



Glasgow Community Health and Wellbeing
Research and Learning Programme

Community and neighbourhood change in the GoWell Wider Surrounding Areas

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Introduction: Social interaction, cohesion and empowerment within communities

This is a mixed methods research study that investigates how two communities have changed in recent years, for example in terms of their population profile, types of housing, local facilities and services. The study focuses upon the views and experiences of residents with regard to changes in social connections, community cohesion, and empowerment. The role of opportunities for social interaction amid changing environments and shifting social contexts is important in both formal and informal respects.

More formally, locally based community organisations can support cohesion on the ground; in particular acting as a conduit to bring people together, generate greater understanding and increase tolerance between people and of change itself. Part of this study involved identifying the types of organisations and projects that play a role locally in facilitating community cohesion, and how important or relevant these are considered to be by local people. We also look at the mechanisms through which communities can gain capacity through involvement in such projects.

As well as exploring organised approaches to community cohesion, we aim to pick up on some of the more subtle ways that people interact, especially through everyday practices. In exploring what interaction means, the literature on social capital differentiates between *horizontal relationships* (between friends, family and neighbours, between people and public spaces, and relations across people of different backgrounds), and *vertical relationships* (between service providers and service users, including co-production, voluntary activity, and participation in civic and political activity).

Social interaction within the neighbourhood is not very well researched at the level of what have been termed 'third places' (shops, pubs, cafés and community centres have been described as third places of social interaction after the home (first) and workplace (second). Local third places – particularly shops – have been found to be an important medium for social interaction¹. The appeal and importance of different types of third places varied by population groups, for example community centres are more likely to be used by older residents and those with children. Social interaction of different kinds is also valuable, such as having friends and family living close by, but also interaction through meeting 'acquaintances' on local streets, and engaging in non-verbal interaction.

¹ Hickman P. (2013) 'Third places' and social interaction in deprived neighbourhoods in Great Britain. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 28, 221-236.

The findings from a study on White working-class perspectives of community cohesion² suggest routine interactions between different groups can have a significant impact on relationships. In shops, in schools and on the street, conversations begin to break down barriers and build cohesion. Informal community engagement presents challenges in terms of its quantification and the assessment of its outputs, but residents suggested this is where most of the work in community building happens in practice.

Study context

This study explores community change, cohesion and capacity in two GoWell study areas: Wider Red Road (WRR) and Wider Scotstoun (WS). These areas have undergone significant change in recent years. There has been a considerable amount of relocation of residents from the nearby Transformational Regeneration Areas (TRAs) – the Red Road estate and the Kingsway Court flats, respectively, this being related to the construction of new homes and resultant population change. Over three waves of the GoWell survey, ‘community cohesion’ was seen to have declined more so in the Wider Surrounding Areas (WSAs) than elsewhere. Some of the reported trends are summarised in (Box 1) below.

² Beider H. (2011) *Community cohesion: the views of white working-class communities*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Box 1. Summary findings on cohesion from GoWell community surveys, 2006 to 2011.**Perceptions of informal social control**

In all types of study area, perceptions of informal social control worsened from 2006 to 2008, but whereas in other types of study area the situation improved from 2008 to 2011, in the WSAs it continued to decline.

Levels of perceived honesty of neighbours

Levels of perceived honesty of neighbours fell sharply (by 24 percentage points) in the WSAs in the 2008 to 2011 period, more so than in any other type of study area.

Feelings of safety after dark

Feelings of safety after dark were 28 percentage points lower in the WSAs in 2011 than in 2006, although as elsewhere the situation had improved slightly in the 2008-2011 period.

Feeling part of the community

The proportion of respondents who felt part of the community fell by 14 percentage points in the WSAs between 2008 and 2011, a much larger drop than found in the other types of study area.

These trends raise questions about both cohesion and empowerment for the communities concerned. A key issue is whether negative trends on community cohesion indicators are reflective of what are termed the 'negative spillover effects of housing restructuring programmes', whereby residents relocated from redevelopment areas (TRAs in our case) 're-cluster' in destination neighbourhoods with detrimental effects upon crime, antisocial behaviour, community conflict and educational outcomes³. These potential consequences in turn raise questions about whether and how communities can have a say about changes in their areas, and also have influence over public service providers to ensure that services adapt to meet new needs in the area as things change. This research aims to address both these sets of issues and what opportunities exist for community members to interact and engage with one another.

³ Kleinhans, R. and Varady, D. (2011) 'Moving out and going down? A review of recent evidence on negative spillover effects of housing restructuring programmes in the United States and the Netherlands', *International Journal of Housing Policy*, 11:2, 155-174.

Study aims

The research focused on three areas of enquiry, predominantly from the residents' perspective, as follows:

Community and neighbourhood change:

How are the two areas perceived to have changed over time in terms of the kinds of people who live there, the amenities and services available locally, and the social relationships that people experience?

Social interaction opportunities:

What social interaction opportunities do people identify in the two areas, both formal and informal, and how have these changed over time? Are such social opportunities considered adequate?

Community capacity and empowerment:

Do residents feel they have the means to express their views about changing needs within their communities and to influence local service providers in meeting those needs?

Are there effective avenues available for people to get involved and bring about change within their communities?

Methods

This was predominantly a qualitative research study, which took place between May and September 2015, aimed at learning about residents' views in relation to the three key themes identified.

Recruitment:

Participants in the two areas were recruited via assistance from housing associations (HA). Housing officers selected a random sample of long-term and short-term tenants living in the areas and sent letters to tenants explaining the purpose of the study and inviting them to take part. Tenants were given the option to opt out by contacting the housing officer or sending back a form in a pre-paid envelope. After a certain date, the researcher was given permission to contact tenants directly by mainly knocking on doors (only a few telephone numbers were provided and some of these were either no longer in use or not correct). This method of recruitment was only partially successful.

Another recruitment route was through attending community groups/centres, organisations and churches and recruiting people using services, or people attending these venues. This method was more fruitful, but it obviously increases the number of people in the sample who are more active in the community. In addition, snowballing techniques were used.

Samples:

Table 1 provides details of the two samples: how they were recruited to the study, personal details (gender, age and ethnicity), and length of stay in the area. In both areas, participants came from *across* the neighbourhood in order to reflect any diversity *within* the neighbourhood.

A total of 20 participants were recruited from Wider Red Road and 22 from Wider Scotstoun. The two samples differed in recruitment terms: a third of the WRR sample were recruited from community organisations, compared with a half of the WS sample. The two samples were very similar in terms of age (ranging from 18 to 60), gender (at least two-thirds female), ethnicity (80-90 percent White Scottish or British), and length of stay in the area (1 year to 50 years). All participants from WRR lived in social housing. The majority of participants from WS also lived in social housing, but others were owner-occupiers and one participant lived in private rented accommodation.

Table 1. Sample characteristics.

Participant ID	Recruitment ¹	Gender & age ²	Ethnicity ³	Housing tenure ⁴	Length of stay (years)
Wider Red Road (WRR)					
WRR1	SB	F; 30-59	BAME	SR	5
WRR2	SB	F; 30-59	BAME	SR	9
WRR3	SB	M; 30-59	White Scot/Brit	SR	8
WRR4	SB	F; 30-59	White Scot/Brit	SR	25
WRR5	SB	F; 30-59	White Scot/Brit	SR	8
WRR6	SB	F; 30-59	White Scot/Brit	SR	27
WRR7	SB	F; 30-59	White Scot/Brit	SR	20
WRR8	SB	F; 30-59	White Scot/Brit	SR	11.5
WRR9	SB	M; 60+	White Scot/Brit	SR	25
WRR10	SB	M; 30-59	White Scot/Brit	SR	25
WRR11	CH	F; 60+	White Scot/Brit	SR	30+
WRR12	CH	F; 60+	White Scot/Brit	SR	50+
WRR13	CH	F; 60+	White Scot/Brit	SR	40
WRR14	CH	F; 60+	White Scot/Brit	SR	50+
WRR15	CH	M; 60+	White Scot/Brit	SR	30
WRR16	SB	M; 30-59	BAME	SR	1.5
WRR17	SB	F; 30-59	BAME	SR	1.5
WRR18	SB	F; 30-59	White Scot/Brit	SR	8
WRR19	SB	M; <30	White Scot/Brit	SR	7
WRR20	CP	F; 30-59	White Scot/Brit	SR	18
Wider Scotstoun (WS)					
WS1	HA	F; 60+	White Scot/Brit	SR	50+
WS2	HA	F; <30	White Scot/Brit	SR	2
WS3	HA	F; 30-59	White Scot/Brit	OO	17
WS4	HA	F; 30-59	White Scot/Brit	SR	7
WS5	CP	M; <30	White Scot/Brit	SR	7
WS6	CP	F; 60+	White Scot/Brit	OO	20
WS7	CP	F; 30-59	White Scot/Brit	SR	40
WS8	CP	M; 60+	White Scot/Brit	OO	15
WS9	S B	F; <30	White Scot/Brit	SR	22
WS10	CP	F; 30-59	White Scot/Brit	SR	9
WS11	HA	F; 60+	White Scot/Brit	OO	13
WS12	HA	F; 60+	BAME	SR	14
WS13	SB	F; 60+	White Scot/Brit	SR	40
WS14	SB	F; <30	White Scot/Brit	PR	1.5
WS15	CP	F; 60+	White Scot/Brit	SR	7
WS16	CP	M; 30-59	White Scot/Brit	SR	3
WS17	SB	M; 60+	BAME	SR	2
WS18	CP	M; 30-59	White Scot/Brit	SR	7
WS19	CP	F; <30	White Scot/Brit	SR	1
WS20	CP	F; 30-59	White Scot/Brit	SR	7
WS21	CP	M; <30	White Scot/Brit	SR	8
WS22	SB	F; 30-59	BAME	OO	2

Notes to Table 1:

¹ Recruitment method: Housing Association (HA); Community Project (CP); Church (CH) and Snowballing (SB).

² Age: we did not ask directly about age although participants sometimes offered this information voluntarily. We have categorised participants into three age groups as a crude way of differentiating between 'younger' participants (<30); middle-aged participants (30-59); and, 'older' participants (60+).

³ Ethnicity: White Scottish/British; BAME – this includes asylum seekers/refugees.

⁴ Housing Tenure: SR (social renter); PR (private renter); OO (owner occupier).

⁵ Length of stay: this is based on length of stay in area; some participants moved within the area to different houses.

Interviews and analysis:

In total, 42 residents were interviewed between June and September 2015, using a semi-structured topic guide (interviews took up to one hour in length). A laminated map of the area was also used as a guide so that participants could point out places, connections and notes of interest. Data were thematically analysed around the key themes. Quotes are used throughout to illustrate points made. Participants are identified by their area sub-code (WRR or WS), gender, housing tenure (SR, PR or OO) and length of stay in area. So, for example 'WRR6, f, SR, 27yr' refers to respondent number 6 from the Wider Red Road area, who is female, lives in social rented accommodation and has lived in the area for 27 years.

Survey and secondary data:

In order to contextualise the participants' comments, two additional sources of data were used.

Analysis of GoWell survey data was undertaken in order to describe changes in the socio-demographic characteristics of residents in the two study areas from 2006 to 2015.

Ordnance Survey Points of Interest data were examined and maps produced to show changes in the provision of two types of local amenity over the period 2006 to 2015. This was done for an area equivalent to the study areas plus a 400m (10 minute walk) buffer area beyond the study area perimeters, for the following amenities:

- Eating & drinking establishments: cafés, fast food outlets, pubs and restaurants.
- Community facilities: allotments, halls and community centres, libraries and places of worship.

Wider Red Road

Study area

This area is associated with the Red Road flats (eight multi-storey blocks) that were a landmark in the area. These buildings were formally condemned in July 2008 after a long period of decline, with their phased demolition taking place in three stages between 2010 and 2015. Although the flats were situated in the wider area, they were also seen as a distinct community with their own shops and facilities. They formed a separate entity with their own entrances so that their existence socially had limited effect on the surroundings areas.

The surrounding area comprises the neighbourhoods of Barmulloch and Balornock where there has been a significant amount of new build housing development, totalling 325 dwellings over the period 2003 to 2015. The total number of dwellings in the area changed from 4,159 to 4,301 between 2006 and 2015. In physical and geographic terms, Balornock and Barmulloch are suburban or almost village-like in that they are partially surrounded by green space. They are closely linked with Springburn which gives them more of an anchor and amenities than, for example, the city's peripheral estates. However poor public transport nowadays means that residents feel isolated and less able to access even relatively nearby amenities.

Over the period 2006 to 2015, the population of the Wider Red Road area (excluding the Red Road estate itself) changed from 10,138 to 10,151. Table 2 shows changes in some key population characteristics over that time. It continues to be the case that a large majority of residents in the area (c.80%) are long-term, having lived in the area for over ten years. There has been a small increase over time in the proportion of shorter-term residents, with 1-in-8 residents in 2015 having lived in the area for up to five years. The proportion of family and older person households in the area has declined as the proportion of adult-only households (below retirement age) has increased to just over half of all households (52%). The other notable demographic change has been an increase in migrants so that in 2015, almost one-in-ten households was foreign born or not British, their proportion having increased nearly six-fold since 2006.

