Earlier consideration of CRs presented them as being of some importance regarding external decentralisation. Yet, there was a lack of knowledge of CRs by many community group members. Considerable prompting, by mentioning of names, and previous involvement with various community groups, often had to be provided. However, after such prompting the majority of community group members knew of the CRs. Beyond this basic level of awareness, a comment that was representative of four community groups was made by a committee member of Kingsridge-Cleddans Housing Association (KCHA):

I know its good to have Reps. But we know all the officials and how to work with them; you don't always need an intermediary (16 l).

This comment reveals that CRs can be considered unnecessary incumbencies. In the case of this particular community group, relationships with local government officers and councillors are well established and have been cultivated over many years. Thus, there is little need for CRs to represent their interests. However, there is an incomplete understanding and awareness on the part of KCHA as to other ways in which CRs can be of use. CRs have full voting rights on the Area Management Group. By such means CRs may be able to exert some influence over matters that are of concern to KCHA.

6.6 CONCLUSIONS

A range of perspectives on the DI and the COC have been presented. These perspectives can be drawn together more, if considered in relation to the three main purposes of decentralisation identified by Hambleton (1987) (see Chapter Two). One purpose is 'changing the relationship between public servants and the public', the significance of which will become clear if the perspectives on the DI and COC are summarised. Of the DI and the COC it was thought that there was poor communication, a lack of information and consultation, and poor levels of representation - especially via Community representatives (CRs). These comments are indirectly supported by the Sample Survey, where a lack of knowledge prevailed as to the broad remit of both organisations and who are the CRs. Connected with these concerns, the DI was thought to lack sufficient understanding of local needs. Furthermore, the DI is thought to have an agenda that is not of principal benefit to Drumchapel residents, but one that is geared to self-promotion. A final criticism, but also compounding the aforementioned points, is the dearth of local people employed by the DI.

Based on these comments, characteristics of external decentralisation, as represented in the 'continuum of involvement' are lacking; though there is dissemination of information, it is of a poor level. There is also evidence of consultation, though this is inconsistent. With the COC specifically, participation as defined in Chapter One, does take place as the community is represented by CRs who can vote at Area Management Group meetings. It is not the DI's remit to engage in partnership or to hand-over control, though the COC does state that partnership with the community is a central tenet of its operation. Indeed, this is the case as there is membership of virtually all community groups, together with the CRs. But the day-to-day reality of this partnership is questionable if the level of involvement of community groups, and the knowledge and awareness amongst residents of the CRs is recalled.

Underpinning most perceptions that are held by community group members of the DI and to a lesser extent the COC were feelings of exclusion. In accounting for these feelings, it is likely that local government working practices are pertinent, particularly the persistence of a 'culture of bureaucracy' (Hoggett 1986, and Stewart 1986). Staff are

comfortable with long established and often convoluted procedures, as there is a feeling of control and security. Relinquishing some responsibilities and so having a less central role does not coincide with the perceived self-importance of local government officers/workers.

Effectively, there is a form of control by consent through the promotion of the perception that to be an effective participant, then a certain expertise is essential. To contrast, the life skills and body of experience which local people possess is not sufficiently acknowledged. These practices are not a consciously articulated strategy by staff; it is more likely to be an inevitability of working practices. A situation with these characteristics bears some relation to what Hoggett referred to as 'professional hegemony' (Hoggett 1986). Furthermore, even though staff in the DI and COC are aware of their location outside of local government proper, they still have the same conditions of employment and have brought with them working practices and attitudes that were learnt or developed 'inside' of local government. Residents, however, are challenging these practices.

A second purpose of decentralisation, identified by Hambleton (1987), is to improve public services. There is some evidence of this in Drumchapel in specific relation to the COC services of Flexicare, the Money Advice Centre (MAC) and Furnishaid. In the case of Flexicare there has been the refinement of an existing service. MAC and Furnishaid (use of both being relatively high), are indicative of a need that has been identified and then responded to. Two distinct ways of improving services have been illustrated, the development of existing services and the provision of new ones. The knowledge and use of MAC and Furnishaid by residents feeds into other concerns of this work. Firstly they are areas of service provision that are not associated with the 'traditional' welfare state. Though it is true that the (welfare) state can make crisis provision regarding home furnishings and there is an established Welfare Rights section dealing with benefit claims in SRC Social Work Department, it can still be argued that the nature and extent of provision is significantly more distinct and extensive. Therefore, issues more traditionally associated with the private sphere of the home have moved into that of the public/community.

Furthermore, the usage of these services is an indication of the prevalence of poverty in Drumchapel as a whole and the specific levels of need of individual households. In this respect, the significance of the existence of these services and the take-up of them by local people adds to the perspective on the underclass.

The MAC in particular is an indication of the problems of poverty, principally those which are centred on debt both to essential utilities such as the electricity supplier and possible debt to illegal money lenders, i.e. loan sharks with exorbitant interest rates. In addition, the MAC also provides an indication of the need for benefits advice and income maximisation initiatives. The popularity of the Furnishaid service has relevance to the relationship that the population of Drumchapel has with the rest of society. It is difficult to understand how many Drumchapel people could feel that they are participating in a consumer society by acquiring goods from Furnishaid, as the goods are free and the service is essentially a charity, redistributing furniture to people who are unable to purchase furniture. It would be anticipated that there would be a reluctance to mention such services if a stigma was attached to the use of them. However, feelings of this nature were not evident when undertaking the Sample Survey.

Developing these poverty related perspectives on MAC and Furnishaid further, the significance of these developmental and operational strands of decentralisation for the underclass concept can be considered. Service development has been shaped by the more immediate characteristics of the population in Drumchapel, i.e. the acute level of need for basic goods and services. The apparent high level of usage of both MAC and Furnishaid compliment a range of other indicators of the level of well-being and quality of life (see Chapter Four). Usage is also an indirect indicator of the level of disempowerment that prevails in Drumchapel.

Importantly, the take-up of these services has implications for the notion of citizenship as it is manifested in the day-to-day routine of life. Rights, that are perhaps not easy to define, are taken for granted by many social groups and are centred on consumer power and the right to make some degree of choice about goods purchased. As many Drumchapel people are unable to participate in a society which is very much consumer based,

association with these services may emphasise this exclusion and underline the lack of choice that is available.

There is a contradiction regarding these services between the majority view expressed during group discussions and resident survey responses. On the one hand, community groups feel excluded and generally look upon the DI and COC in a critical way. Community activists see these services as an indictment of what is wrong with the state and society; they are thought to undermine peoples' dignity. Yet, the COC services were generally welcomed by residents surveyed, who thought them a positive development.

Last, a finding that deserves separate attention is the geographic variation in the attentions of the DI, and in the knowledge and uptake of services provided by the COC. Group members thought that there was an element of geographic bias in the attentions of the DI. Consideration of these claims led to the observation that a relationship prevailed between, on the one hand the attitudes that groups have towards the DI, and on the other hand the quality of the environment and the prevalence of poverty in a neighbourhood. With the Sample Survey responses, a somewhat different picture emerged: in some instances geographical distance was important, in others it was levels of need that was the main determinant of awareness and use. These points are of relevance to the changing nature of community in Drumchapel, examined in a later Chapter.

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CHAPTER 7

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN PUBLIC SERVICE PROVISION

The main purpose of this Chapter is to illustrate how forms of service delivery traditionally associated with local government have experienced and changed because of local demand-making expressed through community groups. This demand-making in itself is a direct manifestation of external decentralisation.

Flagged at points throughout Chapters One and Two have been the neglected areas of literature on decentralisation, principally the impact on local people. This perceived neglect is addressed in this Chapter. Direct links are established between the underclass concept and the impact of decentralisation. Chapter Four elucidated what life is like in Drumchapel; in particular the nature and extent of exclusion and disenfranchisement. In this Chapter 'on-the-ground' impacts of decentralisation processes are looked at, and how these dovetail with the responses of local people to disempowerment. Also, concerns were expressed in Chapter Two over the empowerment of local people; some of these concerns are re-introduced and linked with the research findings presented here.

This Chapter is concerned exclusively with external decentralisation, distinguishing it from previous chapters where the concern has been more with internal decentralisation. External decentralisation is looked at in relation to four areas of concern: (i) The background and nature of community groups; (ii) How power and/or control has been placed in the hands of community groups. This will involve, the nature of relationships with relevant service departments and their development; (iii) What do these developments mean for local people, that is the wider population who are not directly involved in community groups; and (iv) The significance of these developments to broader concerns about the functioning of society - in particular, the changing relationship between civil society and the state.

These areas of concern have been looked at through community groups, namely three housing co-operatives and one housing association established in Drumchapel which are concerned with alternative forms of

collective housing to that of the local authority (Section 7.1). This concern is broken down into the following areas of analysis. First, the application of the 'top-down/bottom-up' perspective to developments. Second, the impact of the evolution towards community ownership schemes on *all* residents of Drumchapel. Third, how external decentralisation has been enhanced by community ownership schemes, and its problems.

The Disabled Action Group (DAG) and the Kingsridge-Cleddans Economic Development Group (KCEDG) (Sections 7.2 and 7.3 respectively) are also examined because they illustrate distinct ways in which decentralisation has afforded opportunities for community groups. They also reveal how the boundaries of decentralisation have been pushed outwards as community groups have become more organised and ambitious. Though both sections share fundamentally similar concerns with decentralisation, different issues are explored. The development of the DAG and KCEDG has eclipsed the role of some aspects of local government; in the one case of the DAG it is the Social Work Department that has found its role much reduced.

7.1 COMMUNITY HOUSING OWNERSHIP SCHEMES

Community ownership schemes are found in various locations throughout Glasgow and indeed Britain, and there is much literature cataloguing the significance of this form of housing tenure (Kearns 1991). Developments relating to housing of this form in Drumchapel can be located within two distinct models. First is that of the local authority as landlord, and where local housing offices have opened and/or there has been increased contact with tenants' associations. An alternative model follows from housing that is no longer under local authority control, i.e. community ownership schemes. It is this second model that is looked at here as it has the greater implications for extending participatory democracy. A useful definition of a community ownership scheme is "a self-governing body of people who have joined together voluntarily to take action for the betterment of the community" (defined by the National Council for Voluntary Organisations and quoted by Mellor 1985).

In locating community ownership schemes in terms of the public/private dichotomy, officially they are part of the private sector (Clapham 1985).

This is a favourable location as within the private sector resources are more readily available than within the public sector, a fact related to central government aspirations to diversify ownership of social housing (Glennister 1990). However, the characteristics of community ownership schemes 'on-the-ground' are strongly public: rents are set, there is an organised repair system and security of tenure.

7.1.1 BACKGROUND: RESIDENT PERCEPTIONS OF PUBLIC HOUSING

The presentation and examination of resident perceptions of the public housing service is a useful means of introduction to the concern with alternative housing tenures because an insight is gained into the nature of the relationship between residents and the Housing Department.

Problems that prevailed in this relationship can be highlighted, and difficulties which may be part of the reason for the need for alternative housing tenures. Some of the issues which housing co-operatives are hoping to address, and will have to successfully communicate to the wider resident base, have been highlighted. There are a variety of issues that co-ops will inherit and will have to deal with.

Most pertinent are issues centred on the degree of involvement of residents. From the results of the Sample Survey it was possible to ascertain the perceived receptiveness and responsiveness of the Housing Department: how sensitive the service is to the needs of residents. Two further questions sought responses to the suggestion that residents have an increased level of involvement in decisions relating to service provision. Together, these two sets of questions addressed two distinct levels of involvement: consultation and participation respectively (see Chapter One).

TABLE 7.1: RESPONSES TO HOUSING STATEMENTS COMPARED BY SURVEY AREA

<i>Statement</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Don't know</i>
1. To what extent do you agree that the Housing Dept. are interested in the issues that concern you?	Stonedyeke	3.4% (2)	13.5% (8)	30.5% (18)	50.8% (30)	1.7% (1)
	Golden Triangle*	11.7% (7)	8.3% (5)	48.3% (29)	30% (18)	1.6% (1)
	Kingsridge-Cleddans	6.4% (4)	6.4% (4)	56.4% ³ (5)	30.6% (19)	- 0
2. What extent do you agree the Housing Dept. are responsive to demands/needs?	Stonedyeke	1.7% (1)	13.5% (8)	35.6% (21)	47.5% (28)	1.7% (1)
	Golden Triangle*	10% (6)	6.6% (4)	46.6% (28)	35% (21)	1.7% (1)
	Kingsridge-Cleddans	6.4% (4)	6.4% (5)	56.4% (35)	30.6% (19)	- 0
3. People have an adequate enough say in how money is spent on housing	Stonedyeke	8.4% (5)	13.5% (8)	42.3% (25)	30.5% ¹ (8)	5.1% (3)
	Golden Triangle*	16.6% (10)	16.6% (10)	46.7% (28)	15% (9)	5% (3)
	Kingsridge-Cleddans	6.4% (4)	6.4% (4)	61.3% (38)	20.9% (13)	4.8% (3)
4. I think people like me should be able to have more of a say in how services are delivered in Housing	Stonedyeke	6.8% (4)	13.5% (8)	32.3% (25)	33.9% (20)	3.4% (2)
	Golden Triangle*	10% (6)	15% (9)	50% (30)	16.7% (10)	8.3% (5)
	Kingsridge-Cleddans	6.4% (4)	9.6% (6)	62.9% (39)	16.1% (10)	3.2% (2)

(*: 1 n/a as home owners)

Overall, there was disagreement with statements one and two. Only a minority thought that things had improved over recent years. Women were more likely than men (by a margin of 18%) to 'strongly disagree' as opposed to only 'disagree'. In other words, feelings are stronger amongst women. This finding corresponds to the greater numbers of women participating in community groups and tackling various issues (see Chapter Nine).

Underpinning statements one and two is the fact that housing is the most immediate service which impacts on people's lives. Over the years, local government has redefined the limits regarding repairs (something clearly conveyed during interviews with Housing Department officials and community group members). Some non-essential repairs are not likely to be dealt with, whereas previously they would have been. In this respect, people appear to have expectations that are embedded in the past, and/or as Gyford (1991) has noted, "there is likely to be a short-fall between people's expectations and the reality with which they are faced" (p. 121).

Furthermore, the responses that have been summarised in Table 7.1 can be regarded as a commentary on the internal decentralisation that has taken place within the Housing Department. This has included the establishment of locally-based repair teams, and an increased co-ordination due to greater contact and communication of different departments such as refuse collection, repairs and allocations. The potential significance of these changes is that service provision should be more sensitive to situations in each neighbourhood. Yet, the findings of the Sample Survey indicate that these changes have not been effective, and as far as local people are concerned, the developments that are associated with internal decentralisation have had little impact on their daily lives.

Responses differed between survey areas. For each of the three sample areas, the Survey results were compared to the standard of the housing stock as defined by the Housing Department. There was a discernible link between the standard of the housing stock respondents lived in and the responses to statements. Surprisingly, the nature of this link was the reverse of what would have been anticipated. Stonedyke residents were the most negative, while Kingsridge-Cleddans though negative overall, were more likely to only 'disagree' rather than 'strongly disagree' with the statements contained in Table 7.1. Whilst undertaking the Sample Survey in Stonedyke most respondents supported their answers by reference to the dearth of improvements to the housing stock, which was thought to be long over due for up-grading. Similarly, Stonedyke Residents Association members made comments during group interviews that corresponded with those of Sample Survey respondents. Overall, there was a feeling of being 'fobbed-off' - the Housing Department had money to spend but chose to spend it elsewhere.

It is also possible that expectations in Stonedyke are going to be higher than elsewhere because comparisons that contribute to expectations are likely to be made with places outside of Drumchapel, for example desirable private sector housing in Bearsden. The most significant factor in this respect is the location of Stonedyke: isolated from the remainder of Drumchapel and adjacent to Bearsden. A possible consequence of this location is that standards of Stonedyke residents are higher than residents

of other Drumchapel neighbourhoods. So, priorities are different, having been shaped by different experiences.

Though speculative and not based on Sample Survey evidence, an additional factor to consider is the absence of a neighbourhood housing office in Stonedyke. Such offices are to be found in Kingsridge-Cleddans, Pinewood and Waverley. This absence may have influenced responses, in so far as the Housing Department is thought unresponsive and by implication 'out-of-touch' with the neighbourhood. These points are of relevance to administrative (internal) decentralisation because changes in the structure and function of the Housing Department facilitate contact with residents, improve relations and communication. Over time the opening of a neighbourhood office may improve perceptions.

By contrast, Kingsridge-Cleddans residents, held the least negative attitudes towards housing. More anecdotal evidence conveyed by Sample Survey respondents 'on-the-doorstep' revealed that there was a knowledge of imminent improvements under the co-op alternative. Indeed all households surveyed had recently transferred to co-op status. Though, no developments in the form of up-graded housing had taken place as the Co-op Committee were still finalising the precise nature of re-development. Distinctions between GDC and co-op status seemed unimportant relative to the real prospect of improvement. Though the Housing Department had previously neglected Kingsridge-Cleddans, this appears to have become overshadowed by the scale and extent of proposed improvements. Further, an apparent absence of clarity in the understanding of most tenants meant that improvements were vaguely and mistakenly associated with GDC.

Opinions on whether people have an "adequate say" and if they should have a "greater say" were more positive. Regarding differences between sample areas, residents of the Golden Triangle were more likely to disagree with these statements. There was a greater level of satisfaction in this area (see Chapter Four), and so there was perhaps less of a feeling of needing to have the opportunity to have "more of a say".

In accounting for responses to the last two statements contained in Table 7.1, residents had to make little pause for thought. A whole range of other

considerations would have to be accepted by residents if they did have more of an opportunity to participate, including such considerations as time, energy, and feelings of confidence, none of which were explored by the Survey. In this respect, there is an important distinction between the principle of being more extensively involved in aspects of housing service provision and the reality of greater involvement. Nonetheless, there was an enthusiasm and general positive regard for this level of involvement.

The significance of these research findings for alternative housing tenures is that the level of negative feeling was such that substantial changes would be required for residents to feel more positive about the housing service. Indeed, the traditional relationship between landlord and tenant has broken down in many respects. Such findings could be regarded as foundations for the receptiveness of changes in housing management and organisation, though reservations about distinctions between the principle and practice of “having more of a say” have to be acknowledged. Indeed, tenants were perceived by some community group members as being apathetic (see later in Chapter).

7.1.2 BACKGROUND: COMMUNITY OWNERSHIP SCHEMES

There are four housing co-operatives in Drumchapel: Cernagh, Kendoon, Pineview and Southdeen, and there is one housing association: Kingsridge-Cleddans (henceforth KCHA). Drumchapel co-ops have purchased properties from the Council with loans. This is in contrast to co-ops elsewhere in Glasgow City, where tenants have signed an agency agreement, in which the Council continues to own the housing (Clapham, 1985). Though residents own properties communally, if they leave they receive no share of the equity (*op. cit.*). The precise locations of community ownership schemes can be found in Figure 7.3. General characteristics of all the schemes are listed in Table 7.2:

TABLE 7.2: SUMMARY OF CHARACTERISTICS OF DRUMCHAPEL COMMUNITY HOUSING OWNERSHIP SCHEMES

Ownership scheme	Neighbourhood location	No. of houses	*Stage of development
Kendoon Co-op	North-east Cairnsmore	147	Most recent - established steering group
Cernagh Co-op	Kingsridge-Cleddans	80	Established co-op committee, plans for up-grading complete building work was soon to begin
Pineview Co-op	North Pinewood	334	Established co-op committee. Finalising plans for up-grading
Southdeen Co-op	Pinewood and Broadholm	300	Near full completion of up-grading programme. Third phase about to begin
Kingsridge-Cleddans Housing Association	Kingsridge-Cleddans	237	Established committee, finalising plans

(*: Stage of development at the time of interviews in September 1991)

All co-ops listed are at various stages of development. The future of Cernagh is uncertain. As the smallest co-op, with responsibility for approximately eighty dwellings, Cernagh may not be economically viable in the long-term. The stock is too small to raise adequate capital to make payments on money borrowed to up-grade dwellings, as well as to employ the staff required to enable the Co-op to operate efficiently.

FIGURE 7.1: THE BACKS OF UP-GRADED TENEMENTS BELONGING TO SOUTHDEEN CO-OPERATIVE



(Note the 'old' tenements in the foreground are not part of Southdeen Co-operative and so will not be up-graded).

FIGURE 7.2: SOUTHDEEN CO-OPERATIVE: AN EXAMPLE OF NEW-BUILD SINGLE-STOREY HOUSING



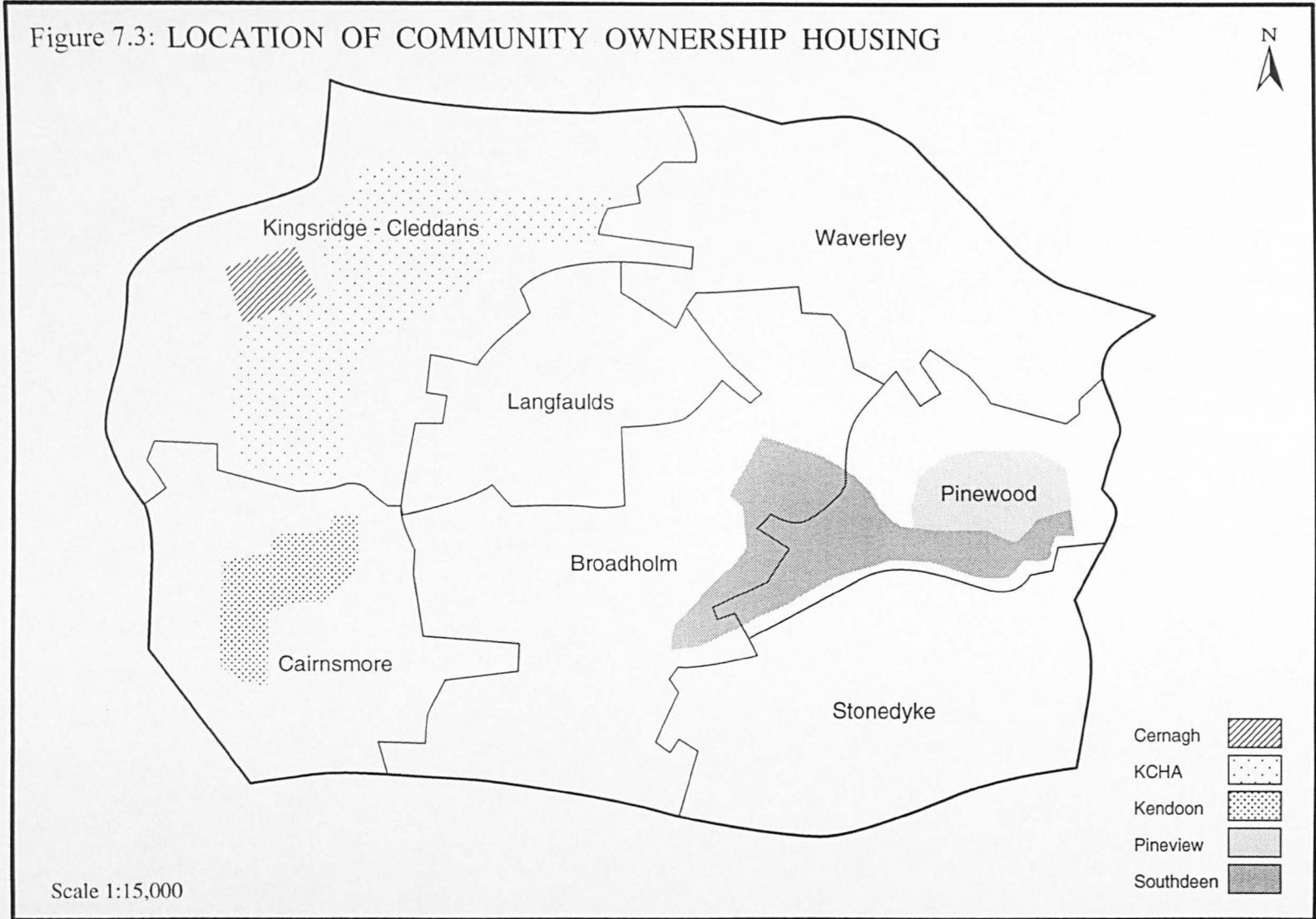
(Note the variable height of the different housing, which is an attempt to break with the monotony of the traditional tenements).

7.1.3 THE PATH TO COMMUNITY OWNERSHIP HOUSING

The Housing Department initiated, and has possibly perpetuated, variations in housing standards between different areas of Drumchapel. Irrespective of the reasons for the evolution of 'less-desirable' areas, the standard of housing deteriorated throughout the 1980s (City Housing 1991). The Housing Department was floundering as to what to do with a deteriorating stock and diminishing resources (based on comments made by Housing officials and District Councillors - see Appendices). The scale of the problem demanded massive re-investment, and this in conjunction with cut-backs in Central Government grant meant that deterioration could not be sufficiently tackled (City Housing 1991). So, residents of the less desirable areas were experiencing substantial neglect.

In accounting for how the co-ops came into existence the nature of the relationship between residents and the Housing Department is important (see Survey findings above). Kendoon, Cernagh, and Pineview co-ops gave broadly similar accounts of how they were established, emphasising neglect by the Housing Department. The majority of houses that co-ops became responsible for were in need of extensive up-grading in order to overcome a variety of problems, such as chronic dampness and rotten window-frames. The surrounding environment, including gardens, pavements and roads, was also in a very poor state of repair. It was claimed that even the most basic repairs were not being undertaken.

Figure 7.3: LOCATION OF COMMUNITY OWNERSHIP HOUSING



Indeed, urgent repairs were not carried out, unless of a particularly serious nature. The three extracts below capture something of the view of co-op members, and serve to illustrate the point being made about outright neglect, which was the principal trigger for the development of co-ops. First, the Chair of Cernagh Co-op said that:

Glasgow District Council neglected the area. Attempts have been made to get repairs done but there's no response (18 k).

Second, the Treasurer of Kendoon Co-op described how:

...The reason we decided to become a Co-op was because nothing was getting done. You go into that office with complaints, repairs, and they don't follow them up. It's ridiculous. There's no money and they've no resources... Kendoon is one of the last places to get anything (23 b).

Third, Southdeen Co-op provided a somewhat different account of its origin. It developed out of a grievance over a non-housing matter, that of inadequate play facilities for children. The group later turned its attention to the issue of housing. The Vice-Chair, explained how:

...we could see the lack of maintenance by the Council and how poor the repair services were getting. Most of our houses suffered dampness, condensation, bad wiring... it was affecting our kid's health (27 a).

These extracts capture the views of co-op members. With members of Cernagh specifically, there was a distinct bitterness and no additional comments that could be taken as an acknowledgement of the difficulties and limitations which local government faced. Conveyed in the second extract by the Treasurer of Kendoon Co-op is an awareness of local government financial constraints. Yet, while some money and resources are being spent, the sub-area of Kendoon is overlooked. The only variation is in the wrath generated by discussing such a controversial subject.

7.1.4 COMMUNITY OWNERSHIP HOUSING, PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY AND THE RESIDENT BASE

External decentralisation, accompanying the development of alternative forms of collective housing, impacts on the wider resident base in ways that can be related to participatory democracy. When housing passes from local authority control there is a structured procedure that is passed through; this is a protracted process that can take two or three years (City Housing 1991, Kearns 1991). First, a steering group, comprised of tenants, is established. Thus, there is excellent consumer representation as members of the committee are also tenants. A legal requirement is that all tenants in the area of the proposed co-op are balloted about the proposal, giving them the opportunity to oppose the proposal. Second, regular consultations are made: there are public meetings, social events and education days. All members have an equal chance to vote, and committees are elected at regular intervals. Ideally, approximately one-third of members of the committee should be replaced regularly so that change within is balanced with continuity of membership (Kearns 1991).

Overall, support for the switch to co-ops in Drumchapel tends to be high, ballots resulting in support of between 85-90%. Turnout was high partly because of the mechanics of voting, ballot cards were posted to each tenant, and were then collected when tenants paid their rent. Yet, if the results illustrate enthusiasm for the switch, they also illustrate the extent of disillusionment amongst tenants with existing arrangements. It appears that residents had been 'worn-down' until willing to explore an alternative that offers an opportunity to redress the neglect of the Housing Department.

Though there was a positive reaction to becoming a housing co-operative, closer involvement of residents was not forthcoming. During group discussions, reasons for the low level of interest from residents were given, disillusionment due to years of neglect and broken promises being the main reasons cited. A committee member of KCHA offered her views on this, and the consequences regarding the vitality of the committee. Second, and referring to some years ago (*circa* 1988) the Secretary of Southdeen Co-op provided comments along similar lines:

We should have really twelve, but it's difficult to get people interested enough to join the committee until

something actually begins. We've got great support, but when you say to people even people who are very enthusiastic 'would you like to join the committee?' 'No'. But we're hoping that when you're actually sitting-down with people, planning what they want in their houses they'll be more interested.... Up here people are getting fed-up with being told this and told that and nothing happens (16 j).

In 1982 we had a few people when we were the Action Group, about ten. Mostly women. As we went along people got disheartened and other things came up in their lives and they couldn't give the commitment that most of us needed to give. Also it ended up we were down to two [men]. We had to regenerate the spark in the tenants out there, to get them interested again. The apathy up here was just terrible. The things that was happening to us, they were proved right: 'Its a waste of time, you'll never get that money'. As we worked away over the years... the change that was taking place. People were beginning to believe that it was possible; the change that was happening (27 i).

