

After the event: perceptions of change and issues of perceived fairness in Dalmarnock, Glasgow

*Report of a qualitative study with residents in the host community, two years
after the Commonwealth Games*

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Executive summary

Background

The primary strategic justification for hosting the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games (CWG) was the anticipated delivery of a positive and enduring legacy. The core hosting zone of Dalmarnock, already earmarked for support as part of the local urban regeneration partnership, subsequently became the focus of the greatest level of physical intervention relating to the CWG. Following on from earlier qualitative research in 2014, this study explores host community perceptions of neighbourhood change in depth, two years after the event. It aims to capture local residents' attitudes towards specific CWG-related developments and gather views about the future prospects for Dalmarnock.

Methods

The research comprised in-depth interviews with a sample of 20 residents, living in Dalmarnock. Sixteen residents from the original (2014) study agreed to participate again, and a further four were recruited into the study. This qualitative approach does not provide estimates of how widespread different views are among the local population. However, using a purposive sample designed to target a varied group of participants, from relative newcomers to life-long residents, the research enhances our understanding of different attitudes, perceptions and experiences of intensive urban change. In particular, participant accounts of how the policy interventions in 'old' Dalmarnock have impacted upon their lives offer valuable insight into how and why events and changes affect people in diverse and sometimes unanticipated ways. The research does not include the views of any Dalmarnock residents who may have moved to live in the Athletes' Village. An accompanying report provides findings from a household survey of Athletes' Village residents.

Housing

The main addition to the area's housing provision, the Athletes' Village, was perceived positively as an aesthetically pleasing contribution to the area and a well-designed environment for families. However, there was dissatisfaction among longer-term residents that more people from 'old' Dalmarnock had not gained access to it. Recent residents regard Dalmarnock as an attractive location because of its central location, the affordability of property, and the availability of 'new builds'. However, social renters living in the oldest housing stock report problems with chronic property neglect, inadequate maintenance, and slow repair work. Alongside the experience of years of CWG-related disruption, the stark, visible difference between the quality of new and old properties, and the perception that new housing in the Athletes' Village was intended for

new residents rather than local people, have fuelled a sense of injustice that may undermine good community relations. This could be exacerbated by the perception of some residents that immigrants and asylum seekers have been favoured in housing allocations. Together, these issues raise concerns about the potential for building a cohesive community in the area.

Neighbourhood

While long-term and recent residents alike expressed unhappiness over a shortage of local shopping amenities, the research also highlights the divergent needs of the original Dalmarnock residents and the newer, often relatively more affluent, inhabitants in the sample. For those without car transport, access to *local* retail, health and educational facilities was particularly important. Those who require amenities within easy walking distance, whether for reasons of income, age or health, were especially critical of the idea that other amenities will or may come *after* the housing development has been completed. For long-term residents, local shops were also sites of everyday social interaction and support prior to their demolition. Older and poorer residents, particularly, spoke of the lack of replacement retail in terms of loss and broken promises, echoing the concern that the regeneration was not intended for their benefit.

Community

Two intertwined challenges facing the area will be establishing social mechanisms that can avoid the social fragmentation that some see emerging in the area, and building community capacity to exercise a stronger sense of self-determination in the future. Although some recent residents have become involved in local organisations, potentially adding to the social, economic and political capacity of the community, many long-standing residents felt uninformed and lacking influence in relation to the future of the community and the area. Although disaffection was not uniform amongst longer-term residents, many decried the loss of a close-knit community with high levels of trust, and felt alienated by the presence of newer residents of different social class, dress, culture and, sometimes, language. Many long-term residents felt aggrieved at enduring the disruptive side of the Games preparations without, in their view, seeing any gains in terms of housing or amenities, and resented that incomers had gained new homes.

Recent residents were more positive about social diversity and were keen to see even further change in the area. They conceptualised community cohesion as the absence of conflict and antisocial behaviour, rather than the development of cross-class, mixed-income social ties of the kind often described as the potential outcome from mixed-tenure regeneration. Alongside retail development, more local social amenities were seen as a means to facilitate greater connections between different groups of residents.

The Commonwealth Games and associated developments

The event itself was seen as a disruptive and disempowering experience by local residents. Moreover, there was a view that insufficient recognition had been given to what they had lived through. Dalmarnock residents nevertheless attributed physical improvements in the area to the CWG and acknowledged that the area had benefited as a result. The Village, the new 'Legacy Hub' community facility, and the Emirates Arena were all recognised as positive developments, in that they were considered attractive and enhancing the image of the area, in some cases drawing people from outside. Some interviewees had also used the new Cuningar Loop woodland park, developed after the CWG. However, opinions remain divided on the extent to which these amenities truly serve local people, although there is some local usage reported. There was limited awareness of the services and amenities available at the Hub and the woodland park, a predominant view that the Village was occupied entirely by people from elsewhere (i.e. not from Dalmarnock), and issues of cost and feeling unwelcome were seen by some people as barriers to the use of Arena facilities. Finally, some interviewees questioned whether the new developments were even part of Dalmarnock. It is possible that better promotion and pricing for local people are needed to build awareness and emphasise the accessibility of developments for all.

Planning and the future for Dalmarnock

Undoubtedly, preparing for a mega event like the CWG within a fixed time period is an unusual set of circumstances for urban planning, and in that situation, not everything desired by local people will be done, and some things will be undertaken without enough regard for local people within the process of planning and delivering rapid change; those things certainly apply in the case of the East End of Glasgow and the 2014 Games.

The general view among long-term residents in Dalmarnock was that the CWG had been the catalyst for physical improvements in the area (which they felt had been neglected and ignored for some time) and constituted a turning point in the area's recent fortunes. However, local opinions are divided as to whether the recent changes in Dalmarnock are the start or the end of a process of regeneration, with no certainty on either side of that debate. Furthermore, for the future, ensuring inclusive access to local amenities and supporting the development of new services to meet new needs in the area, including shops, schools and primary health care, are priorities that could foster both greater community cohesion and place attachment. The predominant view from interviewees was that urban planning has not at this stage performed adequately in Dalmarnock.

1. Background

Glasgow hosted the 20th Commonwealth Games (CWG) from 23 July to 3 August 2014. This multi-sport mega event, involving over 6,500 athletes and officials from across 71 nations and territories, was the largest that Scotland had ever staged and the very first time that Glasgow had hosted the CWG. The event itself was universally praised as the 'Best Games Ever' (BBC, 2014).

The delivery of the CWG was undertaken by a partnership of Scottish Government (SG), Glasgow City Council (GCC), Commonwealth Games Scotland (CGS) and the Glasgow 2014 Organising Committee (OC). However, the hosting of the CWG was described to the nation by policy-makers and city leaders as more than simply 11 days of sporting spectacle and cultural entertainment. Rather, the primary strategic justification for the substantial investment involved was the delivery of a bundle of positive and enduring benefits, commonly referred to as 'legacy'. Legacy expectations were set high by the two lead organisations, the Scottish Government and Glasgow City Council, with the hosting occasion constructed in terms of a 'once-in-a-lifetime' opportunity to generate universal and positive benefits on a scale anticipated to be truly transformative (Glasgow City Council, 2009, Scottish Government, 2009).

The cornerstone of the CWG bid was the social and physical regeneration of the East End of the city (see Figure 1). As the core hosting zone, Dalmarnock was subject to the greatest level of intervention in relation to the Games. This area had long been characterised by chronic deindustrialisation, population decline, deteriorating housing stock, and increasing unemployment (Clark *et al.*, 2016). At the same time, relative poverty and poor health resulted in the stigmatisation of Dalmarnock as a 'problem place' inhabited by 'problem people' (Gray and Mooney, 2011). A recent study with local young people revealed that the most salient legacy benefit for them would be an easing of the 'burden' of negative reputation (Kidd, 2016).

In the wake of Glasgow's successful bid, Clyde Gateway (CG), one of six urban regeneration companies (URCs) in Scotland, was formally established in 2007 as the main delivery agency for local regeneration initiatives. It set out to achieve the following three aims: increased economic activity and job opportunities; sustainable place transformation; and improved community capacity (Clyde Gateway, 2007).

Preparations for the Games in Dalmarnock, led by GCC with its Games partners, spanned a period of seven years, entailing major land clearance, including the demolition of its Post Office and local shops, in order to accommodate the construction of flagship sporting venues such as the £115.7 million Emirates Arena and Sir Chris Hoy Velodrome ('Arena') in the north-west of the area (Figure 2). Nearby, a £230 million Athletes' Village was built

for the Games and subsequently retro-fitted to provide 400 homes for rent and 300 homes for private sale.

Since the Games, in 2015, the Dalmarnock 'Legacy Hub', funded by the Scottish Government and Clyde Gateway, was opened in the shadow of the Arena as a new recreational and education centre for the local community, replacing a community centre which had been demolished as part of land clearance prior to the CWG. Other CWG-related additions provided with investment and involvement from CG have included enhanced transport infrastructure (refurbishment of the Dalmarnock railway station; a new road linking the M74 to the Arena) and the transformation of 15 hectares of derelict land on the southern banks of the River Clyde into the new Cuningar Loop woodland park, opened directly across from the Athletes' Village in November 2016. Further developments include a children's nursery due to be completed in May 2017 and a primary school due to be completed in August 2019, both adjacent to the Athletes' Village site.

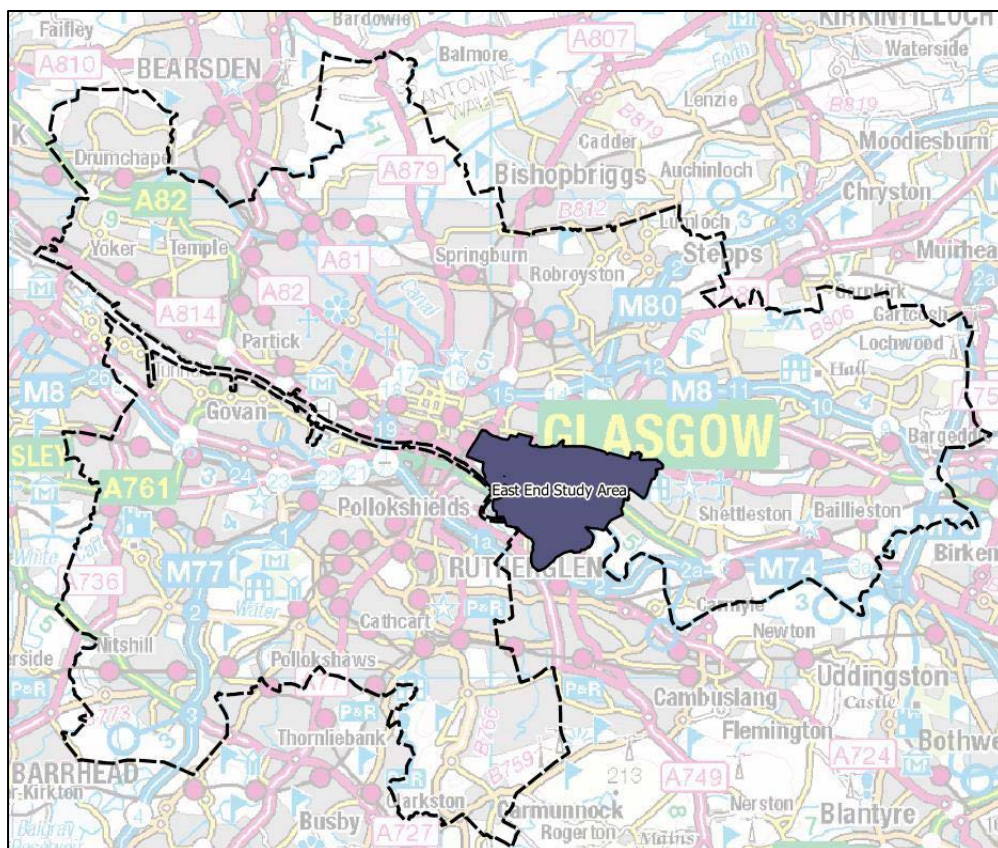


Figure 1: Glasgow district and East End location.