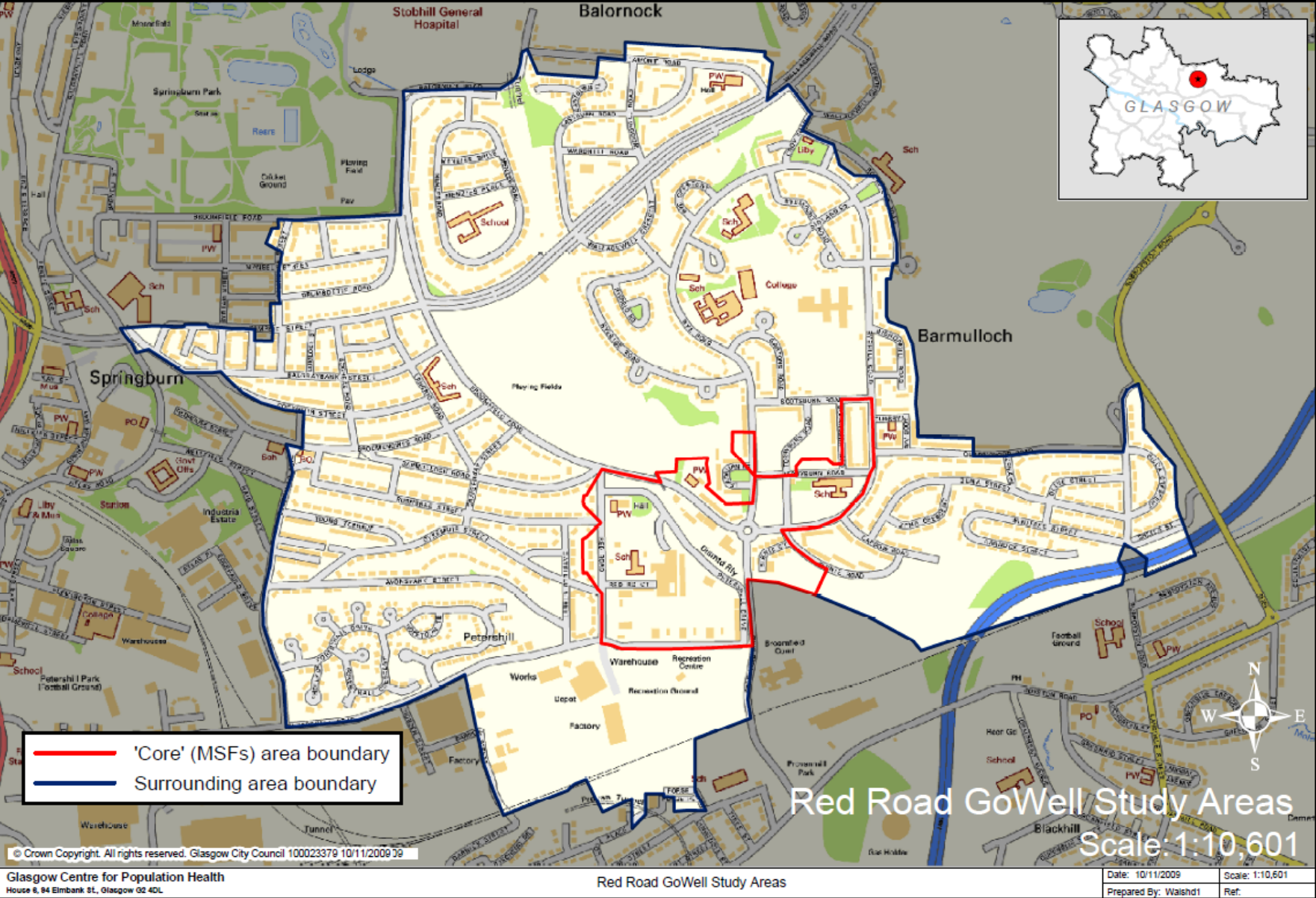
In economic terms, there has been a small rise in employment among men over time (an increase of nearly 4% in the proportion of men in work among the sample), but among women in the sample

there has been a big change, with a large reduction of nearly a fifth (-18%) in the proportion of women who report being economically inactive, and a large increase of nearly a quarter (+25%) in the proportion of women who are working.

Table 2. Change in socio-demographic characteristics, Wider Red Road.

Wider Red Road	2006	2015	Change
Length of residence (in area):			
Up to 2 years	5.1	5.9	0.8
3-5 years	3.0	6.5	3.5
6-10 years	10.3	7.8	-2.5
11+ years	81.6	79.8	-1.8
Household types:			
Adult(s)	43.1	52.3	9.2
Families	31.8	26.3	-5.5
Older persons	25.0	21.4	-3.6
Citizenship:			
British: UK-born	98.4	90.5	-7.9
British: foreign-born	0.8	4.7	3.9
Not British	0.8	4.7	3.9
Male employment:			
Working	41.0	44.6	3.6
Economically inactive	30.1	32.9	2.8
Retired	28.9	22.5	-6.4
Female employment:			
Working	32.6	57.7	25.1
Economically inactive	41.1	22.6	-18.5
Retired	26.2	19.7	-6.5

Figure 1: The boundary of the Wider Red Road study area.



The Red Road estate is marked in red in the centre.

Theme 1: Community and neighbourhood change

Area development and reputation

The main narrative given by participants of the wider neighbourhood was one of neglect and a forgotten area:

"This area is just dirty and it's not vandalism, the councils failed to maintain it." (WRR9, m, 25yr)

"Quality of life, that's what's needed." (WRR10, m, SR, 25 yr)

"We just need the place to look better... A place that you could be proud of." (WRR2, female, SR, 9yr)

Yet some positive views were also expressed about the area and its reputation:

"I find it ok, no problems, quiet, no problems at all." (WRR7, f, SR, 20yr)

"It's not a bad area. It's just that it needs some development, that's all and upgrading which is what they are doing just now." (WRR2, female, SR, 9yr)

There were some hopes for development of the land where the flats were demolished - *"it will be a new start for the area"* – and what might be developed there, but no certainty regarding future plans:

"What I would like to see and what is very much neglected in this area is sheltered complex... would be ideal for those who are on their own... There's only one sheltered complex for this area and that's down beside the community centre" (WRR13, f, SR, 40yr)

"I would say it needs more shops...they are flattening that ground and they are gonnae put shops there, so that will be a benefit." (WRR18, f, SR, 8yr)

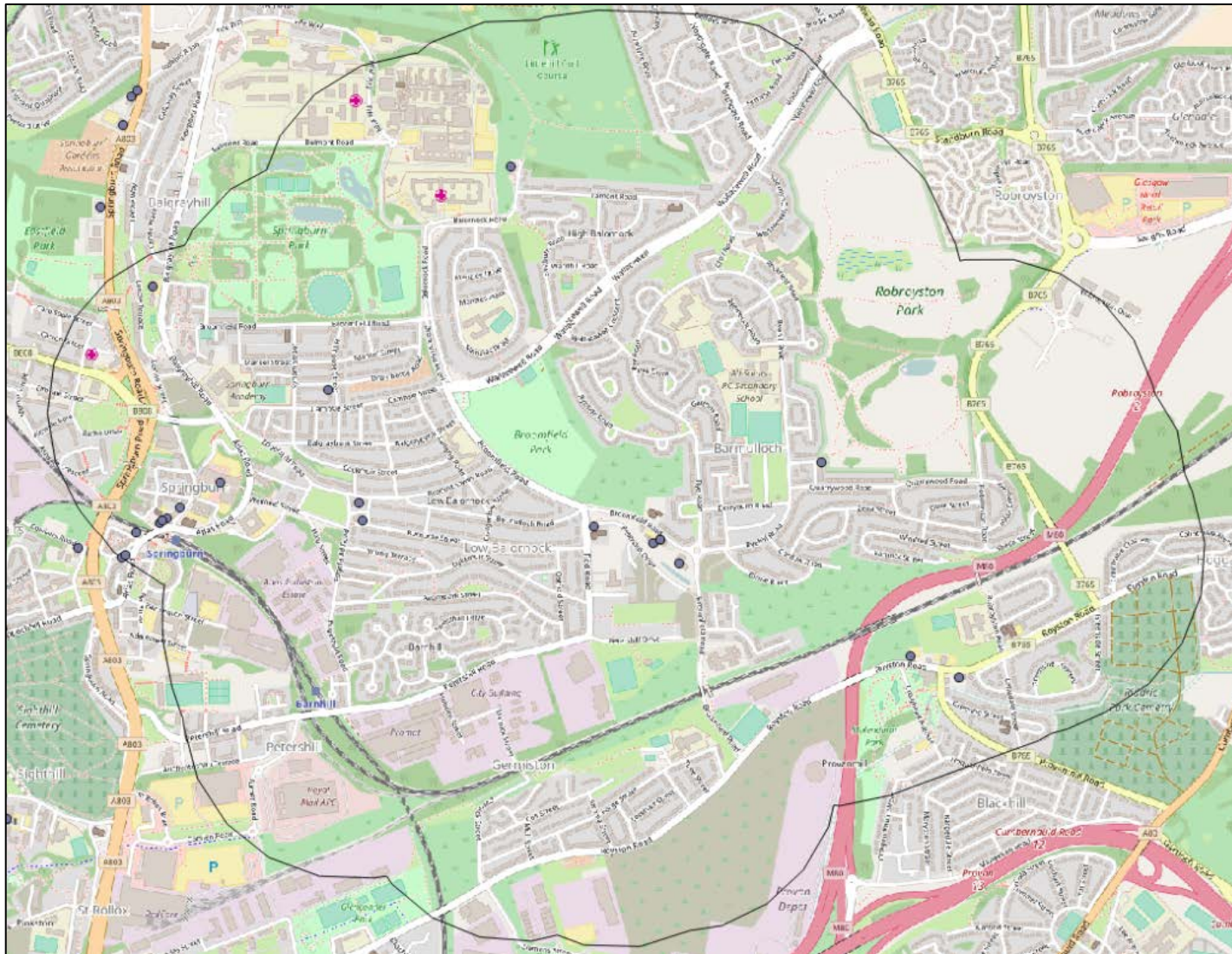
"We actually need more houses. It's gonnae make the employment a bit better as well. As far as I know a lot of local folk are gonnae start to get work down there." (WRR3, m, SR, 8yr)

Local amenities

Views on local amenities were mainly negative describing an area lacking in basic amenities and services. Figures 2-3 show recorded provision of eating and drinking venues in the area in the years 2006 and 2015. These show that the largest concentration of eating and drinking venues is to the west of the study area, around Springburn, and that this cluster has grown in number over time. The study area itself has few such amenities, numbering nine establishments in 2006 and eleven in 2015. The small clusters in the south (Red Road estate) and east of the study area reduced in terms of number of establishments over time, while three new establishments appeared to the north, near Wallacewell Road.

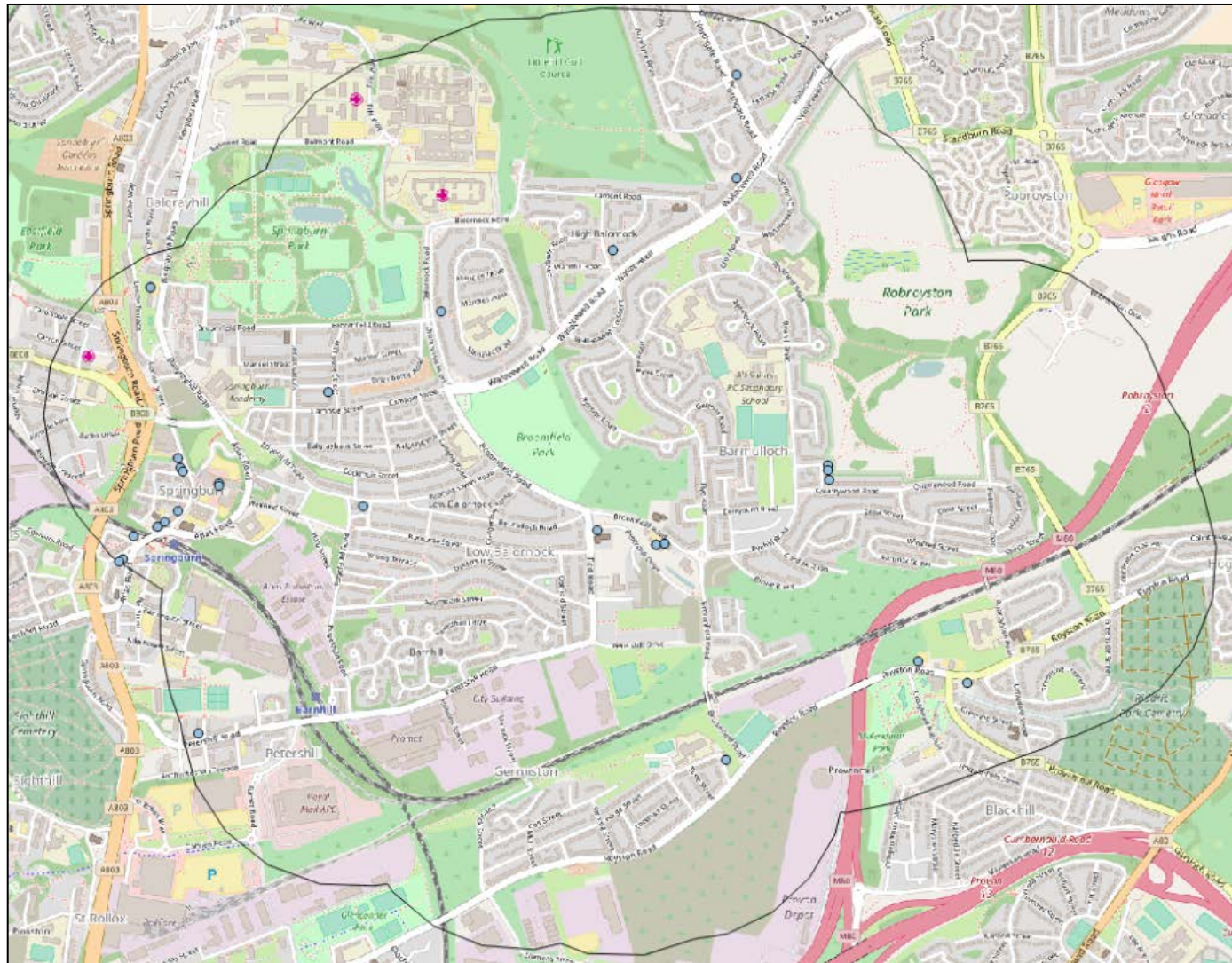
Figures 4-5 show the recorded number of community facilities in 2006 and 2015. These have doubled in number over time within the study area, from 13 in 2006 to 29 in 2015, and increased in number to the west of the study area around Springburn. We cannot be certain that improved recording practices have not played a part in this picture, but it looks clear that community facilities have not declined in number over time, more likely the opposite.