This research has shown how there is a problem of communicating with the residents at large. Closely related to this problem is the importance of establishing the representativeness of committee members. Even though participatory democracy has been extended, the fact remains that the majority of residents do not show an active interest in developments. Davies (1987), in writing on decentralisation and community representation, believes that as the majority of people do not have an association with neighbourhood groups, their views may not be expressed. In this respect, a worse case scenario is "a self-appointed clique taking decisions unaccountable to and divorced from local people" (Deakin 1984, p. 29).

Though not based on Sample Survey evidence, there are additional explanations for this situation which are based on a range of community group members comments as well as direct observations by this researcher. Basically, there are other, less direct, means of communication with the wider resident base. A good deal of communication between committee members and the wider tenant base occurs in a manner that is difficult to measure. As committee members are neighbours, friends or relatives, they are easily accessible. For example, through casual

encounters contact can be made; they are identifiable figures in the community. In this sense, decision-making is in close geographic proximity to all residents. In comparison, involvement in tenants associations is more detached and protracted, involving various levels of local government, and contact with the most suitable individual or department is sometimes difficult to establish. *"Most of the time, these employees sit behind a desk, or are on the end of a phone, and they then disappear come Five O' clock"* (Member, KCHA, 16 p). Furthermore, as more emphasis is placed on resident involvement, it is anticipated that participation will be more accessible and of direct relevance to peoples' interests. Though in relation to different issues (that of disability) the 'personalisation of participation' is looked at in Section 7.2.

7.1.5 STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT IN LEVELS OF CONFIDENCE AND KEY SKILLS

It is illustrated in this section how external decentralisation has provided opportunities for empowerment. Empowerment as a learning process and its effects on the participatory skills of committee members was evident during the course of group discussions. Collectively, this learning process was observed to be central to the internal development of a group. In order to take part in decision-making processes some key skills are going to be necessary: people have to be able to discuss and debate, and to organise and delegate. These and other qualities will be essential for the effective operation of a group. It was possible to order some extracts in relation to the length of time groups had been established, and in relation to different stages of development in levels of confidence and key skills of committee members.

First, members of Kendoon, which had only recently been established, had moved on from the stage of disillusionment and apathy and at the time of interviewing were fuelled by anger, as one committee member's comments illustrate:

The only thing that motivated the likes of myself was anger because of the state of my housing (23 h).

Second, the characteristics of Cernagh and KCHA, who were both established at approximately the same time can be mentioned. With these two groups, it was clear that a confidence building stage had been entered into. On a personal level, a significantly higher level of enthusiasm and

self-assuredness was evident. Key skills associated with the operation of a committee were also developed. In addition to illustrating these points, the Treasurer of Cernagh revealed something of the personal impact of being involved in the Co-op on her self-confidence:

I'm fully behind it and I love it. It takes a real big part of my life and I'm surprised it's taken up such a big part of my life. But I thoroughly enjoy every minute of it and I'm willing to go anywhere and do anything, basically to see it getting off the ground. The learning process, I like the learning, picking-up information and I like to be able to pass the information onto other people... (18 h).

Also explicit in this extract is the satisfaction gained, something mentioned in local government literature and community development theory (Association of Metropolitan Authorities 1989) as to the rewarding nature that participation by the community can engender.

Finally, members of Southdeen Co-operative described how the founding members went through a developmental process. Another committee member, explained how the group had to look at its communication skills:

They [the committee] weren't informed to begin with. I didn't have the confidence. They made me vice-chairman because I was second through the door. Nobody wanted to be anything, nobody wanted to ask questions and we had to put names beside questions. We didn't know what we were doing.... This committee was just coming together and we didn't know how to operate as a committee. We were all a bunch of individuals... We were putting personalities aside and saying- 'no, it's the houses we're interested in, 'it doesn't matter if I don't like you'. It's the houses, that's what keeps us together. You could see this committee was starting to take some structure, the chair person would chair the meeting and nobody would interrupt. We started to do agendas and everybody had wee jobs to do (27 g).

There was a lot of fighting, the power aspect. Going places and fighting people. We didn't have the be all to sit with our arms folded and argue our point... I didn't have the words, and through frustration you just end-up attacking people. So we had to learn to sit with our arms folded and argue our points with these powers that be... (27 h).

Related to internal development, are members' experiences of 'doing business' with the authorities. The determination and forthright manner with which members are equipped to communicate was also emphasised. Some local government officers had made a poor impression. The Chair of Cernagh Co-op summed-up her experiences.

I asked him [DI Director] if he could explain to these men that are coming to meetings that although we are lay-committee members we do go through two years of training, and they don't look at us or speak to us as if we don't know anything. I think they would prefer it if they were all officers and they could just put their plans through. But they're not allowed to, and I don't think they like the idea that ordinary people with no official schooling, if you can put it that way, can come in and say no that's not what's going to happen in my area and I'm not going to allow that...They do talk down to you and they don't seem to be aware of how much you do know ...I don't think they appreciate the community groups have undergone rigorous training to get where they are. (18 d).

Apart from indignation, this is an illustration of negotiating skills in so far as it represents an assertive and articulate style, underpinned by a self-assured confidence. In a similar vein, a member of KCHA provided another example of the approach of planners:

Their Development Officer [from the Housing Department] came to one of our early meetings, he was very friendly, and he said "I've just come to your meeting to tell you that I want to take as what you have chosen as your first phase in Inchfad" So we said- "No, you cannot have it". He thought he could just come in and tell us (16 s).

What extract 16 s also reveals is the awareness on the part of KCHA of the power that they now possess. The above extract also strongly suggests that local government had not adjusted to the re-distribution of power. In some instances, there has been a role reversal, whereby GDC and the private sector are in a reactive position. Indeed, this role reversal was something that another committee member introduced into the conversation by emphasising the awareness the group had of the very real

power it possessed, and the subsequent compliance of the authorities with demands:

It's still happening now, everybody's sitting back waiting to see what we do before they follow on. The Housing up here are saying- "well, what are you doing next?" So they can compliment what we're doing. We're the sort of front runners and then they're going to come in with their own private development to compliment our stuff (16 v).

These extracts also illustrate how local people have experienced the effects of professional hegemony. Clearly, the self-interest of professionals may persist (Smith, T. 1989). More broadly, there is a possibility that decentralisation could be exploited *per se* or 'watered-down' for users other than those which its original proponents intended (Boddy 1984). However, these particular interview extracts reveal that local people are not daunted by the professional mystique that can disempower. A related concern of professionalism is explored, in relation to the demands of the DAG.

7.1.6 BOTTOM-UP OR TOP-DOWN DECENTRALISATION?

By applying the bottom-up/top-down perspective a further understanding of the position of Drumchapel housing groups and the Housing Department is gained. The bottom-up approach is very much in-vogue (Blunkett and Green 1983; Stoker and Loundes 1991). The application of the bottom-up/top-down dichotomy is too simplistic in relation to the accounts provided by housing groups. There is more likely to have been a complicated interaction between residents and the authorities. The development of groups and their negotiation with the authorities is essentially a part of the bottom-up decentralisation process, in so far as some of the initiative originated from residents. One committee member of Southdeen Co-op stressed the independence of the groups when providing an account of the initial steps taken by the group:

We went down many avenues to see what we could do about our housing... and through that we did a tenants survey, we passed forms round to some of our tenants, so they could tell us what they thought they were living-in. That information was made into a report which we called the 'Crushing Facts' and it took two years to put that

*report together because we didn't have the know-how...
all we had was the will (27 b).*

Yet, the Housing Department created conditions under which some groups were obliged to pursue alternatives. The quite specific guidance of housing groups towards goals that have been pre-determined by the Housing Department, warrant the label 'top-down'. With the co-ops, and increased tenant involvement in local authority housing management through the establishment of management committees, it would appear that GDC is moving away from the paternalistic model of local government. However, this may be replaced by practices that have similar effects but are more subtle in form.

Kingsridge-Cleddans Housing Association is one example that illustrates the extent to which the label of 'bottom-up' can be applied. During the early 1980s, an Action Group was started by members of Kingsridge and Cleddans Residents' Association in an attempt to revitalise the area. "Revitalisation" is a broad term that was used loosely during the process of interviewing KCHA members. From the account provided by KCHA members it was apparent that the aims and objectives were not specific beyond a general improvement in the housing stock and surrounding environment, as well as the establishment of community facilities. The step from being an Action Group to identifying the establishment of a housing association as a desired objective could not be accurately recalled by KCHA. However, the Action Group was the initiator, petitioning and pressuring the Housing Department. Persistent demands were made for greater involvement in any developments that took place, whether this be partnership or even control.

Interaction between the Action Group and the Housing Department took place against a back-cloth of change. Members of KCHA described some '*very good*' discussions. Yet, even with a promising beginning, ultimately: '*Nothing came of it. We sort of trailed along for years and years and then the whole thing fell*' (16 a). At this stage there appears to have been little commitment from the Housing Department, and from representatives of the Regional and District Councils, who also had a wider interest in the area. The situation only began to look more promising when changes in the administrative structure of the Housing Department took place during 1984. A devolution of power occurred;

however this was internal to the Housing Department, and not seen as being of benefit to tenants. A committee member, offered an account of this:

A new Housing Manager came here with power. He got the Action Group together, said what he was planning. But they weren't our plans. I said at one meeting - "why won't he listen, are his plans already drawn-up? One of them nodded her headI suppose in those days they thought that was fair enough. He had his plans and all we had to do was to listen to them and say that's great (16 b).

The conclusion to be drawn from this extract is that consultation was minimal and residents were denied opportunity to contribute to proposals. Consequently, improvements to the social infrastructure were thought to be a failure. Due to the authorities denial of effective involvement by tenants and the imposition of plans not consented to by tenants, the Action Group were despondent. Feelings towards this included: *"the residents never had any teeth, they were just sitting there nodding. But nothing was ever done.... So the tenants just walked out and refused to participate in it..."* (16 f). The Housing Department were eventually forced to make concessions due to the determination of tenants. Again, the same committee member usefully listed these concessions, with pride:

It took six-month to sort out our differences but we got a new constitution, and the tenants made the agenda. We had eight votes to the Residents Associations, Housing had one, the Region had one, the Regional Executive had one and the District had one. So they couldn't out-vote us (16 f).

This was a major concession, marking a new stage in the relationship. A decentralisation of power had taken place that was of significance to local people and was not only to the administrative benefit of the Housing Department. A symbolic divide had been crossed, a measure of power had been devolved away from local government and into the hands of residents.

7.1.7 THE IMPACT OF COMMUNITY OWNERSHIP SCHEMES ON DRUMCHAPEL AS A WHOLE

The transfer of local authority housing to community ownership status has occurred in specific locations in Drumchapel (see Figure 7.3). To locate these changes in a broader context, the situation in all of Drumchapel can be examined critically.

Based on the previous account of the evolution of co-op schemes, there is a certain inequality in the way that the decentralisation of housing has taken place; there have been selective benefits only for *some* residents. There are no more proposed co-ops for Drumchapel at present, nor are there any in the process of being formed. At the end of 1992, 15.3% (1,098) of 7,617 total housing units in Drumchapel belonged to a housing co-op/association. In more desirable parts of Drumchapel, it may be that because the housing-stock is in a relatively decent condition, there is not the incentive to explore alternative forms of housing management. Yet, within the desirable areas of Cairnsmore and Stonedyke, some residents have expressed an interest in co-ops. It was clear that Cairnsmore Residents Association (CRA) members were dissatisfied with the Housing Department. Dissatisfaction married with a knowledge of co-ops prompted some members to consider alternatives. However, having expressed a positive interest, it is unlikely that any tangible developments will take place. First, there is no evidence of any encouragement from the Housing Department. Second, a good deal of suspicion as to the future of co-ops was expressed. Third, there was an unwillingness to release the Housing Department from its obligations. One member believed it to be: *"...a let-off for the Housing, passing it over to the private; what the corporation should be doing they'll be doing"* (35 l). Concerning Stonedyke Residents Association, an indirect interest was expressed. Although Stonedyke has perceived the benefits of a co-op, it does not have an interest in pursuing this.

The Drumchapel experience shows that taking the 'challenge' of empowerment has really only been an option where there was a perceived grievance. In the more desirable areas, even though there is dissatisfaction, this is nowhere near as great as that in areas where co-ops have been established. The implications for empowerment under such circumstances are that: it is reactive, and has been foisted on people. On

the one hand, there are long term effects such as the self-development of individuals. There are a mixture of benefits and dis-benefits.

The focus on housing tenure and geographical variation in the nature of participation of groups concerned with housing is of significance concerning decentralisation. It has been illustrated that decentralisation, as manifested in varying degrees of control over property, has been actively promoted in some areas of Drumchapel, though not in others. The three forms of housing tenure and associated housing groups are representative of the differential impact of decentralisation on the lives of Drumchapel residents.

7.2 COMMUNITY DEVELOPED SERVICE PROVISION

Aside from housing based groups, there are a range of community groups, concerned with a variety of issues. Two case studies have been chosen for specific focus: the Disabled Action Group (DAG) and the Kingsridge-Cleddans Economic Development Group (KCEDG). An important distinction between these two groups is that the DAG relates to a specific client group in Drumchapel, whereas KCEDG is area-based, being concerned with the population of an entire neighbourhood. (KCEDG also complements the focus on Kingsridge-Cleddans Housing Association in Section 7.1). Both case-studies illustrate the limits to which community groups have been able to develop in relation to the decentralisation opportunities that exist, as well as acting as vehicles for exploring wider concerns of external decentralisation.

7.2.1 THE DISABLED ACTION GROUP

The Disabled Action Group (DAG) illustrates how a community group can flourish, through taking advantage of opportunities provided by decentralisation. The client group with which the DAG is associated is one that the discipline of geography has paid little attention to, i.e. physically disabled people (Golledge 1993). Established in 1981, the DAG committee is comprised of eleven disabled people or carers. There are three men and ten women. At the time of undertaking field research, it was associated with the biggest project for physically disabled people in the West of Scotland. Initially, it was a self-help group comprising external clients of the Saint Ninian's Centre, which is a professional assessment

centre operated by the Social Work Department (SWD). The variety of needs combined with limited resources, meant that many disabled people felt there was an impersonal care system that did not fulfil their requirements. Thus, the DAG was originally established as a reaction against the nature of SWD services. At the end of 1991, the DAG were finalising plans, and funding had been secured for the establishment of a Disabled Centre to be administered and managed exclusively:

...by disabled people for disabled people. The Centre that we're at present constructing will not be along the same lines as your Social Work day centre that people go to and are done for. Rather this is a centre of integration that we are hoping to build. That will sort of be two tier. In your first tier you'll have your dependent user... then you've got the second tier, and that is your less dependent user who can come to the Centre under their own steam. The person whose only come to look at supportive avenues, direct into the employment, educational side and so on. That should be a quicker turnover of people; we're bringing them in to get them out of the Centre (37 d).

In effect, services traditionally provided by the SWD are being taken over. These include: the assessment and processing of needs, and the allocation of support workers to users. Second, new services are being developed, e.g. helping users to find waged work, or to gain skills that would better equip them for the job market. Third, the DAG will hold budgets and allocate funding. Fourth, the DAG will be responsible for the selection and employment of staff. Fifth, 'confidential data' about users of services will be held. In relation to the latter function, concern has been expressed as to the inappropriateness of permitting such data to be accessed by non-professionals (Hoggett 1986 and see below).

7.2.2 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DAG FOR DISABLED PEOPLE

The existence of the DAG can be related to the wider disabled population of Drumchapel. The Drumchapel Sample Survey found that approximately 15% of people were either long-term sick or disabled. Extrapolated over the whole of Drumchapel, this is equivalent to 3,000 people. This figure can be compared to a Chronically Sick and Disabled Survey conducted in 1981 which, though received with some scepticism, recorded a figure of 4,000. As an illustration of the extent of disability in Drumchapel, these figures can be compared to additional data on

Drumchapel and for neighbouring areas. The proportion of the population who are of pensionable age have been excluded from the calculations, so as not to include illness and disability that is more usually associated with the ageing process.

TABLE 7.3: LEVELS OF DISABILITY AND LONG-TERM ILLNESS IN DRUMCHAPEL AND SELECTED NEIGHBOURING AREAS AND GLASGOW

Locality	% of population with disability and/or long-term illness	Variation from Glasgow figure (%)
<i>Drumchapel</i>	12.2	+ 4.5
<i>Knightswood</i>	7.0	- 0.7
<i>Bearsden & Milngavie</i>	2.7	- 5.0
<i>Maryhill</i>	8.6	+ 0.9
<i>Glasgow</i>	7.7	n/a

(Source: 1991 Census Small Area Statistics)

The relationship between the DAG committee and the wider disabled population was something explored in group discussions. A foremost concern was membership, which at the time of group discussions stood at 286. Compared with the above estimates, these figures may seem low. An additional concern is the level of involvement of these 286 registered members, something which is a reflection of the representativeness of the DAG. The Chair explained that the majority of members did not attend the thrice weekly meetings/activity days. In part this was related to the dismal premises the DAG were located in at the time: there was restricted space, poor facilities, and difficult access to the building. Beyond these limitations, the Chair elaborated on the difficulty of maintaining interest:

It's been such a long campaign. We've been so thin on the ground with resources and facilities that people come in and as it takes longer and longer and the campaigning gets a bit of a drag they go away. But we're starting to find that they're drifting back because we're only six months away [from the start of construction of the purpose built centre] and some of them feel quite guilty. But we say you don't have to feel like that, you came because you wanted to get registered, that you needed this (37 g).

Regarding the disabled people who have been involved in campaigning previously, there was a core of eight intensely committed people (four of whom comprised the discussion group) who have remained highly active throughout. Members present regarded the low level of involvement as unsatisfactory, but a level about which they felt they could do little at

present. A knock-on effect of this low level of involvement was that regular elections for committee members were usually uncontested. There is every intention, however, to give disabled people who are non-active members the opportunity to participate. One committee member explained how:

We don't hope, we will, be part of the assessment procedure so that any disabled person with the potential to come into the Centre has representation and continues to have representation from the committee members. The way we see it, rather than the assessment being done in the person's home with a member of staff. If the person has an expectation of coming to the Centre anyway, that he or she will come, and we think its a fairer way of doing things for that person to assess our Centre and staff at the same time that the staff and whoever are assessing them (37 c).

Having estimated the numbers of disabled people in Drumchapel and the representativeness of the DAG, its significance in a more conceptualised sense can be considered. The general message conveyed by DAG members during the group interview was how the DAG is important for the self-identity of physically disabled people and also how it is of significance on a collective basis for the physically disabled population of Drumchapel. Regarding self-identity, there is the encouragement of people to recognise or to fully accept that they are disabled and to then tackle any feelings of isolation:

We've had people contacting us, because its been suggested they do that. They might use a stick 'cos they've been injured themselves. But they don't always see themselves as having a disability (37 q)

The suggestion here is that the DAG has enabled or assisted disabled people to go through a process of self-recognition. Then there are those who have regarded themselves as disabled, yet may have felt isolated. The DAG has enabled the disabled person to invest themselves with greater value and importance.

The *collective* significance of the DAG to disabled people is also important. To clarify this assertion, it is useful to consider how a person's identity can be influenced by the state; consider, for example, how people

are categorised in relation to state support. Society also plays a role, whereby perceptions can lead to categorisations. These points are somewhat generalised, and other factors need to be taken into consideration, particularly how a disabled person feels about themselves. Still, state and societal perceptions can have a negative impact. Through the DAGs own profile and efforts to highlight disability issues, negative perceptions are being challenged. DAG members thought that disabled people have a growing positive distinctiveness within Drumchapel through small but valuable developments.

Regarding external decentralisation, disabled people will be able to shape the nature of service provision. Challenging the taken for granted understandings on the part of service providers, and the feelings of powerlessness on the part of disabled people were a concern of the DAG: *"We are treated like second class citizens in our own area. We still can't get into the doctors surgery"* (DAG Chair 37 m). The frustration expressed gained support from other group members. Links have been established with service departments and an advisory committee is going to be formed. By such means, the nature of mainstream service provision has greater potential to be influenced.

Considering information that has been gathered from interviewing DAG members, in a number of respects, what these various developments represent are new political options for the politically marginalised (Hall 1988). Based on the above extracts, the new political options are the opportunity for disabled people to provide services for themselves and redress mistaken assumptions or neglect by service providers. There has been a three pronged attack by the DAG on traditional forms of service provision: firstly, there has been a critique of existing forms of service provision, and secondly there has been a re-definition of the "problem" of being disabled. What disables people is their inability to function in a world which denies their needs and rights (Croft and Beresford 1993). Third, there has been an attempt to create an alternative service structure, with the distinction that it is controlled by disabled people.

7.2.3 THE NATURE OF EMPOWERMENT AND DAG PERCEPTIONS

The relationship between the DAG on the one hand, and the SWD and the COC on the other, illustrates how decentralised opportunities have been utilised.

DAG members explained how relations with the SWD have been strained. Members also suspected that a dependency on the SWD and a consequent restriction on empowerment of disabled people was being encouraged. This was attributed to the attitude of the SWD staff and to the fear that the role of the SWD was being undermined. Due to the perceived attitude of the SWD toward disabled people, the DAG had resisted the SWD involvement in any developments. There was a clear need communicated by DAG members to dissociate themselves from a culture of domination. A committee member made reference to the links with the SWD:

Very little. It might seem wrong but not to us. We have to be allowed to go down this road, not to make foolish mistakes, the supervising officer's job is to make sure we don't do that. That's the reason we chose the COC, they are a professional organisation - we have confidence in them. We have to be allowed to structure this organisation by ourselves, because there's not one SWD in Scotland got it right for physically disabled people (37 k).

Removal of control from the SWD, exemplifies how in Hoggett's (1986) words: "... professional structures and cultures form the base of 'policy communities' which exercise hegemony over the relevant areas of professional production" (p. 19). It is the potential for the participation of lay-members which has been prevented or minimised. Hoggett (1986) also makes reference to the "logic of technocratic reality", a term which embraces what social work professionals would like to determine what is and what is not plausible. Some areas of service provision do not require professional expertise, and this is what the DAG are challenging:

We very strongly feel that every time that the Social Work Department or organisations like that say 'more power to disabled people', they should be enabled to do this, that and the other. There's so much lip-service around because when it actually come to implementing some of these ideas there's a very strong feeling around that they don't really want you to do that. They want you

to be dependable. I don't know if that's because of a fear of a loss of control, loss of jobs or whatever. What we're trying to say here is let us fix it our own way, where we're able, let us meet our own disabled populations needs (Committee member 37 e).

However, the DAG is not entirely divorced from the state regarding the range of activities and services that it is or will soon be providing - a fact acknowledged by some group members. Ultimately, the state has control and this is expressed, for example, through the monitoring of developments that will take place in order to ensure that agreed standards are being reached. Importantly, the form of that monitoring, i.e. who the monitors are and the criteria to be used should be gauged in relation to the principles of decentralisation (Stoker 1987). Also, funding has to come from the state, whether local or central. The latter form of control could be balanced by guarantees to support the DAG and perhaps the ring fencing of funds for services provided.

A second relationship of importance and which was highlighted during the group discussion is that with the COC (see Chapter Six). Two objectives of the COC and the services offered are reflected in the activities of the DAG. It is only in the last four or five years, since the establishment of the COC and the availability of significant funding, that the DAG has moved from being relatively small-scale with limited aspirations to being much more ambitious, something captured in the above interview extracts. During this time, the DAG has drawn heavily on support services. Specifically, premises have been designed by resident COC architects. More generally, there has been the support of the COC at Area Management Group meetings and where Urban Aid applications for funding are concerned (something conveyed by DAG members, COC Director and GDC councillors).

Superimposed onto this account of the available and utilised services is how DAG members perceive this relationship. In detail the Chair summed this up:

The COC have given us 120% support, they are our best allies. When I say that, what I mean is we are a committee, it sounds grand a board of directors; we're a bunch of disabled people in reality. We are not

secretaries, we are not treasurers; we've had no training, though we have in the past had support from Community Development. But after we had been going seven years, and we had got the half million we needed, we wanted to form a company with charity status. We needed lawyers, we needed architects, we needed all sorts of complicated issues being dealt with (37 j).

To gain further insight, it is instructive to refer to the language in which this account is embedded. Such terms as "support" and "advice" have been used. Also there is a particular emphasis on what the COC is there for, i.e. to serve the DAG and not the other way around. Control was felt to be with themselves all of the time, and overall, COC services were regarded highly.

7.2.4 THE DAG AND THE WELFARE STATE

What community groups such as the DAG mean in terms of recent changes in the welfare state needs to be looked at. In part, explanation of such voluntary groups is close to Wolch's (1990) Shadow State Theory, the nature of which is captured in the very term: particular roles and functions of the state are being taken over by the voluntary sector, which is embedded within civil society. This has some applicability to the DAG. From another perspective, the DAG occupies a zone of transition between the state and users of particular services.

Directly relevant to the Shadow State Theory is the involvement of local people, especially within areas of multiple deprivation. Such involvement can be geared towards the defence of gains associated with the welfare state (Stoker and Loundes 1991). This perspective is identifiable in some instances in Drumchapel, for example, the situation surrounding some housing co-ops. However, if the comments of DAG members are recalled, it is clear that the DAG is not trying to defend any gains, instead it can be said to be colonising new terrain, that has traditionally been associated with the state. There appears to be latitude to initiate new activities and to shape public policy within the context of Drumchapel. In these respects, services are qualitatively and quantitatively different.

A final facet of the shadow state theory worth consideration are the power relationships and their configurations. One possible dimension is that the

DAG is a means by which central government can undermine the perceived 'undesirable' facets of local government, and one such facet being Left/Socialist ideology. Though this has been controlled through fiscal limitations, it can be further undermined by the generous funding of such groups as the DAG. Furthermore, the DAG is a stick wielded by many participants with which to 'hit' the SWD; Councillors can promote the DAG, through supporting the allocation of funding.

7.3 KINGSRIDGE-CLEDDANS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT GROUP

The Kingsridge-Cleddans Economic Development Group (KCEDG), is a sister organisation of the Kingsridge-Cleddans Housing Association. For legal reasons two separate organisations, which work closely together in practice, were established. The extent of deprivation in the neighbourhood was an embarrassment to the local authorities; tackling deprivation has been a commitment SRC has always publicised (see Chapter Five). In this respect, the neighbourhood of Kingsridge-Cleddans is something of a laboratory for social and economic transformation; the outcomes of initiatives undertaken are likely to have significance for all of Drumchapel. KCEDG is not a unique development within Britain. Hoggett and Hambleton (1986) make reference to some neighbourhood initiatives, which are comparable to KCEDG and that are concerned with the local economy in two principal respects: by expanding the local employment base, and with the re-cycling of local wealth. The concerns of KCEDG are, however, more widespread, linking with KCHA. A summary of the structure of the KCEDG Board was provided:

You own it the same as anyone else would. You have directors, community directors who are elected annually. We've left space for the Housing [Department], Drumchapel Opportunities, and both the Housing Association, and the Housing Co-op [Cernagh] to have representation on the Board. But the majority must be community individuals from up-the-hill [Kingsridge-Cleddans].I think we feel we've moved on in leaps and bounds this year because we had a member of staff who we could instruct and who was doing the work, when we were busy doing other things (43 gp).

Importantly, in this account, a sense of empowerment is displayed. An emphasis is placed on how the community has decided that the interests

of local government should be represented. Members felt they were in the 'driving seat' and could set the agenda.

On a number of fronts, including housing, retailing, the environment and employment, KCEDG intends to make radical departures from more familiar forms of organisation, production and consumption. Some foci of KCEDG are often a concern of local government, principally, tackling unemployment. Aside from being community led, KCEDG is distinct because it is concerned with by-passing the larger economy by means not associated with local government. The perspective of KCEDG is holistic, in so far as there is an awareness of how many facets of society and the economy are inextricably intertwined:

We saw what other people were doing and we thought it wouldn't be enough here to just do-up the houses. If we put central-heating in and people couldn't afford to run it, they would just switch it off; back to square-one, damp houses. So we formed Kingsridge-Cleddans Economic Development Group. We are also looking at getting people work, training or whatever (Committee member 43 e).

KCEDG intend to retain any profits made from all of these endeavours within Kingsridge-Cleddans. This is of importance regarding the retention of wealth within the neighbourhood. What spending power local people have is all too often taken out of the neighbourhood by individuals purchasing goods elsewhere and even community groups employing people from outside of the area (Co-ordinator of Drumchapel Community Business).

7.3.1 WHAT DOES KCEDG MEAN FOR LOCAL PEOPLE?

KCEDG is applicable to a sub-population that is based on a distinct geography rather than interest, as with the DAG. One way in which a KCEDG project is going to benefit all of the community of Kingsridge-Cleddans is the proposed purchasing and up-grading of eight local shops. These shops will then be managed by KCEDG. A committee member, provided an account of the reasons for taking over responsibility for the shops:

Some of the shop units were let but the shops were shut. So the District is making a profit, but its doing nothing for

the community 'cos they've got shutters on them all the time. They don't see the impact on the community, it drags them down. They're aware of the reasons why the shops are shut, 'cos the community is declining and slipping out. As they're still getting their money, the impetus to do something isn't there. If the community owns it and the community lives there, they're going to have to respond to these things. So community ownership means that you're responding to things within your own community much more rapidly (43 f).