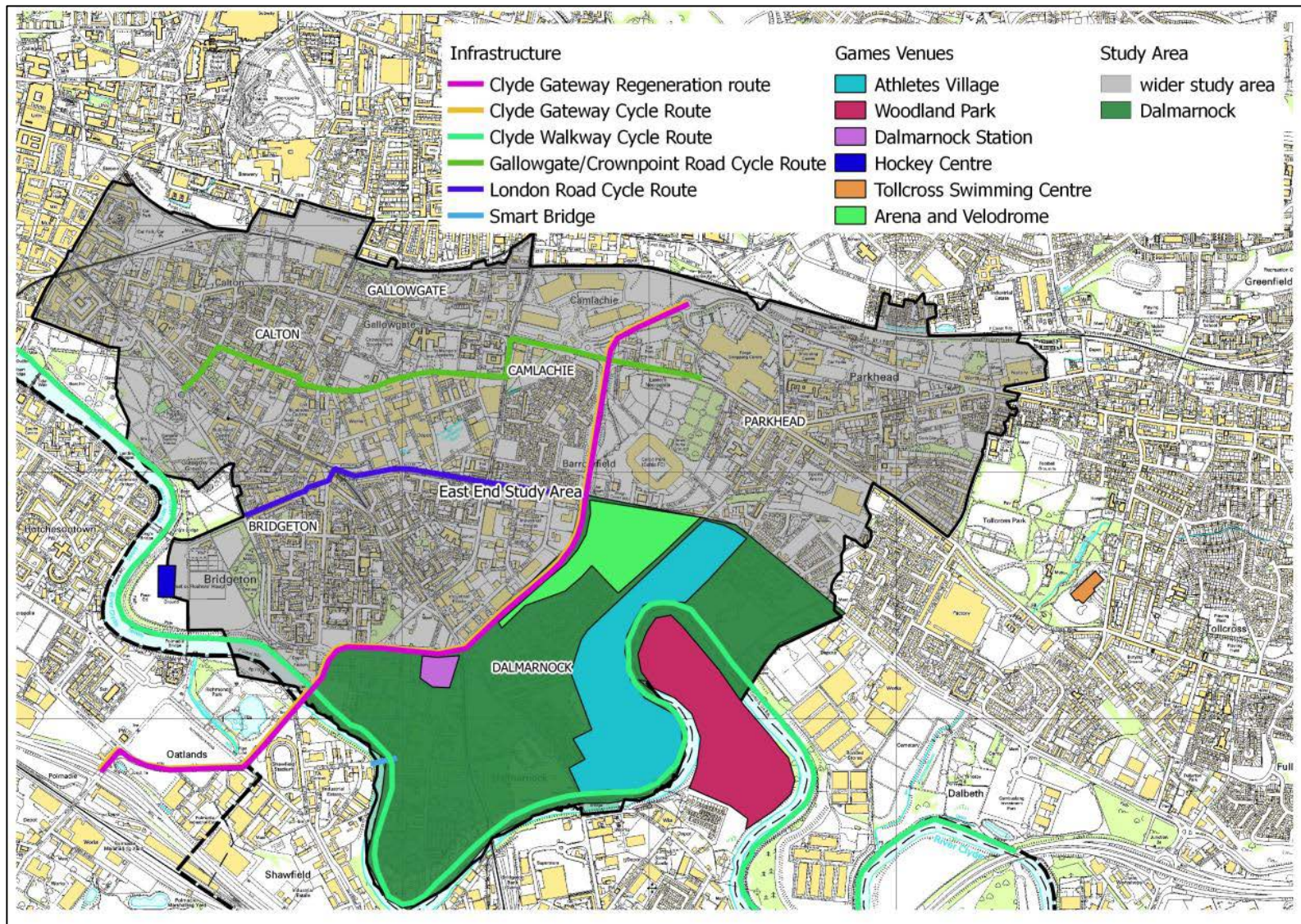


Figure 2: Dalmarnock and Commonwealth Games-related developments.

2. Study context and aims

This study is a follow-up to a previous qualitative study (hereafter referred to as wave 1) undertaken with Dalmarnock residents in the months (May-July 2014) immediately preceding the CWG event (Clark *et al.*, 2016). Semi-structured interviews were conducted at that time so that host community experiences and perceptions might be captured in relation to reflections on the past; views around the present; and hopes and fears for the future. A total of 25 local people from 21 households participated, comprising the following two main categories of Dalmarnock adult residents:

'Long-term' residents: those who had always lived locally ('life-long'); or had lived in other areas before moving to Dalmarnock over seven years ago ('established').

'Recent' residents: those who had moved to Dalmarnock within the past seven years (the Games preparation period) but, having lived previously either in Dalmarnock or elsewhere in the East End of the city (as they defined it), had prior knowledge of the area ('returning'); or had moved into the area in the same period, but with no previous residence in Dalmarnock or east Glasgow ('new'). For the purposes of the sample, 'Dalmarnock' did not include the Athletes' Village, even for 'recent' residents.

The findings from the wave 1 study are outlined separately in Clark *et al.* (2016). The authors concluded that there was "considerable common ground across the different groups for a new, mixed community in the area". At the same time, they also highlighted concerns around "urban governance practices and the limitations of a 'market-led' approach to regeneration" (p.87).

2.1 Aims

The primary aim of the wave 2 qualitative study was to explore host community perceptions of neighbourhood changes, two years on from the CWG and following the implementation of the key regeneration programmes and projects, most (but not all) of which had been completed by the time of the fieldwork. In addition, we wanted to capture local residents' attitudes towards specific CWG-related developments such as the Arena, the Athletes' Village, and the Legacy Hub and their views concerning the future for Dalmarnock, particularly in relation to critical aspects of place-making such as community cohesion and place attachment.

3. Methods

3.1 Sampling and recruitment

A priority in wave 2 was to recruit from the wave 1 sample as far as possible, so that a longitudinal perspective might be gained. For this reason, all wave 1 participants (n=21) were invited by letter to participate in a follow-up study. They were contacted again by a telephone call, email or text and, in some 'hard to reach' cases, by a house call. Up to three attempts were made to renew contact with each wave 1 participant. A total of 16 wave 1 residents agreed to take part in wave 2, resulting in a sample attrition of five participants (23.8%). There were several reasons for non-participation: one wave 1 respondent was now deceased; two were reported by neighbours to have moved house in the intervening period; and one did not respond to repeated attempts to make contact. Only one wave 1 participant declined to participate in this follow-up study.

Thereafter, the wave 2 sample was boosted by the recruitment of four new participants. Names were selected from a database of Dalmarnock residents who had participated in the GoWell East wave 3 household survey¹. Initial contact was made by letter and followed up by telephone call, email or text. The final study sample comprised 20 households, or 23 residents including auxiliaries. All participants were given pseudonyms to protect their anonymity.

Table 1 overleaf shows that the sample profile in wave 2, according to residence category, was broadly similar to that in wave 1.

¹ This survey was conducted in summer 2016.

Table 1. Sample by residence category in each wave.

Category	Description	Wave 1	Wave 2
Long-term Residents:	Life-long: lived only in Dalmarnock	2	2
Resident in the area from before 2007	Established: long-term Dalmarnock resident. Also periods of Residence elsewhere.	10	10
Recent residents: Moved to Dalmarnock from 2007 onwards	Returning: recent Dalmarnock resident. With some previous residence in Dalmarnock or the East End of Glasgow.	4	2
	New: Recent Dalmarnock resident. No previous Dalmarnock or East End residence.	5	6

Table 2 profiles the wave 2 sample according to residency category, gender, age, family context, employment status, housing tenure, and ethnicity. As in wave 1, the sample was predominantly female. Beyond that, the objective of achieving a diverse sample was achieved in terms of including the following groups: adults aged 20 to 85 years; families with young children and households without dependants; the unemployed, the employed as well as the retired; both tenants and owner-occupiers. As far as ethnicity is concerned, the wave 2 sample included three non-UK participants. In this respect, it reflected recent waves of EU immigration. Residents of Polish origin in this study were categorised as 'established' because they had lived in Dalmarnock since before 2007 (Poland joined the EU in 2004). Those of Romanian origin, having moved more recently into Dalmarnock, were instead categorised as 'new' (Romania joined the EU in 2007 but the UK government placed transitional restrictions on the right of Romanians to work in the UK, an arrangement which expired on 1 January 2014).

Table 2. Wave 2 sample profile.