Figure 2: Eating and drinking establishments in Wider Red Road, 2006.



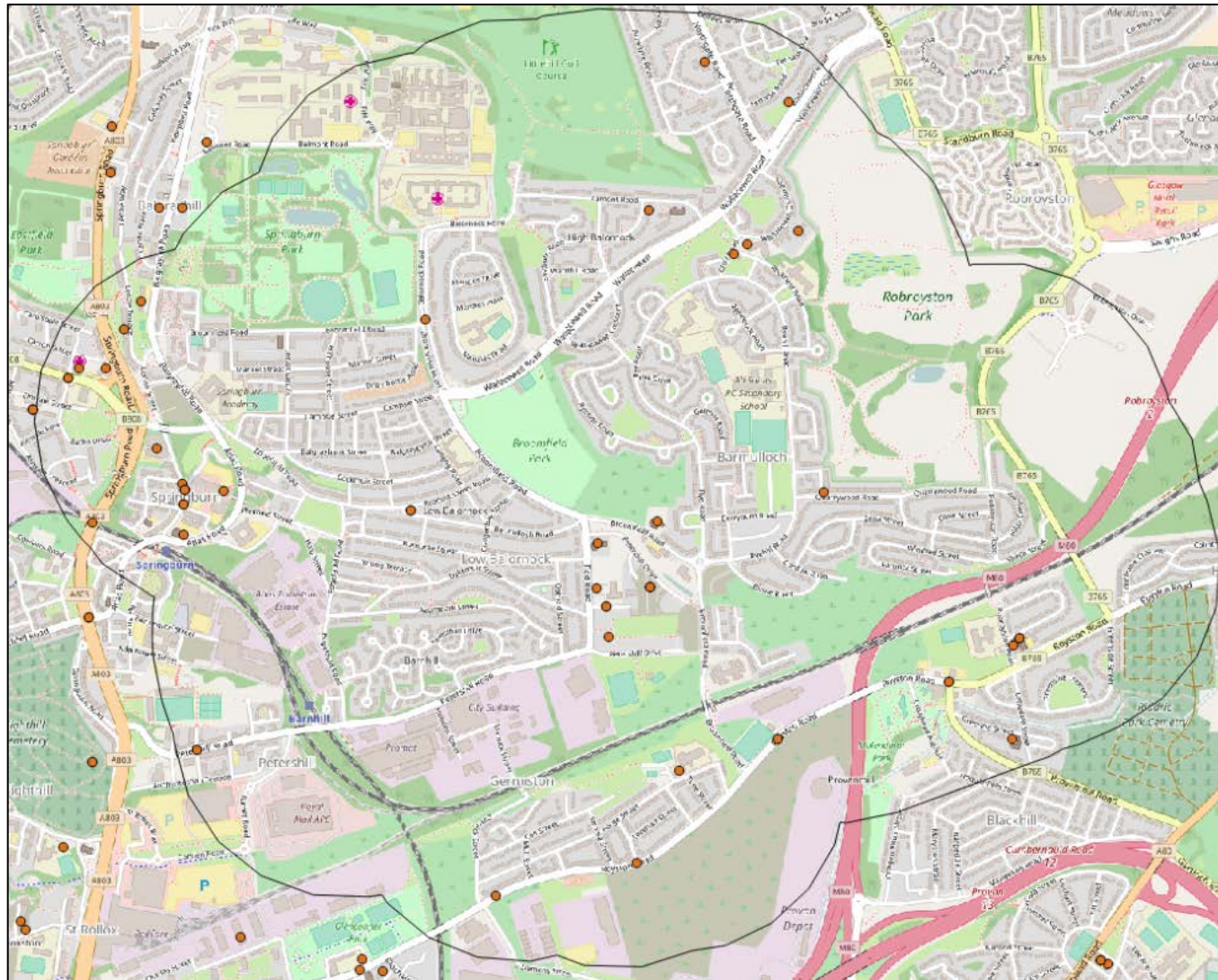
Note: Amenities data obtained from Ordnance Survey Points of Interest datasets. Mapping data © OpenStreetMap contributors, available under the Open Database Licence, with cartography licenced as CC BY-SA. See <http://www.openstreetmap.org/copyright>.

Figure 3: Eating and drinking establishments, Wider Red Road, 2015.



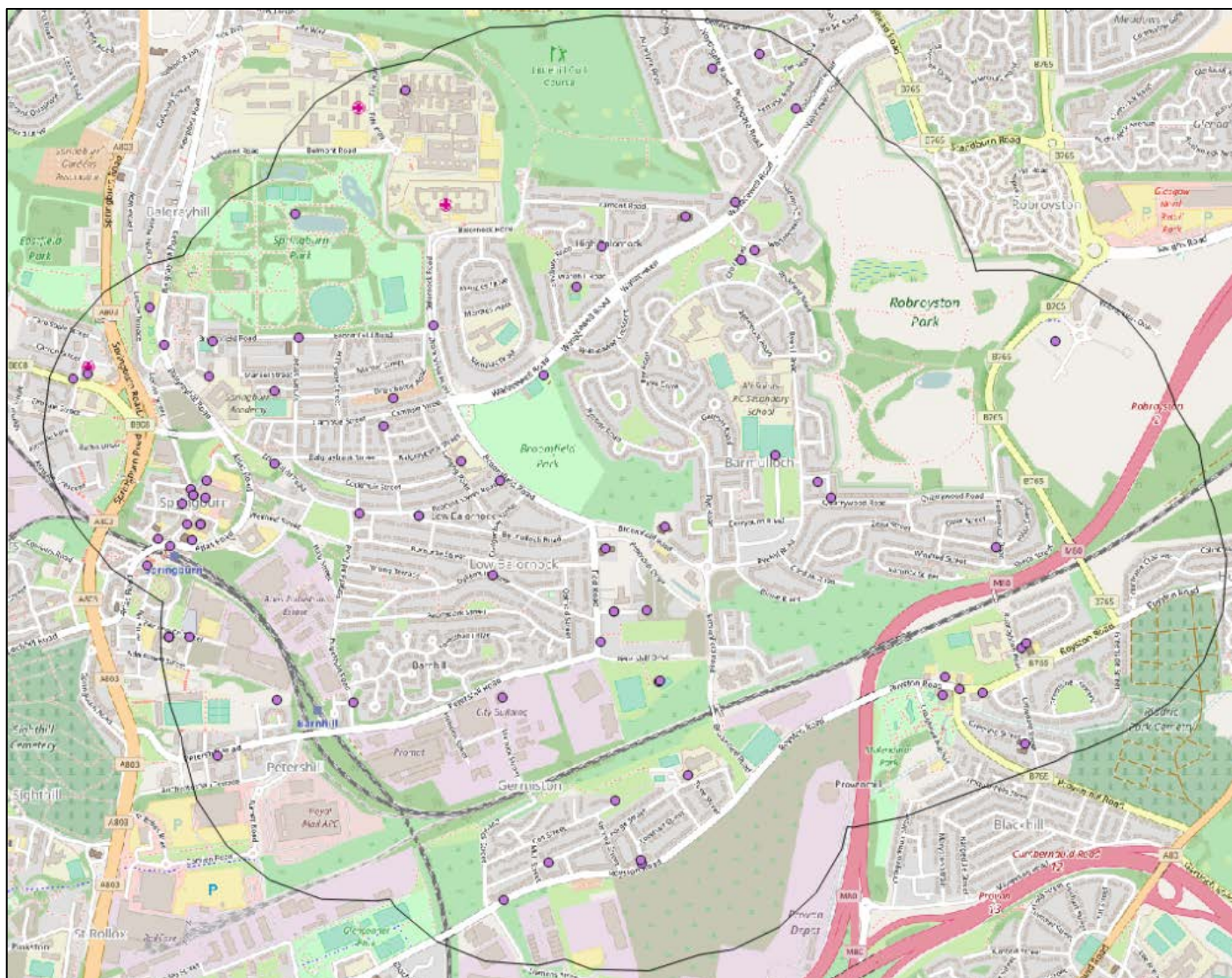
Note: Amenities data obtained from Ordnance Survey Points of Interest data-sets. Mapping data © OpenStreetMap contributors, available under the Open Database Licence, with cartography licenced as CC BY-SA. See <http://www.openstreetmap.org/copyright>.

Figure 4: Community facilities, Wider Red Road, 2006.



Note: Amenities data obtained from Ordnance Survey Points of Interest datasets. Mapping data © OpenStreetMap contributors, available under the Open Database Licence, with cartography licenced as CC BY-SA. See <http://www.openstreetmap.org/copyright>.

Figure 5: Community facilities, Wider Red Road, 2015.



Note: Amenities data obtained from Ordnance Survey Points of Interest datasets. Mapping data © OpenStreetMap contributors, available under the Open Database Licence, with cartography licenced as CC BY-SA. See <http://www.openstreetmap.org/copyright>.

In the interviews, most participants reported relying on shopping facilities in neighbouring Springburn, or travelled further afield, and said there was little available in the immediate vicinity:

“Springburn is good shopping centre, you can get everything there, there are some charity shops and some cafés.” (WRR1, f, SR, 5yr)

“We have no facilities here or very limited, we have a few shops up there and down at Wallacewell Road, there is a big improvement there with shops. ...but here there is no shops, and if I want to go to the supermarket I either get a bus at the end of the road that takes you into Springburn and then Springburn to Bishopbriggs, or across the road and go to Tesco or Lidl down in the St Rollox Retail.” (WRR13, F, SR, 40yr)

There were said to be no GP surgeries in the local area which necessitated travelling outside the immediate area:

“In this whole area there is no GP.” (WRR2, f, SR, 9yr)

There are three parks in the area which were described as being neglected and not used widely by the community:

“There’s Springburn Park, that’s lain semi-derelict, the winter gardens has lain semi-derelict since 1982.” (WRR9, m, SR, 25yr)

Broomfield Park was seen as a grassy area with few amenities and no play facilities. Some people were aware that there were allotments at Wallacewell Road, though these were thought to be of limited use as they could not provide enough space for all to have one. One participant expressed a wish for a park close by:

“It’s quite nice to go and sit in a park area and you can have a blether with other people, there’s no place like that [here] the nearest place is Springburn Park and it’s quite a climb to go to it.” (WRR13, f, SR, 40yr)

A big complaint made by participants was about public transport and cuts to bus services locally:

“You have bus services that have been cut, so if you want to go to Robroyston you need to go into the town. You need to go into Glasgow and get another bus back up to get there.” (WRR10, m, SR, 25yr)

There was also a reported shortage of cafes and social spaces. The provision and use of community centres, organisations and churches is covered later.

Social connections

Although generally there was a negative feel about the area in terms of how it had changed and its reputation and facilities, many people were attached to the community. Several participants had family connections or had been brought up in the area, and were familiar with the area and people living there. One participant said that *“everybody knows us anywhere”* so that wherever she went in the area she was recognised and never felt alone. Other comments included:

“I love it here. I get on well with everybody up here. ...know most folk. Apart from the new people that’s actually moved up in the new build up in the new houses.” (WRR3, m, 8yr)

“I’ve got a lot of family in the area.” (WRR4, f, SR, 25yr)

Most people had decent neighbourly relations, knowing who their neighbours were, whether or not they had a relationship with them:

“I have a neighbour and she has got three children, she’s on her own, a pensioner down below, there was a male person but he just recently died and his sons got it, now his sons in his 30s. Now in the next block, there is a couple with two children.” (WRR13, f, SR, 40yr)

“Everyone just keeps themselves to themselves so neighbours is not a problem... but there are people who live in the neighbourhood that are quite acquainted... maybe if something happened then you would notice the community spirit.” (WRR2, f, SR, 9yr)

“We don’t have close contact except my right down neighbour ...and there is my side neighbour, I also talk to them, I am not keeping myself isolated, I always talk to people.” (WRR1, f, SR, 5yr)

But, as people had moved out of the area, some reported to have lost friends and connections:

“I think everyone has gone to different places, sometimes I meet them in the city centre.” (WRR1, f, SR, 5yr)

“I still know a lot of people in the area but I don’t really speak to any o’ them any mair, everybody’s all went their separate directions.” (WRR19, m, SR, 7yr)

Population change

Some concerns were expressed about new, or different, people moving into the area. There was some concern about lack of trust:

"You don't know who's coming into the area, and you don't know who you can trust and who you can't trust." (WRR18, f, SR, 8yr)

Other comments included observations about a lack of friendliness and courtesy:

"There's not so much friendliness any more... there's new ones coming in and they don't seem to be friendly with you anymore." (WRR15, m, SR, 30yr)

"Too many strangers appearing... You walk past and people look at you as if to say 'who are you?' Don't look at me as if I'm a total stranger, I've stayed here longer than you." (WRR19, m, SR, 7yr)

A number of strongly negative views were expressed about migrants in the community. Many reflected the fact that participants felt migrants were being treated favourably, particularly in relation to housing:

"Yes, they are nice but these people are getting everything and I don't know what the government says but they are getting everything. It's because my son moved out, we didn't have no furniture and everything so put in for a welfare grant and we had to wait for the thing to come back and then they're coming and getting it all." (WRR4, f, SR, 25yr)

"Ah, no' being racist or anything but ah think the ones that stay in the place should get offered the hooses before them. But they are getting all the hooses, you cannae win." (WRR6, f, SR, 27yr)

"Naw. Its awright oor wans oot begging in the streets or whatever but they are no getting hooses but they are aw gettin hooses, getting money, they are getting everything an ours arenae getting anything." (WRR7, f, SR, 20yr)

One participant commented that community facilities were aimed at people from ethnic minority backgrounds:

"And the resource centre, it's got things for ethnic minority people, - it's all for them, it's no' fur us, and I guarantee the new community centre at Quarrywood Road, I guarantee that'll be for them." (WRR8, f, SR, 11yr)

Several people had the notion that they were in the minority and the area was being 'taken over':

"It's mainly all Chinese, darkies. I don't want to be racist but they are taking over." (WRR7, f, SR, 20yr)

"See if you go to Tescos in Springburn and the whole of Sighthill as well, it's full of them. We're in the minority. We feel like the outcasts now." (WRR8, f, SR, 11yr)

"Oh aye, ah mean ahm no racist in any way, but if you walked into the lift you were the only white face in it. It was like spot the white face." (WRR18, f, SR, 8yr)

A few participants had more measured and sympathetic views. One participant agreed that the nature of the community had changed, but felt the situation could have been handled better:

"It's the pressure that's put on the local community, they were first we had the Bosnia refugees which were a genuine war and they were welcomed into the community, and they educated them and they all went away back home after the war. What we have now is an influx at the Red Road so they took up capacity, at the dentist, at the health centre, and at the schools ...the way it was handled was wrong." (WRR10, m, SR, 25yr)

Another participant recognised where the 'hostility' had come from, and that there was a need to do something to make the community more cohesive:

"This used to be a working class area now it's more diverse, people are having problems getting their heads round it ...[there's] a sense of loss." (WRR20, f, SR, 18yr)

"So it's housing benefit versus working? So it's long term residents versus ones that have been here five years and weren't even born in Scotland, its these little things, they probably aren't going to make a major difference, but if you put it all together it's something." (WRR20, f, SR, 18yr)

This same participant said that other people were being informed by false information:

"What I do hear all the time is people saying 'I heard that such and such got a new flat and

they were only just in the country five minutes'. When they know that you can't just get a house that way, you need to have been given permanent residence... And ah think the media portray it that you come here and you get loads and loads of benefits and you get the biggest and the bested house and you get and you come here and we give you stacks and stacks of money... that's no' how it is." (WRR20, f, SR, 18yr)

A couple of participants expressed positive views:

"This area is really kind of good. And you don't get any racism, you don't see coloured people fighting against whites, you don't get that." (WRR15, m, SR, 30yr)

"This is a new lot, we have a lot of coloured people... some Chinese but they're all very nice... And all the coloured races are all very friendly." (WRR12, f, SR, 50+yr)

Theme 2: Opportunities for social interaction and engagement

Informal opportunities

The lack of social spaces was thought to be a weakness of the area with very few cafés and pubs, and neglected parks, as reported above. There was also no place or venue that was seen as a focal point or hub in the community.

Socialising with others frequently took place outside the local area where there were more facilities suited to the needs of people such as pubs, community centres, leisure facilities, and clubs.

"The pub I go to is away over in Torrance." (WRR6, f, SR, 27yr)

"We meet in the African centre in the city centre and I engage with people there and I can go to places to meet with people as I am quite outgoing. But in this area we don't have a gym, we don't have a community centre and everything that goes on I don't know about it."
(WRR2, f, SR, 9yr)

"I meet them [friends] in Springburn." (WRR14, f, SR, 50+yr)

The area was reported to have no cafés apart from a small one run by the Church of Scotland and the bowling club on an intermittent basis. The only pub had become an eating establishment (Indian

buffet restaurant) and the locals were said not to use it much:

"The pubs about here are no' up to much." (WRR6, f, SR, 27yr)

"There's nothing there, see since the Broom shut, there's nothing. Then we had The Morvern but that's a buffet place, an Indian buffet at Edgefield Road, so we haven't got a pub. There's not like a meeting [place]... there's nowhere, maybe before people could go to the pub for a couple of pints and take their wives at the weekend but there's nowhere now. You've got to pay for your taxis into town." (WRR4, f, SR, 25yr)

As such, the need for a café, or place for people to get together was identified:

"See if that community had a little afternoon bingo and a cup of tea, things like that .They do that at the bowling club, on Wallacewell Road, they have that on a Wednesday afternoon, they have a free cup of tea and a biscuit. See if they done something like that round here." (WRR4, f, SR, 25yr)

There are three parks in the area which were described as being neglected and not used widely by the community. A couple of participants expressed a wish for a park close by as a place to meet with others:

"It's quite nice to go and sit in a park area and you can have a blether with other people, there's no place like that [here], the nearest place is Springburn Park and it's quite a climb to go to it." (WRR13, f, SR, 40yr)

"If we had a wee park we can sit in, but it'll be two years before that's (RR site) all cleared." (WRR12, f, SR, 50+yr)

Organised opportunities

Community centres

There were said to be few community centres and the ones that did exist were said to be too far away for most to access or for residents to be aware of them:

“There is a community centre down in Wallacewell Road but there are no community centres in this area [Balornock].” (WRR4, f, SR, 25yr)

Some identified the need for community centres, or organised groups, especially for groups such as older and young people:

“There’s nothing for youngsters to do around the streets.” (WRR4, f, SR, 25yr)

“I think they should open a community centre for the weans an’ that. There’s nowhere for them to go except stoating about in the streets.” (WRR6, f, SR, 27yr)

It was reported by one participant that there has been attempts to get people involved in community projects but the majority were not interested, and it was difficult to get a mix of people attending things:

“I think we can’t find a middle, there are people who are so enthusiastic and come to everything and some who go to absolutely nothing, and it would be great to find somewhere in the middle where there was a mixture of people. We have tried everything that is possible to get some of the people that just don’t come... we’re still working on it, ah think it’s just one o’ they things.” (WRR20, f, SR, 18yr)

Churches

Tron St Mary’s is a focal point for some in the area. It provided assistance to the asylum seekers who had stayed in the Red Road flats and, as it was situated in the same street, was viewed as being a great help to them:

“Since the Red Road [flats] has gone down, they had community things in the Red Road, they had social clubs... but since that’s come down, the church has been able to step in and they do a lot and they certainly did a lot for the refugees here, there were a number of refugees and asylum seekers and English classes.” (WRR13, f, SR, 40yr)

This participant added:

"The church does provide a sort of fellowship likes a last night, there was a new women's group which is very good, they call it, the Women's Fellowship ... it's for the community and we had a cooking demonstration last night which is good and next Monday, she is gonna have someone doing exercises. The church does have a lunch club on a Tuesday, I've been once or twice myself and it's for people on their own so that's quite good and that's open to the community as well." (WRR13, f, SR, 40yr)

Someone using a different church said:

"Also many activities they are doing like, gardening and things like that and I am also involved in Glasgow food banks and I am working as a volunteer with them." (WRR1, f, SR, 5yr)

Those using churches talked about what they had gained through their involvement. Those who attended Tron St Mary's Church had not only a very strong attachment to the area but also experienced a deep sense of being part of something in the area. Another said that without the church there was *"nothing"* in the area:

"There's Alive and Kicking but it's no everybody's cup of tea so ah don't know whether it's going to close up or not or whether they're looking for new premises." (WRR12, f, SR, 50+yr).

She added:

"If we have anything in the church, a lot of folk in the area come in, we are having a fashion show shortly and different things and sometimes we have a ceilidh and people come in, and we have the wee gardens." (WRR12, f, SR, 50+yr)

Apart from those actively involved in church activities, many residents felt that the churches were irrelevant to their lives and did not see them as community spaces they personally would use. One resident in the area did not have such a positive view of the asylum seekers as regards the local churches, and felt that they had usurped them, adding

"They are making it into a kind of Muslim centre." (WRR7, f, SR, 20yr)

Theme 3: Community involvement and empowerment

The main focus of community involvement activity in the area has been around the demolition of the Red Road flats. Prior and leading up to the demolition of the core Red Road flats, consultations took place over a number of community events (between August and September 2015). The process aimed to elicit feedback from across the community, to influence the development of a brief, which would help define a new development framework for the future regeneration of the Red Road site. Prior to this consultation, discussions were held between key parties who had already spent significant time considering the potential legacy of Red Road, such as GHA, Glasgow City Council, and Glasgow Life. The consultation involved three walk-in events at Alive and Kicking, Barmulloch Community Development Company (BCDC) and Petershill Leisure Centre. These events were promoted via the distribution of flyers to approximately 2,300 households and the distribution of posters at local retailers and other businesses. Additional consultations (via posters, flyers, and housing staff talking to people) were with a local care home, nursery, Tron St Mary's church, shops, launderette and some other non-residential venues⁴. However, as will be apparent in what follows, our findings show little awareness or involvement in these processes among study participants.

Involvement

Participants reported different levels of interest in and involvement in community issues through the church, community council and community projects. Some positive experiences were reported, but many were frustrated or cynical. A number of participants had been involved in things or tried to make a difference, but felt their efforts were futile. Such examples made people question the time and effort they had made:

"I would like to have more of a voice in the... I mean from time to time, write to MPs and MSPs and the councillors but unfortunately I feel that you don't get very far. They are not listening to us." (WRR13, f, SR, 40yr)

"I think a lot of people get the impression for years, people have tried and no really got anywhere in this area. You've tried and you've no really got anywhere." (WRR5, f, 8yr)

"We don't have a voice and if you do have a voice, you get kinda slapped down." (WRR9, m, SR, 25yr)

⁴ Wheatley Group (2015). The Future of Red Road: final issues of summary of responses to community drop-in events.

One participant (WRR9) mentioned the Community Planning Partnership stating that it: *“hasn’t exactly advertised itself in this community”* having little sense what it was about. The housing associations seemed to many to be an area of particular frustration (although some did find them helpful and had no complaints).

Another participant had started a community project based on developing allotments in schools. He worked ‘on the ground’ for ten years but then *“lost control of it”*:

“At the allotments, the Burns project. It was one school, it was a £40,000 project to do with the allotments, it was purpose built. Ah, did that for ten years and then just kind of chucked it... Glasgow City Council wasn’t interested in it, they put a lid on it at the start cos they thought it would spark interest for every school to have an allotment, and why not?”

(WRR10, m, SR, 25yr)

This same participant had also been active in trying to keep the local hospital open but the campaign had failed:

“One of our biggest petitions in history, 21,000 signatures to keep it open and they disregarded us and they closed it .Now it’s just a glorified health centre... so there’s no 24 hour casualty, there’s no acute services, there’s no training services, Stobhill was a training hospital so if you stayed local, so I might have wanted to be a nurse, so that was taken away from this area.” (WRR10, m, SR, 25yr)

This desire to change things and the community being at the heart of change does not appear to be happening. There are community organisations in the area, but according to participants they are not effective or meeting the needs of the community. There was a sense that things had been tried but little had changed. The area also reportedly suffered from groups which did not communicate with each other or the wider community.

“Don’t know what would work in this area because it’s all been tried over the years and it’s basically this wee group and that wee group and they’ll maybe talk to each other but no’ about everything.” (WRR5, f, SR, 8yr)

“A lot of people don’t know that there is welfare rights, that’s an example of what goes on in this area. People come in and ask me can you tell me where the welfare rights is, they’ve not

got a sign up. They are failing people. I've watched them when they have welfare rights on a Monday... there's no sign to say 'come in, I can help you'." (WRR3, m, SR, 8yr)

Experiences and feelings of (dis)empowerment

There was reported to be a high level of dissatisfaction with services in the community and how decisions were made about things, for example about housing, parks and transport. Many could not understand how or why certain decisions had been made, or why things were the way they were. Some felt the housing allocations policy for new builds was unfair.