Bound-up in this account is an illustration of how distant the local authority is from the needs of the community. The above committee member perceives GDC as being oblivious to, or unable to rectify, the negative consequences of its management of the shops. Aside from the potential economic benefits, management by KCEDG will have positive knock-on effects for all of the community. When occupied, the shops will be frequented by local people who won't have to travel out of the neighbourhood for basic supplies; they will become a focus for the community. Consequently, vandalism and general neglect of the area in the immediate vicinity of the shops could be reduced. Community management of the shops, though a relatively modest project, is potentially of considerable importance regarding the positive implications for improving residents access to retail facilities and for enhancing the visual appeal of the area in general.

In addition, KCEDG will provide for local people to purchase food from a new source, or to get involved at the most local level possible in employment initiatives. With both of these projects, in small but potentially significant ways, a micro-economy is being established. In the broader context of Drumchapel, the driving force of the wider regional and national economy are profit margins, productivity and a variety of other buzz-concepts associated with the free market. Such concepts are of little or no relevance regarding the operation of KCEDG, as for example, what profits are generated are re-invested. The viability of various projects is not synonymous with profit margins; as long as they break even.

Considering KCEDG in relation to broader contemporary debates in society, KCEDG is implicitly and explicitly making a critical commentary

on the structure and functioning of society. KCEDG is an alternative means of achieving the provision of services and items of consumption are being experimented with. The effect of the wider economy is being by-passed at selective points. Of course, there is ultimately still going to be a dependency on the state by many residents. Welfare payments are a primary means. In some respects, KCEDG projects are negligible in relation to the scale of socio-economic deprivation. Also, opportunities that are potentially afforded by the macro-economy make the efforts of KCEDG look insignificant. However, the wider economy has by-passed or "rejected" many people in Kingsridge-Cleddans. The opportunities afforded people are very much determined by circumstances beyond their control. By contrast, the opportunities offered by KCEDG are more realistic and accessible. The group was aware of this: *"there's lots of things we can't affect here, but there are small things that we can affect"* (43 c). What KCEDG embodies is a decentralisation of a small level of economic power. External decentralisation is on a scale that is of a personal nature. In other words, there is a sense of politics that implicates local people (Brunt 1988).

Many of the concerns of KCEDG are traditionally the preserve of the private sector where free market principles tend to dominate. The principles of the free market have encroached on many areas of collective service provision. The position of KCEDG regarding the general "trend" towards privatisation and the breakdown of collective provision counters this. More fundamentally, KCEDG can be looked upon as an alternative model of social organisation at the micro level. The scale of organisation, is very small; the population is in the region of 4,000 (1991 Census). The nature of services and the philosophy behind its organisation appear to encourage a return to the form of social and economic organisation that in some respects is closed and is characteristic of the traditional village.

KCEDG may be looked upon as reconstructing the ideological world within which residents live. Sense is made of the world largely through drawing on a repertoire of concepts and ideas. The two worlds of employment and unemployment and the dichotomy between them can be used to illustrate the point. These two worlds are in a state of flux in wider society at present and traditional divisions along the lines of home and work place, for example, are not always as clear cut as previous. Aside

from this wider state of flux, the activities of KCEDG are directly challenging traditional divisions between the world of waged and un-waged work. Such traditional divisions have been done away with as some people will be able to work, but this will not be as part of the formal labour market; skills, perhaps once applicable in the work place can now be bartered. By these various means, dependency on the volatile and economically hostile 'outside world' is being reduced.

7.4 CONCLUSIONS

This Chapter has looked at the changing relationship between residents of Drumchapel and local government, as manifested through decentralisation. Foremost, alternative means of managing services have come into being. The case-studies have shown that traditional responsibilities of, and the control exercised by, different service departments have been reduced or virtually removed. The reasons for this change are centred on a decline in the quality of the relationship between provider and recipient.

To a degree, these changes represent alternative forms of social and economic organisation (particularly in the case of KCEDG) within the context of Drumchapel. In addition to the changes in the management of services, and the degree of involvement of local people, this Chapter explored the ethos that underpins these developments in decentralisation. The collective, communal, client centred, and non-profit values and associations were highlighted.

The illustration of these trends in relation to the three case-studies are important as they stand. However, as far as the public/private dichotomy in service provision is concerned, it has been shown how the boundaries between the two spheres have become confused and vague. Boundaries have become confused due to the arrival of private sector funding and the private (though community) management of services. Though developments that have been looked at are outside of the state sphere, they are publicly spirited and ultimately there is a state (public) monitoring of activities.

The importance of these observations for the concern with the underclass is that there has been an empowerment that is outside of the formal system. A measure of control over what services are provided in a local context does exist. In responding to conditions, local people have in turn created new conditions in which they have a personal stake. In many ways, these new conditions created are the antithesis of those which prevail in society at large. With the response to marginalisation by residents, links have been established between political participation and other areas of association with mainstream society. In addition, how members of community groups have developed as individuals has been illustrated: communication skills have been enhanced, confidence has developed, as has self-belief. These findings complement the comments of Stoker (1987), who emphasised the advantages of extending participatory democracy, particularly for the politically marginalised sections of society.

In addition to these changes, the findings of this Chapter challenge some of the reservations that have been expressed in relation to (external) decentralisation. One reservation is that services could not be devolved because important considerations of equality would be over-ridden (Hoggett 1986). Yet, Hoggett does add that such unacceptable forms of resource distribution already occur within the welfare state. Indeed, this Chapter has found variations in the condition and desirability of public sector housing stock, and this variation was within a relatively small geographic area. Regarding the devolution of control over services to the community, *within* housing co-operatives no evidence existed of the undermining of the equality of service provision. On the contrary, a commitment was expressed by group members that everyone should be treated equally.

Finally, to balance the comments on the decentralisation that has taken place, the need for the continuing role of the state can be highlighted. State involvement can be useful and necessary, for example local government offers skills and expertise that can be worked with (Gaster 1991). In particular, some aspects of service provision would be difficult to decentralise, ensuring that established guide-lines and minimum standards are adhered to being two such considerations.

TABLE 7.4 : A SUMMARY OF THE 'ACHIEVEMENTS', POTENTIAL OR ACTUAL, OF THE THREE COMMUNITY GROUPS PROFILED *

Area of improvement	Housing Co-ops and Housing Association	Disabled Action Group	Kingsridge-Cleddans Economic Development Group
<i>Social</i>	1. A small proportion of the housing stock is set-aside for people with physical disabilities. 2. A small proportion of the stock is set-aside for people with mental health problems.	1. A purpose built centre has opened for disabled people. 2. Input into the design of homes, with housing co-ops. 3. Provides information, advice and support on a range of issues. 4. Disabled issues have been profiled. 5. Campaigned for improved access to various public buildings.	1. Promotes community social supports. 2. Potentially reduces vandalism and anti-social behaviour generally.
<i>Economic</i>	1. A commitment to employ local people in areas of housing maintenance and administration.	1. Provides employment advice and training.	1. Food co-ops sell food at a reduced rate. 2. Money and resources are being retained in the neighbourhood to a greater extent. 3. A commitment to the employment of local people wherever possible.
<i>Living conditions and environmental improvements</i>	1. Upgraded housing: -Re-wired housing -Replaced windows -Sound proofed to reduce noise levels <i>(co-ops are at different stages of development)</i> 2. Improved the housing repair system. 3. Landscaped gardens 4. Introduced safe play areas for children	1. A small proportion of the stock is set-aside for people with disabilities.	1. Proposed environmental upgrading of open spaces. 2. The upgrading of shops and their rental at competitive rates, thus encouraging accessibility and a more localised mixing of the population as well as choice of goods available locally. 3. Potentially a reduction in levels of vandalism
<p>*: The above comments are based on a combination of the comments of community groups members interviewed and developments that were readily observable.</p>			

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CHAPTER 8 DECENTRALISATION AND COMMUNITY

The broad concept of community is the central theme of this Chapter. Community is an important focus because of its use and associations with decentralisation. In relation to Chapters Six and Seven, what has been evident is the implicit persistence of community(ies) with associated characteristics and structures. They include a sense of attachment, neighbourliness, and networks of support. Indeed, the existence of so many such groups can itself be looked upon as an indicator of the extent to which a sense of community exists. In other words, community is something attached to many of the concerns of these previous chapters. It is therefore of value to look at how various processes associated with decentralisation have had an impact on the community(ies) of Drumchapel, in particular of further strengthening it/them.

There are two principal forms that community can take: those based on geography and/or those based on interest. Regarding both, Thrift (1992) has highlighted the need for a renewed focus. In particular, Thrift is concerned with interest communities that have become less defined by territory as time passes. His assertion is applicable to social groupings where there is a high level of mobility, or where common interests are structurally rather than spatially defined. Other writers have made similar points, believing that communities defined by geography are of less importance than previous (Bulmer 1986, Clarke 1982, Eyles 1986, and Willmott 1986). This line is not pursued in this Chapter; instead it is shown that the multiple communities of Drumchapel are defined by geography as well as by interest.

Section 8.1, 'Decentralisation, Community and Drumchapel', looks at how community in Drumchapel is of importance to decentralisation. This is largely an introductory section that explores the relationship between the core concepts of community and decentralisation with reference to Drumchapel. The particular dimensions of community that are observed are physical and social factors that together are most likely to be quantitative in their bases. These are the building blocks of community, upon which more personal and less quantifiable characteristics can be

based. Section 8.2, 'Perceptions of Community', presents Sample Survey findings that sought to establish the extent of community feeling in Drumchapel, changes in the degree of this feeling over time, and what geographical scale comprised the community. Section 8.3, 'The Impact of Decentralisation on Drumchapel Communities', is based on data gathered during the interview process. By 'perceptions', the defining characteristics of community explored in Section 8.1 (territory and interest), are of concern- that is, how community group members see the concept of community as applied to themselves and to their environment. Section 8.4, 'Neighbourhood and Drumchapel Level Communities', is concerned with how developments associated with decentralisation have had an effect on both of these levels of community. In particular, the positive and negative characteristics of the defensive community (Thrift 1992) which are shown to exist at the neighbourhood level are examined.

8.1 DECENTRALISATION, COMMUNITY AND DRUMCHAPEL

Defining community has been recognised as problematic. One broad attempt at definition is that "... it refers to a set of local relations that may or may not exist in a locality, or may exist to varying degrees" (Hall *et al* 1984, p. 202).

There are a variety of components which define community. For convenience, these can be divided into two categories: objective and subjective. The first category consists of structural characteristics of Drumchapel and its population. The second category focuses on perceptual interpretations of data which are more personal to the individual and/or group. In this section it is the first category that is examined.

Decentralisation and community are broad concepts, both having an established and an extensive literature (see Chapter Two). Surprisingly, a literature that tries to relate these two concepts is sparse, though one exception is Burns, Hambleton and Hoggett (1994). Usually these concepts are not linked to one another because of the lack of attention which has been paid to how service users are affected by decentralisation. Yet, clearly decentralisation and community do overlap, even though they are concepts from different eras; community was the focus of considerable

attention during and prior to the 1970s, whereas decentralisation was the 'darling' of the 1980s. Many of the ideas and aspirations that were precipitated by the concept of community, from the late 1960s and into the 1970s have re-emerged, though in a refined form, under the heading of decentralisation.

The notion of communities is attractive to decentralisation specifically because of certain characteristics. First, community embodies characteristics that could provide solutions to the scale and 'remoteness' of local government (Beuret 1987, Bryne 1983, Castells 1983, Stewart and Stoker 1988, Stoker 1987). Geographically, local communities are compact and hence more manageable when it comes to administration (Willmott 1986). Second, communities may have a clear spatially demarcated population. Third, a community by definition stimulates local associations to which decentralisation can be linked. Fourth, the members of such local groups are more likely to have the kinds of detailed knowledge of the community unavailable, but of great value, to local government (Beuret 1987, and Hoggett and Hambleton 1986). In effect, decentralisation needs community as there has to be some level of collective input from local people if it is to be more than an administrative exercise.

Equally, decentralisation is of significance to community because it can strengthen its constitutive components (City of Glasgow District Council 1989, Willmott 1986). Thus, different sections of the community, especially the more politically marginalised, have opportunities to become involved in decision-making processes (Stewart and Stoker 1988). The multiple over-lapping dimensions by which groups become excluded from mainstream society have been considered previously (see Chapter Four), where it was argued that collectively they can be looked upon as constituting an underclass. Decentralisation offers the opportunities for forms of empowerment of members of the underclass to take place, the ability to contribute to decision-making processes about services that have a direct impact on the community.

Having considered how decentralisation and community may be of mutual importance, the remainder of this section is concerned with how applicable the concept of community is to Drumchapel. Doing this will

provide a framework within which the research findings can be placed, and thus be given more substantial meaning. It is important to acknowledge that characteristics associated with the Drumchapel population and/or other observations such as length of residence in a neighbourhood do not in themselves explain the prevalence of a community. Rather, they are tools to be used in the construction of explanations.

Considered first are the socio-economic characteristics of the population of an area, as these can be useful indicators of the prevalence of community feeling. The greater the sense of homogeneity of a population the greater is the sense of community likely to be and vice-versa (Willmott 1986). Valuable contributors to such a profile are housing tenure (i.e. privately-owned, privately rented, local authority rented), and employment characteristics. Taking housing, until the latter part of the 1980s Drumchapel was comprised almost entirely (99.2%) of local authority rented housing (City Housing (Drumchapel) 1991). Concerning employment characteristics, the majority of the waged Drumchapel population whether actively engaged in waged work or not are concentrated in the unskilled/semi-skilled band (see Chapter Four and Appendices). Furthermore, there is a very high level of unemployment in Drumchapel, this figure being three times the figure for the whole of the Region (Strathclyde Regional Council 1990). This figure is arguably even higher; 69% of the Sample Survey were not economically active for such reasons as disablement or lone-parenthood (see Appendices).

Based on the Sample Survey, most residents are constrained in one form or another. Three groups, each relatively numerous in Drumchapel are particularly affected, the un-waged, disabled people and lone-parents are constrained via commitments to caring for children. For these three groups, much of their lived experience will be rooted in Drumchapel. Of course, some lived experience may have been gained elsewhere: perhaps from within the sphere of waged work, or if they have recently moved to Drumchapel then by their previous place of residence. Other contexts for gaining lived experience are not insignificant. For the mobility constrained, the peripheral location of Drumchapel is of abiding importance: being expensive and time consuming to journey from. Yet, the difficulties in being able to move outwith Drumchapel - even for

mundane tasks - suggests that such groups will have a greater investment in their community.

If these somewhat negative factors help foster community, there are other factors which can undermine it. The quite dramatic changes of the 1980s - the shift in housing tenure for some residents from that of council tenant to that of member of a housing association/co-operative, and the rise in the level of unemployment, hold the potential to cause fractures in the fabric of the community of Drumchapel. A possible end result of such fracturing is cleavage-formation. For example, there is the potential for a socially damaging division to develop between the waged and un-waged, with respect to both their status and their spending power.

Therefore, the underclass is not an homogeneous whole, rather there are potential divisions between different sub-groups which comprise the underclass. How cleavages manifest themselves include: along the lines of those people engaged in waged work and those who are not, and the amount of disposable income which people have available. There may be more permanent cleavages that are based on neighbourhoods.

The housing tenure and condition could potentially lead to cleavages between those residents who feel that they have been forgotten and are living in inferior stigmatised 'council' housing. However, the divisions between people may not be as considerable as first thought. Statistics indicate that the majority of the Drumchapel population are living on, or very near to, the poverty line. A high proportion of the population are in receipt of state benefits - some 75% of children of school age are in receipt of a clothing allowance, and some 60-70% of households are in receipt of housing benefit (Drumchapel Initiative 1992). Statistics of this nature indicate that the vast majority of households are 'existing' on a low income. The distinctiveness of Drumchapel with respect to such socio-economic indicators can be further illustrated by drawing comparisons with adjacent areas. Bearsden and Knightswood are acknowledged to be relatively prosperous suburbs, as differing unemployment levels illustrate:

TABLE 8.1: PROPORTION OF THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION REGISTERED AS UNEMPLOYED IN DRUMCHAPEL, AND TWO NEIGHBOURING AREAS

Area	Men	Women	Total
<i>Drumchapel</i>	40.4%	26.8%	33.6%
<i>Bearsden</i>	5.6%	3.6%	4.6%
<i>Knightswood</i>	17.0%	8.5%	12.8%

(Source: 1991 Census).

Cleavages of housing tenure and employment status, along with others, are unlikely to be coterminous. They are likely to cross-cut one another, diminishing their impact. Some potential cross-cutting cleavages are at the level of the individual - a disablement, lone-parenthood and being un-waged. At the household level divisions between members - between those who are and are not in waged work, age, and disablement.

Furthermore, if someone is engaged in waged work this does not automatically mean that they will have more spending power or status than their neighbours. Waged work is likely to be part-time, temporary, and almost definitely low-paid, i.e. less than £3 an hour. Furthermore, a dynamic situation prevails, for example, people may be engaged in waged work for only a short period of time. In these respects, some cleavages are constantly reforming.

Possibly a cleavage of greater significance is that which could develop between those residents of Drumchapel who are active members of a community group and those who are not (see Chapter Nine). There is the possibility that some of the core members of community groups will undergo a process of professionalisation, with a subsequent detachment from the wider resident base. Instead such participants may be caught up in issues that are specific to community members and may mean little or nothing to the rest of the population. The significance of such a cleavage will become clearer as housing co-operatives become more established once all up-grading has been completed.

Overall, the significance of cleavage formation for the application of the underclass concept to Drumchapel is not considerable, in so far as there is not considerable potential to undermine and splinter this distinctive social group, there is a dynamic situation regarding the formation of cleavages. Fundamentally, cleavages have to be considered in conjunction

with the ties that bind people together, and in Drumchapel people usually share more common interests than they have differences.

Another important characteristic affecting a sense of community, is the length of residence (Fischer 1977). The Sample Survey findings revealed that Drumchapel contains predominantly a stable population, though there are distinctions between sub-areas (see Chapter Four). To re-cap: 50% (90) had been resident for ten years or more, and 4.4% (8) had been resident for one year or less. Overall, the population of Drumchapel is now relatively stable. These figures can be compared with population turn-over amongst home-owners, who moved an average of once every six years in the mid-1980s (Maclennan and Gibb 1988). Though this statistic is somewhat dated it is likely that turn-over is even greater amongst home-owners in the 1990s due to such factors as a greater likelihood of a continually changing employment location and family breakdowns.

8.2 SAMPLE SURVEY FINDINGS: PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY

The Sample Survey set out to establish whether or not the population of Drumchapel felt itself to be part of a community, whether the extent of this has changed through time, and the reasons for any change. Of those respondents that did feel part of a community, the approximate geographical area which comprised their community was sought.

TABLE 8.2: RESPONSES TO STATEMENT 'FEELING PART OF A COMMUNITY'

<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>
11.5% (21)	51.6% (94)	11.0% (20)	20.3% (37)	3.8% (7)

(Three (1.6%) did not respond to this question).

Overall, two-thirds of the sample felt part of a community (Table 8.2). To consider the significance of these findings it is instructive to take the (strongly) agree categories and divide them in relation to the three sample areas. The differences were considerable with: Stonedyke = 57.6% (34) of the neighbourhood sample, Golden Triangle = 57.3% (35), and Kingsridge-Cleddans (K-C) = 74.2% (46).

TABLE 8.3: HAS THE EXTENT OF COMMUNITY FEELING INCREASED IN THE PAST THREE YEARS?*

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know	N/A**
<i>Stonedyke</i>	6% (2)	27% (9)	24% (8)	21% (7)	3% (1)	18% (6)	3% (1)
<i>Golden Triangle</i>	3% (1)	20% (7)	37% (13)	23% (8)	0	14% (5)	3% (1)
<i>Kingsridge-Cleddans</i>	11% (5)	26% (12)	48% (22)	4% (2)	0	4% (2)	7% (3)
TOTAL	7% (8)	24% (28)	37% (43)	15% (17)	1% (1)	11% (13)	4% (5)

(*: Comprised of '(strongly) agree' responses from Table 8.1; **: respondents who have lived in Drumchapel for less than three years)

Asked whether they thought that their sense of community had increased over the past three years, a higher number of respondents in K-C felt it had. Both Stonedyke and Golden Triangle respondents were more likely to be unable to comment, i.e. 'to not know'.

Explanations offered by respondents for why they thought their level of community feeling had increased or decreased were also sought and are summarised in Table 8.4:

TABLE 8.4: REASONS PROVIDED TO ACCOUNT FOR THE INCREASE IN COMMUNITY FEELING OVER THE LAST THREE YEARS*

	Responses provided**	Number: (total 36)
1	Things are happening that I can associate with	6% (2)
2	Cumulative: the longer I live here, the more people I get to know, and attached I become	26% (9)
3	School closure issue resulted in becoming more involved in what was happening locally	8% (3)
4	Member of a community group	14% (5)
5	Retired etc. and so now spend more time in area	17% (6)
6	Couldn't say why, just felt so	30% (11)

(*: 'Strongly agree' and 'agree' responses from Table 8.2, **: Respondents made one comment only).

The second, third and fifth reasons provided, can be regarded as an indication of the potential that could be harnessed in relation to external decentralisation, as they contribute towards the sort of conditions on which further involvement of local people in decision making processes could take place. In other words, there is a dove-tailing of some characteristics associated with community to decentralisation. Inclusion of the fourth reason is initially encouraging in relation to external

decentralisation, as local people are interested in becoming involved in community groups. However, four of the groups mentioned were church or otherwise religious based, rather than the type of group that is of concern here. The first and last reasons, are more indeterminate in supporting decentralisation.

TABLE 8.5: REASONS PROVIDED TO ACCOUNT FOR THE DECREASE IN COMMUNITY FEELING OVER THE LAST THREE YEARS*

	Responses provided	Number (total 18)
1	Don't know many people, they've moved away	22% (4)
2	Socialise with people outside of Drumchapel more	33% (6)
3	Crime and vandalism - scared to go out and mix	44% (8)

(*: 'Strongly disagree' and 'disagree' responses from Table 8.2)

Some, a minority, felt that community feeling had declined. Regarding the first reason, two of the four respondents were from K-C, and are likely to be related to the relatively high level of population turnover that was characteristic of the neighbourhood until recently. With the last reason, six of the eight respondents were from Stonedyke, which does not coincide with the profile of this neighbourhood (see Chapter Four). Indeed, in some respects the profile of Stonedyke has more in common with relatively prosperous working-class suburbs of Glasgow, such as Knightswood. In passing through both areas, levels of vandalism appear to be very low. In such places people are likely to be more mobile through, for example, work obligations and higher levels of car ownership.

A final component of community concerned its definition. Three different categories were used from which Drumchapel elicited the lowest response level.

TABLE 8.6: GEOGRAPHICAL AREA WHICH COMPRISES COMMUNITY

Drumchapel	Neighbourhood	Street	Do not know	n/a*
4% (12)	39% (71)	22% (41)	1% (2)	24% (44)

*The n/a column contains '(strongly) disagree' responses from Table 8.1. If respondents do not feel part of a community, defining the geographic area is irrelevant.

Rather, the majority of respondents indicated that the primary community with which they identified was the neighbourhood. A high proportion of these respondents were K-C residents, a neighbourhood which, as has been seen, is geographically and psychologically distinct within Drumchapel. One explanation of the Sample Survey findings is

that the neighbourhood is at a scale which is psychologically the more manageable with which to identify. The previous mention of the qualitative characteristics of the underclass and how the significance of community can grow in relation to exclusion and marginalisation may also be relevant. These Sample Survey findings add some support to data gathered from group discussions, where a strong identity with the neighbourhood was displayed, and in some cases a degree of hostility to other neighbourhoods and/or the remainder of Drumchapel was evident (see Section 8.4).

8.3 THE IMPACT OF DECENTRALISATION ON DRUMCHAPEL COMMUNITIES

Processes of decentralisation are evident in the Drumchapel Initiative, Community Organisations Council, housing co-operatives, and other community groups. How these have influenced the defining characteristics of community, as based on geography and interest, is the core concern of this Section. When referring to geography, it is the protection of place, and factors that illustrate and contribute towards this that is explored. Considered another way, it is how community group members see the concept of community as applied to themselves and to their environment.

8.3.1 DECENTRALISATION AND ENHANCED/NEW COMMUNITIES

Some developments, for example housing co-ops, associated with decentralisation have created new interest-based communities. These essentially cross-cut longer established geographical and/or interest based communities. Geography and interest are looked at in conjunction where respondents themselves frequently conflated both. One member of Southdeen Housing Co-operative referred to how residents relate to the neighbourhood level of community. The second extract comes from the Chair of Cernagh Co-operative and concerned prior thoughts on employment:

You get people saying "I come from Pinewood, I come from Broadholm". Well Southdeen is divided into the two [Pinewood and Broadholm neighbourhoods], we've got to be careful (27 p).

At first, we were a wee bit naive and narrow-minded. We thought well let's just keep it [developments taking place] up here, but that's impossible for the amount of work that's going to be done. So we're happy to use anybody as long as they live in Drumchapel (18 c).

An awareness of the limitations of a defensive neighbourhood community were conveyed in these group discourses, which is likely to be related to the emergence of new communities that are based on interest. They also illustrate how communities of interest cross-cut those of geography; a new community based on a different form of housing tenure, that is physically distinct from surrounding state owned housing has begun to develop. Regarding these changes, deciding where 'allegiances' lie for members was not an issue in group discussions. Though not mentioned in group discussions, in future, Southdeen Co-operative may affect community dynamics, in so far as experiences and associations related to one particular neighbourhood will be "challenged and broken up by new ways of being" (Kenny 1991, p. 18).

Distinct from the physical perceptions of community, are those more personal perceptions associated with community. A revealing commentary was by two committee members (CMs) of Pineview Co-op who described how their attachment to the area had deepened:

CM 1: I feel more positive, and I don't moan about the place so much. A few years ago I wanted to leave, move out of here, but now I'm happy to stay (26 f).

CM 2: I just sat about watching the place fall to bits round me (26 g)

CM 1: We're hoping to turn things around... (26 h).

Interpreting these extracts, the commitment to long term residence has altered their attitudes to the area and the thought that they are 'trapped' by where they live has been overtaken by a greater emotional investment in the area. Though members expressed many feelings, including that of despair, they had a renewed optimism and increased sense of attachment - there was greater personal investment in their communities. These observations are of especial importance in a much broader social context. In commenting on the prevalence of community in "...the advanced

economic systems of the west", Boswell (1990) considered that "our stock of communal perceptions, sentiments and prescriptions has sunk particularly low" (p. 1). This is an appropriate commentary on the political culture of Britain throughout the 1980s, as it tended towards an individualistic concept of 'equality' which undermined community (see Chapter Two). The characteristics of community, as displayed here, is a challenge to this. As Clarke (1982) argues, in such areas community is an important building block.

8.3.2 THE APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS FOR DECENTRALISATION

In looking at how various aspects of decentralisation have influenced the defining characteristics of community, it is apparent that there are particular conditions which have acted as facilitators for decentralisation opportunities to develop. Critically, there is a positive relationship between the extent of deprivation and the sense of community.

Restructuring had differing but generally deep local impacts within Drumchapel. With the impact of restructuring, Wolch (1990) has argued, "individual geographic locales with a specific historical record, extant structure, mix of local key agents, and set of socio-spatial forces affecting daily activity routines, will respond differently to changes in structure and agency..." (p. 210). In applying these conditions to Drumchapel, specific case-studies highlight those conditions that can enhance community feeling which in turn can be supportive of external decentralisation. Equally, such conditions can be influential in explaining the level of voluntary activity and the development of the Shadow State. Five variables have been extracted from the above quotation and applied to the conditions in Kingsridge-Cleddans, a large area of which is taken in by either KCHA or Cernagh Co-op. Relevant characteristics that prevail in Kingsridge-Cleddans are listed in Table 8.6 against the conditions identified by Wolch.

TABLE 8.7: SUMMARY OF CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH KCHA AND CERNAGH CO-OP COMPARED TO THE CONDITIONS IDENTIFIED BY WOLCH (1990)

Conditions identified by Wolch:	Characteristics prevalent in KCHA and Cernagh:
<i>i) a specific historical record</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -neglect by the Housing Department -relations with authorities -poor quality housing from the outset
<i>ii) individual geographic locales</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -relatively isolated, as one of areas farthest from shopping centre, swimming pool and other amenities
<i>iii) mix of local key agents</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -“cocktail” of local personalities -higher proportion of women (especially adult, women-only households) -long-term residents -motivated by anger -mutual support
<i>iv) set of socio-spatial forces affecting daily activity routines</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -un-waged -spare time and energy that could be channelled -lack of amenities
<i>v) respond differently to changes in structure and agency</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -breakdown in communication with authorities -rising unemployment -no longer containment of dereliction

Within the table reference to the proportion of women supports the argument that the gender imbalance that tends to prevail in deprived areas results in more women participating in community groups, itself an indicator of the strength of community feeling (see Chapter Nine). Inclusion of length of residence is of importance because with a pool of long-term residents there is a valuable bank of knowledge.