Dalmarnock Project Wave 2 Sample Profile							
Pseudonym	Residence	Age Group	Employment	Ethnicity	Family	Gender	Housing Tenure
Barbara	Lifelong	50-65 years old	Retired	Scottish	No dependents	Female	Owner occupier
Fiona	Lifelong	30-50 years old	Employed	Scottish	With dependents	Female	Social tenant
Angus	Established	65+	Retired	Scottish	No dependents	Male	Social tenant
Linda	Established	65+	Retired	Scottish	With dependents	Female	Social tenant
Sandra	Established	50-65 years old	Retired	Scottish	With dependents	Female	Owner occupier
Donna	Established	50-65 years old	Disabled	Scottish	No dependents	Female	Social tenant
Deborah	Established	65+	Retired	Scottish	No dependents	Female	Social tenant
Jim	Established	65+	Retired	Scottish	No dependents	Male	Owner occupier
Alex	Established	30-50 years old	Employed	Scottish	With dependents	Male	Social tenant
Eleanor	Established	65+	Retired	Scottish	No dependents	Female	Social tenant
Vanessa & Joanna	Established	Under 30 years	Student/Employed	East European	With dependents	Female/Female	Social tenant
William	Established	50-65 years old	Disabled	Scottish	No dependents	Male	Social tenant
Susan	Returning	50-65 years old	Employed	Scottish	No dependents	Female	Owner occupier
Rob & Cindy	Returning	65+	Retired	Scottish	No dependents	Male/Female	Social tenant
Lucy	New	Under 30 years	Employed	Scottish	No dependents	Female	Owner occupier
Catriona	New	30-50 years old	Employed	Scottish	No dependents	Female	Owner occupier
Marion	New	65+	Retired	Scottish	No dependents	Female	Owner occupier
Jeff	New	30-50 years old	Carer	RoUK	With dependents	Male	Social tenant
Lisa & Graham	New	Under 30 years	Unemployed	East European	With dependents	Male/Female	Private agency tenancy
Mary	New	Under 30 years	Employed	East European	With dependents	Female	Social tenant

3.2 Data collection and analysis

Semi-structured interviews, informed by a topic guide, were conducted in participants' homes during July-August 2016, exactly two years since the Games ended. All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. NVivo 10 software was used for the purpose of data management and identification of dominant themes. Demographic characteristics of the participants and other relevant information were recorded and attached to individual cases so that searches could be done to subsets of the data in order to determine whether personal or contextual variables might plausibly explain attitudinal or behavioural differences. Emerging ideas and possible lines of investigation were noted and stored in analytical memos. To ensure that the analysis remained grounded in the data, quotations which supported developing themes were copied and pasted into the memos.

The main findings are presented below in five main sections, as follows, with quotations used throughout the findings sections for illustrative purposes:

- Housing: the quality of local housing and views on new developments.
- Neighbourhood: the local area, physical appearance, services and amenities.
- Community: changes in social composition and local social relations.
- The Games: changes brought by the Games and views on CWG-related projects.
- The future of Dalmarnock: expectations for the area and future residency intentions.

3.3. Strengths and limitations

This qualitative research study adds to our understanding of how the CWG and regeneration have impacted upon residents in the local area of Dalmarnock, with greater nuance and detail than can be achieved using household surveys. Through in-depth interviews, where statements and views can be probed further, the research privileges the perspective of the participants in relation to the experience of regeneration. Understanding in detail how people perceive policy interventions can be useful in considering how things might be done differently in future, and the messages herein are relevant to mega events in general, as well as to other large-scale regeneration projects, whether or not linked to such events. By respecting the subjective experiences of local people, in relation to how it feels to live in an area undergoing rapid and significant change and what different policy interventions mean to them, it may be possible to increase our understanding of the complex mechanisms at work which affect wellbeing and social cohesion, and uncover new avenues for future investigation. Additionally, this research process can highlight areas where communication between people and policy can be improved, minimising misperceptions as regeneration proceeds.

The sample was structured to achieve a range of respondents, particularly long- and short-term residents in the area, and a variety of those in different employment and housing tenure circumstances. A small qualitative study cannot be representative of the local population and does not enable us to say to what extent the local population have been affected by changes in the area; for that, we must return to the household survey findings. This research gives the views of residents in the pre-existing housing in Dalmarnock, emphasising how and why changes in the area have affected people in different ways. The report does not include the views of residents of the Athletes' Village, nor of those people who may have moved from 'old' Dalmarnock into the Village. GoWell in the East End has published an accompanying report from a household survey of Athletes' Village residents and an in-depth qualitative study of the Village is planned for the near future. A full picture of the views of current Dalmarnock residents can only be acquired by considering all the study's reports together.

4. Housing

Dalmarnock suffered from significant depopulation during the latter half of the 20th century and the addition of 700 new homes to the area has been one of the most obvious changes arising from the CWG-related regeneration. This chapter describes interviewees' evaluation of their own housing, followed by their attitudes towards the new housing development at the Village.

4.1 Housing quality in Dalmarnock

Observations made during the research identified a wide variation (Figure 2) in housing stock within a small area, with some individual properties observed to be in very poor condition, in stark contrast to new properties nearby and in the Village.



Figure 2: Housing stock in Dalmarnock (from top to bottom: grey tenements; four-in-a-block flats; recent pre-CWG builds; The Village).

A distinction in levels of housing satisfaction was found between social renters and owner-occupiers in Dalmarnock, with the former tending to be less satisfied with their homes than the latter. Residents who were least satisfied lived in the oldest housing stock (grey tenements and four-in-a-blocks). The main sources of dissatisfaction were cited as inadequate space, particularly relating to the kitchen area, chronic property neglect, with inadequate or poor maintenance, and slow repair work. Several residents in the oldest properties argued that their houses should have been demolished long ago. Typical comments included:

"You cannae live in these hooses the way they are. They're breaking. They're done. So they need tae come doon." (Alex, established).

"I think years of neglect and bad DIY have taken their toll." (William, established)

"We were trying to call [the housing association] out because of the bathroom, 'cause there was a piece broken and they wouldn't come and fix it. There were quite a few things we were asking, I was staying in my flat and there was a leak on the ceiling (...) and they didn't even fix that. They didn't even bother with that." (Vanessa, established).

Owner-occupiers offered a markedly different narrative. Those who had recently moved into Dalmarnock considered the area to be an attractive option because of its central location, the affordability of the property there, and the availability of 'new builds'. For young people, buying a flat or house in Dalmarnock represented a unique opportunity for a first-time purchase in close proximity to Glasgow city centre:

"The fact that we could buy a flat that we could actually get on the property ladder and afford - and still being able to get access into town." (Lucy, new).

At the same time, older and/or retired people felt that they were getting better value for money by moving into an area such as Dalmarnock. The consensus among new residents was that area regeneration would undoubtedly guarantee a return on their investment:

"It was a good compromise being in the east end and being close to the city centre. And in a place that was going to be regenerated." (Marion, new).

By contrast, long-term residents who had bought their homes were motivated by security of tenure, satisfying their desire to remain in a place familiar to them and close to their social networks. For example, one owner occupier reported:

"I bought this, aye. An' I've got great neighbours, you know, fae my husband died, I've got great neighbours. You know, they look out for you an' things like that." (Sandra, established)

Although this group were aware of the advantages of home ownership, they were equally mindful of the associated risks in terms of personal responsibility for maintenance and repair.

4.2 Attitudes towards new housing development

Regarding new housing developments in Dalmarnock, participant accounts highlighted a general perception that progress had stalled since the Games had ended. Several believed that market-based factors were now determining the pace of future development:

"To go back to what Clyde Gateway was saying, 'Oh, we're gonna build so many houses over here, so many houses there, so many houses over there. So many houses down there.' It never happened. But until a developer puts his money on the table to start doing something, it's never gonna happen." (Jim, established).

The consequence of this approach was that spaces awaiting development were boarded-up and left untended. Over time, these had become unsightly in the eyes of local residents (Figure 3).

Critically, long-term residents believed that, despite having had to endure major disruption over a prolonged period, the vast majority of the local population had not directly benefited in terms of improvements to their personal housing situation. This same resident category perceived that other groups (asylum seekers, immigrants, and incomers more generally) had been granted higher priority than them for better housing. Angus (established) expressed his dismay at being treated by his housing association like a "second class citizen": The following quotations suggest a keen sense of moral injustice:

"I'm no' saying no' tae house them [incomers]. I've no' got anything against them but I just feel they should look after their own people [people living in Dalmarnock] first." (Sandra, established).

"So essentially... like my mother was born, lived and died in the slums in Dalmarnock, while people who had only been in Britain three years were living in brand new houses." (William, established).

The proximity of brand new houses in the Village might well have accentuated this perception; however, there was insufficient time during interviews with long-term residents to explore this question fully.



Figure 3: Areas awaiting development in Dalarnock.

4.3 Summary

Proximity to the city centre and the relative affordability of housing make Dalmarnock an attractive option for those who can afford to buy. However, residents renting in the social sector in the area are less satisfied with their homes than private residents, and generally feel that property maintenance is substandard.

There are other concerns which present a challenge to building a cohesive community in the area. While for outsiders, the Games meant 12 days of sport, for residents, in Dalmarnock, the preparation and associated regeneration involved at least five years of construction, disruption and uncertainty. For those in older, poorly maintained properties, there is a keen sense of injustice that they should have endured this disruption without, ultimately, reaping any of the rewards of regeneration that might have involved improving their housing conditions. It is likely that the proximity of new properties to old, and the stark, visible differences between the different housing types in the area amplify this grievance. The perception that the Village housing was going to incomers to the area - particularly foreign residents - as opposed to being available to local people - may also undermine good community relations². This issue of who gets, and who is perceived to get, access to new housing in the area will continue to be important as a further 750 homes (both owned and social rented) are planned for development in the Dalmarnock area over the next few years.

² In fact, our survey of Athletes' Village residents shows that a significant proportion (45%) of Village residents came from the East End, with nearly a quarter (23%) having a connection to Dalmarnock. In all, seven out of ten Village residents are White Scottish, with less than a fifth being non-White from the UK or overseas.

5. Neighbourhood

This chapter opens with an investigation of what interviewees considered to be their local neighbourhood. After this, we report on perceptions of the appearance of the local neighbourhood and the quality of local services and amenities.

5.1 Meaning of 'local'

Residents' perceptions of what 'local' means diverged according to residence category: whereas long-term residents understood 'local' to mean within walking distance, recent residents defined it more broadly to mean within easy reach by car or public transport. Moreover, long-term residents had a keen sense of territorial boundaries based on historical rivalries:

"I think the main, sort of, like, territoriality with the Young Team [gang name] was basically between, like, Dalmarnock and Parkhead, and Dalmarnock and Bridgeton." (Barbara, lifelong).

This geographical delineation on a micro level might explain the overwhelming perception among long-term residents that recent CWG-related developments, such as the Arena, the Legacy Hub and the northern part of the Athletes' Village, were located in Parkhead rather than Dalmarnock:

"We actually thought it [the Legacy Hub] was gonnae get built in Dalmarnock but it's not been built in Dalmarnock." (Sandra, established).

By contrast, the issue of local spatial constraints did not arise in the accounts of recent residents, and there appeared to be little or no awareness of historical fault-lines. These differences in perceptions are critical when accounting for different perceptions of local services and amenities (see below).

5.2 Physical appearance

Opinions about Dalmarnock's physical appearance were a matter of benchmarking. Accordingly, long-term residents tended to compare present-day Dalmarnock with how it had looked in the past:

"It's been tidied up, it looks a lot more eye-pleasing." (Jim, established).