The council was seen as lacking in providing basic environmental services, for example, as these participants said:

"They havenae gritted here for 11 years." (WRR9, m, SR, 25yr)

"This area is just dirty and it's not vandalism, the councils failed to maintain it." (WRR10, m, SR, 25yr)

In relation to transport issues, there were many complaints about the poor bus services:

"The city centre Tesco, we have an Asda but there is no buses, the bus 12 used to go there all the way but they stopped it. I don't know why but they changed from 12 to 57. So how do you go and come back, you have to use the taxi." (WRR2, f, SR, 9yr)

"You have bus services that have been cut, so if you want to go to Robroyston you need to go into the town. You need to go into Glasgow and get another bus back up to get there." (WRR9, m, SR, 25yr)

The parks were viewed as unkempt and lacking maintenance and amenities:

"Outside agencies like that Muir Trust are coming in and doing stuff to the pond, but they fill the pond up full of bulrushes so it floods so there's naebody maintaining it... People don't know who they are or what they are doing." (WRR10, m, SR, 25yr)

Housing, however, was the biggest problem in relation to a range of issues including the state of some buildings, and new build housing and allocation policies. Within one new build development it was indicated that there had been difficulties, and people were left living in an unfinished estate and being forgotten about:

"We went to a meeting the other night about an estate, Broomfield Estate, and basically they tenants were saying that the housing estate has been left unbuilt, there's parts o' it, havenae been finished 'cause the builder went bust. A housing association obviously had part houses in it but it was never finished right. We fought for about two and a half year to get roads finished and they are just basically saying that the housing association who own the houses are basically putting people in and forgetting all about them." (WRR5, f, SR, 8yr)

One participant was keen to move out of her building that she considered run-down and socially unfit for her and her son:

"So the thing is why are they not communicating to us, living in that building, what is going on, what they plan to do with it... The state of the building is not good, it is not kept clean...the people who live there, don't care about keeping it clean and also there is a lot of smoking going on in that building. ...I want nothing to do with that. I have a son, I don't want him to be around such influences. I want to move out, I'm at a point in time, I feel that I want to move out." (WRR2, f, SR, 9yr)

Another participant was unsure as to whether her building was going to be demolished. The community were said to get different responses whenever they asked, and the uncertainty was leading to unease and bitterness:

"I just don't know how the flip it goes. Well, they got to pull these down soon enough. Some people say these ones are coming down but these are the entrance to the scheme, they can't keep these up and they are falling apart anyway... You ask one person and they are coming down, you ask a second and they say they are not. There's a lot of uncertainty there however... A lot of people are getting quite bitter." (WRR4, f, SR, 25yr)

The other issue that concerns people is the housing allocations policy. Several discussed what they saw as an unfair policy in that people from other countries were given the new build housing ahead of them, even though they may have lived in the area for a longer period of time:

"For somebody that's maybe just come to this country eight year ago and they're sitting in a brand new hoose and you're sitting in a tenement for 20 year and cannae get oot o' it, it's no' a fair system. Why no' move them that's been there 20 years and no' them that's just came to the country?" (WRR5, f, SR, 8yr)

"It has annoyed people. People that has been staying here for years and other ones just walk in and get one. It's just not fair." (WRR6, f, SR, 27yr)

This situation appears to have led to some unease and tension in the community:

“Yeah, but there has been a lot of trouble now, some people were getting new houses ,other folk were waiting on new houses and couldnae get them... somebody would say ‘oh she’s got a house before I’ve got a hoose’.” (WRR11, f, SR, 30yr)

Summary

The Wider Red Road area was seen to have declined over time, and to be somewhat neglected by the authorities. Across a range of services and amenities, the predominant account given by residents was one of insufficient provision, due to neglect or cut-backs; this applied to shops, parks, primary health care, and public transport. Many residents travelled outside the large area of WRR in order to utilise services and amenities elsewhere. There were hopes that the large area now empty after the demolition of the Red Road estate would be utilised for future development of shops and housing.

There was recognition that the area had become more ethnically diverse in recent years. Although this diversity was appreciated by some people, it also seems to have made a lot of other people uncomfortable and resentful. However, these feelings arise in the context of several other factors that have caused problems or dissatisfaction among local people, such issues being magnified or highlighted by the arrival and provision for migrants: the loss over time of the familiarity and cohesion of a working class community; difficulties accessing housing opportunities for family members; poverty and a reliance on welfare benefits at a time of austerity.

Informal opportunities for social interaction were identified as being few and far between in the area, with a reported need for more local cafés, pubs and green spaces that would enable people to bump into others for casual conversation. Churches provided important spaces and organisational arrangements for collective social activities, but many people did not see churches as relevant institutions for them. Apart from that, community centres were considered inadequate in number and location. There was a particular need for organised groups or activities that served older people, younger people, and especially mixed groups of people.

Few examples were given of proactive empowerment involving development projects or activities led by local community groups. The main narrative provided by participants was one of a range of inadequate or changing amenities and services, over which the community had no influence. Housing added a further dimension to this general narrative in respect of either uncertainty over the

demolition programme and the perceived allocation of new build housing to more recent arrivals rather than to local people who also desired an upgrading of their housing circumstances. This latter example of a lack of empowerment on the part of the existing community also generated feelings of being treated unfairly.

Wider Scotstoun

Study area

This area is associated with the high rise flats at Plean Street and Kingsway Court in Scotstoun. Compared with Wider Red Road, physical change was not as evident in this area. The main physical changes have been the demolition of some of the high rise flats in the wider area at Kingsway Court and Plean Street. There has also been some new build development. The remaining high rise flats have been renovated and upgraded.

In Scotstoun two of the tower blocks at Kingsway Court were demolished in 2013. A total of 116 new homes are being built on the site of two former Kingsway Court tower blocks. Both of the two multi-storey flats at Plean Street had been demolished earlier, but no redevelopment of this land has taken place. To the west of Plean Street, the redevelopment of Drysdale Street, which formerly comprised tenement style buildings, created 68 low rise social rented dwellings. Over the period 2006 to 2015, the total number of dwellings in the study area changed from 2,071 to 2,321, including the construction of 185 new build dwellings in the area.

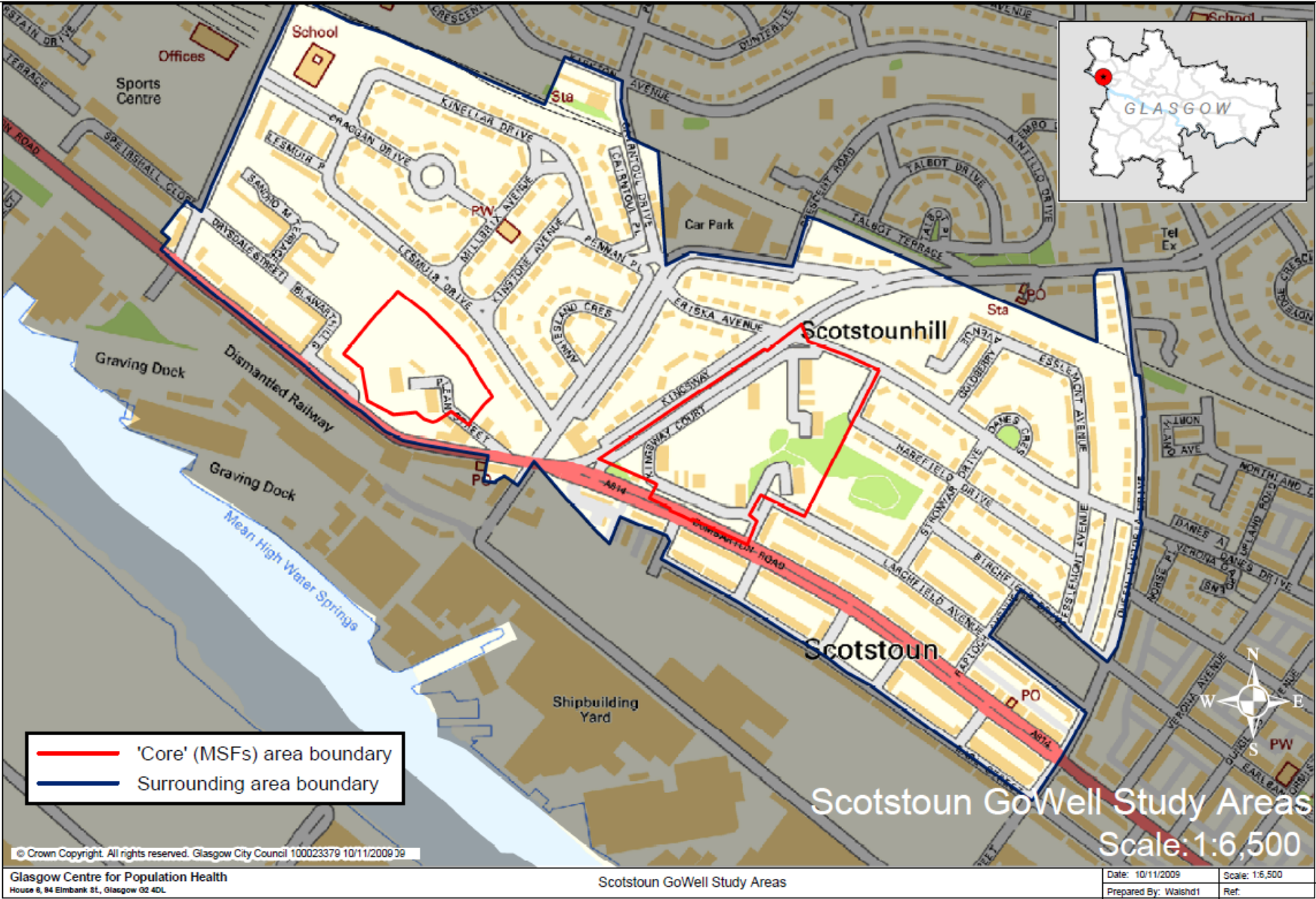
Over the period 2006 to 2015, the population of the Wider Scotstoun area (excluding the Plean Street and Kingsway estates) changed from 4,561 to 4,998. Table 3 shows changes in some key population characteristics over that time. The proportion of long-term residents in the area has dropped more than in WRR, with two-thirds of households having lived in the area for over ten years (compared with four-fifths in WRR). In Wider Scotstoun we see increases in both the 3-5 years and 6-10 years residence groups. The proportion of family households in the area has increased, so that the household type profile in WS is now very similar to that in WRR. There has been a bigger drop in the British-born share of households in WS than in WRR, so that almost one-fifth of households in the area (19.5%) are now foreign-born or non-British (again, a six-fold increase, but from a slightly higher baseline percentage in 2006).

In economic terms, the changes in WS are the opposite of those found in WRR. In Wider Scotstoun, there have been small changes in the economic status of women, but large changes for men. A 22% increase means that a majority (58%) of male householders in the sample in WS in 2015 were in employment, compared with a third (32%) of women.

Table 3. Change in socio-demographic characteristics, Wider Scotstoun.

Wider Scotstoun	2006	2015	Change
Length of residence (in area):			
Up to 2 years	11.0	9.8	-1.2
3-5 years	7.0	10.6	3.6
6-10 years	10.3	13.5	3.2
11+ years	71.7	66.1	-5.6
Household types:			
Adult(s)	49.7	51.2	1.5
Families	23.9	29.0	5.1
Older persons	26.4	19.8	-6.6
Citizenship:			
British: UK-born	97.0	80.6	-16.4
British: foreign-born	1.5	6.6	5.1
Not British	1.5	12.8	11.3
Male employment:			
Working	35.7	57.7	22.0
Economically inactive	32.5	22.6	-9.9
Retired	31.8	19.7	-12.1
Female employment:			
Working	32.6	32.3	-0.3
Economically inactive	40.1	43.9	3.8
Retired	27.3	23.9	-3.4

Figure 6: The boundary of the Wider Scotstoun study area.



The Plein Street and Kingsway Court estates are marked in red.

Theme 1: Community and neighbourhood change

Area development and reputation

Housing demolition did not affect the area as a whole, and those who noticed were quite positive about the changes, in particular the aesthetic improvement in the area brought about by demolition and refurbishment:

"It's changed for the better... the flats used to be grey and drab and sometimes the mood of the flats would be following you. No' all the time but you know how it's always grey and everythin' and you're walking like this and coming round the corner and getting hit with the winds an' that. But they're more vibrant noo, they're more – and there's more people about, I think, aye. I think it's just – there's a buzz about it." (WS15, f, SR, 7yr)

"I think the Kingsway's changed a bit ...Two ones was demolished and they've done all the outside and seemingly they've done inside. I think it has got better." (WS6, f, OO, 20yr)

"Well the Kingsway flats have all been done up which is, they were a bit of an eyesore. Two blocks did come down. I don't know where all the people went that were in them. I really don't know." (WS7, f, SR, 40yr)

There was some new build housing in the wider area which many participants were not aware of. However, those who talked about the new build saw it as positive for the area:

"The new houses that they built along Yoker and Kingsway as well. But apart fae that I don't see anything... It'll improve it... I really hope so 'cause, like, I've been told that people that havenae got good tenancies and things like that won't be getting them." (WS2, f, SR, 2yr)

"And they're building new housing there, which is really good." (WS14, f, PR, 1.5yr)

There were mixed views about the area in general as well as specific views about sub-areas. Some talked about the area being rough and dangerous while others experienced no problems and enjoyed living in the area very much. The east of the area was classed as having the best reputation and being more quiet and middle class, with more private houses and better quality housing:

"See where I stay up there, you don't really see [trouble].....It's very quiet." (WS6, f, OO, 20yr)

"Well Danes Drive just doon there an' that, an' a' thae bought houses or the smart houses are that's classed as pretty wealthy." (WS21, m, SR, 8yr)

The south of the area had a reputation for being "poor", gang fighting and antisocial behaviour. Even within this area there are pockets of better housing:

"... we call this side of Earl Street, 'Little Bosnia' because of all the fighting" (WS9, f, SR, 22yr)

"I think it's all kind of just been the same kind of Earl Street's always sort of the... kind of... the more kinda, I don't want to say lower class, but the kind of working class." (WS14, f, PR, 1.5yr)

Going further west into Yoker, this area was considered "quite rough" (WS20) although the new housing in Yoker meant the Housing Association kept a check on new tenants so their behaviour has to be decent:

"But Yoker [housing association] are, they're kinda on your back. A lotta people want these houses, you know what I mean, cause o' back an' front door, they want oot o' closes and that. So any hassle it's reported. So Yoker are two strikes an' you're out. So they kinda keep the kids intae rein." (WS20, f, SR, 7yr)

The north of the area (towards Knightswood) was regarded as quieter with an older and more stable population with more families:

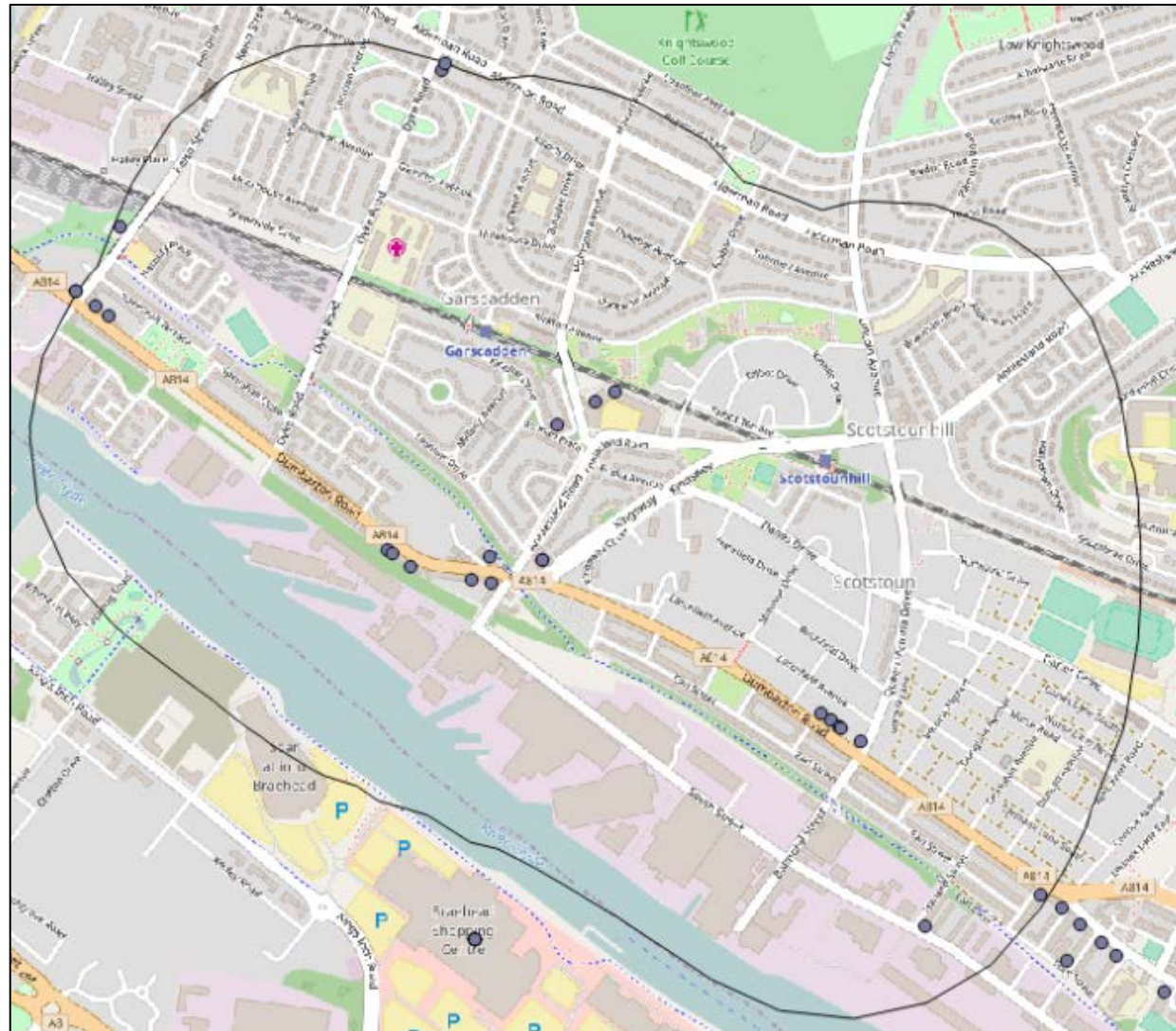
"It's more quiet... it's a really nice area but it's people that have stayed there for years." (WS19, f, SR, 1yr).

Local amenities

The majority of respondents were happy with the level of facilities and amenities available in the area. Figures 7-8 show recorded provision of eating and drinking venues in the area in 2006 and 2015. The majority of local amenities for eating and drinking are located on the southern border of the study area along Dumbarton Road, with a small cluster of amenities that has increased slightly over time in the centre of the study area, where the Iceland store is located. However, the total number of such venues in the study area itself has remained stable at 14 at each time point; this is a higher number than in WRR, despite the area being smaller in spatial area and population. Nonetheless, apart from along the southern boundary and the central small cluster, the remainder of the area is sparsely served for such amenities.

Figures 9-10 show the recorded number of community facilities in 2006 and 2015. As in the case of WRR, the number of recorded, relevant amenities has almost doubled over time, from nine to 17. There has also been an increase in community facilities to the north of the study area, close to Alderman Road.

Figure 7: Eating and drinking establishments in Wider Scotstoun, 2006.



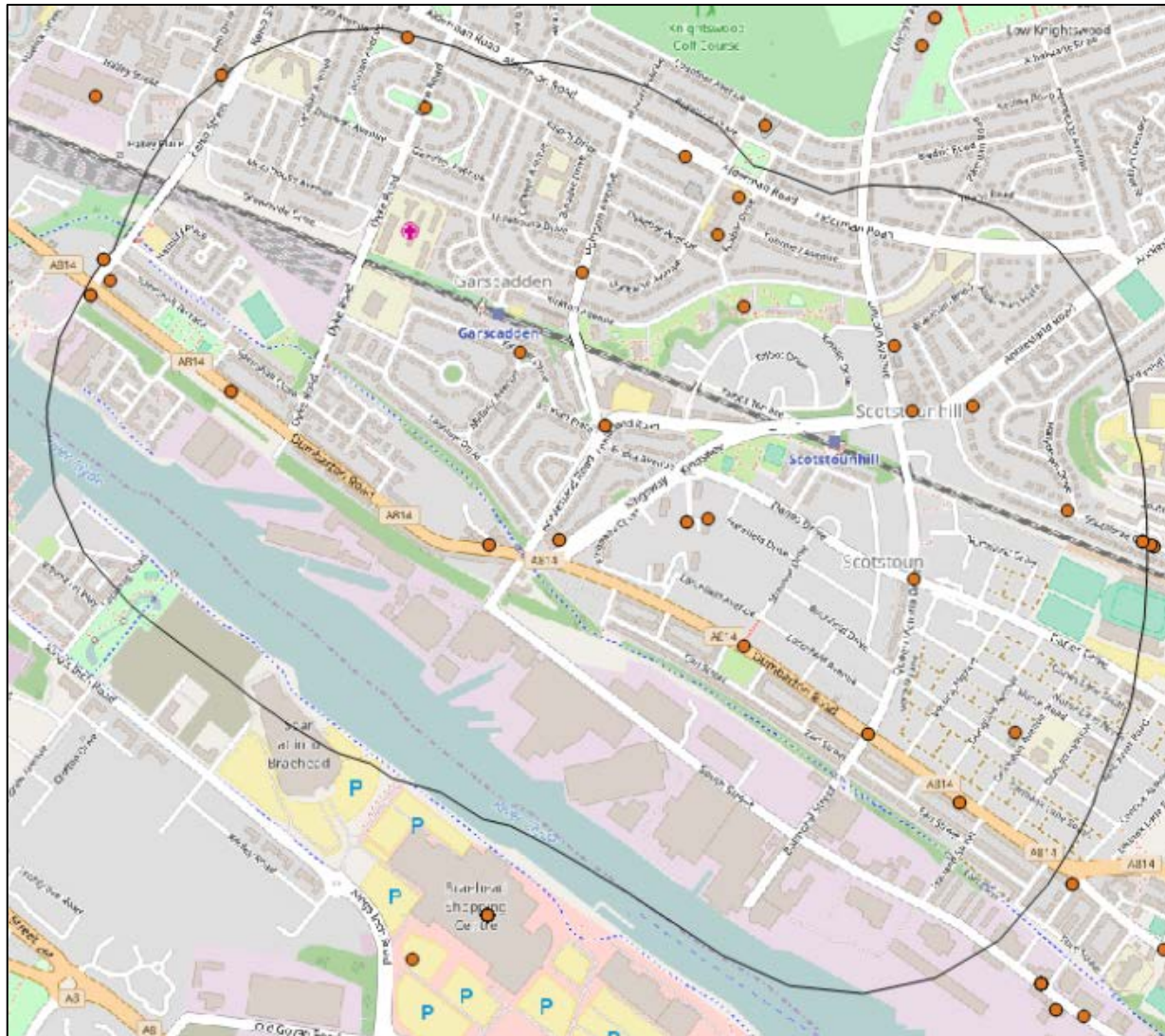
Note: Amenities data obtained from Ordnance Survey Points of Interest datasets. Mapping data © OpenStreetMap contributors, available under the Open Database Licence, with cartography licenced as CC BY-SA. See <http://www.openstreetmap.org/copyright>.

Figure 8: Eating and drinking establishments, Wider Scotstoun, 2015.



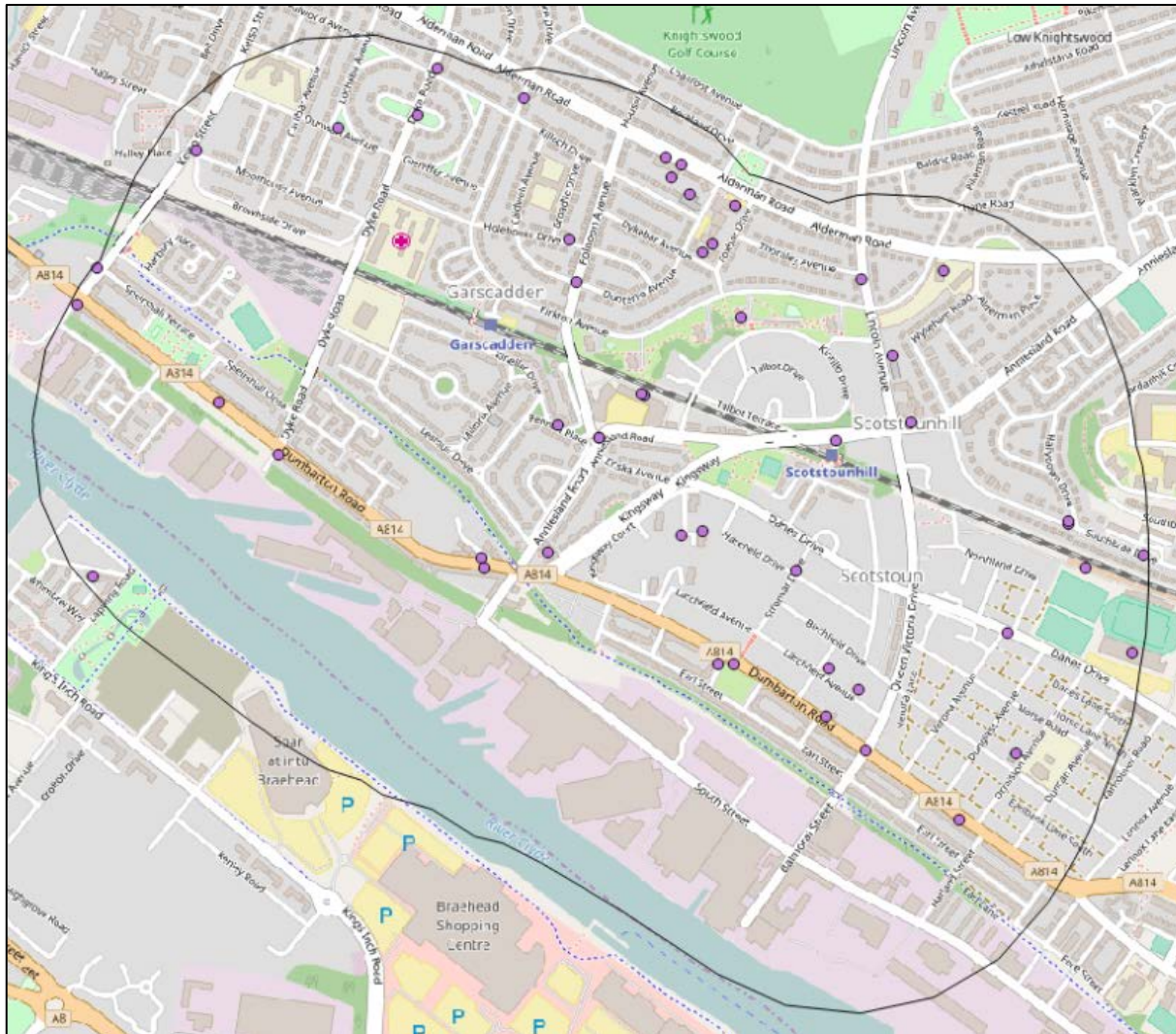
Note: Amenities data obtained from Ordnance Survey Points of Interest datasets. Mapping data © OpenStreetMap contributors, available under the Open Database Licence, with cartography licenced as CC BY-SA. See <http://www.openstreetmap.org/copyright>.

Figure 9: Community facilities, Wider Scotstoun, 2006.



Note: Amenities data obtained from Ordnance Survey Points of Interest datasets. Mapping data © OpenStreetMap contributors, available under the Open Database Licence, with cartography licenced as CC BY-SA. See <http://www.openstreetmap.org/copyright>.

Figure 10: Community facilities, Wider Scotstoun, 2015.



Note: Amenities data obtained from Ordnance Survey Points of Interest datasets. Mapping data © OpenStreetMap contributors, available under the Open Database Licence, with cartography licenced as CC BY-SA. See <http://www.openstreetmap.org/copyright>.

Many people found the area to be well-resourced with good public transport and easily accessible in terms of getting around the area and also out of the area to other places and facilities:

"I honestly can't fault the place for living in... You're just so central for everything." (WS7, f, SR, 40yr)

"It's great because you've got your Iceland, your Farmfoods, you've got your Tesco. We've got the chemist an' that around there. It's everything there that you need." (WS18, m, SR, 7yr)

"There isnae much else you could want for round here I don't think." (WS16, m, SR, 3yr)

"It's just got everything on the doorstep." (WS22, f, OO, 2yr)

Some lamented the lack of independent shops, but mostly participants were happy with the rise of the bigger shops in the area:

"Brilliant now... But since Tesco took over that, when Tesco took over the co-operative that shopping centre seems to have just boomed. There's more people using it, as you know, it's lovely to see it... And we've got Farmfoods as well and we've got the Pizza Hut... so we've got quite a lot of shops now." (WS15, f, SR, 7yr)

Health and dental services were all provided for locally and usually within walking distance.