More generally, the socio-economic characteristics of the neighbourhood, i.e. the level of deprivation, have enhanced a sense of community. The impact of decentralisation *vis-à-vis* the conditions in Kingsridge-Cleddans, has been quantitatively and qualitatively greater than other neighbourhoods in Drumchapel. There are more community groups in Kingsridge-Cleddans than in other neighbourhood areas: one housing co-op, one housing association, one residents association, Fasque Place Parents and Users Group, the Phoenix Group, and KCEDG have all been established. Further, this high number of place-based community groups can also be taken as an indicator of the extent to which there is a sense of togetherness, and a willingness on the part of key individuals to work collectively. Also, the range of issues with which these groups are concerned are more varied and extensive than elsewhere, as evidenced by the spread of issues with which KCHA was initially concerned. However,

there is a fine balance in so far as if difficulties become so intractable then a sense of community could be undermined.

To support the point being made about Kingsridge-Cleddans, the contrasting situation in Stonedyke is striking, where there is only one community group, Stonedyke Residents Association (SRA). It was evident from the group discussions with SRA, that it has a 'traditional' relationship with the Housing Department, in so far as more formal channels of communication still exist. Precisely because of a lack of need, the conditions in Stonedyke do not appear to encourage the participation of local people in existing community groups, the formation of new community groups, or the tackling of a wide range of issues.

8.4 THE NEIGHBOURHOOD AND DRUMCHAPEL LEVEL COMMUNITIES

Territorial identities and a sense of community exist both at the level of Drumchapel as a whole and within the neighbourhood. Such a division is commonplace, as Young and Willmott (1957) showed in an early study that most people regarded their local community as existing at the level of the street and perhaps one or two other streets; a few hundred people would comprise the population of such a community. A larger scale of neighbourhood comprised several thousand people. In Drumchapel, decentralisation has impacted on these two levels of community. A Drumchapel level of community is of importance as the most appropriate scale for organisations to liaise with local government and for taking a strategic over-view of the area. In other respects, the neighbourhood level is more appropriate. This level is more manageable for local people via community groups to commit time and energy to; it is a geographic area that is more immediate. There are however negative associations at this level as well.

8.4.1 DEFENSIVE COMMUNITIES

Defensive communities are most usually associated with the past (Thrift 1992). In specific relation to Drumchapel, their prevalence at the level of the neighbourhood was evident in the present. Employees of local government, for example those in the Drumchapel Initiative, the

Departments of Education and Social Work, also made supportive references. The Director of the Drumchapel Initiative explained:

When the areas were set-up it was an arbitrary set of lines to give them a handle on smaller areas. I'm astonished that people say- 'I come from Kingsridge-Cleddans or Langfaulds' these are just purely arbitrary areas (28 m).

Comments supporting the existence of defensive communities at the neighbourhood level were made frequently. Understanding why there is a defence of the neighbourhood is important. First, neighbourhood perspectives on community within Kingsridge-Cleddans have been shaped to a considerable extent by external perceptions. The most revealing extract in this respect was from a group discussion with Kingsridge-Cleddans Economic Development Group (KCEDG). One committee member thought that:

We [Kingsridge-Cleddans] are an APT area within an APT area. This is the most deprived area of DrumchapelPeople from other areas say that we get all the money, that's because we've got strong community organisations that fight for everything. The roads, we ran a campaign to re-pave the streets. After that happened the rest of Drumchapel started complaining (43 g).

The conclusion from this extract is that KCEDG has a clear self-perception of its own distinctiveness, in terms of its interests and its socio-economic characteristics. Second, it is defensive of the gains made relative to other areas. Third, KCEDG is defensive to attacks which take the form of moral judgements on how residents live their lives.

The Sample Survey findings in conjunction with interview extracts illustrate that, in the case of Kingsridge-Cleddans specifically, and in some instances all of Drumchapel, community is an organisational feature, the characteristics of which provide an opportunity for the establishment of (political) sites of opposition to wider society and the state (Kenny 1991). To illustrate this point it is useful to consider how negative perceptions may be held of Drumchapel by individuals, employers, organisations, and the authorities. It is possible that local people identify with one another due to the oppressive perceptions, in the form of prejudice and

stigmatisation, that may be held. Attitudes projected by the "outside world" may act as a cohesive mechanism.

Another perspective on the defensive community, is that which is more challenging to, and negative of, other areas of Drumchapel. The two extracts below are defensive, but in a qualitatively different way from KCEDG. Few were as outspoken in style as the second extract illustrates, though it does represent something of the views of a small number of group members. Both extracts also provide a different perspective on the defensive community from those cited immediately above.

We're looking after ourselves here. It's our people that we want to benefit.... It all (resources) goes to other places [in Drumchapel] (25 r, Chair of Waverley Residents Association)

I wouldn't go up-the-hill; I wouldn't walk up there after Seven O'clock. That's (Kingsridge-Cleddans) different again.... I don't know what they do up-there; we've got our own things to see about (23 c, Committee member, Kendoon Housing Co-operative).

Clearly, with the first extract, there is a deep-seated mistrust of some of the components of decentralisation, because of the feeling that residents of Waverley do not benefit from developments located elsewhere in Drumchapel. Whether perceptions are accurate or valid is not a principal concern; what is of concern is that such attitudes are held and are influencing developments. It is clear from the extracts along with more general comments that emanated from group discussions, a cocktail of past and present experiences has fuelled prejudices. These attitudes undermine co-operation at a Drumchapel level. Considering reasons for the existence of such attitudes, it is possible that "community may set our sights on parochial concerns with societal forces being kept psychologically at a distance" (Eyles 1986, p. 62). Hence, there is an enlarged focus on the immediate neighbourhood to the extent that the rest of Drumchapel is perceived as being some place else. It could be that forces that are largely beyond residents' control, for example economic restructuring and cut-backs in the welfare state, have influenced the characteristics of such defensiveness.

The set of conditions observed, i.e. that collectively contribute to the existence of parochialism, may have been caused by disenfranchisement and the processes of disempowerment which has occurred, both of which are associated with the underclass.

As discussed elsewhere in this thesis, disenfranchisement in a variety of ways has the potential to contribute to the formation of an underclass. Drumchapel people may feel politically disenfranchised, as their vote has no impact on central government or local government, and they may not know of the local community representatives of Drumchapel's interests in community based organisations. Also people may feel disenfranchised economically, as they are unable to engage in waged work, because of a disability, sickness or other commitments. Alternatively, if they are able to undertake formalised waged work, none can be found which is suitable, or it is low paid and/or short term. Regarding social disenfranchisement, especially where and how free time is spent, will be limited as most past-times cost money.

A possible outcome of disenfranchisement and disempowerment is that people can become increasingly introspective, which up to a point appears to encourage community based activity. However, too much 'looking inward' perhaps coupled with a few high profile local activists with even more exaggerated inward looking views can be enough to foster parochial feelings.

However, it is important to emphasise that the enlarged focus on the neighbourhood is not necessarily an exclusive characteristic of the underclass, only that a certain set of conditions that prevailed in the neighbourhood of Waverley were observed and could be potentially repeated elsewhere if similar conditions existed. These set of conditions appear to have precipitated the development of parochial attitudes, as conditions that can engender feelings of community up to a certain point, but beyond that point those conditions may result in ever increasing defensive perspectives that are essentially parochial.

The second extract illustrates a cleavage that has affected perceptions of community, community activity and organisations. In attempting to interpret this extract, the Kendoon Co-operative member (23 c) appears to

be defining boundaries regarding who does and does not constitute actual or potential people to collaborate with. Thus, the potential for co-operation and enthusiasm to liaise is likely to be undermined. There is also the implicit need communicated in the extract to establish some form of psychological distance, even exclusion, between Kingsridge-Cleddans and elsewhere; it is an area of Drumchapel from which disassociation has taken place. Geography and socio-economic factors are what this perception is foremost based on. Such perceptions are long established and pre-date the decentralisation developments of the mid-1980s onwards. However, there is the likelihood that as Kendoon Co-op matures as a group (it is the most recently established), viewpoints will change as it draws on the expertise of more established co-ops, shares experiences, and pools resources with other community groups.

8.4.2 THE IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENTS ON THE DRUMCHAPEL LEVEL OF COMMUNITY

Illustrated below is how the nature of some developments associated with decentralisation have undermined community at the Drumchapel level. Concern with the effects on this level of community is the flip-side of observations made at the neighbourhood level. The concern here is with accounting for reasons why this undermining has taken place.

A variety of group interview extracts broadly made reference to the poor transmission of information from the DI, COC and Housing and Social Work Departments, which leads to misunderstandings, is a major reason why the Drumchapel level of community has been undermined. Comments made by two members of Drumchapel Information Services to the Community (DISC), captures the point:

It's deliberate council policy. It's deliberate government policy. That is how they keep control; it's divide and conquer. If you go to another area in Drumchapel and you say you're from Waverley and you're trying to get something, they'll say its Waverley again, money's being wasted, and what about all these other areas (31 i).

The Housing Department put out that five million pounds has been spent in the Waverley area. What they don't say is that it was over a certain amount of time and the vast majority of the money was wasted; the likes of roofs which were altered and then ripped-off (31 j).

The concern of the second extract was validated in a different context by the Housing Manager at City Housing, when he made reference to unsuccessful efforts to improve the stock. A poor representation of facts by the authorities appears to be unintentional. The knowledge possessed by some group members had been obtained by hearsay; consequently, it tended to be vague and fragmentary, or was contained within dismissive references to the 'waste of money' (51 a). Thus, an incomplete picture had developed at ground level in which there was the potential to fill gaps with inaccuracies based on speculation.

Concerns with a lack of knowledge and understanding feed into broader concerns with insufficient communication in general. A primary aim of the COC is to bring together all community groups in Drumchapel. This has not been achieved, if 47% of community group members who participated in group discussions did not know what the COC was concerned with, and only knew of its actual existence.

An important conclusion that can be drawn from the interviews with community groups is that poor communication undermines some aspects of community and exacerbates competing interests, an eventual outcome of which are parochial attitudes. To support this assertion, it has been seen that in relation to Waverley, community group members hold long-standing parochial attitudes which have been played upon by more recent developments associated with decentralisation. How this parochialism has impacted on community representation, i.e. external decentralisation, can be shown to be of significance. It was argued by the WRA Chair that community representatives (CRs), not being from Waverley, do not represent their interests satisfactorily. Instead, CRs are more attentive to the neighbourhood areas within which they reside. Further, members of: Cernagh, the Elderly Forum, Southdeen CAFE Project, and Southdeen Co-operative expressed viewpoints that touched on the issue of representation. A second feature of external decentralisation is the manner in which community representation is structured, which for some group members had undermined the Drumchapel level of community.

The implications of parochialism were a concern for the DI Director. He was concerned with "petty parochialisms", which he thought had caused

difficulties in the operation of the COC. In relation to this organisation, he felt the forging of a Drumchapel perspective, and the opportunity to exercise some power that was "there for the taking" was being restricted and even undermined by the persistence of parochialisms.

The problem of parochialism is not unique to Drumchapel, as the literature on decentralisation suggests (Beuret and Stoker 1988; Gaster 1991; Gyford 1987; Hoggett 1986; Lansley *et al* 1989; and Loundes 1991). Of particular relevance is the competition for scarce resources, which is less evident when decisions about resource allocation are made 'inside' local government (Loundes 1991). With decentralisation and the opportunities for local people to become involved in decision-making processes, as has been the case in Drumchapel, competition over resources becomes more visible. Representatives of different interests and/or geographical areas are going to compete, as has been implicit in some of the extracts cited.

Based on these findings, three main underlying problems associated with decentralisation in Drumchapel can be identified. First, decentralisation has not sufficiently acknowledged and taken account of negative attitudes that are held by some group members, and has not minimised the 'opportunities' for these attitudes to gain ground. An example of this follows from the WCC former Chair's inaccurate perceptions of the activities of the DI. Second, the insufficient dissemination of information to all relevant parties about what is and, more importantly, what is *not* required of individuals/community groups, of what the boundaries or limits of developments are, and why and how the nature of some decision-making is undertaken. Third, there is a perceived lack of opportunities for grievances to be expressed.

In looking at the Drumchapel level of community and how perceptions of it have been affected by decentralisation, the existence of parochial attitudes amongst some community group members is obvious. When processing group interview material, relationships between different variables were explored. The prevalence of parochial attitudes was looked at further in relation to two variables that were common to all community groups: the length of time a group has been established and whether it is issue specific or multi-issue. A pattern emerged (with three exceptions), based on community groups falling into one of two categories.

More recently established groups (i.e. eight years or less which is the length of time the DI and COC have been in existence), and those associated with more than one issue comprised the first category. Such groups tended to be less parochial and more extensive in their criticism of local government. Additional characteristics of such groups were that they were not associated with a specific neighbourhood area, and/or their continued functioning involved a good deal of interaction with other community groups. Groups of this type included: DISC, The Unemployed Workers Centre, and well established housing co-operatives. One exception was: Kendoon Co-operative, whose non-conformity to the pattern may be related to this groups recent establishment and the fact that founding members were previously members of Broadholm Tenants Association.

Long-established (i.e. over eight years) and issue specific groups comprised the second category. To contrast, criticisms made of local government tended to overlap with negative perceptions of other neighbourhoods, i.e. they were parochial. Most of the tenants associations, of which there is one in each neighbourhood area, comprised this group. Two exceptions were: Langfaulds and Pinewood Tenants Associations. Possibly groups in this second category have more entrenched viewpoints and in a period of considerable change and restructuring in the physical and ideological environment, safety may be sought in 'common sense' understandings.

The significance of this pattern, in relation to the two levels of community, can be summarised as follows. With the first category, though a degree of territoriality was evident, a broader perspective of change in Drumchapel predominated. This was important regarding community at the Drumchapel level which was encouraged. For the second category, some of the perceptions which influenced how groups relate to other groups, organisations and neighbourhoods, accentuated feelings of defensiveness. The enhancement of the Drumchapel level of community was therefore hindered because of this.

8.5 CONCLUSIONS

Drawing the themes of this Chapter together, there are some underlying conclusions that can be made. There has been a differential impact of decentralisation, depending on the characteristics of place. New communities of interest have been created, whose boundaries are not necessarily coterminous with existing neighbourhoods. An additional outcome is a new sense of belonging and meaning. Relationships between people, and the relationship between people and their surroundings has undergone change, sometimes with positive outcomes. In general, there has been a reconstitution and revitalisation of community. Thirdly, a collage of competing images of community exist; there are those that are based on: interest, geography and defensiveness, along with the shifting boundaries of each of these types of community. These developments relate to the concern with an alternative citizenship, in which feelings of belonging and association are projected at the local level.

Some characteristics of community are important for encouraging or facilitating the process of decentralisation. Indeed, it was suggested that ideal conditions can prevail for decentralisation to progress. The prevailing level of need is an important motivating factor. However, there is a balance. With too high a level of need, then there could be social dislocation and breakdown. In making these points there is an overlap with characteristics that have been closely associated with members of the underclass.

The links between community as in evidence in Drumchapel and the characteristics of the local population can be usefully explored. Such an exploration also enables the features in the Drumchapel population to be considered in relation to the underclass concept. A first perspective is on the features of the underclass that can contribute initially to the prevalence of community, and can go on to further shape the characteristics of community. A second perspective focuses on the characteristics of community which may have contributed to the formation of an underclass.

There are distinctions in the characteristics of community where the underclass concept has some applicability to the local population.

There is a higher level of community based activity, as highlighted throughout this thesis. One means of measuring the strength of community is by the number of community groups and their range of activity. In most neighbourhoods which comprise Drumchapel this is very high. This contrasts with one neighbourhood in Drumchapel - that of Stonedyke, where the application of the underclass concept is less robust because of the characteristics of the area, e.g. it is less indicative of a population which is consumed by poverty and community based activity is very low (see Chapter Four). Though there does appear to be an inverse relationship between the level of community and the prevalence of characteristics that support the application of the underclass concept to Drumchapel, this is not comprehensively so, as there can be considerable community based activity in more prosperous areas. However, it is probably true that the range and extent of activity is still considerably greater in areas such as Drumchapel.

In Drumchapel there is a mixture of positive and negative factors which can contribute to or undermine community. Overall positive factors outweigh the negative and bind the population together. Certain factors are negatively perceived in most contexts, for example levels of unemployment. However, in relation to the strength of community, high levels of unemployment in conjunction with other factors such as relative geographical isolation and a history of community activism can result in a positive cohesiveness, as appears evident in Drumchapel.

Also highlighted in this thesis is the nature of community, particularly where the dynamics of community appear distinct, as in the case of Waverley neighbourhood which exhibited a degree of parochialism. As observed previously, some of the contributory characteristics of community can be prevalent to too greater a degree, then less desirable characteristics come through, i.e. residents holding undesirable perceptions of places beyond their immediate neighbourhood.

The interaction between the characteristics of the underclass as emphasised in this thesis and community is reinforcing certain characteristics, for example community group participation may mean that there is less interest in gaining waged work. Characteristics which can be more immediately associated with the underclass rather than other

social groupings are contributing to the nature and strength of community.

Community is also important regarding the scale of place and related associations. It is clear from this work that the neighbourhood is a psychologically more manageable scale of place with which people can associate. At this scale developments have a local feel to them; they can be observed probably on a daily basis, and are not some dim and distant proposal. Therefore, there is more likely to be a higher level of interest and support for such developments.

A final concern has been how decentralisation has impacted on the dynamics of community in Drumchapel, specifically that between the neighbourhood level and that of the whole of Drumchapel. Divisions that prevailed prior to the developments of the 1980s have been accentuated by some characteristics of decentralisation. Some groups view participation at a Drumchapel-wide level with suspicion and prefer to 'look out' for their own areas; i.e. they have become parochial in their outlook. Subsequently, and in some instances, there has been a negative effect on the Drumchapel level of community. Ironically, this observation contrasts with one of the basic purposes of decentralisation, which is to enable communities to develop or enhance their full potential.

Underlying many of the observations made in this Chapter is the dilemma of the equality of provision versus the diversity of need. Whether groups are defined by interest or geographic area, a growing diversity is an inevitability if they become involved in decision-making processes. As a consequence groups can become assertive and creative in their demands (Gyford 1987). To a point, diversity is the very essence of decentralisation as human needs are more likely to be sensitively met. Balancing this diversity, there is the situation in Drumchapel of relative local homogeneity. What is fundamental is that there be sensitivity to the diversity *vis-à-vis* homogeneity. To maintain a balance, effective communication is crucial.

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CHAPTER 9
DECENTRALISATION AND GENDER RELATIONS
IN DRUMCHAPEL

Politics is popularly conceived of as a public activity, taking place within formal institutional settings, whilst the private, domestic, personal realm is considered to be apolitical. The two dichotomies, public versus private and political versus apolitical, are often mapped onto a third: male versus female (Bondi and Peake 1988, pp. 36-37).

... spatial relations help to shape and maintain culturally and historically specific notions of gender behaviour, for example the suburbs become a 'trap' for women, isolating them in a domestic environment, often with poor public service provision and limited employment opportunities (McDowell 1986, p. 151).

How and why women have become involved in local politics is the central concern of this Chapter. Political activity can occur on three levels - community based, local government and national government. An inverse relationship prevails between the numbers of women involved and the level at which involvement occurs, with women most likely to be involved in community based politics. Equally, women differ from men in the nature of their involvement. The reasons why women become involved in locally based issues are based on necessity, in order to 'get things done' and because no one else (i.e. men and/or the state) will. Involvement in local politics is accessible and has close associations with the private domestic sphere within which women are or have been historically most usually located.

Any study of local politics that ignores gender neglects a vital aspect of it (Mark-Lawson *et al* 1985). However, the basis of this Chapter - the role of women in community politics, has not received much attention in the literature in general. What studies there have been of women and politics have tended to be concerned with the national level (Lovendunski and Hills 1981). Yet, gender is essential to any study of local politics because of the prevalence of inequality along the lines of gender and the oppression of women in virtually every sphere of life (Connell 1995, McDowell and Sharp 1997). However, with the universality of gender oppressions care

needs to be taken not to assume that other lines of oppression such as race or class have to be invisible in order for gender to be visible (Connell 1995, Mohanty 1992). Women in general are marginalised within the political sphere, in spite of constituting the majority of the population.

Drumchapel women specifically are marginalised because they are also potentially members of the underclass, these women could be oppressed and marginalised in a variety of different ways that are in part attributable to their gender and in part to their position in the British class structure. Therefore, the impact of decentralisation principally in relation to gender but also in relation to the underclass concept, is the main concern of this Chapter.

The local political arena reinforces gender inequalities and the oppression of women at the same time as holding the potential to challenge them. At least in theory, (external) decentralisation at the local level is one means that could challenge these inequalities and oppressions whether they are gender or class based, or the outcome of the complex interaction of both of these variables. This is because of the potential to enable politically marginalised sections of society to participate in decision-making processes (Stoker 1987).

Throughout this Chapter there is a distinct geographical element to the concepts introduced. Underlying various points is the debate about changes over space and time in gender divisions (Leslie 1993; Little 1994; Massey 1991; and Women and Geography Study Group 1984). Clearly, the factor of scale cannot be overlooked when any consideration is being given to changes over space. The scale of reference can be between localities, i.e. at a Drumchapel-wide scale compared to elsewhere in Glasgow. Or, reference can be at the scale of the domestic sphere. Regarding the latter, divisions between the private home sphere and the public political sphere is a recurring theme.

Referring to the McDowell (1986) quotation at the beginning of the Chapter, this encapsulates most of the contents of this Chapter.

Drumchapel is a suburb in the extreme: in an urban context it is peripheral and isolated. Also, local government service provision, as witnessed by the community group members interviewed and some respondents of the

Sample Survey, has fallen short of local needs. It is within this broader context that the content of this Chapter needs to be located.

A useful starting point is to introduce the concept of gender and in so doing to explain its importance and particular relevance to this work (Section 9.1). The characteristics of involvement by the resident base are then presented (Section 9.2); this includes distinctions between women and men in relation to membership levels of community groups, and length of membership. In contributing to the picture of involvement being developed, these sorts of features can be compared to results presented in sections to follow. The section, 'The Involvement of Women in Community Groups' looks at the gender distribution in community groups, and the positions occupied by each sex. The positive and negative factors affecting participation, including the effects of poverty and the gendering of space, are then explored. Finally, there is an important distinction to be made between the actual involvement of women in community groups and the outcomes of that participation, including the benefits for women and how participation in community groups is challenging the boundaries that exist between the private sphere of the home and the public sphere of the community.

9.1 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CONCEPT OF 'GENDER'

How women are disadvantaged in relation to men is the first concern of this section. This is followed by the introduction of four concepts that enhance understanding of how women are disadvantaged; the public and private divisions in space, the gender division of labour, women's economic dependency and the feminisation of poverty. Closely associated with much of the consideration of these four concepts is women's relationship with the state.

Gender is a key variable, linked to inequalities within society. An outcome of these inequalities is that women are always located in relation to men (Delphy and Leonard 1986), and more precisely with women being the inferior "other" to men (McDowell and Sharp 1997). The most immediate reason for this is that the 'norm' is defined from an almost exclusively male perspective, the effect of which is that women are disadvantaged in virtually all areas of life. Though research in general has

focused on differences, the 'common-ground' between men and women should not be overlooked. For example, though women are more likely to be associated with the private sphere than are men, a clear dichotomy does not exist; women are producers and men are consumers (Bondi and Peake 1988). Furthermore, gender is not the only variable to consider when looking at divisions within society; gender is not autonomous and other variables can cross-cut it (Connell 1995). The interaction of the two variables of class and gender is returned to at points throughout this Chapter, through the application of the underclass concept to Drumchapel and consideration of the inter-meshing of the underclass characteristics with the concerns of local women.

In the literature concerned with gender there are a variety of perspectives that account for these inequalities. The first of three concepts to consider is the public and private division in space. The first half of the division, the private, covers the spaces of the domestic or home. By association, this space is also considered to be feminine and apolitical. To elaborate, "the domestic sphere is regarded as the "peripherality of female space", which has been "progressively downgraded in a cultural sense and devalued in a material sense" (Cater and Jones 1989, p. 123). The reasons for these associations are related to the subordinate and traditionally less powerful position of women *vis-à-vis* the space dominated by men. Juxtaposing public space with that of the private, a series of antonyms can be listed: political, productive and masculine. The work place epitomises the public.

In linking together some of these points, caution does need to be exercised. The public and private spatial division occupies a contradictory position in that it has always been flawed and is increasingly so. Yet it still holds some sway, underpinning for example contemporary debates about the position of women in British society. The persistence and the strength of the public and private division in space is due in part to its substantive origins in the industrial revolution and "its [continued] significance rests in its normative function" (McDowell and Sharp 1997, p. 263). Nonetheless, it is accurate to consider women as being poorly represented in the public sphere of formal politics. Yet, the converse cannot be assumed: women are certainly not apolitical, and the lives of men obviously embrace the private as well as the public (Bondi and Peake 1988).

It is important to mention the community as a separate sphere. The community sits between the home and the workplace and blurs distinctions between the public and the private. In some respects the community is private, in so far as it is composed of many characteristics that are associated with the home: neighbourliness, friends and relatives. Some writers include the community in the private sphere: "the dichotomy between home and community, on the one hand, and the work place, on the other, carries with it notions of two spheres of social relations, the first widely characterised as female and the second widely characterised as male" (Elshtain, 1981, quoted by Bondi and Peake 1988, p. 22). Yet, in other respects the community is a part of the public sphere. It is the location for collective action, and as such is a central component for any decentralisation strategy (Stoker 1987).

A second concept is that of the gender division of labour (GDoL), which illustrates the subordinate position of women and thus the importance of devoting attention to gender. For the moment, the GDoL can be looked at by referring to the above account of private/public space, though it is developed further in Section 9.3.

The GDoL is a flexible concept, most usually referring to the work-place and the fact that a disproportionate number of women are concentrated in low-paid, unskilled or semi-skilled occupations. Another application of the GDoL is in relation to the work-place being the preserve of the male and the home being the preserve of the female. However, regarding both of these applications of the GDoL, an increasingly complicated picture has emerged over recent years. Since the late 1970s there has been a significant increase in the numbers of unwaged, particularly in relation to 'traditional' full-time manual and semi-skilled work, i.e. work that men in such areas as Drumchapel have relied upon. There has also been a feminisation of the labour market - approximately half of the British work force are women and the number is increasing (McDowell and Sharp 1997, Commission for Social Justice 1993). The changes in gender roles and the position or location of women in western society can be linked to the disorganisation of capitalism (Leslie 1993). The links that have been acknowledged are two way, in so far as shifts in gender identities are seen as being central to restructuring and one effect of restructuring is a crisis in the category of 'woman' (*op. cit.*).

Structural changes in the economy and society, the observations of women likely to be engaging in some form of waged work, and men may be unwaged and spending their time in the home and community have not lead to cultural changes; elements of traditional divisions in the GDoL still persist (Rose 1990). Evidence seems to indicate that an unwaged man is more likely to be passive in the domestic sphere.

Potential explanations for the maintenance of traditional GDoL are based on the characteristics of change that has taken place. First, women who are co-habiting or married, if they are in waged work it is more likely that this will be on a part-time basis or involve work that does not lessen their domestic responsibilities as housewife, mother, and so on. Second, women have disproportionate responsibilities in the domestic sphere, even when they are in waged work. Third, the community is another location where women tend to have a central role, as exemplified by the high proportion of women who undertake (essential) voluntary work (Fincher and McQuillen 1989, and as is illustrated in Section 9.3). Bondi and Peake (1988) have noted that "these changes have not eradicated pre-existing gender divisions but have resulted in women having to organise their time between more activities" (p. 26). Thus, the activity of women can transcend all three spheres (work-place, home, and the community).

In relation to this research, the GDoL is important in two respects. First, the concept is transferable to the structure and functioning of community groups. Second, how the GDoL in Drumchapel has affected 'on the ground' characteristics of external decentralisation becomes important.

The third concept is women's economic dependency (WED) which emanates from the GDoL (Lister 1990). The WED concept is used here to refer to dependency on men, typically the male partner; of course, it can apply in a broader context and in relation to the welfare state. Women can be dependent on the state, through the availability and standard of service provision, for their quality-of-life and for that of their families. The significance of WED *vis-à-vis* the GDoL is that inequalities that prevail within both waged and unwaged work are projected as being 'acceptable'. Further, WED is an ideological construct that occupies the 'high ground' and is able to exert considerable pressure on, for example, some areas of the structure and functioning of state welfare.

The sphere of local politics, particularly, how it relates to local government, is no exception to the prevalence of gender inequality. Here the specific needs of women, or needs that are more specific to women than they are to men, are sometimes neglected (McDowell and Sharp 1997, Mark-Lawson *et al* 1985, Edgell and Duke 1983). More precisely, it is how services are provided and who actually decides what services are provided that can exacerbate women's subordinate position.

More precisely, established systems with formal procedures, e.g. local government, are essentially masculine in character, making claims of rationality, objectivity, and access to truth. Other ways of knowing can be excluded, for example, knowledge obtained by intuition or subjectivity, indeed these may be devalued as they are qualities that are usually associated with women (Rose 1993). This claim goes beyond the simple numerical dominance of local government by men that was noted previously and is concerned with more subjective perceptions that are centred on the culture and practices of local government. It can be revealed in a use of language that is inclusive of men but not of women, as well as in a variety of other ways:

“The state for instance is a masculine institution. To say this is not to imply that the personalities of top male office-holders somehow seep through and stain the institution. It is to say something much stronger: that state organisational practices are structured in relation to the reproductive arena. The overwhelming majority of top office-holders are men because there is a gender configuring of recruitment and promotion, a gender configuring of the internal division of labour and systems of control, a gender configuring of policy making, practical routines, and ways of mobilising pleasure and consent (Connell 1995, p. 45-46).