This perceived contrast engendered a new pride in place and a desire that recent physical improvements should be maintained:

"They seem to have taken a wee pride in the way it's looking now compared to the way it did before, and they want to keep... I'd say ninety-nine, I'd say almost a hundred percent of the people want to keep it looking half-decent. Obviously,

you'll get a wee odd one here and there that really couldn't care less but I think, in general, people want it to look good." (Deborah, established).

By the same token, recent residents compared present-day Dalmarnock with their previous place of residence. In nearly all cases, the former was found wanting, as the following quotation from Lucy (new) clearly illustrates:

"Growing up in [an affluent suburb], [the suburb] is always really nice. To then, coming over here, there's always litter here. (...) I mean, my dad and my mum and dad's neighbours, if there was a piece of litter in your garden, or in the street, they would pick it up and put it in the bin themselves. Whereas here, they don't." (Lucy, new).

To some extent, negative views were tempered by the fact that, in the more recent housing developments, communal services meant that the immediate surroundings were well tended.

Notwithstanding this difference in the benchmarking of local environmental quality, the consensus across the sample was that the momentum for improvement had been lost since the Games had ended, an opinion supported by the tangible presence of empty or untended spaces. The following quotation is supported by the photographs in Figure 4:

"Aye, it is looking better. But they have also left a lot of crap behind. Know what I mean. I've got crap behind my back gate. (...) So we've to suffer. We've already suffered all through it, and we're suffering again, all their weeds and all their, the weeds are higher than my fence. They've upgraded the place, they have, it looks lovely when you look at they hooses [the Village] and a' the rest of it. But they just forgot the people that actually lived here. They forgot about us." (Donna, established)

A physical remnant from the CWG event itself (Figure 5) elicited much commentary from many in the sample, providing further support for a widely-held view that time had 'frozen' in terms of progress since 2014. For many long-term residents especially, such ugly sights had a particular resonance insofar as they were a stark reminder, in the residents' eyes, that their needs were not a priority for city leaders. Indeed, for the more pessimistic among them, these eyesores indicated the resumption of a period of chronic neglect for Dalmarnock.



Figure 4: Views from resident's back garden.



Figure 5: Remnant from the CWG.

Many accounts indicated ongoing problems with nocturnal fly-tipping, dog fouling and litter, which made the area look less pleasing than it might. The regression in environmental services since the Games was remarked upon:

"I mean, during the Commonwealth Games, there was people up and down cleaning, there was police officers, there was, like, things happ- like as I was saying, things happening that made the place look fantastic but since that, that's just all, kind of, dwindled." (Lucy, new)

A theme running through the narratives was that the council responded to complaints only when the situation had become particularly acute or serious. The story was told by a resident of a mother who was so concerned about dog fouling in her street that she called the council on the eve of her daughter's wedding to demand that they clear the pavement of the usual dog excrement outside her block so that her daughter could walk to the bridal car without any fear of soiling her wedding dress³.

5.3 Services and amenities

The continued absence of local shops remained the dominant issue for the vast majority of participants, albeit the implications of this were felt differently according to the length of residence in the area. On the one hand, long-term residents experienced the lack of shops in terms of the loss of something which had been in their view taken away from them and not replaced:

"It's no' whit they've been gave, it's whit's been took away fae them." (Alex, established).

"Still no' got local shops. We've no' got a local shop at all." (Donna, established).

Moreover, the following statement from Sandra suggests little hope of change to this situation, at least in the short-to-medium term⁴:

³ This issue may also be indicative of a wider problem in the city. GCC reports that citizen identification of dog fouling as a problem rose by nearly a fifth between 2008 and 2016. The Scottish Government has increased fixed penalty fines for dog fouling and GCC has been encouraging members of the public to report it.

See: <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=19303>

⁴ The new Dalrnock Legacy Hub had included an initial space allocation for three retail units. An amendment to the planning permission was later sought by the People's Trust, who own and manage the Hub, to change the retail units to a pharmacy, dental surgery and doctors' surgery. Proposals for mixed-use developments elsewhere in the area which might include some retail provision have yet to come to fruition.

"Well, we were promised shops. We've still no' got a shop. (...) It's as if they're no' interested noo. 'The Commonwealth Games is over, you're no' getting your shops.' That's what I feel." (Sandra, established).

With more than a hint of nostalgia, the accounts of long-term residents provided a strong indication that the absence of shops entailed more than missing physical assets. Time and again, the shops that they frequented daily were remembered as sites or opportunities for social transactions and support:

"Whereas I used to go round to the wee shop for bread and milk, and they would say, 'I'll no' be long kids.' 'Aye, we'll see you in two hours.' 'Cause you met everybody, do you know what I mean?" (Linda, established).

"And the reason why I miss the shops is because, again, you're not out, popping across, so, you don't meet people. I hadn't actually realised just what an impact that had had until I was having one of these conversations. (...) I think it's the shops that brings the community together, because everyone will congregate to a shop to buy newspapers, milk, and bread, and little bits and pieces that you have forgotten on a day-to-day basis." (Barbara, lifelong).

Older and poorer residents were particularly disadvantaged in this respect, since they had to use a taxi to access nearby supermarkets or pay the higher prices at the local petrol forecourt.

For recent residents, the lack of shops was a present-day inconvenience rather than a loss. Those who worked outside Dalmarnock talked about bringing in goods from outside the area. This group was more likely to own a car, and therefore they seemed content to shop in supermarkets which, although not in Dalmarnock, were within easy reach by their own transport. Indeed, one participant remarked that she owned a car for this very reason:

"Well, you either walk and it's nearly a mile to each, or you take the car. That's why we have the car, because without the car, I don't know what people can do." (Mary, new).

It was generally agreed that the most significant change in Dalmarnock had been the increase in the numbers of people living there. Although regarded as a positive development, many respondents claimed that the increased population had placed considerable pressure on existing local services. In this respect, several remarked on what they saw as the lack of forward planning by Glasgow City Council. In their view, city planners should have anticipated this major population change by ensuring that services were commensurate with projected figures. The quotation below conveys William's surprise that the opening of the Village, entailing an additional 700 households, had not in itself been the catalyst for providing additional services:

"The Village being there hasn't made any difference, in fact, one was hoping, oh I think not, just me - I was hoping that the fact that we were going to have all of those people, a hu-, it's a huge estate, I thought having that huge estate built there would mean they would provide services. So the café, the off sales, the chip shop, the two grocer shops, the Post Office and the doctor's surgery which were all demolished many years ago maybe somebody would think it was worth replacing. And still all these years later, you can't even go out and buy a newspaper." (William, established).

Elsewhere, Jeff (new) complained about the pressure on health services:

"If you're gonna build properties, don't just think of the profit you're gonna make from building the properties, think of the facilities because I can go to my local doctor's and it's murder in the waiting rooms." (Jeff, new).

Both long-term and recent residents claimed that families with young children were not well served in terms of play areas, nurseries and schools in the vicinity and there seemed little awareness of forthcoming educational provision in the area⁵:

"Well, a school. The kids have got tae go tae, walk doon tae Sacred Heart at Bridgeton or Dalmarnock, it still comes under Dalmarnock School, that's in Bridgeton as well. So that's where they've got tae go, that's the school." (Sandra, established).

"My daughter goes to - it's called Dalmarnock Primary School but it's not really in Dalmarnock, it's in Bridgeton, or 'Brigton' I think they pronounce it." (Maria, new).

As far as public transport is concerned, connections from Dalmarnock to the city centre were considered satisfactory, although difficulties were mentioned when participants talked about travelling to other areas of Glasgow. The refurbished railway station received positive commentary because of the improved access and lighting, which made passengers feel much safer at night. By contrast, bus services were criticised in terms of routes, frequency and reliability:

"Some of it that's been disappointing in the fact that the bus service is absolutely abysmal, hasn't changed, in fact it's got worse." (Marion, new).

Again, the headline message was that no extra provision had been put in place prior to the increased numbers living in Dalmarnock:

⁵ A children's nursery is due for completion in May 2017 and a primary school in August 2019, both in the Dalmarnock area, at either end of the Athletes' Village site.

"See, since - and there's that Village opened up and there's four hundred people... alone that are tenants... forget about the people that's bought the house. There's four hundred - and there's not an extra bus been put on." (Linda, established).

By contrast, car drivers in the sample were pleased that they could access other parts of Glasgow more easily than before. However, some long-term residents were critical of the alterations to traffic flow within Dalmarnock itself since roads formerly open to cars were no longer so, and some of the previously used access roads had been permanently blocked by bollards. It is worth noting that people in this group were less likely to make specific comments about the new multi-lane road adjacent to Dalmarnock.

5.4 Summary

There was remarkable consensus among the sample about the present-day needs of the area, with concerns about a loss of momentum for improvement and regeneration, inadequate environmental maintenance (alongside poor behaviours by residents), lack of amenities - particularly local shops, cafés, children's play areas - and the loss or absence of services such as a post office, primary health care services and bus services. However, the impacts of these things differed between those with and without private transport to get elsewhere to access services, and between the original Dalmarnock residents and the newer, often more affluent, inhabitants of the area.

This raises the issue of an apparent disjuncture between what the original residents need and what policy either prioritises or is capable of delivering. Residents who, for reasons of income, age or ill health, operate within the geography of walking distance, rather than having the reach of motorised transport, are disadvantaged by, and highly critical of, an approach to urban planning which aims to introduce additional retail, health and educational amenities at some unspecified date *after* new housing development has been completed. While, for more mobile residents, the lack of local shopping is an inconvenience rather than a problem, it nonetheless seems also regrettable that their business is not going to the local area.

6. Community

In this chapter, we discuss the changes to social and ethnic diversity in the area and examine evidence relating to community cohesion, before reflecting on how residents feel they are informed about and able to influence local developments.

6.1 Social and ethnic diversity

The repopulation of Dalmarnock was universally regarded by long-term residents as the most significant change to have happened in the area:

"They've added mair people, there's a lot mair people in Dalmarnock." (Linda, established).

As mentioned above, the study sample reflected recent waves of EU immigration to the UK. Whereas a decade ago, the local population was largely homogenous, comprising Scottish and, to a much lesser extent, Polish communities, the influx of new people moving into the area had resulted in a social diversity unparalleled in the history of Dalmarnock. There were several ways in which incomers stood out for residents, against the background canvas of the indigenous population, namely: by the language spoken when out and about; by the colour of their skin (the area was no longer a uniformly White population); and by work clothes (the professional class had appeared in the area, not least because of people reported to be travelling into the area to work at the new Police Scotland Headquarters in close vicinity).