Public transport was said to be very good for trains and buses. The area was situated in a good location which made it easily accessible for the city centre, Clydebank and other areas:

"You can get the, the number 1 bus will take you into Glasgow City Centre in ten minutes... And you're only 20 minutes from Clydebank." (WS9, f, SR, 22yr)

"You can get an express bus here that gets you into town in ten minutes." (WS6, f, OO, 20yr)

There were said to be few specific groups or clubs for children and young people which necessitated travelling outside the area. However, leisure facilities were available at Scotsotun Leisure Centre that were regarded as important for some, particularly those with health needs:

"...I had a bypass when I was 61 and I used to go along for exercising, so I used to go along there quite a lot." (WS6, f, OO, 20yr)

"Yes, this is the greatest thing that's happened in our area. Scotstoun Leisure Centre. That was a life saver for me." (WS8, f, OO, 15yr)

There were a number of parks in the area:

"There's lots of parks round here. There's a big park in the Kirkton and then see where the Knightswood, there's a big Knightswood Park, and it's got a' the swans an' a' that in it and it's got a big park behind that... And Victoria Park's, yes, down that way." (WS19, f, SR, 1yr)

There were few cafés or 'decent' pubs in the area. Provision of community organisations, projects and churches is covered later.

Social connections

Views on sense of community varied, but the majority of participants felt quite secure about where they lived (independent of the reputation of parts of the area):

"It's no' great (community), but it's no' bad either." (WS3, f, OO, 7yr)

"I like living there, but I wouldn't say there's a community." (WS6, f, OO, 20yr)

"It's more hello acquaintances these days than going oot tae the pub wi' them but, you know, you still know them." (WS20, f, SR, 7yr)

"It's rich and varied, got a good variety, a good cultural mix." (WS21, m, SR, 8yr)

For the most part, neighbourly relations were polite, familiar and convivial, but only extended beyond that for a few people:

"Pass the time of day with people... But we don't bring them in or anything or have dinner together or anything like that." (WS1, f, SR, 50+yr)

"We were in a block of four houses and we know everybody in it. ...we're friendly with them we say 'hello' and that's it." (WS8, f, OO, 15yr)

Some felt they could trust their neighbours, or ask them for help if they were in trouble:

"At the stretch I'm at, yeah, 'cause if you need help, you can chap any of those neighbours in and they'll come out and help you if you need something." (WS9, f, SR, 22yr)

"I'm very friendly wi' the woman along the road, like, from us... I go over there now for a milk or something, do you know what I mean? If I run oot." (WS12, f, SR, 14yr)

"The girl across the road from me ...she's got a set o' my keys for when I'm on holiday... She comes in. I've got a cat so she comes in an' feeds him. An' I've got a set o' her keys." (WS13, f, SR, 40yr)

A minority experienced relatively poor neighbour relations, sometimes allied to housing tenure differences:

"It's a private let through the wall. I'm no' too keen on that because it's like different people every six months. And the house doon the stairs fae there's just been bought. So, we don't quite like them either." (WS4, f, SR, 7yr)

"Nine flats in my block. And I think I only know... I've only really spoke to two of them. So I've only really spoke to the people on my landing. ...but I couldn't actually tell you their names or anything like that." (WS14, f, PR, 1.5yr)

Population change

Some participants talked about changes caused by the demolition of the high-rise flats in the area, with the 'bad' people moving out, people moving back into the wider community from the flats and a greater presence of different ethnic groups and cultures:

"Well it seemed to get better; I don't know if because of the bad people have disappeared. They've moved them oot—I don't know. Moved them to a different set of flats and all that, you know?...Just rougher kinda people... maybe got moved out or something, you know for drug selling or whatever." (WS16, m, SR, 3yr)

Many noticed more migrants in the area, or heard stories about them, but they were not considered a problem:

"I think there's a lot more coloured people now... I notice that. Yeah. It doesn't... bother me." (WS6, f, OO, 20yr)

"The flats are mainly asylum seekers that are in them. So that's about the only difference. You see them walking up and down the road, that's the only difference I see really." (WS7, f, SR, 40yr)

"You hear stories about, oh imagine having all the migrants coming in. They go to the park on a Sunday, you see them all walking down the road. There's never any bother." (WS8, m, OO, 15yr)

"There's quite a lot o' coloured people. Not that they're any different. But quite a lot o' coloured people in the school that my wee grandson will be going to which when my daughter went there was none at all. You know? That's... but that's just... life, uh huh." (WS11, f, OO, 13yr)

Most views about migrants were indifferent or positive:

"The foreigners they're actually quite nice as well... They're not too bad." (WS16, m, SR, 3yr)

"I like the different people in this community man. It's rich and varied, got a good variety, a good cultural mix." (WS21, m, SR, 8yr)

A few felt that migrants were treated favourably in that they benefited more from the housing system or got more attention in school:

"Well there's a lottae the immigrants came in. Bad feeling then... Because you could see a' this stuff going up to their houses, you know, washing machines an' everything. Well we're working hard and couldn't afford." (WS20, f, SR, 7yr)

"[at parents' evening] an Asian or a Polish person's got tae wait for an interpreter, and you've got tae sit and wait." (WS4, f, SR, 7yr)

Or they had less respect for older people:

"They don't move—if an older person goes on the bus, they don't move their children. They just let them sit down." (WS6, f, OO, 20yr)

Only a couple of participants expressed strong negative comments about migrants in the community:

"I've never seen so many blacks in my life... Because they go aboot in like packs." (WS3, f, OO, 17yr)

"There's hunners of them... They walk aboot in their wee gangs." (WS4, f, SR, 7yr)

There were mixed views about the changing nature of young people in the area, though mainly positive. Respondents noticed more younger people in the area but also at the same time a reduction in antisocial behaviour. One participant who had grown up in the area, moved away to college and then returned said:

“When I was younger, there was a lot more kind of... sort of youths about almost. Like kind of like... there was a lot of like kind of NED-dy people, ... there’s not so much of that anymore”
(WS14, f, PR, 1.5yr)

Others tended to agree:

“It used to be like a lot of the, like Yoker and Scotstoun wanting to fight... A lot of that has calmed down now I’d say.” (WS5, m, SR, 7yr)

“We do have a problem with youths on the railway bridge, used to go up there drinking and throwing things over but that, even that seems to have stopped now. Police kinda take it quite seriously and you do see them going up once in a while chasing them all, but it’s definitely not as bad as it used to be. They used to be there every night of the week.” (WS7, f, SR, 2.5yr)

One older person who had lived in the area nearly all her life had seen her friends and neighbours die, so she had seen changes to the community in that respect:

“Och, well, people die. The people didn’t just move out, they had either bought their house or they died an’ most of the ones that we knew were all dead, you know?” (WS1, f, SR, 50+yr)

Theme 2: Opportunities for social interaction and engagement

Informal opportunities

Although this area is considered well-resourced with most amenities and services to hand, there was little available to enable communities to get together and socially integrate. One participant described it as “*the lack of facility*” (WS14). The nature of its sub-areas also meant that there were differences depending where you lived in the wider area. The quote below sums up one participant’s perspective and experience from living in the Yoker area:

“There isn’t really... there’s no hub, there’s nothing. You know, where we live it’s densely populated, there is the primary school in the middle which kinda segregates, you know, like I don’t have neighbours that live across from me, I only have neighbours either side of me. ...I’ve got two big dogs, I walk them every day and I’ll see the odd neighbour who I’ll say hi to, but there’s not much else [for] social interaction. And like I kinda thought, well, the school’s gonnae be knocked down... this might rally people into some kinda [organisation]... but it hasn’t.” (WS10, f, SR, 9yr)

Although there was no hub or central venue, places people mentioned as having a social focus were the bingo, social club, churches, library and the park, either locally or more often situated on the periphery of the area:

“I know the wee churches round about us run wee groups for their members sort o’ thing, so they run groups as well” (WS12, f, SR, 40yr)

“The library, I go tae that as well. ... It’s beside the community centre.” (WS19, f, SR, 1yr)

“That’s the Daisy Park... you sometimes see people sitting in there chatting on the benches.” (WS7, f, SR, 40yr)

“People get together and meet in Corpus Christie Chapel.” (WS6, f, OO, 20yr)

Some mentioned the pubs but they were generally considered unsafe and not welcoming:

“There’s a pub doon the road but... I’d walk in and walk oot wi’ a knife in my back, so... Wouldnae go tae it.” (WS2, f, SR, 2yr)

"I mean there's a few pubs, but they've all kind of got sort of like, almost reputations. So like, one would be like an old man's pub and I wouldn't really bother going there... the one that's on the corner is quite... it's either, kind of it's old man during the day but then at night it can be quite rowdy." (WS10, f, SR, 8yr)

Some identified the need for better cafés, or places for social gathering:

"There's a wee kind o' café thing o'er in the shopping centre noo." (WS12, f, SR, 14yr)

"Possibly stuff that would maybe keep people in the area like cafés or kind of... I think they could sort of... like possibly like a café or just almost like a kind of a well-known brand almost, like a Starbucks or something like that." (WS14, f, PR, 1.5yr)

"[need] a permanent internet café. You get click centres and that, see in the GHA." (WS21, m, SR, 8yr)

A few participants used Scotstoun leisure centre (to the east of the study area) which houses a café and small children's playground. They reported getting value from the classes and facilities but not the social opportunities it potentially offered. The Centre attracts people from all over, and is not necessarily seen as a 'local' venue:

"I feel, like, when I'm sitting in the parent area everybody talks to everybody sometimes and I feel as if I'm a – the way I speak compared to everybody else, I'm like that 'Oh, my God. I sound like a NED'. Whereas they're so nice and well-spoken... I feel oot of place but everybody's nice to each other." (WS2, f, SR, 2yr)

Organised opportunities

Community centres

The two main local organisations are Heart of Scotstoun Community Centre (HoS) and Kingsway Health and Wellbeing Centre (KHW). Both can be said to be 'hidden' in that one is under a bridge slightly away from the main area, to the south of Dumbarton Road. The other is located at the bottom of a high rise flat in Kingsway Court and you need to ring a bell to enter. HoS has a café and offers very modern accommodation and space whereas KHW has poorer quality space and accommodation.

Regular users of the HoS project said that it offered a wide variety of active and social experiences:

“Well we come down Monday for the art—Tuesday for arts and crafts, today for the knitting... And I come down on a Friday to help set up the lunch club.” (WS6, f, OO, 20yr)

There was said to be some difficulty attracting local people to the groups and projects, or those considered most in need of benefiting from such projects:

“It’s mostly local people, but a lot of the people live in the, what I would call the private houses.” (WS6, f, OO, 20yr)

“A lot of people from our church joined.” (WS8, f, OO, 15yr)

“I don’t know how like local the people are that come to the centre, so... I don’t really know if many of the people in the area actually engage in community much.” (WS14, f, PR, 1.5yr)

However, those who attended projects at HoS talked about gaining real benefits. Some talked about how they had made new friends through attending groups. Some looked forward to the groups (lunch club, knitting group) and what they offered, many attending on a regular basis. Some met the friends they had made through the project outside the project:

“And there wasn’t a place like this [HoS] to come to where you could meet people and keep in touch with them. I worked full time and it was always unusual hours I worked as well. I was a district nurse all my working days, and kinda you lose contact with them but since this place has opened I’ve got, I’ve met them all again from my age group, people that I used to know fae playgroup days and everything.” (WS7, f, SR, 2.5yr)

“We look forward to coming... We feel, you know that the people here are... it’s like a family really that’s what it becomes.” (WS8, f, OO, 15yr)

“Now that I’ve came an’ I’ve got tae know people I would say ‘Want tae go out for a meal on such-and-such?’ Or ‘Do you want tae go intae Clydebank?’ You know? You can say tae other people, you know, if they want tae go somewhere outwith the centre, which there’s a few of us have done.” (WS13, f, SR, 40yr)

“Every time I go out and go to Tesco’s I always meet somebody that I know [from the project] and we can stand and have a wee chat or whatever.” (WS7, f, SR, 2.5)

Similarly, some talked about benefits of belonging derived from attending projects at KHW:

"Here people talk tae you and it's fine, I like that. I like the community spirit." (WS20, f, SR, 7yr)

"I would miss this place if it wasnae here. It's just, I feel it's part of me." (WS15, f, SR, 7yr)

There were plans to extend some of the projects at KHW and attract more people to attend:

"We used to have what they called a pensioners' lunch club. But that fell apart. So, now we're hoping beyond hope we can start a lunch club, 50 plus, and some of them are under the 50 mark that wants to start tae come tae it, so, we're in the process of getting that sorted." (WS15, f, SR, 7yr)

"[would like] a wee bit mair community outreach. Well I know they dae a lot here, ...Mair people coming down. It's a wee bit disappointing." (WS21, m, SR, 8yr)

Some mentioned community centres outside the area but close by, identifying the need for more local activity within the area or better awareness of what is available:

"Apart from the Whiteinch Community Centre. No, there isn't really any other... that's why we needed, we were supposed to get a place where people could meet." (WS7, f, SR, 40yr)

"An' we go tae another one in Partick, the Connect programme?... I go Wednesday tae yoga an' we come doon here in the afternoon for knitting an' we... I go on a Friday for art." (WS12, f, SR, 14yr)

Theme 3: Community involvement and empowerment

In Wider Scotstoun, community engagement was undertaken with regard to the development of the area and demolition of the high rise flats at Kingsway Court. This included street interviews and open workshops for tenants and stakeholders (in 2007)⁵. The researchers were not aware of, and there was no information available on, more recent community events in this respect.