Though such characteristics prevail to varying degrees in all local authorities, in relation to the two local authorities that covered Drumchapel, these characteristics are particularly pronounced and can be referred to as ‘West of Scotland machoness’. This term, which can be applied in various contexts, captures the macho posturing of many men inside of local government, who may be reluctant to listen to what women have to say and are more comfortable with a ‘traditional style’ of politics, i.e. where women are largely excluded. This can undermine women's confidence and affect their attitudes toward the authorities (see Chapter Eight).

Regarding the nature of the relationship that women have with the welfare state, a number of facets need to be considered. First, there is the manner in which national legislation is framed. As exemplified by the Conservative Government, it is assumed that the nuclear family is the 'norm'. The existence of families who are not the 'norm' are at a disadvantage due to a welfare state that is geared to this illusory 'norm'. In particular, women are thought of as being located within the home looking after children and benefit entitlements buttress this traditional perception.

The potential links between the disorganisation of capitalism, the establishment of an underclass in Britain and the application of the underclass concept to Drumchapel has been explored in previous chapters. In delving beyond the broad based term 'underclass', the experiences of women in Drumchapel who are potentially members of the underclass and the significance of this membership can be considered. A principal illustration of how gender and class related issues can intersect is through the 'feminisation of poverty' which refers to economic disempowerment and its concentrated impact on women. The 'feminisation of poverty' has been contributed to by the gender division of labour, women's economic dependency and the ideological oppression of women through legislation and some aspects of the welfare state (Hill 1994; and Lister 1991). Since the late 1970s and early 1980s, divisions between social groups, principally the affluent and the poor, have relentlessly widened and deepened with the consequence that there has been an intense impact on women through the added increase in the feminisation of poverty (McDowell and Sharp 1997).

Though criticisms of the welfare state in general can be made, it does serve a positive function as well. Ironically, until recent years, the arena of local politics was perhaps one of the most fertile grounds on which to tackle inequalities. Local government services, though often criticised as being inadequate, have benefited women. More importantly as far as this research is concerned, women have been able to influence public service provision, particularly as members of community groups.

The limited penetration by women into positions of formal political power is a persistent problem. In effect, as Bondi and Peake (1988) argue: "the percentage of women occupying positions of political influence is

inversely proportional to the power of these positions" (p. 35). Statistically, women comprise just under half of local political party memberships, approximately 15% of local councillors and less than 7% of MPs. The numerical significance of women is considerably greater at the grass-roots level, that is in community groups and organisations.

9.2 SURVEY FINDINGS: GENDER AND INVOLVEMENT

Elements of the Sample Survey relating to participation in community groups sought to identify the importance of gender. These elements are: the characteristics of membership, general awareness of different groups, and an exploration of reasons for non-membership. Consideration of such data can be compared with data collected during group interviews (see Chapter Eight).

Concerning membership levels, out of a total of 109 women, 34% (37) were members. With men, out of seventy three, 23% (17) were members. Extrapolating these figures for the total adult population of Drumchapel, then 2,813 women and 1,617 men are members. These findings support the point that women participate in higher numbers than men, though membership can mean varying levels of commitment (see below).

Introducing the variable of employment, 32% (12) of women who were members engaged in some form of waged work. This proportion is the same as that for the total sample (see Appendix A). Though this factor can be of relevance to demands placed on time, whether women engage in waged work or not appears to have no impact on whether they are a member of a community group. However, measurement of such work did not determine whether it was full or part time. The proportion of women members who also cared for children was 51% (19); by comparison, 62% (68) of the total number of women respondents cared for children. Thus, if children are cared for, there is less likelihood that women would be community group members. The proportion of women who are community group members, are in waged work and cared for children was only 16.2% (6). Interestingly, of the twelve lone-parent women, none were members.

Membership can be broken down further in relation to the primary concern of a community group. It was possible to divide the figures for membership in relation to three principal issues.

TABLE 9.1: COMMUNITY GROUP MEMBERSHIP BROKEN DOWN BY GENDER AND THE NATURE OF ISSUE WITH WHICH THE GROUP IS CONCERNED

	Primary Concern of Community Group			Total
	Housing	Children	Disabled	
<i>Women</i>	84% (31)	8% (3)	8% (3)	37
<i>Men</i>	100% (17)	0	0	17

In addition to these three group types included in Table 9.1, there are a range of community groups in Drumchapel, concerned with a variety of issues, for example, health, education and economic development (see Appendix B). With a more extensive survey, it may have been possible to capture members of these other groups.

The fact that housing was the most frequently cited group is unsurprising as this is the most common type of group in Drumchapel. The number of men, at 17, constitutes 35% of this total, a figure that is approximately 10% higher than calculations made during group interviews. Traditionally, concerns associated with housing in the community have tended to attract women rather than men because the domestic sphere has been the domain of women (see Section 9.4). Of course such a situation has been challenged over the years, principally due to mass unemployment amongst men, who have subsequently found themselves spending the majority of time in the domestic sphere. Even though circumstances have changed in so far as traditional forms of gender division are breaking down, it is still to be expected (if the content of the previous section is recalled) that the majority of interest in issues of this nature would come from women.

The length of time that women and men had been involved in a community group were considered:

TABLE 9.2: LENGTH OF MEMBERSHIP OF COMMUNITY GROUP MEMBERS

	< 1 year	1-3 years	3-5 years	> 5 years	TOTALS
<i>Women</i>	10.8% (4)	18.9% (7)	29.7% (11)	40.5% (15)	37
<i>Men</i>	23.0% (4)	29.0% (5)	11.8% (2)	35.3% (6)	17

This length of time ranged from less than one year through to fifteen years. There was a slight increase in the number of men joining in the past three years, perhaps because of their growing interest in concerns that are traditionally associated with women (see Sections 9.1 and 9.4). This factor in conjunction with the growth in opportunities afforded by decentralisation, including the establishment of a variety of support services to community groups. Second, the number of women members has also grown. Unlike the case for men, this growth is concentrated more in the '3-5 years' and 'over 5 years' time-bands. In other words, as a proportion of all women, the numbers who have become involved more recently are not as great as for men. Alternatively, the opportunities afforded by decentralisation may be perceived as of greater benefit to women, helping to explain their longer term membership.

Another characteristic of participatory behaviour is the regularity of attendance at community group meetings. This provides a more accurate picture of participation than simple membership levels, as the latter do not provide an indicator of level of commitment. Table 9.3 provides a summary of this:

TABLE 9.3: REGULARITY OF ATTENDANCE AT COMMUNITY GROUP MEETINGS

	More than once a month	2 to 6 times a year	Once a year	Don't attend
<i>Women</i>	35% (13)	13% (5)	13% (5)	38% (14)
<i>Men</i>	18% (3)	35% (6)	6% (1)	41% (7)
Total	30% (16)	20% (11)	11% (6)	39% (21)

Women are more regular attendees, in so far as a higher proportion do so on a monthly basis, indicative of their greater commitment to community politics. In relation to the length of time of their involvement and the regularity of attendance, even though fewer men than women are members, the involvement of men is less so in other ways. It is not only in numerical terms, the involvement of men as a whole compared to the involvement of women is at a lower level.

Exploring the reasons for membership helps to further distinguish the community involvement of women and men. Accounts offered by respondents could be reduced to one of four reasons:

TABLE 9.4: SUMMARY OF REASONS FOR MEMBERSHIP OF A COMMUNITY GROUP

	Group contacted resident	To get things done	Obligation	Curiosity
<i>Women</i>	27% (10)	24% (9)	27% (10)	22% (8)
<i>Men</i>	53% (9)	12% (2)	18% (3)	18% (3)
Total	35% (19)	20% (11)	24%(13)	20% (11)

As a proportion of the total for each gender, women responded in greater numbers than men to reasons two and three, both of which relate more directly to the home and community. The final reason of 'curiosity' related to respondents who had heard of the activities of the community group and wanted to find out more about it.

After the completion of the Sample Survey, the reasons offered by respondents were reflected on, and potentially important distinctions between reasons two and three can be suggested. 'To get things done' is an immediate reflexive response to the needs of the household and/or community, while 'obligation' has the distinction of capturing those respondents who, in some respects, were less willing to become members. Perhaps they felt a certain responsibility fell on themselves, in which membership was a more calculated and less spontaneous decision. Speculation about feeling obliged to join a local group relates to the previous concern with the gender division of labour, and how the expectations of women can be distinct to those of men because of such factors as a greater association with the domestic and/or community sphere.

Some two-thirds of all respondents were not members of a community group. The Survey explored reasons for non-membership by offering four statements that may account for this. Comparing the responses of women and men to these statements provides an additional perspective on non-involvement.

TABLE 9.5: RESPONSES TO STATEMENTS ACCOUNTING FOR NON-MEMBERSHIP*

Statement	Gender	(strongly) Agree	Neither (dis)agree	(strongly) Disagree
1. <i>Don't know enough about groups</i>	Women	36% (26)	29% (21)	35% (25)
	Men	54% (30)	37% (21)	9% (5)
2. <i>They're a waste of time</i>	Women	15% (11)	19% (14)	65% (47)
	Men	20% (11)	63% (35)	18% (10)
3. <i>Not interested</i>	Women	74% (53)	11% (8)	15% (11)
	Men	80% (45)	7% (4)	13% (7)
4. <i>A lack of time</i>	Women	69% (50)	17% (12)	14% (10)
	Men	38% (21)	18% (10)	45% (25)

(*: Total number of non-members = 128; 72 women and 56 men)

Statement one captures such expressions as not knowing enough about the actual existence of a community group, how to contact it, and/or possibly the nature of issues tackled. To disagree with statement one can be taken to mean that the respondent knows of the community group, and that a lack of knowledge is not an important reason to account for non-membership. A higher proportion of men responded positively to this statement, indicating that they have a lower level of basic knowledge as to activities and developments that are taking place. With women, lone-parents were far more likely to agree with statement one; of the twelve, seven agreed a lack of knowledge was an important reason.

Statement two captures any feeling of apathy and disenchantment. According to the range of responses, by implication, the majority of respondents were supportive of community groups. Therefore, other reasons are of greater significance in accounting for non-membership, such as statement one. As a proportion, more men than women responded positively to this statement, which may be an indication that men associated less with daily challenges. Possibly, women are able to experience the impact of some aspects of community group activity more so than men, even though these women are not members.

Statement three implies that more personal reasons may account for non-membership. This statement is perhaps the most problematic as respondents can 'hide behind' it: if a lack of confidence or low self-esteem are reasons, these are more easily expressed and collapsible into the less personalised 'not interested'. A slightly higher proportion of the total men who were not members agreed with this. Of lone-parents, all of which were women, 83% (10) (strongly) agreed that this was an important

reason. Also, the men who were 'not interested', support some of the extracts contained in Section 9.4.

In relation to statement four, 'a lack of time', this research was concerned with how women have had increasing pressure placed on their time and how they have to 'juggle' various activities. Such a concern may have an important bearing on decentralisation processes. The Sample Survey found that over two-thirds of women non-members, compared to just over one-third of men who were non-members, attributed non-membership to simply not having the time, i.e. other demands such as child care, waged work and caring for other relatives. However, some women who are members also engaged in waged work and/or cared for children. This last reason is possibly the most immediate one with which women identify, though there are a range of other reasons, some of which may be of greater significance and which have not been mentioned. Overall, with the four statements, there is a degree of support for previous observations. To some extent, non-members responses reflect the distribution of responses contained in Tables 9.3 and 9.4.

To a degree, the differences identified between women and men in this section match the data discussed in the following two sections of this Chapter - in particular why more women participate and the reasons for this. Furthermore, the Sample Survey findings feed into broader conceptualisations that are mentioned throughout this Chapter and include: role continuity, the characteristics of the interface between private and public spheres, and the gender division of labour.

9.3 THE INVOLVEMENT OF WOMEN IN COMMUNITY GROUPS

What limited literature there is on the subject has tended to support the argument that it is at the 'grass-roots' level that women are most likely to participate in politics (Lovenduski and Hills 1981). This observation is not as clear cut as perhaps first thought; there are various intervening factors that can influence the nature of women's participation.

As a starting point, the composition of Drumchapel community groups with respect to gender is examined along with the gender division of labour (GDoL). Of the latter, the principal points to recall are that women

occupy subordinate positions; the least skilled and least powerful or influential positions. This concept is applied to the situation within community groups, i.e. voluntary (unwaged) labour. There are two principal concerns regarding the GDoL within community groups: the ratio of women to men, and the status of women. Regarding the second concern, it is important to note whether positions of influence are occupied by women within the structure of the group. These concerns can then be carried over in order to facilitate analysis of the benefits gained for women specifically from participating.

9.3.1 GENDER COMPOSITION AND ROLES IN COMMUNITY GROUPS

Empirical data concerned with the gender composition of Drumchapel community groups is summarised in Table 9.6. Community groups have been arranged in clusters relating to particular issues which are sub-headed in the Table. The final column contains information which relates to decentralisation, as manifested in the activities of the DI and the COC and their influence on community groups (see Chapter Six), and changes in the attitude and functioning of service departments (see Chapter Seven). In these respects, one of four categories describe the status of a group: (i) established prior to the DI and COC, and little or no change in their structure and function since this time, (ii) newly established, independently of any decentralisation processes, (iii) newly established, and a direct outcome of any decentralisation processes, and (iv) established prior to the DI and COC and developed since this time due to their support.

TABLE 9.6: THE GENDER COMPOSITION OF DRUMCHAPEL COMMUNITY GROUPS*

Community Group	Women	Men	% women	Relationship to decentralisation
Housing Related Groups:				
<i>Cairns more Residents Assoc.</i>	12	2	86	Established prior, little or no change
<i>Cleddans Residents Assoc.</i>	8	2	80	Newly established, independently
<i>Linkwood Tenants Assoc.</i>	12	0	100	Established prior, little or no change
<i>Langfaulds Residents Assoc.</i>	11	5	69	Established prior + developed since decentralisation

<i>Pinewood Residents Assoc.</i>	7	2	78	Established prior + developed significantly since decentralisation
<i>Stonedryke Residents Assoc.</i>	12	6	67	Established prior, little or no change

<i>Waverley Tenants Assoc.</i>	8	2	80	Established prior, little or no change
<i>Cernagh Housing Co-op</i>	12	0	100	Newly established, direct outcome
<i>Kendoon Housing Co-op</i>	12	3	80	Newly established, direct outcome
<i>Kingsridge-Cleddans Housing Assoc.</i>	8	3	73	Newly established, direct outcome
<i>Pineview Co-op</i>	5	4	55	Newly established, direct outcome
<i>Southdeen Co-op</i>	10	4	71	Newly established, direct outcome

Parent/Child Groups:				
<i>Lochgoin Parents Assoc.</i>	5	0	100	Established prior, little or no change
<i>Compass Care</i>	7	1	88	Established prior, little or no change
<i>Fasque Place Parents and Users Group</i>	13	2	87	Newly established, direct outcome

Specific Needs Groups:				
<i>Disabled Action Group</i>	10	3	77	Established prior + developed significantly since decentralisation
<i>Elderly Forum</i>	12	2	86	Newly established, direct outcome

Other/General Groups:				
<i>Drumchapel Information Services to the Community</i>	15	3	83	Newly established, direct outcome
<i>Waverley Community Council</i>	8	4	67	Established prior, significant change - now defunct
<i>Waverley Management</i>	4	4	50	Newly established, direct outcome
<i>Phoenix Tenants Hall</i>	6	4		Established prior + developed since decentralisation

* Active membership defined: taken as being committee members and the number of regular attendees who are not committee members. Reasons for deciding on this criterion for active membership are explained in Chapter Three.

TABLE 9.7: TOTAL NUMBERS OF WOMEN, MEN, AND RATIOS BY DIFFERENT GROUP TYPES

Group Type (divisions in Table 9.1)	Women	Men	Total	Ratio
Housing	117	33	150	3.5:1
Parent/Child	25	3	28	8.3:1
Specific needs	22	5	27	4.4:1
Other/general	33	15	48	2.2:1
Total	197	56	253	3.5:1

In every community group listed, more women than men are committee members and/or regular attendees. Overall, the ratio of women to men is almost 4:1. Women predominate especially in parent oriented groups and housing co-ops, whereas men, though not absent from any type of group, are most likely to be active members of groups that do not have a specifically defined remit. Evidence elsewhere of participation levels of women and men in local informal politics is scant (Bondi and Peake 1988), though these observations compliment the findings of other work on women and participation (Mayo 1977; Edgell and Duke 1983).

It is important to emphasise that the content of Table 9.6 provides a snapshot of a situation at the time of undertaking field research. During group discussions, interviewees made reference to changes over the past five years in the composition of groups. With community groups that have been established for many years it was noted in four separate meetings that the number of men participating has increased slightly. This was principally the case with Pinewood Residents Association and Southdeen Co-operative. One perspective on this matter was provided by the Depute Chair of Phoenix Tenants Hall:

There's more men involved in issues, in just general issues. I don't know if it's the unemployment or the job situation. But, there's more men around the house. But, I've found there's more men appearing at meetings, where you'll normally not get many (33 r).

The suggestion here is that there is a slow but growing interest amongst men in various issues such as environmental improvement or community facilities, as opposed to one specific issue such as that of child-care facilities. More recently established groups, as indicated in Table 9.6, contain a slightly higher number of men. These groups are more likely to deal with a variety of issues, for example, housing co-operatives are

concerned with issues beyond that of housing such as the environment and local employment (see Chapter Seven).

In attempting to interpret this initial pattern of male participation, it is possible that the more recently established groups are not perceived by men as being a part of female space to such a degree as the more issue specific and long established groups. In comparison, with long established groups, there is a 'catch twenty-two' situation: men see few other men involved and so they themselves do not get involved. Long established groups also tend to be more issue specific; as an example, tenants associations tend to be most focused on housing maintenance and repairs. Yet the pattern is by no means clear-cut, for in other instances, i.e. by members of Fasque Place Parents and Users Group, it has been observed that the interest of men has waned.

While women numerically dominate community groups, they do not achieve similar levels of domination over those positions of power and authority - the office bearers - within the groups. The gender distribution throughout community groups is something that, though not a major concern of the literature, has nonetheless been focused on previously. One example is the work of Lawson and Barton (1980) who looked at gender roles in tenants organisations in New York City. The breakdown of various positions in a selected number of Drumchapel community groups is recorded in Table 9.8.

TABLE 9.8: POSITIONS OF INFLUENCE OCCUPIED BY WOMEN IN SELECTED DRUMCHAPEL COMMUNITY GROUPS

COMMUNITY GROUP	<i>Chair</i>	<i>Secretary</i>	<i>Treasurer</i>	<i>Committee Members</i>
<i>Cairnsmore Residents Association</i>	Woman	Woman	Woman	5 Women 2 Men
<i>Pinewood Residents Association</i>	Woman	Woman	Woman	4 Women 2 Men
<i>Cernagh Housing Co-op</i>	Woman	Woman	Woman	7 Women 0 Men
<i>Kingsridge-Cleddans Housing Association</i>	Woman	Man	Woman	8 Women 2 Men
<i>Fasque Place Parents and Users Group</i>	Woman	Woman	Woman	10 Women 1 Man
<i>Disabled Action Group</i>	Woman	Vacant	Woman	6 Women 0 Men
<i>Drumchapel Information Services to the Community</i>	Man	Woman	Man	9 Women 0 Men

It appears that positions of influence occupied by women bear some relation to the number of women who are active participants. Where women predominate, as in parent-oriented groups and housing co-ops, predictably they occupy the positions of influence. Regarding groups concerned with a variety of issues, even though women still form the majority, because the gender ratio is more balanced, men are more likely to occupy positions of influence.

What evidence there is suggests men are more likely to be leaders and have a higher public profile (Lawson and Barton 1980). They did, however, note that this situation was slowly changing. In respect of these observations, they thought that the patriarchal social relations that prevailed in society as a whole were being repeated within organisations. To illustrate this point, at the time of their research, men were more likely to be engaged in full-time waged work. Skills more usually associated with the work place, for example, union activity, are of value within community organisations and can more readily be drawn upon by men more so than by women.

9.4 FACTORS AFFECTING INVOLVEMENT

9.4.1 POVERTY AND PARTICIPATION

From the research findings presented, it appears that how and whether women participate in community groups can be affected by restrictions, in the form of gender divisions of labour and the effects of poverty, that they are placed under. These restrictions have 'encouraged' women to participate, i.e. to take-up opportunities associated with decentralisation. Sometimes overlapping with these restrictions is the likelihood that in areas such as Drumchapel there are "... lower degrees of patriarchal domination in domestic and neighbourhood spheres" (Mark-Lawson *et al* 1985, p. 214).

Fundamentally, within a 'deprived' area such as Drumchapel, a greater number of residents are dependent on public services, and are dependent to a greater extent. Superimposed onto this situation is the changing nature of the welfare state, particularly cut-backs and privatisation. Not surprisingly, as in other deprived areas, Drumchapel has both a larger number as well as a greater diversity of community groups, most of which

are related to service provision. By comparison, in the Knightswood area which contains a relatively prosperous working class population, many of which have bought their former council housing, community activity was limited to three specifically housing-based groups.

There are pertinent empirical observations that account for the greater numbers of women than men involved in community politics. In Drumchapel as a whole there are more women than men, an imbalance which is marked within specific neighbourhoods (see Appendix A). Beyond observations that are empirical in nature, there are more detailed explanations based on the close relationship between poverty and deprivation, public services, informal participation and the position of women. As low or non-wage earners are particularly likely to be women and are concentrated in such areas as Drumchapel, they have the most to lose by welfare cuts (Mark-Lawson *et al* 1985). A message that has been strongly conveyed during the research is that over recent years women have become involved in community politics in order to defend the continued provision of quite fundamental services.

However, the sex ratio imbalance in the population of Drumchapel cannot account alone for the disparity in participation levels between women and men. Indeed, compensating for this imbalance in some ways has been the growth in the numbers of unwaged men who spend all of their time in the home and/or community. These circumstances could lead to more men showing an interest in community politics as they increasingly become community stake holders. Though some of the women interviewed stated that there had been a slight increase over recent years in the number of men participating in Drumchapel community politics, numbers remain small. The work of Fincher and McQuillen (1989) relates to this point, as they commented on the link between poverty and participation: "...poorer women's involvement ... has been largely due to the difficult economic or social circumstances of their families and the view that the local state is the arena in which this can be changed" (p. 607).

While it has been illustrated that there is a link between poverty and participation, it is important not to overlook the fact that within a 'deprived' area the population is not homogeneous, rather, residents are likely to be diverse in many respects. There is a need to balance

perspectives on how women do share much common ground with the fact that they do not necessarily have the same interests and goals (Mohanty 1992). In relation to the application of the concepts of the gender division of labour and the related women's economic dependency to Drumchapel, local women will have different experiences of spatial divisions. During group discussions, four women explained that they did not participate out of necessity; other reasons may have to be sought that are more personal to the individual. Therefore, there is not necessarily a close correlation between obligation on socio-economic grounds and participation. The altruistic tendencies of some participants was focused on in Chapter Six. To some extent, women who do not participate out of 'necessity' may be 'lost' within the assumptions and images that are associated with the term 'deprived' in areas such as Drumchapel.

9.4.2 THE PERCEPTIONS OF DRUMCHAPEL WOMEN ON GENDER AND PARTICIPATION

Beyond the largely objective observations of the discussion above, local women provided more insight into the characteristics of participation in relation to gender, particularly why men do not participate in the numbers that they potentially could. The most basic, almost reflexive, commentaries were:

Chair of the Elderly Forum: *The men are more inclined to just sit back* (44 i)

Committee member of Cairnsmore Residents Association: *The men don't care, they just take it in their stride* (35 j).

Contained within these responses is some implicit criticism. Moreover, these extracts suggest that there is a certain amount of obligation on the part of women because they feel that there is no one else (i.e. men) prepared to become involved in local issues.

Where work becomes gender labelled there is evidence that community participation is counted as women's work. The following extracts are more sophisticated in their analysis of the situation and are broadly representative of many (eight) women interviewed:

Lochgoin Committee Member: *Basically it's the old thing, it's the wife's place to do things. Anything to do with this work, that's women's work* (21 j).

Treasurer of Langfaulds Residents Association: *The majority of issues of tenants associations are concerned with the house, which women are better at understanding. This is so irrespective of whether men are around the home now a lot more than formerly* (10 f).

With the second extract more thought has gone into accounting for why men do not participate to the same extent as women. Together, both extracts point towards the persistence of traditional divisions between public and private space, and between the different expectations that are attached to women and men, i.e. the persistence of GDoL. In these respects, "even when they [men] are unemployed, work remains the core of their lives; certainly any political activity in which they engage is likely to be at their place of work. Yet, for women, on the contrary, even when they work, the home remains their sphere" (Wilson 1977, quoted by Bondi and Peake 1988, p. 31). Though made some time ago when the social and economic context was quite different to current conditions, such a commentary is still valid.

The labelling of particular tasks in relation to gender can dovetail with concerns with 'class'. One woman shared her thoughts on why men do not participate to the same extent as women do, and in so doing introduced her experience of visiting another (middle-class) association outside of Drumchapel:

Secretary of Lochgoin Parents' Association: *...we went to a School Board meeting....and there was an amazing number of men. But these were men who were used to standing-up and speaking out. Well our men, in this area are working men, but they don't stand-up and talk* (21 m).

The suggestion here is that middle class men become involved with issues concerning children, whereas working class men ("our men") are not as comfortable doing this. This comment touches on a point about the importance of acknowledging class as well as gender politics. The conclusion from the previous extracts is that due to such perceptions prevailing, women have the opportunity to participate because there are

fewer men around and/or there is less interest from men. In these respects, women are encouraged to participate.

A second group of interview extracts, for which there were five broadly comparable comments, was centred on the overlap with activities that are essentially private. The theme of 'accessibility' underpinned many of the group discussions. One example of this was provided by a committee member of Fasque Place Parents and Users Group:

I thought it (committee work) was a lot of book work and things. But its not like that at all. We talk about things that I talk to other mums about how the kids are getting on and any problems they've got (34m).

This extract suggests that there is a logical extension of the routines and characteristics of the daily lives of women. Moreover, psychologically, participation is more accessible in so far as issues overlap with domestic work. Bondi and Peake (1988) referred to this situation as "role continuity between 'political' and 'non-political' activities" (p. 36).

9.4.3 COMPASS CARE: A CASE-STUDY OF BOTTOM-UP SERVICE PROVISION

More telling of factors affecting participation, are a third group of explanations that concern the inadequacy of state service provision, and the expression of newly articulated demands or needs. In other words, women have been proactive as well as reactive in their relationship with the welfare state. A more detailed look at a service specific organisation - Compass Care - will illustrate this point and raise other issues in the process, for example that of the self-perception of lone-parents.

Established in 1982, Compass Care is a child-care facility for children of school age (i.e. 5-16) which enables lone-parents to then undertake waged work or to attend further education. There are approximately 80 children who regularly use Compass Care on two sites within Drumchapel. Initially the service was operated by some parents, then three paid child-care workers were employed by Strathclyde Regional Council. The importance of the service was summed-up by the acting Chair, whose two children attend Compass Care on three days a week.

I would be totally floored. Short-term maybe you could arrange something, but the parents would have eventually to give-up their jobs (48 i).

At the time of interviewing, Compass Care was experiencing something of a crisis: the paid workers were out on strike and some mothers were having to provide emergency cover. Compass Care committee members made various comments that indicated that this crisis contained some positive components: mothers had organised themselves more thoroughly than previous, and there was a greater commitment and determination to ensure that Compass Care continued to provide, and to even improve its service. The Secretary illustrates this point:

Most of what we're doing now, we're doing because its been forced upon us. Charlie Gordon, our local Councillor, has been at the meetings and he's been trying to get things for us. But I feel myself that we're on our own (48 j).

Why a service of this kind, that is perceived as being essential, is not provided by the state is foremost related to limited resources. Conceptually, influencing the inadequacy of service provision is the way in which "social policies repeatedly presume and effectively define the 'proper' structure of family relations and women's responsibilities within the family unit" (Bondi and Peake 1988, p. 26). To understand this point further, issues that are referred to regularly in relation to the activities of the Government can be mentioned. Child-care in general is something that is presently high on the political agenda and overlaps with a host of other 'concerns' which oppress women: lone-parents, and more generally the position of mothers within society, i.e. should they be encouraged to work or to remain within the home.

Social pressures and definitions of the 'proper' family structure referred to by Bondi and Peake (1988) are likely to be particularly significant to the women associated with Compass Care as they have a potential negative impact on the self-perceptions and self-esteem of women. Countering these potentially negative impacts of social policies are the effects of decentralisation, which in addition to the encouragement of the practical development of services also impacts on the lives of women in a more personal capacity in so far as their self-esteem has been raised and their

sense of being an individual has been enhanced. The idea of decentralisation being able to counter to some extent oppressive state policies was communicated during group discussions with Compass Care members when, for example, a sense of pride in being a lone parent was conveyed. Furthermore, the reactive stance of group members to negative stereo-typing of lone-parents which fostered a sense of determination and enthusiasm regarding the future of Compass Care. Again, the Secretary made the following comment:

Being a single-parent, I feel pressured into being better. You're on your own and have to show that you can manage, that you can manage better (48 1).