These changes led the indigenous White Scottish population to conclude that the 'old' close-knit Dalmarnock community had gone, meaning that what was once familiar to them had now become unfamiliar. The language used in the accounts of long-term residents was highly emotive, as typified in the following quotation from Alex (established) who had spent most of his life in Dalmarnock:

"A lotta changes in Dalmarnock. I think they're quite, I think they've ripped the heart oot o' them, because Dalmarnock used tae be a place where you could enjoy yourself, you knew everybody, you trusted everybody." (Alex, established).

There was one notable exception in this respect. Fiona, a life-long resident was pleased that her pre-school children would find it 'normal' to grow up in a social environment which was more outward-looking:

"I think it's quite a good thing wi' all the different cultures, and the kids are growing up from such a young age with all these different... then it's become quite normal for them. (...). I mean, usually you get some of the people that are foreign, or are not from Glasgow, and they're usually nicer than the people from Glasgow. Like their kids are usually nicer than the kids that are born here. I find that quite a lot." (Fiona, life-long).

Although Fiona herself did not explain the reasons for her viewpoint, it is reasonable to assume that several factors might have been influential in shaping her opinion: she was younger than the other long-term residents in this study; she worked outside Dalmarnock; and, critically, she had made new friends with other mothers of young children living in the Village. This interpretation suggests potential for crossing the social divide if the right conditions are in place, at least for some resident groups.

In contrast to many long-term residents, recent residents were more likely to be positive about greater social diversity now and in the future. However, for Lucy (new), this meant in effect welcoming more people like her into the area:

“Well, I hope that the new houses bring in a lot more young professionals. I hope that they’re not going to use it all for affordable - is that what it is, affordable renting - because, unfortunately, we’ve got a couple at the ends of the block here, especially over in this end and over there, they are affordable rent, which is through the council, and it can - it’s a wee bit scummy. But, so, I hope that it’s going to be a lot more people, young professionals, moving into this area.” (Lucy, new).

Rob (returning) had an interesting perspective because he was able to talk in respect of a longer Dalmarnock timeline. He recalled the fortunes of the area under three iterations in his lifetime:

“This will be, this is about the third Dalmarnock I know, that’s came online. Well, I think it’s gonnae be, yet again, a new Dalmarnock.” (Rob, returning).

Highly optimistic for the future, Rob argued that a place should be viewed within its unique historical context and located within a continuum where previous phases are acknowledged and valued for their own sake, rather than ignored or obliterated:

“Because the people that’s coming in, we will have to explain the past. What was here.” (Rob, returning).

Figure 6 is an attempt to conceptualise Rob’s interpretation of Dalmarnock’s past. The boxes are deliberately not shown as discrete units but rather are connected; moreover, the third box is shown in pale colour to indicate that this latest phase is still to be realised, and only then if the conditions are conducive to transform it into a thriving community again:

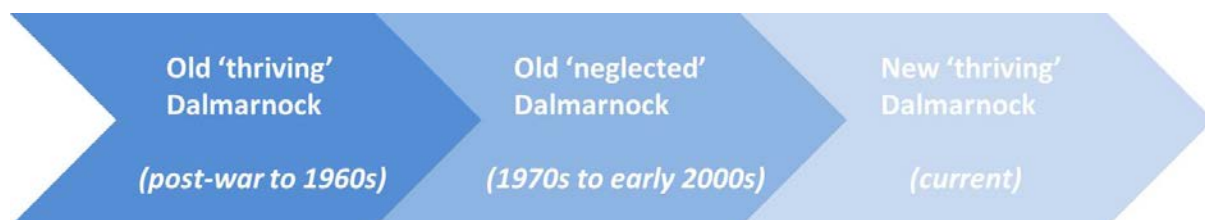


Figure 6: Phases of Dalmarnock’s development, according to one returning resident.

6.2 Social cohesion

Research participants were asked whether they felt that people got on well with each other in the area. Again, the responses varied according to residency category. Long-term residents were more likely to lament the loss of a previously tightknit community where everyone was known to each other and people looked after each other:

“Some of the ones that’s maybe strangers coming in, you don’t actually know them. Or, they don’t know you. But the likes o’ the locals, they a’ know each other.” (Angus, established).

This quotation indicates the presence of ‘bonding’ social capital (Putnam, 2000). Bonding networks are characterised as close-knit, intensive and inward-looking, representing ‘strong’ ties with those who have similar lifestyles and socioeconomic status. At best, they establish a stable base of networks based on trust and reciprocity; at worst, they are parochial, insular and highly constraining. For long-term residents, the consequence of an incoming, more socially diverse, population was increasing social division or fragmentation:

“But the way it’s, the way I see it noo is they’ve kinda split Dalmarnock a’ o’er the place noo.” (Alex, established).

“But the thing is my neighbours have lived below me now for, I thi-, I don’t know, maybe five years, more, and you can’t say more than, “Hello, it’s a nice day. Yep, ‘cause they don’t speak Engli-... they still don’t speak English. You know? And of course because their families are here now, and because they’re all close and they all go to church together, they all hang out together, I don’t, it seems to be that there’s not many English speaking people coming and going with them.” (William, established).

Several accounts suggested feelings of alienation and resentment towards outsiders whom they perceived had been given higher priority than them. The prevailing sense of moral injustice arose from the perception that, although the respondents and their neighbours had endured turbulence and disruption, they, and people like them, had seen no benefit. Indeed, some were angry that recent incomers had apparently moved in to a brand new property, immediately creating a social inequality based on housing provision. Angus (established), in his 80s and suffering from multiple health issues, claimed that migrants had been feted by the city council and that people like him were simply forgotten about or treated like second class citizens. Living in one of the oldest properties in the area, he accused his social sector landlord of moving “undesirables” into his block, resulting in a higher incidence of antisocial behaviour. He told the story of having had to complain to his landlord about a troublesome neighbour with four dogs which barked incessantly.

Recent residents had a different view to long-term residents on whether people in the area got on with each other. Most constructed the notion of social cohesion in terms of the absence of ‘major’ social problems:

“They [people] don't really, kind of, mingle with each other. But, not in a bad way. I think people just kinda keep them, to themselves so, they're not, like, disturbing neighbours.” (Catriona, new).

“People seem to get on, seem to get on, there's no major fights.” (Marion, new).

“Really we haven't met someone that is not friendly.” (Lisa & Graham, new).

The general view was that community policing levels in the area had been much reduced both since the Games and more recently:

“I've not seen anyone out since September. You know? It's like last year, it's been, like... I'm backwards and forwards to work all the time and during the Games and before the Games I was - you'd see them around. You'd always see a bright yellow somewhere but there's nowhere near as much police presence.” (Lucy, new).

Match days were an ongoing problem for all residents, especially those living near the Parkhead Football Stadium, involving incivilities, litter and parking. However, these things were considered a community norm i.e. part and parcel of living in Dalmarnock.

6.3 Being informed about, and able to influence local developments

The vast majority of residents interviewed had little or no knowledge about future plans for Dalmarnock, a situation which made them heavily reliant on hearsay and rumour. Typically, most felt that they had little or no influence in local decision-making. For long-term residents, the feeling of disempowerment had been writ-large in the lead-up to the

Games when, in their view, people from outside had dictated what was happening, rather than engaged or consulted with them. The following quotations were typical:

“But the powers tae be decide. We don’t decide. That’s the problem. I honestly don’t think... What I think they should have came roon an’ says tae everybody, we had a big meeting wi’ a’ the people in Dalmarnock, an’ saying, ‘Listen, there’s gonnae be changes an’ we hope yous are gonnae go alang wi’ it.’ But it disnae, it was, ‘This is the way it is’.” (Alex, established).

“You got a bit of information at one time but it didn’t really tell you anything and you didn’t... you wasn’t given a choice. It was this is what’s happening, tough, sort of thing.” (Jeff, new).

Exceptions were Linda (established) and Rob (returning) who, due to a relatively high level of community involvement, were in a position to draw on first-hand information about future plans for Dalmarnock. Furthermore, several new residents had become involved in local community groups e.g. Catriona (new) had joined her local community council in the Parkhead area and Marion (new), through her church association, had become a volunteer at a local food bank. Consequently, they too spoke with some knowledge of likely future developments in the area.

6.4 Summary

Long-term and more recent residents viewed social change in Dalmarnock very differently. Long-term residents decried the loss of a close-knit community with high levels of familiarity and trust, and felt alienated by the presence of newer residents who were different to the people they had been used to, in terms of social class, dress, culture and language. It is apparent that these views are a result not only of changes brought about in recent years by regeneration, but also by longer-term trends of social change and migration in the city (and the UK), with the two becoming merged in residents’ perspectives on change. Discontent about social developments was also exacerbated by the sense of injustice felt by long-term residents. They were aggrieved that they had endured the disruptive side of the Games preparations without, in their view, seeing any gains in terms of housing or amenities, while incoming residents were seen to reap the benefits of that development.

In this, the blame is placed on a nameless ‘they’, which includes the council, the government, decision-makers, and those in power more generally. Some of this resentment is not dissimilar to the ‘angry White working class’ disaffection that is said to have fuelled political changes in the UK recently. However, disaffection was not uniform among longer-term residents. Minority, alternative views were grounded in having working and social connections both outside Dalmarnock and with the new element in Dalmarnock itself (i.e. the Village) or in remembering a thriving, more mixed Dalmarnock in the past.

In the latter case, recent changes were therefore seen either as an alternative version of, or a return to, this past. These alternative perspectives illustrate the importance to coping with local change of an appreciation of the area's heritage and of having experience of the city beyond the local area.

More recent residents were positive about the social diversity of the area of which they are a part, and were keen to see more of the same in the future, particularly an increase in professional workers living in the area. For this group, their experience of community cohesion at this stage is in the absence of conflict and antisocial behaviour, rather than in the development of cross-class, mixed-income social ties of the kind often described as the potential outcome from mixed-tenure regeneration. Of course, this may change in the future when the area has more local social amenities, which might facilitate such connections. To this end, there were signs that more recent residents were becoming involved in local organisations and could add to the social, economic and political capacity of the community in future. At present, long-term residents generally felt uninformed and lacking influence in relation to the future of the community and the area. The Games experience has served to reinforce this feeling of disempowerment.

Thus, there is a challenge in Dalrnarnock to establish social mechanisms that can avoid the social fragmentation that some see emerging in the area, while at the same time building community capacity to exercise power and influence and enable the community to have a stronger sense of self-determination in the future. These two challenges are closely intertwined.

7. Commonwealth Games and associated developments

This chapter considers respondents' views about the experience of the CWG itself, and their views of, and relationships to, a number of Games-related developments in the local area including the Athletes' Village, The Dalmarnock Legacy Hub, The Emirates' Arena, and the Cuningar Loop woodland park.