Involvement

A more positive picture of capacity, change and being heard came across in Wider Scotstoun, compared with Wider Red Road. Different levels of involvement in this area were reported with positive and negative outcomes.

Most participants in this area were happy with services and amenities so, compared with WRR, there was not the same level of dissatisfaction. Some views were expressed such as:

"I don't think there's much they could change." (WS1, f, SR, 50+yr)

and

"I just think people are scared to ask people what they're wanting or... what they'd like to change." (WS4, f, SR, 7yr)

But on the whole a much more positive picture of capacity, change and being heard came across.

Some participants were aware of or had attended meetings:

"When they modernised the houses they had a meeting in the school... We had a meeting in there an' it was... you know, it was very nice an' people said what they thought an' how they were gonnae do." (WS1, f, SR, 50+yr)

One participant (R9) had been involved in getting the community centre up and running and she campaigned with the residents group to get a local drug dealer evicted from across her road. Another participant said she was *"community-minded"* and did voluntary work. She was involved in the Ramblers' Club committee and the lunch club but was fed up that *"it's left to the same people all the time."* (WS13, f, SR, 40yr).

⁵ The Tower and Hyslop Team (2007). West End Multi-Storey Flats Development Study.

A younger participant was involved in projects in Victoria Park:

"I was involved in quite a lot of projects to do with the play park in there [Victoria Park]... And regenerating the play park and... I think it was BAE donated a play ship. And we spent our summer painting it all... But then within about two weeks it was totally grafittied and we just had to paint over it." (WS5, m, SR, 7yr)

Another example is a woman petitioning her neighbours to get a communal aerial for Sky installed upstairs which was successful:

"We have a communal aerial for Sky downstairs. But we wanted it upstairs because doonstairs they watch football and I wanted it up the stairs. So I went to Yoker Housing ...And I had to go back an' forth an' I even went around petitioning the neighbours saying, 'Look, can we get, do you want Sky?'"... 'Well no' just noo, but eventually yes, we do'. So eventually I got them to say, 'Yeah, a'right, it's okay, you can put a Sky dish in your back garden'." (WS20, f, SR, 7yr)

Some were involved in volunteering and fund-raising activities, although one person was told to stop his activity by the Job Centre:

"I dae voluntary work [gardening]... Up in the Alderman Road. I just started back 'cause last year I was dae'in it for three days an' the Job Centre telt me tae stop dae'in it. The Job Centre ...they've got you there noo... See if you dae anything wrang, you're sanctioned." (WS21, m, SR, 8yr)

"I get involved in the usual things like playgroups and fundraising for schools and things like that but that's about it." (WS7, f, SR, 40yr)

Experiences and feelings of empowerment

There are positive examples of people identifying needs in the community and responding to them, with three participants being actively involved in building community organisations locally. Two participants (WS7 and WS10) had been actively involved in setting up HoS. The need for a community centre was identified:

"...from the poorer people (Earl Street) involved in the Residents' Association." (WS7, f, SR, 50+yr)

"[we] decided to try and aim as high as getting a community centre." (WS7, f, SR, 50+yr)

It was indicated that:

"[the aim] was to kinda try and encourage people from Earl Street to come in and the kids to get off the street. We'd an awful problem years ago wi' these NEDs causing havoc, stabbing people, just totally out of control." (WS7, f, SR, 40yr)

The need for a bigger community space was also identified. Dumbarton Road Residents Association ran from a community flat that was:

"literally just a living room and, you know, two wee tiny bedrooms ...so it was not ideal [when you] were trying to do youth clubs when the neighbours were complaining and you were trying to do a lunch club that we could only fit, you know, six elderly people in. It was getting to the stage it was ridiculous." (WS10, f, SR, 9yr).

Getting appropriate accommodation was an issue in the planning and development of the organisation. The original planned venue was a church which was burnt down, and then a school but this was bought for new housing development. Eventually land was purchased for the community project to be built on, but the land had to be decontaminated so it was a very long process. The so-called 15-year process to get the community organisation up and running ensued with meetings, applications and various hurdles, which was described as:

"a long time, it was a long fight... think it was a big fright actually, you know, I think we'd been fighting that long we kind of thought that it's never gonnae happen, so it was quite a big realisation that the building was up." (WS10, f, SR, 9yr).

Those involved managed to secure all the finding required from the Big Lottery, GHA and others but nonetheless:

"I just wish we could secure a lot more funding to make it a bit easier to manage." (WS10, f, SR, 9yr).

Once the centre began functioning, it ran a variety of clubs (lunch club, young people's groups, knitting group), holding a crèche and café. It was said that there had been some difficulty attracting the people the organisation was aimed at (those 'most in need'), and a variety of methods have been employed to encourage people to use the project although many have failed:

"We've tried, we've leafleted them, we've had like, we did, we used to do boot sales, thinking they'd come along and buy stuff. The busiest day we ever had in here was actually cutting the turf when we offered free burgers... Free burgers, a barbecue and there was 650 people come to it." (WS10, f, SR, 9yr)

"It's still amazing the number of people that'll come in and say, 'Oh I didn't know you were here'." (WS7, f, SR, 40yr)

However, people using the groups within the centre appeared to get real community and social benefits:

"We look forward to coming... We feel, you know that the people here are... it's like a family really that's what it becomes." (WS8, m, OO, 15yr)

"I've got friends that I've made through the community centre an' they're all round about this area." (WS13, f, SR, 40yr)

HoS offers a range of services and community outreach. One participant using the computers for job applications said:

"Because they've put their hearts and soul intae it, community outreach man and it's a shame, disappointing. Some people come for a while then they stop coming. Obviously because their circumstances, on benefits or unemployed. Sometimes they feel isolated in these places as well." (WS21, m, SR, 8yr)

But the issue of the centre not attracting those most in need, being out of the way, and used by cliques prevails:

"I've been in twice now, that's it... I went tae vote and I went wi' my auntie once, so, she could jump in and get something to eat but that was it." (WS2, f, SR, 2yr)

"I don't like where it's situated... there's nothing there, do you know what I mean? ...It's right away from the main road, and there's nothing round about it." (WS3, f, OO, 17yr)

Furthermore, the crèche (parent/toddler group) is used by people living outside the area (the crèche was visited several times during the study but none of its users were local people) and it was said not to have a connection with the wider community centre, having a separate entrance:

"Toddler group, they don't... they don't seem to mix with us at all. Maybe they'll use the café when they're leaving." (WS7, f, SR, 40yr)

Another participant (WS15) was involved on the committee of the Kingsway Health and Wellbeing Project. Her involvement arose through asking questions at community meetings:

"I just spoke up asking questions about the schools getting pulled down and where did the money go because it didn't come back into the communities... So I went on, so, I was on the tenants' association. So, I've always wanted – I always want to fight for people's rights and make sure that they're getting the proper thingmies that they're supposed to get." (WS15, f, SR, 7yr)

She cited an example of people not knowing what was going to happen to the high rise flats. People were living in limbo not knowing what was going to happen to the area; they felt neglected and the housing associations weren't interested. She says she *"fought a corner"* for them and *"I fought to get them done up"*. She also talked about the community cleaning a neglected and dirty area behind the high rise flats. She was active in getting local people and the housing association involved:

"It was a clean-up day and we all got involved in it. And it was cleaning all round here and ...and in total they got 700 bags [of rubbish] full." (WS15, f, SR, 7yr)

She added an observation about how continuing maintenance was now being undertaken:

"And now you're seeing it, I walk along and if cans have been seen, they get picked up right away because I've seen them in a morning and I've come in and they've says 'Aye, we've noticed it so somebody's away cleaning it', so, it's nice on a nice day to walk through. ...'cause I would never have walked through that. They've put new paths in and they've put lights on it, so they have. So, it's all lit up. But I would never have walked through it before." (WS15, f, SR, 7yr)

Similar to HoS, while those actively involved in Kingsway Health and Wellbeing get real benefits from their involvement and what they see as being delivered, although these do not always translate to the wider community.

The two organisations discussed are situated within Scotstoun, yet one participant commented that there was difficulty in setting up projects to the west of the area (Yoker) due to it being a different

type of community, with people less inclined to get involved or do things for the good of the wider community:

“But I think attempting to rally up the support that’s required would be very difficult in my area, I don’t think that I would have, you know, like here we have people helping wi’ petitions and coming to support days and stuff, I don’t think that would happen.” (WS10, f, SR, 9yr)

“I think that a lot of the people that have been there for a long time are quite settled in their ways anyway. I think that they’re quite adverse to change and wouldn’t like new people coming to their area to attend anything anyway. It’s a strange wee... it is literally like a wee island and it’s... it sounds terrible, it’s not that bad, it’s not as bad as it sounds, it’s just very much a kinda keep yourself to yourself area and if you want to do something you just go and find it, you don’t expect it to be there on your door.” (WS10, f, SR, 9yr)

Summary

A mixture of the demolition of some high-rise blocks, refurbishment of others, and new-build housing as replacement in two locations was seen as a set of positive developments in the area, both improving the visual amenity and being associated with better tenancy management to reduce problems of antisocial behaviour. The area as a whole was seen as benefiting from containing a mixture of areas, varying by house type, housing tenure and resident age group.

Most services and amenities in the area were reported on in a positive manner in terms of their availability and maintenance; this applied to public transport, primary healthcare, leisure facilities and parks. As in Wider Red Road, however, there was not seen to be enough cafés and pubs in the area to facilitate social gatherings, nor clubs or groups for children and young people. The churches, library and parks in the area were, however, appreciated as places to meet others.

Participants had noticed the growing ethnic diversity in the area, though most saw this as either unproblematic or indeed positive. Similarly, the shift from older to younger households was also noticed, along with a reduction in problems of youth-related antisocial behaviour over time. As in WRR, two complaints about migrants were voiced by some (though less commonly than in WRR): that migrants were favourably treated in housing terms; and that migrants did not share some local social norms (the use of everyday greetings on the street (WRR); and showing courtesy to older

people (WS)). Although participants in Wider Scotstoun, unlike those in WRR, did not voice concerns about local services being under pressure as a result of migration, there was recognition that migration placed extra requirements on services that impacted on everyone else to some degree.

The two community centres within the study area appeared to be appreciated and well used. A variety of activities seemed to keep regular users attending, and boosted people's social contacts, friendship networks and sense of belonging. Despite these positive accounts, deficiencies in the provision of community centres were noted, in particular, the two in existence are both not very visible to people across the area, not being in prominent locations. As already noted, the study area comprises a number of quite different sub-areas, and not all of these contain a community centre. There were calls for a more central, larger, visible hub for the entire locality. Alongside this, there was a need to find a way to reach and attract a wider range of local residents to the centres.

There was a stronger sense of community empowerment evident from participants' accounts in Wider Scotstoun. This seemed to be due to a mixture of factors: the successful establishment of the two community centres in recent years; having better local amenities and services in the first place and hence lower levels of dissatisfaction; and receiving better environmental services to keep the area tidy.

Conclusion

Our qualitative study of two areas surrounding high-rise estates that were undergoing redevelopment did not find any firm evidence of 'negative spillover' effects as described in the literature on regeneration. There were some minor issues to do with the non-observation of local social conventions that were related to a growing level of ethnic diversity within the area. Integration support programmes could help avoid or overcome these issues, were such programmes to be operational across the entire areas as well as within the high-rise estates. There were also some references to pressures and additional demands being placed on local services by a rise in the number of migrants in the area, but this was not seen as a major problem.

Any problems of weak community cohesion in the two areas were not mainly concerned with crime or antisocial behaviour, nor attributed to the relocation of residents from the demolished tower blocks nearby, or to migrants more generally, but rather referred to lack of familiarity and trust due to the turnover of residents in rental, particularly private sector, properties. Rather than there being manifest tensions between the original local residents and more recent arrivals, there was a degree of resentment caused by a perceived unfairness in the inability of long-term residents and their family members to gain access to new-build social housing prior to newcomers doing so, all this in the context of a perceived insufficient supply of social rented housing to meet demand, particularly from younger households. Apart from this, the main housing changes brought about by regeneration were welcomed, either because they lifted the appearance of the area or provided more opportunities for future developments to enhance provision of housing and amenities in the area.

Weak community cohesion in the two study areas, rather than being the result of recent population change, seems more likely to be the product of inadequate levels of social interaction, partly as a result of poor provision of local social spaces such as cafés, pubs, local shops, and smaller green spaces. Some people relied on the local churches to provide such interaction opportunities, but many people did not see churches as relevant venues for them; local libraries were also important in this respect. It was also notable that no mention was made of schools as venues for social interaction and leisure activities. Both areas were deemed in need of more community cafés or local coffee shops to enable people to casually interact. In both cases, these quite large areas had a lot of residents going elsewhere to use amenities such as cafés, parks and leisure facilities. The study confirms the importance of local 'third spaces' for the maintenance of social interaction and community cohesion.

Both areas were also seen as lacking enough community venues, and in particular a central hub or community centre that would boost the areas' identities and help increase the inadequate provision of organised activities for some social groups. An enhanced community identity and sense of belonging through such community centres may also support a stronger degree of proactive empowerment in the future. However, both the existing and any new community centres would have to address the challenge of successfully outreaching to groups not currently accessing such facilities.

But the strongest factor currently impacting upon feelings of (dis)empowerment in one of the two study areas was a perceived inadequate level of provision of local amenities and services, or their neglect, change and reduction over time without community consent or involvement. It is hard to view current arrangements to collect or invite community views on local services and amenities as sufficient or effective given these findings and this would require to be addressed to achieve more empowered, sustainable communities for the future.