The suggestion here is that Compass Care is fulfilling a role that the state has so far declined to do. Surprisingly, during group discussions it was conveyed that this has been a positive experience because it has empowered women and enabled some control to be put back into their lives. At a more conceptual level, what Compass Care represents is a more sensitive approach to the organisation of a mode of reproduction, something that is essential in post-waged work communities to provide alternative structures of support.

Though all of the women interviewed were enthusiastic about Compass Care, further reflection by the women resulted in more mixed feelings being expressed. The mixed feelings were linked to why Compass Care came into existence, i.e. because of inequalities within the welfare state are being off-loaded onto the community, and "community" is most likely to equal women. Furthermore, there is likely to be a lack of recognition and remuneration for time and labour given. The sentiments expressed during group interviews were focused on the present, and looking to the future was hampered by the on-going crisis of covering for striking staff. It is possible that the women may become caught in a culture of offering their time and labour - and the advantages of doing this initially will be outweighed in the long-term as their development in other spheres of life, especially that in waged labour is limited (Wolch 1990).

A second disadvantage, according to Rose (1990), is the association of women's participation and child-care facilities, as this "only reinforces the notion that women's public participation must be discussed in terms of

their private role as mothers" (p. 405). Though this point is valid in a general sense, in relation to this research and to the area of Drumchapel, it is less applicable. If Compass Care and other child-care facilities were the exclusive focus of this Chapter then such an assertion could be justifiably levelled. However, this is not the case as women in Drumchapel are involved in a variety of issues that are not only related to child care facilities. In some instances, women have challenged traditional gender roles. Even so, as Rose (1990) argues, it juxtaposes and highlights contradictions in society's and the state's perception of women, especially mothers. Also, it refers to the public and private division of space and the contradictions that exist in women's locations in the two spheres: as producers and reproducers. In-roads into public space that are made by women are demarcated specifically by private sphere activities.

9.4.4 THE EFFECTS OF THE GENDERING OF SPACE ON PERFORMANCE POLITICS IN DRUMCHAPEL

The focus on the gendered division of space, as documented in the literature, received consideration at the start of this Chapter, along with some of the factors that have affected this division over time. Much of the discussion in this literature is at the level of society as a whole or in relation to broad social groups. Considering the application of the concept to Drumchapel, there was evidence in the form of women's perspectives which gave support to the idea of the gendered division of space (see interview extracts: 21j, 10f, 35j and 44i).

The gendering of space appears to have a direct impact on the contours of performance politics in Drumchapel. As a starting point, the two outcomes of the gendering of space are that women participate in greater numbers and in qualitatively different ways to men. As can be seen from various interview extracts, if certain space is seen as predominantly women's space, then issues relating to that space will be seen as women's issues. The relatively high level of involvement of women in community based politics in comparison to men affects what issues receive attention and are therefore more likely to be profiled in Drumchapel. There is a diverse range of issues that are of greater significance to women, this is particularly so if this level of politics is compared to the more formal levels of politics which tend to be male dominated.

The fundamental observation that the home is strongly associated with women and is less associated with men has helped to shape the contours of performance politics in Drumchapel because the importance of the home for women has been a motivating factor behind their involvement. However, more generally in the research literature, there is a certain ambivalence about the home in relation to women, it is believed that the “... differential significance of the home as a site of resistance and a longed for sphere for women in different class and racialised positions” (McDowell and Sharp 1997, p. 264). A consideration of this ambivalence and distinctions in the significance of the home regarding class, especially, is pertinent to the application of the underclass concept to Drumchapel and its intersection with the focus on gender. For the women in Drumchapel who participated in group discussions, the home can be extremely important, and perhaps is of greater importance than for women who live elsewhere and belong to different social groups. Though not expressed by Drumchapel women themselves and instead based on interpreting the life situations of women in interview groups and the Sample Survey further, this differential significance of the home is perhaps because Drumchapel women have been spatially more confined due to their exclusion from other spheres.

The relationship that Drumchapel women have with their home can be looked upon as a feature of disenfranchisement and exclusion, i.e. characteristics of the underclass. Components of the home have been brought into the public, as there has been the need for a collective response to a series of issues. A complicated picture emerges, as the relationship that the women interviewed have with their home has not remained static. The traditional parameters of the home have altered principally because components of the home have shifted towards the public sphere. Even though the home is in some ways more public, it is clear from the interview material collected that this shift is within certain parameters. The concerns of the home have come to be more closely associated with the community sphere, which occupies transitional space between the theoretically demarcated sphere of the public and the private (see below).

The gendering of space also influences relations between community groups and the authorities. The profiling of women’s issues through

community groups as they come into contact with the authorities can have knock-on effects on relations. The Drumchapel political agenda has been influenced as the authorities have had to listen and take on board issues with which they may not be familiar. In addition, the authorities have had to adapt in order to relate in different ways to the public, for example, learning not to patronise or not to make assumptions about people in Drumchapel generally and women in particular. Many of the comments that were made by women in community group interviews support these points (see extracts in Chapter Eight).

More generally, the gendering of space has affected such characteristics of performance politics in Drumchapel as the pace of debate, it was clearly observable that there was an enthusiasm and willingness on the part of most of the women interviewed. In some other instances, and illustrated in the tone and content of extracts included in this Chapter, there had been a positioning of women in relation to the authorities and a determination that relations were going to be more on their terms than they had been previously. Though difficult to specify, these sorts of observations did contribute to the relatively buoyant and battling mood of the area.

Overall, the research findings do not provide a conclusive picture of the prevalence of the gendered division of space in Drumchapel, instead a complicated picture of varying degrees of applicability and association was presented. The Sample Survey findings indicate that the gendered division of space is in a state of flux, principally that the numbers of men who are unwaged and therefore spend much of their time in the home is considerable. Also, it was apparent from interviews with community groups that increasing numbers of women are involved in what are essentially public activities, i.e. the performance politics of Drumchapel. Yet, the commentaries of some women were contradictory in so far as men were not seen to be strongly associated with the home, even when these same men spend most of their time there. Men were seen by women as being largely disconnected from that space - they may be there in greater numbers than ever before, but they have made little impact.

The position of 'community' also helps to blur distinctions because it occupies transitional space and is an intermediary sphere where the other two spheres of the public and private can meet (see Section 9.1). As

community is neither associatively male or female space to the extent that the public or private spheres can be, increased activity here can blur any distinction between gendered spaces. Importantly, there is a two way relationship between community on the one hand and the spheres of the public and private on the other hand. The strength and number of community groups are two examples that appear to have had an influence and shaped the contours of community. One way in which women take the private sphere routines and practices into the sphere of the community is through their qualitative and quantitative involvement in community politics. Also, issues of the public have shifted toward the private, e.g. the administration and management of community groups. An alternative perspective is that community spills into the private home sphere to make certain issues more public.

9.4.5 LIMITATIONS ON WOMEN PARTICIPATING

In contrast to factors fostering women's participation are those which can have the opposite effect. That is, how have opportunities offered by decentralisation been limited in their take-up due to the constraints placed upon women which limit their potential for participation? During group discussions, a number of views were expressed by a variety of women on why more women do not get involved in community groups. A theme running throughout many such views was that of women's economic dependency. The following three extracts by the Co-ordinator of Southdeen CAFE, a committee member of Fasque Place, and the Treasurer of Cairnsmore Residents Association, respectively, embody this:

I would say it is predominantly women on their own who come to these things. We haven't been able yet to get something that has been attended enough by women who are married and at home, or working, and things, but have obviously got problems. We don't seem to reach that kind of person at all. Very, very unlikely to reach that person at all because they've got men at home and they don't want them to come out, and they're working during the day. They're just not able to come out (30 f).

Women being unable to come out because of men, that's very common. I think that women have a real difficulty if they want to get involved in anything like this, if they've got a man in the house. He doesn't want, he doesn't like the idea of their going and doing all these kind of things and they feel very threatened by that (34 f).

Lots of women gave ideas but didn't want to be committed to working in a committee because bluntly they just didn't have the time, nor the energy (35 j).

The three extracts are in the same vein and clearly focus on the demands of male partners as a limiting factor in women's participation. More general observations on gender relations in the literature relate to these comments, foremost, that women place the interests of men before they place their own interests (Bondi and Peake 1988), for a variety of reasons that range from the power of 'hegemonic masculinity' (Connell 1995) through to the fear of male violence. Referring to women's economic dependency, women occupy a subordinate position and are dependent on a male partner economically and / or for other forms of support. In this respect, these extracts are empirical illustrations of the constraints that non-holders of positions face. This is a term coined by Lister (1990) that captures something of the restrictions that women are placed under within the setting of the home.

There are other constraints under which women operate. A second reason offered by two women, the Co-ordinator of Southdeen CAFE Project and a committee member of Kingsridge-Cleddans Housing Association respectively, centred on a lack of self-confidence.

If you ask women what they want, they say this, this and this. But getting them to come is a different matter. Sometimes it's not always the men or baby-sitters or whatever. Sometimes its just them themselves. Its that first step (30 k).

They can tell you what their problems are if you speak to them in the street or they fill-in a form, but they'll not necessarily come-in. Especially if their pal doesn't want to come-in (16 l).

The first extract speaks for itself. The second is not necessarily peculiar to women, such situations could apply to men as well. However, and in specific relation to the limitations women are under, there is the potential for such circumstances to be more applicable to women. The second extract also relates to a point made in Chapter Seven, about the informality of participation and the way in which some issues can get taken-on-board by community groups.

9.5 POSITIVE OUTCOMES FOR WOMEN

In several ways participation is of especial benefit to women, particularly in improving their life situation and in influencing some of the issues that are more traditionally associated with men. Fundamentally, such benefits will be dependent on the nature of issues which a community group chooses to pursue. The significance of the distribution of women throughout different groups reflects what issues are given priority. This is an obvious point in some cases; some community groups are gender specific in the issues with which they are concerned, for example a women's health group. In other instances benefits may be more subtle, and to illustrate this the case of housing co-operatives is useful. More precisely, Cernagh Housing Co-operative has been selected because women predominate numerically and hold 'positions of influence' within the group (see Table 9.8).

9.5.1 CENARGH HOUSING AND THE TANGIBLE BENEFITS FOR WOMEN

Before expanding on the significance of the Co-operative, it is useful to refer to the close links between women and housing based groups. Housing has long been a political issue with which women have historically been associated, as in the Glasgow Rent Strikes of 1915 (Castells 1983). In this respect, what is distinct about co-ops in Drumchapel (specifically Cernagh) and similar developments in comparable areas to Drumchapel requires emphasis. First, the co-op and housing association movement has greater empowerment than previously, where control was located more in the hands of the local state. Initially the formation of Cernagh was reactive in so far as the poor condition of the housing stock outraged a group of local people into mobilising against such conditions. Now the Co-op may be regarded as proactive in its activities, in so far as it

is setting the agenda and deciding what other issues need to be tackled (see below).

Issues centred on the question of how decentralisation has enabled gaps in services to be filled that are of greater significance to women can be considered. At the tangible level, the re-building of housing is taking place and women are able to have a substantial input into the type of housing that they would like to see. Housing is designed and constructed exclusively, or almost exclusively by men. A familiar argument in this respect is that a good deal of housing is ergonomically inefficient, for example there is a poor use of space. Redressing this kind of domination by men, Cernagh women instruct architects, and decide on the content of plans and so forth for the up-grading of their environment. Such participation helps expose the underlying discriminatory 'hurdles'. As two of the women interviewed from Cernagh mentioned the negative attitude of architects and other professionals revealed sexism and 'classism'.

How space is utilised at the neighbourhood level is another way in which women have exerted an influence. Building heights, play areas for children, as well as general aesthetic concerns have come under close scrutiny. Internally, how space is utilised has also been a concern - the width of door frames, the position of power sockets and the general use of space inside of houses. In addition to these concerns that are directly related to housing, there are off-shoots of the co-op enterprise that have received attention by women. Regarding employment opportunities, there is an awareness of some women's needs, for example, flexible working hours. What these various examples illustrate is an empathy with the needs of many residents that the women of Cernagh were able to 'tap into'.

9.5.2 CERNAGH HOUSING AND THE IMPACT ON THE DIVISIONS BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPACE

Based on the above account of how women have shaped the nature of housing based service provision, the existence of Cernagh has implications for the distinction between the public and private spheres. Cernagh displays many public characteristics: it is a community based co-operative that provides the service of housing on a collective basis and

many of the issues with which it is concerned are essentially public in character. In particular, issues have been collectivised in the specific public sphere of the community. In these respects, Cernagh fulfils a very similar role to that of a local authority housing department. However, inroads have been made into the private sphere; more aspects of the home are becoming politicised. This point was captured in previous extracts, where the complete powerlessness of Cernagh women to have any level of involvement in the physical planning of their environment. The establishment of Cernagh has enabled them to tackle concerns that had previously been neglected.

Most of the women who were committee members of Cernagh have spent the majority of their time in the private sphere, for example, none of the women who participated in the group interview engaged in waged work. Clearly, through their involvement in Cernagh, these women have brought their experiences of the private sphere into that of the public.

Decentralisation could be viewed as helping to create the context in which to communicate, transferring information and issues from one sphere to another. Connections of this nature between the two spheres, which appear to be largely a positive development for women, cannot exist when the public space of housing is managed by people who occupy unrelated private space; the majority of administrators of local authority controlled housing in Drumchapel reside in a privately owned home located elsewhere.

The extent to which the two spheres have increasingly overlapped is perhaps illustrated by the amount of time that the women interviewed gave to Cernagh. During the process of analysing group interview material, it became clear that community groups demand varying levels of involvement from the women interviewed. For some of the women interviewed, the level of involvement is often equivalent to full-time waged work. Though not a conclusion of the group interviews undertaken, in future the situation could develop whereby women's involvement no longer overlaps with the daily routines or life experiences of the majority of women; links between the sphere of the home and that of the co-op become increasingly tenuous. Drumchapel women effectively speak different languages, drawing on different

repertoires, depending on who they are speaking with. If women are negotiating with the authorities they have learnt to 'speak the language of business' and to behave in certain ways, e.g. to structure meetings in prescribed ways. Avenues of communication have been created that previously were inaccessible to sections of local government, as the participation of women becomes increasingly professionalised. At other times these women spend much of their time in private space where they draw on a different repertoire to communicate.

Considering the professionalisation of participation further, it could be that "since women have been analytically constituted outside real politics or history, progress for them can only be seen in terms of transcendence..." (Mohanty 1992, p. 88). Opportunities that have been created by decentralisation are vehicles for transcendence and evidence of this is the beginnings of the professionalisation of participation. In some ways this may be so, however, this is just one perspective that is reliant on a particular framework and the developments that have been observed in Drumchapel are seen by many of the women themselves as being much more than this. Furthermore, it has been illustrated at different points throughout this Chapter that representatives of local government have had to adapt and evolve as well in order to work with women.

9.6 CONCLUSIONS

Women suffer disadvantages in the form of inequalities and oppression, the origins of which have been explored in this Chapter. The relationship between women who experience disadvantage and who are involved in informal politics has then been developed. Something of a chequered picture of the roles of women and their involvement in informal politics has emerged. In particular, two contrasting impressions prevail; one encouraging or facilitating and the other discouraging or limiting involvement.

Factors which can encourage women to get involved are linked to the extent of deprivation. Regarding this observation, the 'feminisation of poverty' is an important concept. The attendant hardships of being a lone-parent and shortfalls in public services are two relevant points that have

been highlighted in this Chapter. Such circumstances oblige women to participate.

Findings of this nature relate to the introductory concept of Women's Economic Dependency (WED), only the dependency that is important is that on the state. What is significant in the case-studies considered is that women's involvement in the establishment of housing co-operatives signifies a change in the relationship between women and the state, in so far as women are no longer as powerless and reliant on housing services for much of the quality and general up-keep of the domestic sphere.

In some ways this is what has happened in Drumchapel, women have 'broken out' of the constraints which they have been under and have not been prepared to participate in ways prescribed by the authorities.

"Participation cannot work if the partner with the power says, 'you can only participate on my terms, in the way that I say, in the things that suit me' " (Hood and Woods 1994, p. 73). By refusing to accept the authorities initial conditions women have shifted the relationship which they have with the authorities on to new terrain. Effectively, decentralisation has been used as a tool by women in Drumchapel to begin to redress the disadvantages which women face, but to also alter some aspects of the relationship which women have with the state. In this respect, the relationship can be looked upon as *part* of the problem that contributed to that disadvantage.

Additionally, for some women, participation appears to have been more accessible because of a role-continuity that is based on gender divisions in labour and identity. Thus women predominate in parent-oriented groups and housing co-ops. However, the link between labour and identities may not be all positive and it is important to acknowledge that women in general can have ambivalent feelings towards their home - "our feelings are a mixture of affection, reciprocated towards the home as a nurturing environment, and resentment at the demands of the home" (Darke 1994, p. 11). Previous mention of the obligations that women feel under, rather than an enthusiastic willingness to become involved in community based politics, should be borne in mind. Furthermore, gender relations and the expectations of women and men in the home are changing, and will continue to do so, which may impact on the nature and extent of women's

involvement in community groups. This is an area that deserves ongoing study.

Regarding restrictions on women's involvement in informal politics, traditional gender roles can act as a limit on the time, energy, confidence and the self-perceptions of some women. Furthermore, men in themselves can be a more fundamental limiting factor as women, if they are economically dependent on a man (WED), may put his needs and wishes before their own.

Women are involved in locally based community groups in greater numbers than are men. However, it is the affective importance of their involvement that is of more significance than actual numbers - office holders tend to be agenda setters. Regarding the distribution of power within these groups there has been a reversal of roles, as women occupy positions of influence and men involved are more likely to occupy 'subordinate' positions. However, in future men may move into the power base of groups to become office holders and agenda setters, an observation on housing based groups in England (Darke 1994).

To explore some of the reasons behind why men do not participate, full weight needs to be given to class and gender politics in order to "... understand the shaping of working-class masculinities..." (Connell 1995, p. 47). The combination of gender and class based issues can be played out in different ways that are dependent on the context in which they are located. As considered previously, in the context of local government, class and gender politics are played out in ways that can be of detriment to women. In the context of Drumchapel, working-class masculinities appear to be an obstacle to some local men becoming involved in community based politics and so favours women. The reference to 'working-class masculinities' is applicable to Drumchapel, though the concern here is with the underclass, there are features common to both social groups. Some men are likely to have been previously employed full time and had a strong working class identity. Though part of that identity has been lost, some of it will still be retained along with other characteristics that are associated with the underclass concept. The esteem and confidence, for example, of many men is low, which can be a feature of the underclass. These sorts of features will effectively disable men regarding participation

in community based politics. Overlapping with these features is an apparent loss of male identity that is related to the disassociation from the space that they occupy, i.e. private space. Men do not appear to have adjusted to the shifts in gender divisions and the associated increase in the level of confusion over space.

The advantages and disadvantages of women participating have also been considered. Advantages include empowerment, a greater level of control over factors affecting their lives, and greater pride in being a lone-parent. Some of the actual benefits gained by women from involvement in community groups were highlighted by the two case-studies of Compass Care and Cernagh Housing Co-operative. Regarding the changing relationship that women have with the state, the essence of what some of the women quoted as having experienced is captured by the division between masculine and feminine. In general, women live in man-made environments and have traditionally dealt with male-dominated housing authorities. Consequently, there are assumptions made by the authorities and processes in place that are of detriment to women (McDowell and Sharp 1997, Hood and Woods 1994). In addition, women have developed skills which in some instances are leading towards the 'professionalisation' of participation. The last development is something of a double-edged sword though; the skill base of a small number of women will increase, yet the same women may become detached from some of the issues affecting the majority of women in the area.

In Drumchapel, women are doubly at a disadvantage when compared to men, having been disproportionately excluded, disempowered and stigmatised. In general people in Drumchapel have a minimal stake in mainstream society because exclusion and disempowerment are widespread and both are important characteristics of the underclass concept. There are stigmatised groups in society, for example, those with experience of the criminal justice system, who could be either men or women, though it is doubly stigmatising to be a woman as well. There is possibly a turning point in the lives of some women, particularly many of the participants in group discussions, who described how they had virtually been forced to undergo a process of empowerment. Women have worked in ways that help them as individuals and women collectively. It appears that exclusion and disempowerment have different

effects on women and men, resulting in different responses and coping strategies. For some women positive experiences have emerged from situations of disempowerment, whereas for men there is more of a likelihood of remaining trapped in that situation of disempowerment.

Though there are clear benefits for women, caution should still be exercised regarding the future. The obligation on women to get involved may reinforce their roles in the community. Obligations are related to pressures which act on women, for example, shortfalls in service provision which some women may feel that they ought to do something about. The roles in the community which women can become *increasingly* associated with include housing and child related issues, as well as community activity in general. Though women have always been associated with such issues, it is perhaps the extent of their involvement through the devotion of an increasing amount of time and resources that is most important. As women become increasingly involved in issues associated with service provision that are not adequately remunerated and increasing demands are placed on their time, there is the potential for existing and/or new lines of oppression to become established.

Perhaps there will be a growing pressure on women to maintain their input into alternative services or continue to represent the community in devolved decision making structures of local government. The roles of women in Drumchapel may become entrenched at a time when the roles of women in wider society are diversifying. The opportunities for women that are located beyond the community may be perceived as being beyond their reach, and a similar view may be held by men in Drumchapel and by the authorities.

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CHAPTER 10 CONCLUSIONS

A diverse range of research findings have been presented in this study, ranging from those which are largely objective in character through to those which are based essentially on the perceptions of people. The latter drew on people's thoughts, emotions and association with place, as well as more subjective notions of self-identity and people's perceived 'location in society'. The more significant of these findings can be drawn together more comprehensively in this final chapter; juxtaposition will help to extend explanation.

An initial step in the process of drawing the research findings together is to refer back to the early aims of this work. A matching process to establish links between aims and outcomes, can be undertaken. By such means an assessment of the extent to which these aims have been pursued can be made. Those findings considered to be more significant are summarised in table form against the aims. It is from this starting point that the more broad ranging and theoretically based sections of this chapter can evolve.

Another means of drawing the findings together is to look at the political fabric of Drumchapel. Three components of the political fabric of the area can be identified; (i) local people and community groups (informal), (ii) the Drumchapel Initiative and the Community Organisations Council (semi-formal), and (iii) Strathclyde Regional Council and Glasgow District Council (formal). More precisely, it is the tensions between these three components, on which focus needs to be made. The existence of tensions can be understood more if shifts in the boundaries between what is commonly seen to constitute public (communal) and private (home) space are considered.

Taking Drumchapel as a whole, attention is given to the change from public sector or state domination to alternative forms of service provision. This theme has been referred to frequently throughout this work, and here it is developed further. In considering all developments in

Drumchapel together, the symbolic value of these shifts from public sector domination can be assessed.

It is essential to ground the research observations in contemporary reality. This is best achieved by linking them to a macro theory; the theory of 'disorganised capitalism' has been chosen for this purpose. In some ways this Chapter brings this work full circle, in so far as some of the original points of Chapter One, which acted as a backdrop to this work, are re-introduced. Linking decentralisation as observed in Drumchapel with the closely related Thatcherite Project, and less specifically the post-Thatcherite era, also enlarges the perspective on this work. In conjunction with this, the inter-linkages established between the research findings and disorganised capitalism can be broadened out in relation to the concerns associated with the political Left; namely a 'politics of diversity'.

Since the field research has been completed, there have been changes and developments within and outside of Drumchapel that are of significance. In this respect, this Chapter will give brief consideration to the unexpected demise of the COC and the restructuring of local government, the latter having important implications for the situation in Drumchapel.

10.1 THE ACHIEVEMENT OF AIMS AND THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

As a framework for drawing findings together, it is useful to recall that looking at decentralisation as it has impacted on the people of Drumchapel resulted in the identification of four main subjects, these being:

i. an assessment of people's knowledge of the Drumchapel Initiative and the Community Organisations Council, followed by the perceptions held of these organisations.

ii. how residents have provided some level of input into different areas of service provision. This input can range from consultation through to control.

iii. the effects of decentralisation on the characteristics of community in Drumchapel.

iv. how decentralisation has been of differing significance to women and men and how the impact of decentralisation relates to the position and roles of women in society.

Some of these aims have been more easily met than others. The first aim was the most general, and because of this it proved to be the most difficult to pursue. At the outset a quantitative approach was taken towards this first aim, however as the work developed it became more qualitative and it was the qualitative component that was the most challenging. It was necessary to adopt this style of research, as there was a concern to elicit perceptions held by local people.

With hindsight, the first aim was too broad and could have been more readily focused. In fact this would have been difficult as the approach to this work did not want to impose any personal views of the researcher through the research process, i.e. deciding for people what issues were most pertinent regarding the DI and COC. At the very least, a more directive approach would not have been in keeping with the wider approach to this work. Nonetheless, this aim fell within the 'traditional' research into decentralisation, being concerned with a part of local government in the case of the DI. Generally the findings confirmed suspicions regarding the functioning of the DI and COC. However, the nature of these findings were at times complicated because they were inter-woven with other issues, for example, territoriality. One outcome of pursuing this aim was that some familiar issues were raised, including patterns of power distribution previously associated with a large organisation, i.e. local government, and the finding that they were being repeated at the local level.

Pursuing the second aim was less problematic and more rewarding than the first, possibly. Furthermore, the nature of the second aim fed more easily into other pertinent issues that could then be developed, such as distinctions between public and private space. Aims three and four were more easily pursued than that of the first, this was probably because they were more specific, more original and generated 'fresher' findings.

Many of the eventual findings informed one another and there were not always neat divisions between findings. One consequence of this is that some findings may have been overly 'trammelled' so as to sit more comfortably with one particular aim. In relation to the first aim, in particular, findings were sometimes unwieldy and the price of gaining

'control' may have been to overshadow the freedom of findings to always speak for themselves.

There have been limitations to this work, i.e. it has not been possible to pursue some concerns as far as desired and it has been necessary to accept that the speed and direction of the research was influenced by certain factors. Quite fundamental limitations included the reticence of interviewees (as considered in Chapter Three), which ultimately had a bearing on the quality of data, including its range, depth and integrity. In addition, the volume of information gathered made it difficult to decide what to include and exclude, and there is a concern that valuable points may have not been included in this final account.

A table has been constructed containing a summary of the more significant findings; these have then been located against an original aim. In some instances findings relate to more than one aim, but they have been grouped with the one to which they primarily relate. There are not a neat set of packaged findings that correspond with individual aims, rather there is a degree of overlap as some themes run through many of the findings and these are highlighted after Table 10.1. The final column in the Table considers the relevance of findings in relation to the underclass concept.

The advantages that are associated with many of the findings listed include a responsiveness to local needs, flexibility in service provision, and empowerment of local groups and of the otherwise disempowered people. Common disadvantages, something more often neglected in the literature, that are associated with some of the findings include: a lack of co-ordination and the taking advantage of the goodwill and enthusiasm of local people as a 'free' source of labour.

TABLE 10.1: SUMMARY OF THE MAIN RESEARCH FINDINGS: THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE ORIGINAL AIMS OF THIS WORK AND TO THE UNDERCLASS CONCEPT

1 To assess the knowledge and perceptions held by Drumchapel residents of the Drumchapel Initiative and the Community Organisations Council.

Summary of main findings	Relevance to underclass concept
<p><i>a)</i> An indication of the quality of external decentralisation has been provided. Characteristics of external decentralisation, as represented in the continuum of involvement are lacking: i) the dissemination of information is of a poor level. ii) there is inconsistent consultation. iii) with the COC specifically, participation does take place as the community is represented by CRs who can vote at the Area Management Group. Though links between CRs and residents are not strong. iv) The day-to-day reality of the COC partnership is questionable if the level of involvement of community groups, and the knowledge and awareness amongst residents is recalled.</p>	<p>People in Drumchapel do not appear to be benefiting from top-down external decentralisation initiatives to the extent that they could. The DI and COC organisations appear to have done little for the widely felt feelings of exclusion and disempowerment that were prevalent. In these respects, Drumchapel residents have not moved away from the validity of this concept. However, this finding is pitched at a specific level, and there are a range of other developments that are considered to have had different effects (see below).</p>
<p><i>b)</i> There is a strong belief that the DI lacks sufficient understanding of the needs and priorities of the community. It is not so much a case of the wrong decisions being made as of mistaken priorities. It is likely to be a case of 'hit-and-miss' as to whether the right issues are addressed.</p>	<p>This is a further illustration of the reality of empowerment, Drumchapel residents do not have sufficient opportunity to express their priorities. Local people have different priorities to those of outsiders, which may be an indication of characteristics of the underclass that are distinct when compared to the rest of society.</p>

2 To look at how residents have provided some level of input into different areas of service provision. This input can range from consultation through to control.