7.1 The Commonwealth Games

The findings from this study provide an up-to-date assessment of attitudes towards the hosting of the Glasgow 2014 Games in the Dalmarnock area. In summary, two different perspectives were found, and these were largely influenced by length of residency in Dalmarnock and the extent of exposure to the disruption and turbulence in the seven years before the Games.

The general view among long-term residents was that the CWG had been the catalyst for physical improvement in an area which they felt had been neglected and ignored for some time:

"We'd never have had the changes that we have here in Dalmarnock. We would never had had them. It would have been, well sort of a lost in time, really. Things wouldn't have happened, there wouldn't have been the money." (Deborah, established).

From this perspective, the hosting was undoubtedly a positive development for Dalmarnock and a turning point in its fortunes.

At the same time, most accounts revealed a deep-rooted conviction that there should have been better recognition by city leaders and event organisers of their lived experience of residing in the hosting zone:

"People were frustrated. And they were angry because I think they felt they deserved some kind of acknowledgement that they were living in the middle of a building site. Because I don't think that that was really acknowledged at all, the effect that it was having on people." (Deborah, established).

A 'one-off' offer from the event organisers to clean the windows and cars of the residents in streets closest to the construction work was summarily dismissed, then and now, as tokenistic and patronising. There was also a view that compensation should have been paid to residents:

"I regret, I should maybe have went to a lawyer and said "What's going on here? We're no' getting any disturbance whatsoever, and the dirt that's coming through our house is unbelievable." (Donna, established).

The handling of the Games event itself served to exacerbate a sense of powerlessness. The quotations below illustrate the emotive language used; indeed, it was as if the question still touched a raw nerve for some residents:

"Oh, it was a nightmare. I hated even going out." (Donna, established)

"Oh, it was horrendous. We were caged in completely here." (Sandra, established)

"And people down there in Springfield Road couldnae get oot their houses because the barricades were right in front of their gates. You know, and they didn't get, no the Legacy team didnae... did not give a damn." (Linda, established)

The residual sentiment was that promises made before and during the Games had not been kept and that the interest of city leaders had waned in the aftermath of the CWG:

"Aye, but, as I say, it's just they told us a' the things that were gon-... this legacy they were leaving after the Commonwealth Games. Rubbish. Absolute rubbish. No, nothing's changed. It's just the same." (Sandra, established).

Recent residents were more positively disposed towards the Games. This is not surprising given that the regeneration associated with the hosting was often the basis of their decision to relocate to the area. Yet, similar to long-term residents, they believed that momentum had been lost since the Games ended:

"I mean, during the Commonwealth Games, there was people up and down cleaning, there was police officers, there was, like, things happening that made the place look fantastic but since that, that's just all, kind of, dwindled." (Lucy, new).

All participants were asked about their perceptions of the 'winners' and 'losers' as a result of hosting the Games, a common theme running through the legacy literature (Thompson *et al.*, 2013). The accounts displayed broad consensus in this regard. Overwhelmingly, the main beneficiary was perceived to be the Dalmarnock area, in that its external image had vastly improved with the consequence that some felt less embarrassed about stating to friends from outside the area that they lived in Dalmarnock. Other winners included families with young children; people from outside the area; people with money; people who volunteered in the CWG (only Marion (new) in the study sample had done so); and people who had moved into a new house. The losers were regarded as poorer people, older long-term residents, and people whose housing situation did not improve as a result of the Games. William (established) sums up this typical view most succinctly:

"The only people I would say that have benefited from the Games being in Dalmarnock are the people who, after it was all over, maybe got a new house. Outside of them, I think anyone else who is still living in the same place that they

lived have not benefited in any way whatsoever and, in fact, that everybody who lives in Dalmarnock has suffered by the complete lack of services.” (William, established).

7.2 The Village

References to the Village suggested that it embodied the main ingredients pertaining to the ‘new’ Dalmarnock, namely, re-population, modernity and sustainability. From a physical perspective, the Village was generally found to be aesthetically pleasing and well designed:

“The housing does look good. And they’ve left spaces for cars to park at their door sort of thing off the main road, which is good. And, yeah, there’s a bit of greenery round about it so it does look good, yes.” (Susan, returning).

There was a general view that the development had settled well into its surroundings and that its design and layout (play areas, car-free zones) were particularly well suited for families with young children. However, some dissenting voices were more dismissive, likening the physical appearance of homes in The Village to “holiday chalets” or “hen-huts”.

An important insight was the perception that very few people from ‘old’ Dalmarnock had moved into the Village:

“You know when you hear people talking it’s the same feeling that the majority of people in there are not even from Dalmarnock. They’re from, all come from somewhere else.” (William, established).

Long-term residents believed that local people in Dalmarnock should have been afforded highest priority, given that they were the ones who had had to endure years of severe disruption:

“I just feel they should’ve been kept for the people o’ the area or... they shouldnae be people fae other nationalities in it.” (Sandra, established).

Three participants in this study had applied to move into the Village: Fiona (life-long) had applied but was unsuccessful; Joanna’s application had been declared ‘incomplete’ by the housing association; and Maria (new) had been offered a Village house but did not accept it because she had just moved into another rented property in the area.

Given the above, it is not surprising then that the Village seemed like a place apart to some interviewees:

"It just disnae feel I don't think like part of us, d'you know what I mean?" (Donna, established).

Indeed, *the perceived divide between the 'old' and the 'new' Dalmarnock* might account for the rumours which proliferated about life in the Village. Most participants had a colourful and dramatic story to relate about alleged ill-doings in the Village, including evictions, fighting, and theft⁶:

"There's arguing o'er parking spaces, they're writing on doors, 'you're a cow and a grass.' There's kids running amok, oot there, throwing stones at car." (Linda, established).

Although these reports were largely anecdotal, and the events not witnessed first-hand, Catriona (new) reported that community police officers had informed a meeting of the Parkhead Community Council, which she attended, that there had been increased police surveillance in the Village in recent months because of higher crime incidence.

While the vast majority of respondents had no relationship with people in the Village, some did. Fiona (life-long), a parent of young children, often visited the Village so that she and her children could socialise with other families living there (and whom she had first met at the Legacy Hub private nursery which her children attended). She referred specifically to the outdoor children's play area there, which felt safe from the dangers of passing cars. She was disappointed to find that her application to move into the Village had been unsuccessful and could not understand why she did not 'qualify' on points because she had two young children of different genders. The subtext in the following quotation is that, like many other long-term residents, she felt a sense of entitlement to socially rented accommodation in the Village:

"You just feel as if, because o' the way the place was for years and, because you've been staying in the area through all the bad times, when there was nothing. I think you felt as if, well I should get one of them. And all the thing wi' the Games, all the inconvenience and everything of the Games and I think you just felt, well I should get one of them." (Fiona, lifelong).

Linda (established) had a different, less positive, experience. Keen to bridge the perceived divide, she had recently extended an invitation to Village tenants from her housing association to join forces with those in 'old' Dalmarnock. A representative from the Village had attended one meeting but did not return again, nor did he follow up the

⁶ This perception of the Athletes' Village as plagued by conflict and antisocial behaviour is in contrast to our findings from a survey of Village residents where the vast majority viewed the area as quiet and peaceful and safe. Reports of antisocial behaviour problems were not greater than, and in some cases lower than, found in deprived areas across Scotland.

initial contact. At the time of being interviewed, Linda, undeterred, announced plans to organise a community event, which would involve leafleting socially rented accommodation in the Village so that tenants might have an opportunity to come together and get to know each other.

Finally, Lucy (new) offered an entirely different perspective. Her parents had sold their property in the West End of the city. The proceeds from the sale had allowed them to purchase two properties: a penthouse flat in the Village with views of the Clyde in addition to a retirement property in the Highlands which they planned to use as a B&B. For them, 'buying into' the Village therefore represented an investment and lifestyle opportunity. In the meantime, the main occupant of the penthouse flat in the Village was Lucy's brother, for whom the main issue with the Village was its location:

"Well, my brother pretty much lives there. There's - I mean, my brother says the only problem is it's not the West End. My brother likes going out and getting dressed up and going out and having a party or going to the pub and going out for loads of meals, whereas living here, he needs to either get the train in or he needs to drive. He just feels further out of the action." (Lucy, new).

7.3 The Legacy Hub

The Legacy Hub building was viewed in a positive light, with several respondents commenting that its modernity made it a good 'fit' with the Emirates and Village. However, opinions about its social function as a community centre were mixed. In terms of engagement, the study found evidence of a broad spectrum ranging from *ad hoc* use (e.g. as a polling station), to regular usage (e.g. private nursery; pharmacy), through to non-usage. Attitudes to the Hub ranged from welcoming it to rejecting it.

Generally speaking, opinions reflected an individual's attitude towards, and experience of, the 'old' Dalmarnock community centre, which the Legacy Hub was supposed to replace. Several study participants, notably long-term residents, felt that the Hub had been built in the wrong location:

"Well, we actually thought it was gonnae get built in Dalmarnock but it's not been built in Dalmarnock." (Sandra, established),

Or that it was too far away:

"Aye, it's a way up where you cannae go to anyway. You need to take the car, or get somebody to take you up. It's too far up." (Donna, established).

For some, the siting of the Hub underscored the perception that it existed primarily to serve the needs of the Village residents:

"Like, the Legacy Hub is just very hands-on for the Athletes' Village. You do feel as though - you feel as though you're walking away from your home to go up there. Basically, you know, you're heading up to Parkhead. Whereas before, it was always over at the Springfield, Sunnybank Street." (Barbara, lifelong).

Some regarded the Hub as too expensive and uninviting, with a view that it seemed more akin to a commercial centre:

"I said I wouldn't step foot in it. Because I don't believe that it's the community centre that was meant for people." (Linda, established).

There were several mentions too of recent political scandals around the Hub, the subject of considerable local media attention at the time of fieldwork. These supported a view that the Hub was something to keep a distance from.

The most positive response to the Hub came from its current users and/or those who were negatively disposed to the old community centre. Thus, Fiona (life-long) used the nursery facilities at the Hub for her two young children. Being a private enterprise, the opening hours suited her working pattern better than state provision could. Moreover, she, and another long-term resident, Deborah (established), had negative memories of the old community centre. Deborah felt that the latter had been controlled by a few individuals:

"No' a place where I would have... And I'm no' being snobbish at all, it's no' a place where I'd have taken any of the young people that I was looking after or where I would have frequented myself, or encouraged my own grandchildren to go to." (Deborah, established).

Fiona (life-long) recalled that the old community centre was unappealing:

"There was no reason tae ever go intae it, it was just a hall. I mean, when I was young I suppose it was, don't know, I don't know. The people hanging about it and, it was just a big empty building. I didn't really see there was any point in going intae it." (Fiona, life-long).