Summary of main findings	Relevance to underclass concept
<p><i>a)</i> External decentralisation that is essentially bottom-up in character has created opportunities for empowerment, through: (i) the development of skills, including the participatory skills of committee members. (ii) opportunities for decision making. (iii) greater control over local resources and any developments that take place. (iv) pride in oneself and the local community, and therefore potentially an increase in esteem.</p>	<p>1. Some people have been empowered in ways that are outside of the formal system. The empowerment that has occurred is on the whole in ways that are of direct and immediate benefit to local people, in so far as that empowerment is tangible and has had an immediate impact. Therefore, this facet of external decentralisation has been beneficial to some sections of the Drumchapel population who arguably constitute the underclass.</p> <p>2. In a broader context, the reality of empowerment may be more complicated than residents of Drumchapel have initially thought. The reality of who controls projects may lead to difficulties in the future, e.g. in the case of some of the housing co-operatives, the influence of Scottish Homes should not be overlooked. In this respect, the significance of decentralisation to the underclass concept as it is applied to Drumchapel needs to take into consideration the scale of context that is under consideration.</p> <p>3. Members of the underclass are excluded in a variety of ways, decentralisation provides opportunities which include people. Vitaly, inclusion is in different ways from perhaps anticipated, and it is not necessarily in activities that are coincident with the interests of mainstream society. So developments of the nature observed in Drumchapel are not changing the validity of the application of the underclass concept, it is not necessarily any less valid as people are not as marginalised, excluded and disempowered as they have been previously. Instead, there is a</p>

<p><i>a) cont.</i></p>	<p>more complicated interpretation of developments, Drumchapel people may feel more empowered and at the centre of issues that are important to them. In this respect, the validity of the underclass concept has diminished. However, in the broader context of the Drumchapel peoples relationship to wider society, it could be argued that residents are now further marginalised from mainstream activities and less likely to be included.</p>
<p><i>b)</i> Highlighted have been the collective client centred and non profit values, and how in many respects these go against the ethos of the Tory Party and the radical shifts in wider society's mode of function and outlook. Case-studies run counter to trends in society towards privatisation at the expense of collective provision, and represent alternative models of social organisation at the micro level.</p>	<p>Effectively, there has been the development of alternative structures of support, which in part are based on values and aspirations that are distinct relative to the rest of society. Observations of this nature underline further the distinctiveness of the Drumchapel population relative to the characteristics of the majority of society. In these respects, the application of the underclass concept to Drumchapel is strengthened, though in very specific ways that are not the most frequently thought characteristics of the underclass.</p>
<p><i>c)</i> Due to shortfalls or inadequacies in state service provision, the development of existing services and the provision of new ones has occurred. There is now a more sensitive approach to the organisation of a mode of reproduction. In part, this increased sensitivity is related to the location of service developments, in so far as they occupy transitional space between the sphere of the state and that of service users. The characteristics of housing co-operatives traverse the public/private dichotomy in service provision.</p>	<p>Developments have resulted in improvements in the quality of life for some of the residents of Drumchapel. Services that already exist have been improved as in the case of housing co-operatives/ associations, or new services have come into existence. These developments can be looked upon as the expression of newly articulated demands or needs.</p>
<p><i>d)</i> Responsibilities that are more usually associated with the welfare state are being off-loaded onto the community. There is likely to be a lack of recognition or remuneration to local people for the time and labour which they may volunteer.</p>	<p>The position of social groups that form the underclass may become entrenched. As a consequence, further distance may develop between the members of the underclass and other social groupings, i.e. Drumchapel people become more marginalised.</p>

3 To establish the effects of decentralisation on the characteristics of community in Drumchapel.

<p>Summary of main findings</p>	<p>Relevance to underclass concept</p>
<p><i>a)</i> The Drumchapel experience shows that taking the 'challenge' of empowerment has mainly been an option where there was a perceived grievance with a public service. With housing, there are inequalities in the way that decentralisation has taken place, as there have been benefits for some residents in the form of upgraded housing stock, but not for others.</p> <p>For those residents living in areas that have undergone or are soon to undergo considerable improvements, attitudes to their area have altered and the feeling that they are 'trapped' by where they live has been overtaken by a greater emotional investment in the area.</p>	<p>Cleavage formation is possible, though there are cross-cutting cleavages and so it would be simplistic to look at one factor in isolation. There is a complicated picture emerging of some factors that could potentially undermine the alternative realignments and prioritisation that has occurred in Drumchapel. Whereas there are other factors that bind the various social groups together. In relation to the underclass concept, this observation is significant for the cohesiveness of the underclass as a broad based grouping. In the case of Drumchapel, it is argued that members of the underclass have a strong collective interest even though there is some diversity between constituent social groups.</p>

<p>b) Decentralisation has impacted on the dynamics of community; between the neighbourhood level and the whole of Drumchapel. At the neighbourhood level, though a degree of territoriality was evident, a broader perspective of change in Drumchapel predominated. This broader perspective of change meant that in some instances greater cohesiveness was being encouraged.</p>	<p>Overall, decentralisation is further encouraging the ties that can bind people together, and is another component of the alternative system of support (see above). Instead of a reliance on outside agencies for some forms of support, an internalised system of support in Drumchapel that is based on the development of residents skills etc. has developed. Clearly, these sorts of developments have implications for the empowerment of Drumchapel residents, as well as providing a different perspective on the distinct values and priorities that are thought to characterise this population.</p>
<p>c) Some characteristics of community are important for encouraging or facilitating the process of decentralisation. Most fundamentally, up to a point there is a positive relationship between the extent of deprivation and the degree of feeling a sense of community. This positive relationship was most in evidence in Kingsridge-Cleddans, where community was observed to be an organisational feature which provided an opportunity for the establishment of (political) sites of opposition to wider society and to the state.</p>	<p>It is possible that community structures can underpin the characteristics of the underclass. There may be a greater reluctance to participate in mainstream society's activities, including waged work (assuming waged work were available) due to the extent of involvement in and hence commitment to community based activities.</p>
<p>d) There has been a differential impact of decentralisation depending on the characteristics of place. The foundations of communities of interest that cross-cut those of geography are being laid. Former associations with defined neighbourhood boundaries are in the process of being challenged by new demarcations that are not coterminous. Residents appear to have developed a greater sense of belonging over recent years. A sense of community has evolved that is along different lines from previous, e.g. the early stages of an interest community based on housing tenure which cut across traditional community boundaries that are based on neighbourhoods.</p>	<p>Building on the points made above, observations of this nature highlight how the three concerns of community, decentralisation and underclass are brought together. Though there are competing forces, i.e. parochialism, overall it appears that the processes of decentralisation are in small ways reconfiguring some of the dynamics of community. This may have important implications for how people perceive each other, and for some people the scale of inclusion and association may increase from that of the neighbourhood to that of all of a large part of Drumchapel. Developments of this nature contribute to empowerment and reduce feelings of exclusion. As mentioned previously, however, there may be reduced marginalisation from the perspective of local people, whereas from a broader perspective people may be more marginalised as Drumchapel people become increasingly focused on Drumchapel.</p>
<p>e) There is a certain inequality in the way that decentralisation has taken place. Divisions that prevailed prior to the developments of the 1980s have been accentuated by some characteristics of the decentralisation process. As a consequence, some groups view participation at a Drumchapel-wide level with suspicion and prefer to look out for their own areas; they have become parochial in their outlook.</p>	<p>Sections of the Drumchapel population, whether based on social interest group or neighbourhood affiliation, may be in opposition to one another. In relation to the underclass concept, there is the potential to undermine and weaken the alternative realignments that are forming and that distinguish much of the Drumchapel population from other sections in society (see above).</p>
<p>f) Decentralisation has not sufficiently taken account of negative attitudes that are held by some group members. In a similar vein, decentralisation has not minimised the 'opportunities' for these attitudes to gain ground.</p>	<p>As above.</p>

4 To establish how decentralisation has been of differing significance to women and men in Drumchapel, and how the impact of decentralisation relates to the position and roles of women society.

Summary of main findings	Relevance to underclass concept
<p>a) Distinctions between the private (home) sphere and the public (community) sphere contribute to some of the inequalities which women face. Through decentralisation some inequalities have been addressed. In some instances the boundaries between the private sphere of the home and the public sphere of the community have become confused and vague, which in part can be related to the involvement of local people in community groups. Redressing inequalities coincides with confusion around boundaries.</p>	<p>Decentralisation is doubly of significance to women in Drumchapel. Women are disadvantaged because of gender inequalities that prevail and because they may also belong to the range of other social groups that have been identified in Drumchapel, including lone -parents and people with a disability. In this respect, women can be doubly disadvantaged and excluded, with the consequence that the underclass concept has greater applicability in Drumchapel for women in general rather than men. Therefore, opportunities that are afforded by decentralisation are all the more important as these opportunities can help to empower women and give them greater control over their lives.</p>
<p>b) Gaps in services have been filled that are of greater significance to women, due in part to the distribution of women throughout different groups which reflects what issues are given priority.</p>	<p>As women are often able to set the agenda, the ways in which they see themselves as being disadvantaged, disempowered and excluded can be tackled in ways that are directly relevant to them more than to men. Importantly, however, there are going to be some developments that are of equal importance to women and men, e.g. with the Disabled Action Group, though dominated by women, the establishment of a Centre and a range of support services that are there to empower disabled people will have benefits for individuals irrespective of their gender. However, with women leading in such a group, it is likely that some of the strands of oppression and exclusion that are specific to women will be challenged to some degree because the women involved with the DAG are going to instinctively make decisions that will not oppress women further.</p>
<p>c) Women participate in qualitatively different ways to men; occupying positions of influence within community groups, predominating more in parent-orientated groups and housing co-ops where they occupy all 'positions of influence'.</p>	<p>The opportunities afforded by decentralisation have empowered people. Women have been empowered in particular due to their relatively high levels of participation and the nature of activities that groups are concerned with are more relevant to women. A self-perpetuating situation can prevail, community groups come to be seen as women's space, which is conducive to other women getting involved. This situation may have positive and/or negative implications (see below).</p>
<p>d) Decentralisation has impacted on the lives of women in a quite personal capacity, their self-esteem and their sense of being an individual has been enhanced.</p>	<p>Sometimes people have exceeded their own expectations, e.g. when successfully engaging with the authorities over the development of Kingsridge-Cleddans neighbourhood, and winning arguments. In these respects, negative stereotyping of the underclass in general and of Drumchapel people in particular, especially by some sections of the media and by different social groups in Glasgow and Scotland, has been challenged by some of the processes of decentralisation. Generally, the external world's perceptions of the underclass as being feckless, incompetent and a burden to society have been challenged.</p>
<p>e) There can be disadvantages in the role-continuity that is associated with women in Drumchapel, as gaps in service provision may put pressure on women to get involved. An outcome of which may reinforce the roles of women in society and so feed into existing inequalities.</p>	<p>The opportunities associated with decentralisation have the potential to empower women on some levels, yet to disempower them on other levels. In some respects, the significance of empowerment is dependent on the scale of context under consideration.</p>

Some of the original themes identified in Chapter One run through many of the findings mentioned. A first theme is how decentralisation has affected boundaries and relationships between the private (home) sphere and the public (communal) living sphere. Also there have been comparable effects between the public (welfare/state) and the private (non-welfare state). Second, the extent of empowerment that has taken place is often intangible and has many characteristics; that mentioned in Table 10.1 is easy to comprehend, i.e. there is direct involvement in decision making processes. Finally, a concern has been the spatial manifestation of impacts; whether this be on demarcations of community, determinants of what is public and what is private space, or on variations in opportunities associated with decentralisation.

The findings of this research have indicated that a strategic overview of decentralisation, which would emphasise the advantages and identify the disadvantages that have come to light, is a useful undertaking. There would be the opportunity to give some direction to developments as a whole and to gain a greater understanding of the changes that have occurred. Within this strategy, the different forms of decentralisation could be acknowledged as could the necessary limits of decentralisation that can vary depending on the nature of service provision. Those developments which share common ground could be brought closer together, rather than evolving separately from one another, thus duplications of effort would be prevented.

10.2 TENSIONS IN THE POLITICAL FABRIC OF DRUMCHAPEL

In considering key players in the political fabric of Drumchapel, three groupings can be identified. First, there are a variety of forms of community action, community politics, or micro-politics. The many and varied community groups in Drumchapel and the general resident base represent this grouping. Housing co-operatives, the Disabled Action Group and the Kingsridge-Cleddans Economic Development Group are specific examples. Second, there are 'official' neighbourhood management and community development schemes, including umbrella organisations, namely the Drumchapel Initiative and the Community Organisations Council. These latter organisations were established to bring together a diverse range of needs, to channel resources, and to

provide support to the community. It was found that perceptions of local government are replicated through these organisations. Third, there is formal political activity, that is within the realms of the state. In the case of Drumchapel, this is most immediately represented by SRC and GDC elected councillors and service departments.

Between and within these three groupings there are cross-cutting cleavages that are based on a variety of relationships. Below, the dimensions to these relationships and to the areas of 'conflict' are described. To assist, the perspectives held by key players are recalled.

Taking Group One (community groups and the resident base), there are tensions with service departments and elected councillors. Community groups do not always agree with the practices of service departments, and often want to be more involved with service delivery. Further, there is sometimes a conflict over issues with councillors; though this is increasingly being replaced by that with the DI and COC. Finally, the DI and the COC are not regarded highly by community groups. Both organisations are seen as detached from the realities of Drumchapel, and in particular the COC is not seen as representing the interests of Drumchapel.

With Group Two (the DI and COC) there are tensions with both community groups and service departments. First, as perceived by the DI and COC, maverick community groups are causing conflict because of divergent agendas and the making of unrealistic demands. Concerning service departments, those who are seen as 'dragging their feet' are leading to strained relations. Service departments with which the DI needs to work are not always going to respond as desired; it will be difficult to alter the entrenched culture that exists within departments.

The distinctive locations of the DI and COC in the wider social and political context of Drumchapel needs emphasising. There are dual contexts or locations within which both organisations operate and this situation has imposed some limitations. The first context is that of local government, in which respect the DI is an appendage. So the DI is limited in its actions through lines of accountability. The second context is that of

the community of Drumchapel, who have a different agenda, perspective and contrasting forms of practice from that of local government.

An additional line of tension lies within Group Two, i.e. between the DI and the COC. The COC is reluctant to be viewed as a local government department, which is what the DI intends. The COC has developed to an extent that it should be able to act independently of local government in general and of the DI in particular.

Elected members and officers of local government, that together make up Group Three, are cautious regarding the empowerment of community groups, the DI and COC. Within specific service departments there is likely to be a perceived threat to "positions of comfort". An example is the development of the Disabled Action Group and the subsequent reduced role of the Social Work Department

10.2.1 UNDERSTANDING THE TENSIONS AS SHIFTS IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPACE

Throughout this work attention has focused on how there has been a shift in how services are provided from the public sector to that of the private. In Chapter Four the significance of the 'public' was highlighted by focusing on local authority housing, the unwaged and welfare state dependency. Chapter Seven looked at alternatives to the public sector, such as co-operative housing, the Disabled Action Group and the Kingsridge-Cleddans Economic Development Group. In looking at these developments, the extent of involvement from local people was considered, in conjunction with the extent of state (public) involvement. Finally, Chapter Nine considered public/private shifts in relation to gender. In particular, shifts in public (community)/private (home) space was brought together with shifts in public and private sectors of service provision.

The tensions listed at the outset of this section are collectively another dimension of the upheaval associated with restructuring. Put another way, in looking at the nature of conflict, observations can be related to changes in the role of the state and civil society. The upheaval in civil society has been manifested in such areas as the changing influences on the self and collective identities, and which individuals in society are

included in mainstream activities and which are excluded. Some of the aforementioned tensions can be examined further by drawing-on the public/private division in space, and how change relates to assumptions of what is 'public' and 'private'. In conjunction, some of the features of the underclass that have been highlighted previously can be drawn on and related to the position of SRC and GDC.

A starting point to recall is that in contrast with the previous situation in Drumchapel (i.e. approximately pre-1988, when there were no established decentralised structures and there was much less community activity), there are now far more community groups, which are concerned with a wider range of issues. Previously, the relatively few community groups were most usually associated with housing. Further, there were established relationships between local government and the people, with clearly defined roles and remits; everyone "knew their place". Many of the issues which have been focused on in this work, were formerly the preserve of the private (home) sphere, and include child care (Fasque Place Parents' and Users Group), women's health (Southdeen CAFE Project), and people with disabilities seeking employment (Disabled Action Group). Through upheavals in the structure and functioning of society, the role of the state and the developments associated with decentralisation, former clear demarcations between the public and private spheres have been broken down.

The activities in Drumchapel are of importance regarding the location of political consequences. In many respects, activities do not occupy the public or private sphere exclusively. Activities that have traditionally been easy to distinguish tend to transcend both of these spheres. Urry (1988) refers to this transcendence as "...the important realm of 'small p' politics, of civil society..." (p. 31). This perspective relates to how old ideologies are being broken down and how traditional ways of perceiving the world have changed. As a consequence, tensions have developed as the holders of power (who can be regarded as including local government) adjust to the upheaval that surrounds them. A period of adjustment and settling-down to new configurations in what constitutes public and private space will have to be passed through.

A factor to come out of the impact of decentralisation, is how characteristics associated with local people, or more precisely the conditions which surround them have developed, and how these characteristics have then impacted on the state. Much of the population of Drumchapel, who have been considered elsewhere to collectively constitute the underclass, may be stereotyped by local government, and indeed the state and civil society in general, variously as inept and dependent on others doing everything for them. In other words, 'common sense' perceptions associated with the dependency culture debate are associated with people who do not engage in waged work, and/or who rely on the state for support. Running parallel with these stereotypes, local government has been used to being the universal provider of services in Drumchapel (see next section). In this respect, what some of the developments in decentralisation represent are the challenging of assumptions that are held by local government of the abilities and limits of people in Drumchapel. From the perspective of local people, this situation can be read as their having been forced through circumstances to challenge their relationship with the state.

Local government may feel that its position is threatened due to the increasing diversity in the nature of issues addressed. Arguments about unemployment/full employment, for example, are powerful tools of politics, which are used in political arguments by the Left (Donnison 1992). Historically they have been 'safe' territory for the Left and for the Labour dominated councils of SRC and GDC. The re-prioritisation of what is important, which has to some extent occurred in Drumchapel, is a threat and conflict may be a response to this. This idea of re-prioritisation was conveyed during group discussions. To elaborate, reference to the decline in the importance of waged work, for example, for the Drumchapel population was made separately in five group interviews. More general reference was made in all group interviews to the harsh economic and social conditions in Drumchapel and how the world of waged work has receded permanently for a significant number of local people. Literature that is concerned with the underclass has emphasised how employment is of diminishing significance in such areas as Drumchapel because they cannot be resolved (Donnison 1992, Silver 1993).

If concerns such as employment cannot be so easily attached to the conditions of the underclass, then a possible outcome is an insecurity of position on the part of SRC and GDC, and uncertainty as to its future (see Section 10.5). For the underclass, alternative priorities have come into play, for example those centred on community.

As a more detailed illustration of change, points made in Chapter Nine can be reconsidered. Local government is male dominated and middle aged (at the time of field research four of the five councillors representing Drumchapel were men). The significance of this domination is that there is a masculine view of the world, of what issues are associated with the public (political) sphere and the private (non-political) sphere. Precipitated by decentralisation, it is predominantly women in community groups, especially in key positions such as Chair and Secretary, with whom men inside of local government come into contact. Women are becoming increasingly assertive, and practised at communicating. They are strongly motivated, and are challenging the practices and assumptions of local government; this is an outcome of the empowerment process. Women are not dealing with relatively minor issues such as street lighting and uneven pavements. Thus, for local government, an additional dimension to the concern with power being usurped is the issue of gender. The roles with which women are traditionally associated, are being broken out of.

Another contradictory area for local government concerns its approach to empowerment. Local government in general, and specific areas such as Community Education (Education Department) and Community Workers (Social Work Department) in particular, would like to see more people empowered. This is part of their ethos as well as being in line with trends elsewhere (see Chapter Two). But any empowerment is preferably done in ways that are established or accepted; for example, GDC extending the remit of tenants associations to more of a consultative role. The methods that local government is comfortable with, are methods that do not challenge existing patterns and modes of operation too greatly. However, some of the empowerment that can be associated with decentralisation has broken the mould in which local government has cast some sections of the people.

10.3 PUBLIC SECTOR DOMINATION, RECOUPEMENT AND TAKING STOCK

Taking an overview of all shifts away from the public sector, the starting point is to emphasise how, over previous years, the lives of many people who live in Drumchapel have been structured by the state. This relationship between the state and people in turn can be looked upon as a sort of dominance by the state which has resulted in disempowerment.

To expand on the assertion, Hall (1988), in the most general of terms, described how: "the state has become a gigantic, swollen, bureaucratic and directive force, swallowing up almost the whole of civil society, and imposing itself, in the name of the people, on the backs of the people [It] has acquired a dominant presence in every sector of daily existence" (p. 221). To get more of an idea of the extent of dominance in Drumchapel specifically, it can be considered how virtually everything that is viewed or touched outside of the home is publicly owned: houses, schools, primary health-care services, and amenities. Exceptions include five public houses, a petrol station and a declining number of shops, the units of which are being taken over by public sector interests, including the Citizen's Advice Bureau and the Drumchapel Initiative. The state has penetrated virtually every component of life in Drumchapel, the significance of which is that there has been an institutionalisation of people outside of such places as prison or psychiatric hospitals, locations where the term, institutionalisation, is most usually applied.

In addition to the physical public domination, there is the less direct psychological domination as well. Social Security claimants, for example, have relatively extensive contact with the state, and their entire lives are structured by it, because of the restrictions imposed through a limited income.

Overall, people in Drumchapel have been surrounded by collectivist provision to an extent that it has pervaded their consciousness. It is important to stress that there has been a dearth of illustrations of alternative forms of provision until relatively recently.

The significance of this domination is related to the kind of expectations that people will have of the public and private sectors. Perceptions are important regarding their attitude towards decentralisation, participation in community groups, and the relationship that the latter have with local government. With the public as it stands, there is a degree of negative perception; there are low expectations of state services as the Sample Survey findings on responses to statements relating to the Housing Department illustrated (Section 7.1 of Chapter Seven). Nonetheless, there is likely to be a degree of apprehension in leaving what is familiar and safe, even though it is not satisfactory. So, for change to be successful there has to be an emphasis on difference.

In a relatively short period of time state domination has been broken out of. From the perspective of local government, why this happened is important to understanding the relationship of decentralisation to the restructuring that has affected Drumchapel.

At the time that the field research was coming to completion, the situation in Drumchapel regarding decentralisation deserves emphasis. Overall, there were a variety of projects, all at various stages of development - from Kendoon Co-operative which had just balloted residents, through to Southdeen Co-operative which was about to undertake its final stage of up-grading. Interestingly, there were no other decentralisation projects or developments proposed.

To look at the reasons why this situation prevailed necessitates taking a step backwards and looking behind the actions (or in some cases the inaction) of local government. In particular, the political and economic context of local government offer explanations for this situation. In some instances, principally in the housing sector, local authorities went through a process of 'clearing-out' or of off-loading those problems that it was impossible to deal with within the constraints which had been imposed by central government, and by the general conditions of restructuring which had taken place around them.

Further consideration of the position of the City (Housing) Department explains this point. The co-op alternative was gathering pace, gaining interest from GDC, possibly in part because tentative steps that had been

taken elsewhere in Glasgow appeared successful (Gibb 1983, Dyer 1982). These probably influenced the Housing Department's course of action in Drumchapel. When tenants reached a stage of disillusionment with the service, they were encouraged to consider alternatives for managing their housing; the co-op being the alternative promoted. By this means, undesirable stock was no longer the responsibility of the Housing Department. Yet, the removal of stock could be the thin end of a wedge; ultimately a much diminished role is all that may remain for the Housing Department. However, provided this 'off-loading' was tightly controlled, the co-op alternative could be used in ways that were to the advantage of local government.

In other instances, it may have been politically desirable for local government to encourage or support certain proposals. With the Disabled Action Group, it was in line with a perceptible mood of empowering 'respectably' marginalised sections of society such as the disabled. Also in this particular case, tensions between different areas of local government were being played-out using a third party (see Section 10.2).

10.4 DISORGANISED CAPITALISM

To bring this work to completion, the theoretical origins of this work are revisited. Disorganised capitalism is a broad and general concept that has embraced the various facets of this work. It can be recalled from Chapter One that the wider issues of social and economic change, and the associated political and cultural shifts were outlined as a backdrop to this work. Capitalism is disorganised, in so far as it is no longer organised on a scale that it once was. It has been argued that a product of this disorganisation is the establishment of an underclass. Capitalism with its new characteristics has largely by-passed Drumchapel, as few people engage in the capitalist economy: opportunities to engage in waged work and spending power are very limited.

These changes which are encapsulated by disorganised capitalism can be linked with post-modernism. A defining characteristic of post-modernism is time and space compression (Soja 1989). Though not endorsing the theory of post-modernism as such, reference to it will help to elucidate the Drumchapel experience further. Developments in

Drumchapel represent a diminishing role for planning on a large scale, which previously there was a rationale for (Lash 1990; Lash and Urry 1987).

In this work it has been observed how public and private space compression has been precipitated by external decentralisation. Through the establishment of community groups and the range of issues with which they are concerned, decentralisation has encouraged greater overlap between the spheres of the home and community. These are changes which can be looked upon as a characteristic of post modernism. When compared with the rest of society, Drumchapel has a qualitatively different relationship between the spheres. What is distinct is the strength of association which people have with the different spheres. This is related to the nature of the relationship with the work sphere, from which there is large scale exclusion. Collective action and public spiritedness in the community has been seen by some as a potential solution to problems. Of relevance is the focus on community, particularly the dynamics and the amount of time spent by people in their community (Chapter Eight). The significance of the community has grown, through a process of transference of time, strengths of association and reconstitution of loyalties that may previously have been more significant in the work place.

Decentralisation can be located in the upheaval that has occurred in the economy, society, and within the local political sphere. In part decentralisation, whether top-down or bottom-up, is a response to restructuring. There is something of a dialectical relationship between decentralisation and restructuring, as the dynamics of upheaval are played out on a small scale. To understand this situation more, decentralisation and restructuring can be considered as opposites; where decentralisation resolved the issue created by restructuring, there are further contradictions that are played out. In some instances decentralisation has been the result of conflict, for example housing co-operatives, and in other cases it has created conditions for conflict, for example the Disabled Action Group.

10.4.1 THATCHERISM, DRUMCHAPEL AND THE UNDERCLASS

Reading developments in Drumchapel in relation to Thatcherism will help to explain the findings of this work. Fundamentally, Thatcherism appropriated and made some of the components of upheaval look natural and inevitable. This was achieved by creating a common sense projection, whereby cut-backs in and the privatisation of the welfare state and public sector industries was promoted as the most sensible and correct response to change wrought by disorganised capitalism.

The incantations of Thatcherism, about how the welfare state was out of line with the sea change elsewhere had substantial effects on the perceptions of the public sector; they impacted on the thinking of both local government and the public. 'Freedom', 'democracy' and 'choice' became intimately associated with the free market; certainly they were concepts that could not be associated with the public sector. Instead, the public sector and its scale of provision has been presented as irrational, redundant, inadequate and inhibitory. Hall (1988) identifies the following commonly held views: "the public sector is bureaucratic and inefficient", "the private sector is efficient and gives value for money", and "the dependency culture makes growing demands on the state" (p. 26). These sorts of commentaries have become common-sense trains of thought, ever present in our consciousness. Further, they are relevant to the public/private debate and to explaining attitudes and actions. They also contradict some of the comments made in the opening chapter of this work, where it was stated that areas such as that of Drumchapel would have resisted these incantations of Thatcherism.

The reality has been that though people benefit from the state, it can be experienced as an intrusive bureaucracy (*op. cit.*). This is problematic for the Left, who find themselves travelling in a similar direction as the Right, and getting enmeshed in the 'nanny state' and the 'roll back the welfare state' debates. In this respect the state is a contradictory experience and in relation to policy development, it is not a case of Labour and the Conservatives occupying mutually exclusive ground. Indeed, "Thatcherism capitalised on the contradictions within the public sector, exposing and exploiting weaknesses, particularly the deeply undemocratic nature of state administered Socialism" (*op. cit.*, p. 227). Though local government may not have looked at the contestation around it in exactly

this way, the climate of uncertainty and the efforts to undermine it by central government did have an effect on morale and esteem.

Whether Thatcherism and the New Right wanted to or not, it could not appeal to the underclass in ways that it did to the rest of society. Clearly, the underclass were too distant from associating with the 'attractions' of the free market. In addition, it was implausible to remove the entire welfare state, though there were attractions in undermining certain aspects and promoting alternatives that were politically more aligned with wider philosophies, and theoretically fell into the private sector category. The promotion of housing co-operatives in place of local authority housing is a most immediate example. It is by such means that the philosophies of Thatcherism may have made some form of indentation into the underclass's psychology and outlook.

The emphasis being placed in this section on the dominance of the public sector draws parallels with the welfare dependency debates of the New Right and which have been applied to the underclass. Though there is a dependency, that may have led to disempowerment within the conventional framework, through a lack of employment and the claiming of Social Security, it is more precise to say that there is not so much dependency as a lack of choice.

But there is an irony, in that 'privatisation' and the shift from exclusively public sector service provision appears to have generated some conditions and situations that go against the grain of Thatcherism. If Thatcherism had wanted to undermine and break-up the philosophy behind, and the emotional attachment to, the welfare state then it is clear from this research that it has not been entirely successful. If anything, amongst the underclass, there has been a strengthening of viewpoints and attitudes that can be associated with collectivist provision, a central plank of the welfare state. Observed amongst the population of Drumchapel is a reconstitution of roles for individuals acting collectively: with the number of community groups, the range of issues addressed, the level of membership, the interest shown in alternative forms of provision, and the extent of community generated change, i.e. bottom-up decentralisation.