Both Deborah and Fiona agreed that the Legacy Hub was a positive asset for the area.

Generally though, there was low awareness of the range of services and amenities available at the Hub. Most respondents mentioned the recent opening of a NHS pharmacy but many claimed that they still preferred to use the outlet in nearby Bridgeton because it was next door to the GP surgery, the one currently most local to Dalmarnock. The hope was expressed that a GP surgery or medical centre might one day come to the Legacy Hub.

7.4 The Arena

As with the Village and the Hub, the opinion of the Arena building was generally positive, with many people considering it to be “a good thing for the area, yeah definitely” (*Susan, returning*).

The Arena had quickly become a local landmark and was regarded as an attraction, bringing more people into the area to use the sporting facilities there. It was regarded by some as a positive conversation piece when talking to people outside Dalmarnock.

However, when asked about actual use of the facility, a different picture presented itself. Only a few had entered the building and were aware of what was on offer. One respondent participated in an exercise referral programme called Live Active, while another used the gym occasionally on a pay-as-you-go-basis. Two had used the spa several times as a special treat; and those with grandchildren or foster children welcomed the fact that there were now leisure facilities suitable for young people right on their doorstep.

The barriers or reasons given for their limited use varied. Some respondents simply had no motivation to engage in sport or any other physical activity:

“It just doesnae interest me.” (Sandra, established).

For others, the financial cost was prohibitive:

“Cannae afford that, for people like us that are unemployed and that. We cannot afford that.” (Donna, established).

Moreover, staff were perceived to be unwelcoming to local people:

“A’ these people were coming in wi’ suits and that on, and we’re common. That’s the attitude, you know (...) any time I’ve went in and asked for anything at a’, I’ve never got any help fae any of the staff.” (Linda, established).

Finally, others were disappointed in the range of activities on offer, with many believing that the Arena offered nothing much beyond a gym or cycle track. Several said that they would have preferred to have a swimming pool on their doorstep on the basis that the International Swimming Centre at Tollcross, while not distant in geographical terms, was difficult to reach by public transport.

7.5 Cuningar Loop

The study found that awareness of the Cuningar Loop woodland park was increasing steadily via word-of-mouth. Those study participants who had visited the site praised it highly:

"It's amazing. It's beautiful. They've got, like, fantastic climbing walls, natural - well, they're no' natural, obviously, but I mean they look natural. Climbing the walls, you know, wi' the hand grips in them. They've got a great, kinda, swing park as well. And it's all natural looking, they're using a lot of wood and, you know, natural..." (Deborah, established).

Some had heard of the park but were unsure about its exact location or access points. Others, usually long-term residents, referred to the past association of this section of the River Clyde with antisocial behaviour and serious crime, which was offered as a reason for not visiting it:

"It's not an area I tend to kind of go to. I've seen, you know, sorta cyclists and walkers, you know, coming up and down it. But I don't know how safe it is along that way, 'cause it's quite an isolated bit and, I'm trying to think if it would be before the Commonwealth Games or not, there was a kinda murder just off... in that, just near, you know, near the pathway that you go down in to it sorta thing, so that would kinda... And I know it's not related tae, these things happen and there's usually a reason sorta thing but it just kinda makes you a bit wary of going." (Susan, returning).

Similarly, Deborah (established) recalled parental admonitions not to frequent that area:

"But it wasn't - you couldn't - aye, you couldn't really go over safely, I would have thought. I mean, I was always warned I hadnae - and I always warned my children 'Don't go near The Valleys.' You know? 'Cause it was unsafe." (Deborah, established).

In other words, while the park marked a positive transformation, memories of its former 'no go' status still lingered for some people.

There was another locational factor. Some respondents did not regard the Cuningar Loop as being 'local' to them and/or part of Dalmarnock (rather, it was described as being more about Rutherglen/South Lanarkshire). However, unlike the territorial issue noted above with shops, this was as much to do with physical access as boundaries. At the time of fieldwork, project work was continuing on the construction of a footbridge which would provide future connectivity between the Village and the Cuningar Loop. The footbridge was opened in November 2016, and this addition might also encourage higher footfall through the Village by a greater number of Dalmarnock residents more generally.

7.6 Summary

Dalmarnock residents attributed physical improvements in the area to the CWG and acknowledged that the area had benefited as a result. The event itself, however, was seen as a disempowering experience. The intrusion upon local people was perceived to be of little concern to the organisers, with minimal or no recognition thereafter of the disruption locals had suffered. The sense that Dalmarnock, or at least its people, were unimportant to those in power was reinforced by a perception that local services had deteriorated (or reverted to pre-Games levels) after the event.

The Athletes' Village development was seen as an attractive, positive design contribution to the area. However, for the most part, the Village was also seen as a development apart from the rest of Dalmarnock. While there were a few exceptions to this, where people had some social contact with Village residents, the predominant view was that the Village was occupied entirely by people from elsewhere.

Similarly, the Legacy Hub building itself was viewed in a positive light, as a structure. Opinions on its utility as a social venue were divided, largely depending upon whether the respondent had, or had not, been a user of or was well-disposed to the old Dalmarnock community centre (demolished prior to the Games). Some people did not see the Hub as being *for* or even *in* Dalmarnock. In general, awareness of the services and amenities available at the Legacy Hub was low among respondents.

The Emirates Arena was also highly regarded as a local landmark, in particular, one which attracted people from beyond Dalmarnock and enhanced the reputation of the area. Several respondents were users of the Arena, whereas for others, as with the Hub, cost was perceived to be a barrier to use. Perhaps easier to address are reports that Arena staff were found to be unwelcoming to local people and those who were not dressed as either professional workers or sports enthusiasts.

Some respondents had already used the Cuningar Loop woodland park, but others were unsure of its location and access points. As with the Hub, some people did not see the park as being either local or for use by people from Dalmarnock, although there could be some change in this perception after the pedestrian bridge to Cuningar was opened and in use from November 2016 onwards. This general issue of awareness and accessibility to Dalmarnock residents in respect of all the new local amenities, is one that could be addressed through better promotion.

8. The future for Dalmarnock

In this chapter we report respondents' views about the future of the area, both their concerns and hopes, commencing with their views about the regeneration process itself. Respondents also expressed their priorities for future services and amenities in the area, and what they considered to be the prospects for a cohesive community in the future. Lastly, the chapter looks at what respondents had to say about their own attachment to the area, and their future residence intentions.

8.1 Progress with regeneration

Responses to the question about what the future held in store for Dalmarnock were divided. On the one hand, those who believed that regeneration efforts had either stalled or slowed down since the CWG tended towards cynicism or pessimism:

*"Well, it'll stay the same, the way it is just now. Nothing's gonnae change."
(Sandra, established).*

"It's come to a standstill. I wouldn't... I wouldn't put on any money on anything happening in the very near future." (Jim, established).

"I think the Village will deteriorate. It'll deteriorate in terms of how it looks for a start." (William, established).

On the other hand, there was a different view that recent regeneration marked the beginning of a positive future for Dalmarnock:

"But now, we've got something and I think we should expand and bring the community together. And, hopefully that's gonnae be the way forward." (Rob & Cindy, returning).

Given the source of these quotations, it is tempting to conclude that the single explanation for attitudinal differences might be residence category, on the basis that Dalmarnock 'long-timers' might have a more jaundiced, pessimistic view than recent 'incomers' embarking on a new chapter of their lives. However, such a simplistic interpretation did not hold true on closer examination. Rather, it seems likely that outlooks on Dalmarnock were coloured by a more complex set of interconnected factors, including: a participant's former relationship with, and experience of, Dalmarnock; changes to their present-day circumstances (and whether these represented an upward life trajectory), and the degree to which they felt they could influence local decision-making. Encouragingly, the two life-long residents in the study sample were positive about recent changes, expressing their hope for a better future for Dalmarnock. That said, the following quotation from Fiona (life-long) shows that her optimism is somewhat guarded,

suggesting an underlying fear that, left to its own devices, Dalmarnock could well fall into neglect again:

"[I hope] that it just keeps this up, that it doesn't stop, maybe fall back and just gets forgot about again, like the way it was. I wouldnae like it to go back to that. I would just like it to keep going." (Fiona, life-long).

8.2 Future requirements

Participants were asked what needed to change in the future. The most pressing requirement expressed by all residents was for local shops in which to buy everyday items such as bread and milk. In addition, there were calls for other 'basic' items, which would serve the needs of families, including children's play areas and nursery/primary schools⁷. Having a medical centre offering primary care was also regarded as an essential service.

The call from long-term residents was more strident. They were mindful that these services, formerly available in Dalmarnock, had been removed several years before the Games in order to accommodate the Arena, the Hub and the Village. To their mind, the fact that, some four to five years later, these services had still not been replaced underscored the low priority given to local people:

"An' they're telling you Dalmarnock is a place. Dalmarnock's no' a place. It's just a wee stopping ground and they've definitely forgot about the people that live there. It's as if they're no' interested noo." (Donna, established).

As the following quotations illustrate, the case for better urban planning and management was made by all residents, both long-term and recent.

"I think they, I think they should have done it [built shops, schools etc] already. 'Cause the constructions will take time. Much time. A lot of time. So... they should take into their calculations, the population, the people living and their age bracket, and do something for them." (Mary, new).

"Well, as I say, I don't mind, and it is - the building o' the houses, but as long as they gie you the stuff that goes along wi' hooses... like the school, like the nursery." (Linda, established).

"There's the land across the other side of Dalmarnock Road. It says - there's a board up there saying that it's been acquired for more housing. Well I think

⁷ As noted earlier, there is a children's nursery and a primary school due to be completed in the area over the next two years.

before they start building any more housing, they need to get the infrastructure for the people who are actually living here, you know?" (Barbara, lifelong).

The main message is that the planning of local services should aim to satisfy the functional needs of current *and* future residents. That said, the interviews also highlighted a divergence in opinion between different social groups about the precise nature of these needs. The most disadvantaged called for the return of something that had been taken away from them, namely the previous shops; whereas the more advantaged (owner-occupiers; employed) expressed a desire for more upmarket cafés/restaurants (where they would feel more 'comfortable' and which would be open in the evenings and at weekends); artisan or specialist shops (e.g. bakery, butcher, craft); and more opportunities for social association (e.g. choirs, Brownies/Guides, adult classes).

8.3 A cohesive community

These differences raise the related question about the prospects of being able to create a socially cohesive community within Dalmarnock. Barbara (life-long) expressed a fear about increasing division and fragmentation:

"I could see it very easily slipping into separate communities." (Barbara, life-long).