The concept of radical individualism, as developed by Urry (1988) will help to expand on this assertion. Radical individualism is when people act as individuals through self interest and/or disillusionment with collectivism in ways which are a significant and marked departure from established practices. The scale to which Urry applies this concept is not specified, though it appears to be a general critique of developments in society at large. The opting out of the welfare state via private health insurance and pension plans are two relevant examples. Developments in Drumchapel illustrate a certain radical individualism *vis-à-vis* the state. Yet, according to Urry (1988), it is something of a double-edged sword, as "it leads to challenges to authority in many spheres of social life while making it harder to sustain oppositional collectivities and collective action" (p. 31). In relation to the examples of private health insurance and pension plans, this claim has some validity. However, the two components of "challenges to authority" and "collective action" are not mutually exclusive, nor does the former undermine the latter in most instances in Drumchapel. "Challenges to authority" are evident, particularly if the authority is taken to be local government *per se*. However, the latter part of Urry's assertion can be challenged. Case-studies examined throughout this work embody collective action, challenging the shortfalls in the dominant model of social and economic organisation, through the creation of alternatives. Also there has been a challenging of some of the characteristics that Thatcherism was hoping to promote as alternatives to the welfare state.

Developing this point further, the socio-economic characteristics of the Drumchapel population and the concerns of community groups, have curtailed or even transformed radical individualism and channelled what there may be of this into collective forms of action. Though developments in Drumchapel are radical in many respects, developments embody characteristics that are synonymous with traditional, and long established principles associated with the welfare state of pre-New Right years. Indeed, it might be more accurate to generally describe the situation in Drumchapel as radical individualists who engage in collective action against much larger, all too distant and centralised organisations.

It would appear that people in such places as Drumchapel are travelling on a different track to that of the majority of society, holding different

values and aspirations. The external decentralisation to date may develop these different values and aspirations further. At present there are broader changes in society, some of which may accentuate the radical individualism that has developed. On the one hand, there are cut-backs in public spending which may force those sections of society who can afford it to make alternative provisions. Conversely, there is a growing public discontentment with Government policies; the bed-rock of these policies is individualism. How these various divergent forces develop will have an effect on the nature and the extent of radical individualism in society at large. Whether some of the characteristics evident in Drumchapel are going to further diverge or move closer to the broader characteristics observable in society, is going to depend amongst other things on how these divergent forces are played out.

If the values and aspirations of different groups in society were mapped they would produce different shapes and patterns, though there would always be a considerable overlap. In areas such as Drumchapel, the mapping of people's values and aspirations would result in distinct territory being covered in comparison with the mapping of other groups in society. Of course there would still be overlaps, though the emphasis is on the lesser degree of overlap. It is not so much a case that a mutually exclusive set of values and aspirations are held by many of the people who live in Drumchapel, when compared to other social groupings in society. If comparing the priorities and concerns of the population of Drumchapel with other social groups in society who are in part represented by adjacent populations in Bearsden and Knightswood, there are distinctions. However, there will be overlaps that can be looked upon as links with the rest of society, there are relationships and not complete detachment. What perhaps is distinct is the significance of values, those which are at the forefront and those values which are of less significance.

Aspirations are shaped by the environment and circumstances which surround people. Exclusion from, or at most very low and sporadic levels of participation in, the labour market, consumerism, leisure pursuits, etc. has inevitably meant that there is a greater focus on locally based aspirations. Those aspirations which are realistic and achievable enable local people to engender a sense of collective and individual worth. However, the 'desirability' of focusing ones aspirations so specifically

needs to be carefully checked. There is a risk that the balance between exclusion and looking inwards can 'tip over' to have undesirable repercussions, including negative associations with the immediate environment and the undermining of community.

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10.4.2 DECENTRALISATION AND A POLITICS OF DIVERSITY

The outcomes of decentralisation in Drumchapel could potentially be harnessed to address wider political questions. It is how, specifically, decentralisation could be utilised by the political Left to explore the 'politics of diversity' (Hall 1988).

As a political discourse the politics of diversity, that is associated with the political Left, places at its centre the diversity of identities, associations and importantly the needs of different social groups in British society. There has always been diversity in society, what is significant is the increase in the nature and extent of that diversity. There has been a marked increase in the number of social groupings, for example, along the lines of ethnicity, sexual orientation and more generally regarding priorities and goals. Due to prejudice and stigmatisation, some social groups are oppressed and will have greater demands because more of their needs are unlikely to be met in full or in part by the existing structure and functioning of the economy and society. The politics of diversity project has to work out how to harness the energies of the diverse sections of society. If organised and harnessed effectively, the diverse social groups

could more effectively challenge the origins of oppression and the discourse of the political Right. Diverse social groups may have little in common, however, they may see similarities in the nature of their oppression and/or advantages in coming together over different issues.

Though the principles associated with the politics of diversity are agreed with, its application to this work is in a more traditional mould than that outlined above. The idea of a politics of diversity can be applied at other scales from that of the whole of society, such as the neighbourhood. Also, while the concept particularly relates to 'race' and sexuality, and to certain localities such as inner-city areas in England, here it is applied differently. In Drumchapel the most prevalent diversity is illustrated in the range of active community groups in which politicisation has stemmed from a specific direction, being essentially poverty based. In these respects the application of the politics of diversity concept is centred on more traditional characteristics. Interestingly, there has been a relative neglect of 'traditional' communities (Thrift 1992), particularly in relation to contemporary political activity, which to some extent Drumchapel is characteristic of. The application of the politics of diversity concept to Drumchapel does not persist with this neglect.

The characteristics of the politics of diversity project on a small scale, i.e. the diverse issues and needs that are being expressed, in conjunction with much common ground being shared, can be illustrated in relation to Drumchapel. The Drumchapel population is diverse along such lines as: occupation / non-occupation and age, which could promote the development of cleavages. However, the *relative* insignificance of any diversity is due to the cross-cutting of some cleavages. An individual may be disabled, a lone-parent and unwaged, also at the household level there may be some members who are in waged work, some who are elderly and / or disabled. There is much common ground between people; whether unwaged, elderly, a lone-parent, or disabled, most people are likely to be poor (see Appendices). In addition, transport constraints acting on the population means that the most common experiences are located in Drumchapel.

Drawing these various points together, fundamentally, Drumchapel people share 'common experiences' and many of these experiences are

related to issues of deprivation. These observations contrast with the assertion that "current inequalities in income, wealth and power do not produce homogeneous social classes which share common experiences of class deprivation" (Urry 1988, p. 31). Though it is true that there is diversity in the population of Drumchapel, it appears to be outweighed by shared characteristics and common experiences.

Consideration of the politics of diversity in relation to Drumchapel can be taken further by introducing at this juncture the notion of resistance. How resistance underlies many of the actions of Drumchapel people is explored and simultaneously resistance as a characteristic of the underclass concept can be considered. Looking at Drumchapel as a whole reveals a complex picture of interaction, characterised by the close working of some diverse sections of the population combined with the feature of some relatively homogeneous community groups working in relative isolation. The latter situation appears to be largely attributable to the circumstances surrounding the Community Organisations Council (see Chapter Six). This localised situation is a site at which a harnessing of the energies of the community could be developed and perhaps channelled to better effect.

Resistance is referred to in the most general of ways, i.e. how, against what and its significance. In general, there is a resistance of sorts to changes in the structure and functioning of society that have a negative impact on people in Drumchapel. More precisely, there is a resistance to pressures that undermine community structures, to remaining powerless and fundamentally to the pressures that poverty can bear. Resistance occurs due to the undermining and downgrading in peoples quality of life, due to a lack of disposable income and deteriorating housing standards. More fundamentally, resistance is fuelled by anger and frustration.

Resistance on a collective basis might be through an involvement in community groups. It may involve the wider community and be a reflexive response to emergency situations, as in the case of Southdeen Co-operative where poor housing conditions were affecting the health of local children. It would be inaccurate to claim that there are collective forms of resistance by the entire population of Drumchapel, or even a significant proportion. Most usually there is a small number of people, having

extensive contact with the wider population of Drumchapel, who are engaged in some form of organised resistance.

There has been tangible and formal resistance when community groups meet officials and disagree with proposals, initiate developments and petition for change. More specifically, some community groups have resisted pressures by the state and the authorities to respond in certain ways that may have been more of a solution for the authorities rather than for local people. The input of the community is confined by certain parameters, e.g. cost and the procedures of officialdom. These parameters have been challenged and even surmounted, as in the case of KCHA and KCEDG when the Housing Department assumed a course of action which local groups resisted; community groups held out and eventually won their case (see Chapter Seven).

Drawing the above forms of resistance together, there is an overall resistance to the labelling by much of the rest of society, in so far as the actions and behaviour of many Drumchapel people are contrary to stereotypes that are based on idleness and fecklessness. People are not conforming to stereotypes, and are resisting the imposition of the undesirable and negative side to the underclass image. Resistance may help to bolster peoples self-respect and self-esteem.

Decentralisation is a tool that could be utilised further to channel the various forces that are being played out in the functioning of a micro-society, i.e. Drumchapel. The politics of diversity overlap with a cluster of tenets of decentralisation, principally 'choice', 'flexibility' and 'responsiveness'. Locating developments in Drumchapel in relation to this wider political sphere shows how these converge with some of the concerns of the Left and Right. Service provision as a whole has shifted onto a new terrain, one that has only been tentatively colonised by the Left. The politics of choice is not *only* associated with the Right, an association that Hall (1988) rightly challenged. Decentralisation, for example, can be looked upon as a mechanism for expanding choice, which in turn is linked to diversity; the empowerment of ordinary people; the breakdown of 'traditional' roles that relate to gender, and public/private space; and the expansion of social (substantive) citizenship.

10.5 THE FUTURE

Failure to mention likely future influences on the way in which decentralisation in Drumchapel develops would neglect factors that will be of crucial importance. Two factors worth attention are the unforeseen disbandment of the COC and local government reorganisation. These will have direct implications for all aspects of support to the population of Drumchapel, as well as the position of Drumchapel in the wider context of priorities.

10.5.1 THE COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS COUNCIL

Some time has passed since this field work was completed and the developments observed have continued to progress; as expected the DAG have a purpose built centre, Southdeen Co-operative has upgraded the last phase of its housing stock. An unanticipated development, however, was the sudden disbandment of the COC. At the beginning of December 1994, Receivers were called into the COC, following the suspension of all funding the previous week.

Disbandment of the COC raises concerns, as this organisation was a major support for Drumchapel. However, the DI has taken over some of the COC's remit, for example the processing of Urban Aid applications. Further, the Area Management Group continues to meet, and the three Community Representatives still attend. Further, as it was shown in Chapter Six, the COC was seen to be replicating practices of local government, and was perceived as a structure that had been imposed on Drumchapel from 'outside'. In many instances, community groups worked with the COC purely on pragmatic grounds. Finally, most of the community groups that were looked at during this work have largely achieved their immediate goals and they would have little future need for the COC (see Section 10.2).

The demise of the COC reveals something about community ownership schemes. Where responsibility for the demise of the COC lies is unclear, though interestingly the management team have been dismissed. Considering these minimal facts, it is possibly an ironic illustration of how professionals have not acted entirely responsibly, and where the

community has not been given a chance to have as much input as potentially could have been the case.

10.5.2 LOCAL GOVERNMENT REORGANISATION

Since undertaking and completing this research, important changes which relate to local government have taken place. The Local Government etc. (Scotland) Bill (1994) took effect from April 1 1996, sealing the end of Strathclyde Regional Council and the nineteen district councils which were coterminous with the Region. The Region and the Districts have been replaced by twelve new unitary authorities. The unitary authority of Glasgow will embrace the area of Drumchapel. This restructuring of local government will mean that all services will be provided by one authority.

The reasons for restructuring are that the Conservative Government expressed concern over excessive administrative bureaucracy, and other problems associated with local government (see Chapter Two). At the forefront was the perceived need to make local government more accessible to the electorate: to make it understandable, and to democratise it. Also Strathclyde Region in particular was considered excessively large, and as a consequence too powerful, being the largest local authority in Europe.

The potential significance of this restructuring of local government for the situation in Drumchapel is threefold. First, there is a certain amount of insecurity regarding finances. Money was allocated to area divisions of SRC on the basis of need, i.e. the prevalence of poverty amongst local populations, and measured by such factors as the number of lone-parents, vulnerable elderly, and unemployment levels. With the new unitary authorities, the Scottish Office has proposed to allocate funding on the basis of population size alone. These changes in funding allocation criteria will impact negatively on the new unitary authority of Glasgow, which will contain the highest proportion of its population living in poverty. With fewer resources there is the possibility that there will be less funding for some non-statutory services, as exist in Drumchapel.

Second, with SRC, the revenue that could be raised from the extremely large area covered, through the Council Tax and central government allocation, meant that there was a greater opportunity for some

redistribution of resources to take place, on the basis of need. Such opportunities look already as if they will diminish after reorganisation.

Third, the coming together of service departments from different local authorities with distinct cultures, may have repercussions for the public. There may be less of an impetus to be innovative and explore different relationships with people after reorganisation. Beyond reorganisation, there are other pressures which are likely to affect local government. The impact and development of Care in the Community will still continue, and will require increasing attention and resources. At the very least there will be a 'settling-in' period, where concerns may be focused elsewhere.

10.6 CONCLUSIONS

The context and scale in which the findings have been placed has become progressively larger as this Chapter has developed. At a relatively small scale were the divisions and dynamics between the private (home) and public (community) space. This was followed by the much larger scale of concern with the dichotomy between the public (welfare state) and private (non-welfare state/community) service provision. Finally, the findings have been placed in the broadest of contexts by drawing on the account of disorganised capitalism. Through this progressive scale an increasingly complex picture has been built-up. Though these three levels of relations have formed separate sections, the relationships between the levels has been apparent at points, the position of women in relation to the home and workplace being an example.

A juncture was formed by different conditions coming together. These conditions have included the impact of restructuring, the increasing pressures being placed on local government and the welfare state in general, the fashionable New Right philosophies, and the reactions of ordinary people in an isolated urban area. It is the last two factors that have been of particular interest to this work, as it is these that embrace decentralisation. The period of time when this juncture was formed was in the late 1980s through to the early 1990s, which was when the most major fall-out from the upheaval of the late 1970s onward took place. Moving away from this juncture, after the conditions of Drumchapel had reached their nadir, there is an increasingly complex civil society with a

multiplicity of sites of activity and opposition to much of the upheaval that occurred. In this respect, the location of civil society in relation to the state has changed. In the case of Drumchapel specifically, people are in a position to establish the conditions from which resources can be creatively channelled and need can be met more sensitively. Though somewhat dated, an observation by Hall and Jacques (1989) reflects the situation in Drumchapel after the major changes that have taken place and have been looked at in this study: "a different place from which we can all begin the reconstruction of society for which the state is only the anachronistic caretaker" (p. 232).

10.6.1 FURTHER RESEARCH QUESTIONS

There is not a simple and tidy ending to this work. Clearly all developments and observations referred to have continued to evolve after the field work came to completion. Therefore, it is appropriate to identify three key questions deserving further attention.

1. A more rigorous method of measuring the development of community groups over the years is something that it would have been fruitful to pursue. In particular it is the effects of how group members relate to the wider resident base, and the changing nature of this relationship over time. This relationship is a specific focus as a component of civil society; where this component overlaps with the state it forms a juncture. Assuming that there are future changes in the standing of the welfare state, this juncture is important because it is a pivotal point of development.

This could include looking at the significance for the population in general of skills development, changing attitudes, empowerment, etc. amongst community group members. There are a number of alternative pathways down which relationships could go. By various means, skills may be directly passed on, or there may be a more subtle trickle-down effect. Alternatively there may be little or no transmission; cleavages based on distinct values and ambitions between members and the wider resident base may develop and become entrenched. It might be possible to devise a series of measures of impact in order to trace developments of whatever nature over a period of time.

2. In this work a snap-shot of the impact of decentralisation on a local population has been provided, a component of which was the shifting contours of what constitutes public and private provision. Being a dynamic area of concern, there will continue to be changes in the future; welfare politics are dependent on the changing needs of the population, resource availability, and evolving political philosophies. This area of concern deserves a higher profile in any future analysis than it has been possible to give it here. A more systematic and comprehensive tracking of future developments would be valuable.

3. This study has explored the impact of decentralisation on the boundaries between the public and private sectors of service provision. However, this study has only begun to scrutinise what is a very complex area; it would be useful to plot more thoroughly the distinctions between the public and private. The configuration of space that is occupied by public and private service providers could be looked at in several ways. Firstly, it is likely that this configuration is going to be unique for each service, or even aspect of a service. This uniqueness is partly related to whether the space is exclusively occupied by a provider, shared, under negotiation, or contested. Secondly, the occupation of designated space may ebb and flow depending on a range of factors, including demand and the availability of resources. Lastly, the contours of public and private service provision space will depend to some degree on the geography of an area and/or the diversity of the population. A mapping of these dynamic distinctions between services would be useful.

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APPENDIX A:
THE DRUMCHAPEL SAMPLE SURVEY - RESPONDENTS'
BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

182 respondents from three areas of Drumchapel participated in the Drumchapel Sample Survey. This is a summary of respondents' biographical details and relates to information gathered in Section A of the questionnaire (Chapter Three).

1. AGE

All respondents were between the ages of 20 and 80; their ages having been estimated at intervals of 5 years. Four age bandings are used that complement some of the other variables considered below. For example the age group '+ 60' broadly corresponds with the category of 'retired'. The frequency of respondents ages is summarised in Table 11.1.

2. SEX

Of 182 questionnaires, 59.9% (109) were completed by women, a figure which reflects the gender imbalance in the population of Drumchapel. However, the extent of imbalance is greater than that illustrated by official data sources such as the Voluntary Population Survey of 1992 shows women comprising 55% of the population. The gender imbalance is not evenly distributed with respect to age. The greatest imbalance is in the 20-25 age group, where women comprise more than two-thirds.

TABLE 11.1: AGE DISTRIBUTION AND SEX OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION COMPARED BY SURVEY AREA

	Stonedeyske		Golden Triangle		Kingsridge-Cleddans		Total		
Age	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	M+W
20-25	3 (14%) (50%)	7 (18%) (54%)	1 (4%) (17%)	1 (3%) (17%)	2 (8%) (33%)	5 (14%) (38%)	6 (32%) (8%)	13 (68%) (12%)	19 (10%)
26-39	9 (43%) (29%)	19 (50%) (38%)	5 (19%) (16%)	10 (29%) (20%)	17 (6%) (55%)	21 (58%) (42%)	31 (38%) (42%)	50 (61%) (46%)	81 (44%)
40-59	3 (14%) (18%)	9 (24%) (33%)	10 (38%) (59%)	11 (31%) (41%)	4 (15%) (23%)	7 (19%) (26%)	17 (39%) (23%)	27 (61%) (25%)	44 (24%)
+ 60	6 (29%) (32%)	3 (8%) (16%)	10 (39%) (53%)	13 (37%) (68%)	3 (12%) (16%)	3 (8%) (16%)	19 (50%) (26%)	19 (50%) (17%)	38 (21%)
Total	21 (29%)	38 (35%)	26 (36%)	35 (32%)	26 (36%)	36 (33%)	73 (40%)	109 (60%)	182

(In every cell, the first bracketed % refers to males/females in a neighbourhood, the second bracketed % refers to males/females in the age group).

3. ECONOMIC AND NON-ECONOMIC CATEGORISATION OF SAMPLE

The reasons for not being in waged work are thought to be of equal, if not greater, importance than the nature of waged work in an area such as Drumchapel, where the proportion of the population who engage in waged work is particularly low (see Chapter Four). Thus, instead of having one category of 'non- occupation', this was sub-divided into unwaged, disabled/sick, student, retired, economically dependent spouse, and lone-parent.

TABLE 11.2: THE ECONOMIC CATEGORY OF MEN AND WOMEN BY SAMPLE AREA

Category*	Sample Area						Total + (%)		
	Stonedyeke		Golden Triangle		Kingsridge-Cleddans		M	W	M+W
	M	W	M	W	M	W			
<i>Skilled non-manual</i>	1 (5%)	3 (8%)	3 (11%)	2 (6%)	1 (4%)	1 (3%)	5 (7%)	6 (5%)	11 (6%)
<i>Skilled manual</i>	9 (43%)	3 (8%)	8 (30%)	1 (3%)	6 (22%)	4 (12%)	23 (31%)	8 (7%)	31 (17%)
<i>Unskilled manual</i>	1 (5%)	4 (11%)	2 (7%)	3 (9%)		4 (12%)	6 (8%)	11 (10%)	17 (9%)
<i>Unwaged</i>	2 (10%)	4 (11%)	2 (7%)	0	13 (48%)	4 (12%)	17 (23%)	8 (7%)	25 (14%)
<i>Disabled/long-term sick</i>	3 (15%)	5 (13%)	3 (11%)	7 (22%)	1 (4%)	6 (18%)	7 (9%)	18 (16%)	25 (14%)
<i>Student</i>	0	4 (11%)	0	0	1 (4%)	1 (3%)	1 (1%)	5 (4%)	6 (3%)
<i>Retired</i>	5 (25%)	3 (8%)	9 (33%)	13 (37%)	2 (8%)	2 (6%)	16 (21%)	18 (16%)	34 (19%)
<i>Non-active dependent</i>	0	8 (22%)	0	7 (20%)	0	9 (24%)	0	24 (22%)	24 (3%)
<i>Lone-parent</i>	0	4 (11%)	0	2 (6%)	0	6 (16%)	0	12 (11%)	12 (7%)
Total	21	38	27	35	27	37	75	110	182

(*The Registrar Generals standard classification has been utilised), (%: refers to column totals).

Of the sample total, 32.4% (59) were economically active. Stonedyeke recorded a slightly higher level at 35.6%, and Kingsridge-Cleddans was slightly lower at 30%. There is a notable distinction in the number of unwaged registered in Kingsridge-Cleddans, which is at least double the figure for the other two areas. Further distinctions exist along the lines of gender, 77.1% of women are not in waged work; the same figure for men is 53.4%.

Concerning the retired category, 20% were under the age of sixty-five. The number of people who would like to enter into waged work is higher than the unwaged category indicates; the categories of 'lone parent', 'dependants', and 'disabled' undoubtedly contain some respondents who wish to work. Spatially, the majority of unwaged (68%) were recorded in

Kingsridge-Cleddans and the lowest number recorded (8%) was in the Golden Triangle. However, if the unwaged figure is considered in conjunction with the retirement population (which is thought to include a high number of early retirees) then the unemployment figure for the Golden Triangle would be higher. The category of 'disabled/long-term sick' contained the same number as the unwaged. What is striking about the category 'disabled/sick' is that nearly half (47%) were under the age of forty-five. As a proportion of all women, more women were disabled/sick, than was true in the case of men. Of the category of lone-parent, all were women.

Focusing on economically active respondents, the majority were classified as skilled manual workers (17%). More women are concentrated in skilled non-manual categories than are men. Those respondents who were older than forty tended to be employed in skilled non-manual occupations. In contrast, respondents under the age of thirty were either recorded as unwaged, or employed in unskilled occupations.

Differences between areas in the number of disabled and long-term sick is not marked, and Stonedyke has the second highest level. The category of lone-parent is the same for Stonedyke as for Kingsridge-Cleddans. The number of standard nuclear households with children under the age of eighteen is comparable in Stonedyke and Kingsridge-Cleddans.

4. HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

The majority of respondents rented their homes from Glasgow District Council. Only 2 of the total sample had purchased their homes from the Council under 'Right-to-buy' legislation. This figure is slightly greater than the corresponding figure of official statistics because of the inclusion of the Golden Triangle, which contains a concentration of owner-occupied dwellings.

Household structures, were subdivided into eight categories. Households with children who were under as well as over the age of eighteen were categorised depending on whether most of the children were under or over eighteen. The category of 'other' included an elderly woman and her grandson living in the same household.

TABLE 11.3: HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE BY SAMPLE AREA

Household Structure	Sample Area			Total (%)
	Stonedyeke	Golden Triangle	Kingsridge-Cleddans	
Standard nuclear, children <18	22 (37%) (40%)	10 (16%) (18%)	24 (39%) (43%)	56 (31%)
Standard nuclear, adult children >18	6 (10%) (24%)	9 (15%) (38%)	10 (16%) (40%)	25 (14%)
Lone parent with children <18	5 (15%) (53%)	2 (3%) (12%)	5 (10%) (36%)	12 (7%)
Lone parent with adult children >18	4 (7%) (50%)	3 (5%) (38%)	1 (2%) (13%)	8 (4%)
Adult with elderly parents	2 (3%) (20%)	5 (8%) (50%)	3 (5%) (30%)	10 (5%)
Two adult partners	12 (20%) (27%)	25 (41%) (56%)	8 (13%) (18%)	45 (25%)
Single person	4 (7%) (24%)	6 (10%) (35%)	7 (11%) (41%)	17 (9%)
Other	0	1 (2%) (25%)	3 (5%) (75%)	4 (2%)
Total	59	61	62	182

(In every cell, the first bracketed % refers to column totals, second bracketed % refers to row totals)

A final variable is that of household size. The majority of respondents belonged to two and four person households. The Golden Triangle contains a higher proportion of two person households, whereas Kingsridge-Cleddans has a much lower figure than average. Finally, data for Kingsridge-Cleddans shows the area's polarised household size distribution with a preponderance of either one person households or larger households of four, five and seven persons.

TABLE 11.4: HOUSEHOLD SIZE BY SAMPLE AREA

Household size	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven
Stonedyeke	7% (4)	30% (18)	20% (12)	30% (18)	7% (4)	5% (3)	-
Golden Triangle	10% (6)	47% (29)	15% (9)	25% (15)	3% (2)	-	-
Kingsridge-Cleddans	11% (7)	23% (14)	13% (8)	40% (25)	10% (6)	-	3% (2)
Total and row %	9% (17)	34% (61)	16%	32% (58)	7% (12)	2% (3)	1% (2)

APPENDIX B - TABLE 12.1: INTERVIEWEES WHO HAVE BEEN QUOTED DIRECTLY IN THE TEXT

	Name of Community Group, Organisation, etc.	Location	Ref. No.	Dynamic*
1	Former Chair, Drumchapel Community Council	Drumchapel	3	n/a
2	Chair, Community Organisations Council	Drumchapel	9	n/a
3	Langfaulds Residents Association	Langfaulds	10	medium
4	Waverley Community Council	Waverley	15	interruptions
5	Kingsridge-Cleddans Housing Association	Kingsridge-Cleddans	16	low
6	Cernagh Housing Co-operative	Kingsridge-Cleddans	18	low
7	Former Director, Drumchapel Initiative	Drumchapel	20	n/a
8	Lochgoin Parents Group	Kingsridge-Cleddans	21	medium
9	Kendoon Housing Co-operative	Langfaulds	23	low
10	Waverley Tenants Association	Waverley	25	oligarch
11	Pineview Housing Co-operative	Pinewood	26	oligarch
12	Southdeen Housing Co-operative	Broadholm/Pinewood	27	medium
13	Director, Drumchapel Initiative	Drumchapel	28	n/a
14	Southdeen CAFE Project	Broadholm/Pinewood	30	medium
15	Drumchapel Information Services to the Community	Drumchapel	31	interruptions
16	Pinewood Residents Association	Pinewood	32	low
17	Phoenix Tenants Hall Group	Kingsridge-Cleddans	33	low
18	Fasque Place Parents and Users Group	Kingsridge-Cleddans	34	medium
19	Cairnsmore Residents Association	Cairnsmore	35	interruptions
20	Disabled Action Group	Drumchapel	37	medium
21	Director, Community Organisations Council	Drumchapel	39	n/a
22	Flexicare	Drumchapel	40	oligarch
23	Strathclyde Region Councillor	Drumchapel	41	n/a
24	Kingsridge-Cleddans Economic Development Group	Kingsridge-Cleddans	43	low
25	Elderly Forum	Drumchapel	44	medium
26	Glasgow District Councillor	Drumchapel	45	n/a
27	Compass Care	Waverley	48	interruptions

(*: Group dynamic refers to the communication characteristics of the group and is detailed in Chapter Three).

APPENDIX B - TABLE 12.2: INTERVIEWEES NOT QUOTED DIRECTLY IN THE TEXT

	Name of Community Group, Organisation, etc.	Location
1	Community Education Worker, SRC	Drumchapel
2	Drumchapel Women's Aid	Drumchapel
	Development Officer, City Housing	Drumchapel
4	Principal Officer, Chief Executive's, SRC	Glasgow
5	Depute Director, City Housing GDC	Glasgow
6	Community Reps., COC	Drumchapel
7	Director, Drumchapel Opportunities	Drumchapel
8	Resource Worker, Community Council Resource Unit	Drumchapel
9	Planning Officer, Glasgow District Council	Glasgow
10	Healthy Cities, Drumchapel	Drumchapel
11	Co-ordinator, Women's Unit, SRC	Glasgow
12	Assistant Area Manager, Social Work	Drumchapel
13	Co-ordinator, Drumchapel Community Business	Drumchapel
14	Adult Community Education Drumchapel	Drumchapel
15	Welfare Rights Advisor, Unemployed Workers Centre	Drumchapel
16	Information Officer, CUBE Housing	Glasgow
17	Area Manager, Scottish Homes	Greater Glasgow
18	Cllr, Glasgow District Council	Drumchapel
19	Area Officer, Community Education, Drumchapel	Drumchapel
20	Community Workers, Social Work, Drumchapel	Drumchapel

366

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