Many long-term residents, speaking nostalgically about the close-knit Dalmarnock community that they had known in the past, were concerned that Dalmarnock had become a place they no longer recognised. The interviews suggested that the opening of the Village had resulted in a fault-line emerging between the 'old' and 'new':

"But I think you'll always have your divide 'cause people will look at across there [Village] an' say, 'Well they've got big cracking hooses an' we've no'.' And these people have no' stayed in the area." (Alex, established).

As the above quotation suggests, the inherent sense of injustice was felt most acutely by the original, local population, mainly those living in the oldest housing stock, who felt that their situation had not improved in recent years.

The prospect of building a strong community in Dalmarnock was not entirely bleak, although there was widespread agreement that it would take time, perhaps an entire generation, to achieve it:

"I think it might take about ten years for the full effects to sort of drift down for people to make it more of a community. I think there's a lot of work still to be done on making it a proper community." (Marion, new).

"See the people that have been here for generations get quite resentful when new faces appear. That will eventually resolve, you know, as the older generation pass on. I think the younger generation are more accepting of the fact that there's, you know, people moving about and people coming into the area. So I think, you know, as the years go on, that will become less of a problem. Yeah." (Susan, returning).

Accordingly, the best hope for the future might reside in young children growing up together, maintaining friendships, and building their adult lives in Dalmarnock.

8.4 Place attachment

On a related note, a positive sign for community building is the extent to which residents of a place identify with their area and opt to remain there in the future. The following quotation highlights the functional and emotional dimensions of place attachment:

"You, know, if you're happy with an area and what's in the area, you know, what you need, then there's no particular reason to move out of it." (Susan, returning).

The question was asked of all respondents about where they saw themselves living in the future, what would keep them living in this area, and make them stay. Not surprisingly, the strongest place attachment was found among long-term residents. When asked what would make her leave, Donna (established) offered the following pithy response:

"Put a bomb under me!" (Donna, established).

Sandra (established) remarked that

"It would need to be something serious because I'm quite happy where I am." (Sandra, established).

William (established) claimed that strong family networks over successive generations had resulted in place attachment which was essentially 'cradle to grave':

"There is a generational thing. There's, there are people who live here, whose grandparents are probably still in the area or their grandchildren are in the area, whatever. And their kids. So there's a lot of it, and of course there's lots of split families whereby there's like single mums with their kids, but their partner, or the father of their children may live also in the area as well. So people seem to have stayed in the area. I mean a couple of times on the rare occasions I went to those meetings, I mean I met a young, a woman who's probably about my younger sister's age, so that would be like 50-something, and she had been in school in Dalmarnock, so she's been here all her life, you know." (William, established).

A positive indication for Dalmarnock's future came from a life-long resident. She admitted to having previously aspired to leave Dalmarnock (*"before, it was, I would never have thought I'd be happy to stay here"*). However, as a result of recent changes, she declared her desire to stay in Dalmarnock because she now regarded it as a good place in which to bring up her young children. However, the opposite view was taken by Vanessa (established), the East European mother of a young girl. Although her family might stay in Scotland, she said that she would probably seek a life outside the country because of the inherent difference in cultural norms:

"I don't want to sound rude or anything, it's just... It's just the culture, I would say. I don't like how, usually, Scottish children are brought up and I don't know if it's in different areas, but I know, in here, that, you know, the kids are especially, like, there are fewer boys, like, from age six to 11. Even they have a playground, they prefer to play out the back with the bins and all that. I don't feel as if it's a good area for my daughter to grow up." (Vanessa, established).

Not surprisingly, recent residents did not have the same emotional pull towards Dalmarnock, with their responses the result of a more rational deliberation about a possible future in the area. Views were therefore more mixed for this group. Some felt that they had settled well into the area and were therefore happy to stay:

"I've got so many links now with the local community that I wouldn't like to lose them." (Marion, new).

Others, especially mothers of young children, were less positive, expressing a desire to move to a better social environment where they were certain that there would be fewer problems with antisocial behaviour and drugs. Lucy (new) thought ahead to a time when she might want to start a family:

"For me to set down roots here, the schools have to be better, and roots, as you said, roots are really kids. For me to set down roots here, the schools would have to be better and there'd have to be more things for kids to do that isn't destroying trees and destroying property." (Lucy, new).

8.5 Summary

Opinions were divided as to whether the recent changes in Dalmarnock were the start or the end of a process of regeneration, but there was no certainty on either side of that divide. There was a stronger consensus that urban planning had not performed well in Dalmarnock and that the provision of new housing developments and expected new resident groups should be accompanied, or indeed preceded, by adequate and suitable services to meet new needs in the area, including shops, schools and primary health care. Furthermore, there was agreement that this had not happened.

Such local amenities were also important for two other reasons. First, for the role they could play in facilitating a coming-together and familiarity between longer-term and more recent residents in the area, which was recognised by respondents as required to overcome an existing divide. Second, for the help they could provide to support place attachment among newer residents, whose decision to remain would depend partly on the ability of the area to meet their needs, and also on the avoidance of antisocial behaviour problems which might arise if there were insufficient services for young people in the area.

9. Conclusion

9.1 Summary and overview

There was general agreement that Dalmarnock has been transformed physically in the past decade, with those changes attributed entirely to the Commonwealth Games (CWG) and the decision to designate Dalmarnock as the core hosting zone. This study found that residents were positively disposed towards changes in the area's physical appearance. That said, long-term residents, who had to endure a protracted period of disruption and turbulence in their lives, felt that their experiences and hardships had not been adequately acknowledged and/or compensated by city leaders. The interviews indicated a broad perception that momentum has been lost since the CWG ended in August 2014. This concern is compounded by the research finding that most respondents had little to no information about future development plans for Dalmarnock.

Whereas the physical makeover was initiated several years prior to the Games, the social transformation of Dalmarnock following the Games involved a greater diversity of people in the area, both residents and workers, on which opinions were more divided, particularly between older and newer residents. The major housing development of the Athletes' Village - '*700 homes in 700 days*' (Glasgow City Council, n.d.) - had accelerated the re-population of Dalmarnock; at the same time however, the development is seen to place considerable pressure on existing local services, already much depleted due to the land clearance required for the CWG.

This study also identified the beginnings of a social divide developing between the Village and the rest of Dalmarnock, caused not least by the perception, certainly among the long-standing population, that the 400 homes for social rent were more likely to be offered to outsiders rather than locals. The fact that the housing circumstances of some long-term residents remain unimproved highlights housing inequality as an issue; this is viewed by many as an injustice, and makes established residents less well disposed to the Village development and its residents.

The CWG-specific infrastructure (Arena, Hub, Village) elicited positive comments in terms of its physical appearance and its ability to attract outsiders into Dalmarnock, with the research indicating that these features had become local landmarks in their own right, enhancing the image of the area. However, beyond their role as signifiers of regeneration and investment, this study raises questions about the extent to which local people currently use new amenities. By the same token, these additions did not meet the most pressing needs of local residents, identified by interviewees as for shops, play areas, nursery/primary schools and a GP surgery.

Insight was gained into a range of different perspectives, enabling comparisons to be made between residents who had experienced the 'old' Dalmarnock and those who had returned to, or who had recently moved into, 'new' Dalmarnock. Responses were varied: some had

experienced the changes in Dalmarnock in terms of loss and unmet promises, resulting in feelings of nostalgia, disappointment, and resentment; others argued that the changes marked a new chapter for Dalmarnock, giving rise to optimism and hope for a better, positive future.

The dilemma for city leaders is how to reconcile the 'old' and 'new' Dalmarnock within the publicly-stated vision of "*inclusive prosperity*" (Glasgow City Council, n.d.). This study identified distinct social inequalities, especially as regards stark differences in housing quality and access to local services and amenities. There were indications of much work still to be done in supporting local people to build a cohesive community. The research suggested that this important work cannot be left to market forces alone but that the process should be managed by the local council, with greater sensitivity to Dalmarnock's past than displayed hitherto.

9.2 Study strengths and limitations

The social dimension of legacy is given priority in this study, an aspect largely ignored in the legacy literature (Kemlo and Owe, 2014, Kornblatt, 2006, McCartney, 2010, Smith, 2009). The qualitative approach taken and the use of in-depth interviews in participants' homes offered sufficient latitude to capture the complexity and diversity of local residents' lived realities. In doing so, the study provides a conduit for their views, including recognition of their hopes and fears for the future. Although not intended to be in any way statistically representative, the sample successfully captures a range of different perspectives from long-established as well as newer residents, and includes people of different gender, age, tenure, family structure and employment status.

While this study has brought useful insights, it cannot tell the whole story since, in particular, it says nothing about the attitudes and experiences of those who dwell in the Village. An additional qualitative study is currently being undertaken among social tenants and owner-occupiers in the Village. The findings should be read in conjunction with those from this study and used to guide and inform future community development work in the area.

9.3 Policy recommendations

With regard to future host cities, event organisers and overseers should channel greater efforts towards 'bottom up' approaches to event planning, especially in host communities, which experience the highest level of disruptions to their everyday lives. There should also be clearer boundaries in responsibility between city leaders and organising committees. The former, having specialist knowledge of the city context, are in a position to take residents' interests into account and to adopt a longer-term perspective in planning

programmes for a legacy which benefits the city; the latter require to maintain focus on successful event management.

This study revealed perceptions of insensitivity towards the host community on the part of city leaders and event organisers, reinforcing feelings of disempowerment. Further, the research identified missed opportunities that might have generated, or at least restored, community goodwill at little or no cost e.g. thanking local residents for their patience and endurance by hosting a series of community events in the immediate aftermath of the CWG. In the light of earlier promises of change and their endurance of the disruption around the Games, longer-term residents also felt there was an unresolved issue of fairness in the contrast between their own housing circumstances and those of Village residents. This issue of fair treatment in relation to unmet expectations of improvements in residential conditions is a consideration with regard to mega events in general, as well as specifically for the authorities in Glasgow.

There are social needs in present day Dalmarnock which must be addressed as a matter of urgency: housing is an ongoing source of social inequality, with some residents living in poor quality accommodation despite the large investment in housing in parts of the area. Engagement is also required with local groups in order to agree temporary uses for those empty or undeveloped spaces which have become eyesores in the locality.

Looking further ahead, more attention should be given to achieving a shared community-wide vision for the future of Dalmarnock and to providing more regular information about what will happen next in the area and when it will happen. This recommendation applies equally to other large-scale regeneration projects in the city and elsewhere. The consultative process should use multiple channels of communication in order to reach a broader cross-section of the community, with a view to establishing and supporting social associations through a period of incubation until they are self-sustaining. A socially-inclusive approach is critical, and renewed efforts must be made by policy-makers to listen to and understand the views of all local people, young and old, employed and unemployed. Long-term as well as recent residents must be treated equally and equitably.

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