

“Reconnecting People and Communities”?
Participation in Partnerships and the Labour Market:
The Impact of Local Regeneration Initiatives

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Abstract

In response to some of the negative economic consequences of globalisation, there is considerable international interest in participatory styles of engaging local communities. This method of community engagement also has local expression in response to social and economic exclusion.

A number of theoretical approaches and debates on social exclusion, which have occurred on both sides of the Atlantic are explored. In the UK and in the US current policies are set within a supply side context. This attributes social exclusion to the characteristics of people and deprived places, leading to targeted area interventions. In contrast with previous approaches, the current policy framework requires explicit community participation.

This thesis explores the concept of participation, specifically in relation to targeted programmes in Hackney, East London, and with reference to urban programmes in New York. A qualitative approach is employed to address a specific set of research questions concerned with; identifying the extent to which an ethnically diverse constituency of local stakeholders have been engaged in and empowered by local initiatives; what they consider to be the benefits and constraints of such strategies and their effectiveness in addressing what they consider as their most pressing concerns, including forms of labour market discrimination. A number of theoretical issues concerning community, capacity building, and empowerment in the context of partnerships are also addressed.

The key conclusions are that local interventions provide value for participants in relation to extending networks and acquiring specific skills. However, the thesis also concludes that effective participation as envisaged by policy makers is difficult to achieve. There are constraints on local actors in their ability to affect the fortunes of their localities. While recognising the limitations of area interventions to address the consequences of processes over which they have little control, the thesis concludes by making suggestions on how future policies might address local issues more effectively.

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List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| AFDC | Aid to Dependent Families with Children |
| CHA | Croydon Health Authority |
| CoL | Corporation of London |
| CWE | Consortium for Worker Education |
| DETR | Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions |
| DfEE | Department of Further Education and Employment |
| DoE | Department of the Environment |
| DoH | Department of Health |
| DWP | Department for Work and Pensions |
| EAZ | Education Action Zone |
| EGRG | Economic Geography Research Group |
| FPI | Fiscal Policy Institute |
| GLA | Greater London Authority |
| GLE | Greater London Enterprise |
| GoL | Government Office For London |
| HMSO | Her Majesty's Stationers Office |
| IES | Institute For Employment Studies |
| IER | Institute For Employment Research |
| IPPR | Institute of Public Policy Research |
| LGIU | Local Government Information Unit |
| LBC | London Borough of Croydon |
| LBH | London Borough of Hackney |
| LGA | Local Government Association |
| LISC | Local Initiatives Support Corporation |
| LSP | Local Strategic Partnership |
| LSE | London School of Economics |
| NDC | New Deal for Communities |
| NRU | Neighbourhood Renewal Unit |
| NYCC | New York City Council |
| ODPM | Office of the Deputy Prime Minister |
| ONS | Office of National Statistics |
| OPM | Office For Public Management |
| PIU | Policy Innovation Unit |
| PRWORA | Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act |
| RCU | Regional Co-ordination Unit |
| SEU | Social Exclusion Unit |
| SRB | Single Regeneration Budget |
| TANF | Temporary Assistance to Needy Families |
| TES | Times Educational Supplement |
| US | United States |
| UK | United Kingdom |
| EU | European Union |
| WHEDCO | Women's Housing and Education Development Co-operative |

Chapter 1 – Introduction and Context for the Study

Global and Local Inequalities

The central concern of this thesis is with the concept of participation. It emerged as a subject for empirical inquiry, out of a considerable and indeed a growing interest within the international policy and academic community on participatory styles of local engagement in urban renewal and development (Bennett, Beynon, and Hudson, 2000; Cooke and Kothari, 2001; NRU, 2001; World Bank, 2001 and 2002; Gayle, 2002).

Globalisation has brought with it, increases in GDP and advances in technology. At the same time, in the current economic and social model, the negative externalities that are part of a contemporaneous global system of interdependence have left a seemingly indelible imprint in the form of entrenched poverty and exclusion, and vast disparities in income and wealth. On an international scale, there are glaring reminders of the inequalities that exist between rich and poor nations. (Roberts and Hite, 2000; Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2003; Anderson, 2003; Sassen, 2003; Zarembka, 2003). However, the stark contrast between the rich and poor are not only found in comparisons between nations, but are salient across and within the various cities and regions of both rich and poor countries (Abu-Lughod, 1999; Ribeiro and Telles, 2000; Logan, 2000; Kleinman 2000; Perrons and Skyers, 2003).

A Participatory Response to Tackling Inequalities

The policy response to increasing social and economic disparities and divisions has been a participatory one, which promotes active community involvement in local

decision-making. This approach emphasises local knowledge as a key resource in ensuring that local responses meet local needs, and the application of a participatory model is much in evidence on a grand scale, (World Bank, 2001 and 2002; Cooke and Kothari, 2001) and at a local level as part of a mosaic of programmes spanning regeneration, health, and education (DETR, 2000a; DfEE, 1998; DoH, 1997 and 1999). There is also an underlying assumption in the participatory method that it is the most effective instrument for achieving social change, a position that is supported by a policy stance, which asserts that the right solutions as well as workable ones will somehow emerge through greater community involvement and dialogue. As a policy response, a participatory approach therefore automatically raises a number of important research issues, particularly the extent to which it is effective.

In western economies, increasing forms of inequality have been associated with profound changes in the nature, organisation and distribution of work within a knowledge economy (Sassen, 1991 and 2003; Castells, 1996). These changes have also been associated with huge income disparities and a dismantling of the systems of social support, that are part of the collective sharing of risks (Beck, 2000). My concern in this thesis has been to explore the meaning of participation, using case study evidence from two local regeneration and employment assistance initiatives in the London Borough of Hackney. As there has been much transfer of urban policy across the Atlantic, the thesis also looks, to some extent, at the impact of similar approaches in the US.

There are two main strands to understanding the meaning of participation in this study. Firstly, participation in local regeneration initiatives and the effectiveness of capacity building and empowerment measures designed to secure greater community inclusion.

Secondly, participation through connection with the world of work which is seen by both UK and US governments as the main route out of poverty and social exclusion.

The Research Questions

The following broad research questions have been posed in this thesis:

Are the priorities of local partnerships compatible with the priorities of local and central government and local interests?

An important issue about local partnerships is that actual power and control over decisions in relation to resource allocation, eligibility criteria, and which schemes are actually funded, is still determined by central government, and local agendas dominated by local authorities and powerful interests (Haughton, Peck, Tickell, Jones, Littlewood, While, 2000; Carley, Chapman, Hastings, Kirk, Young, 2000; de Castella, 2001; Urban Forum, 2002). This is despite the devolution of responsibility for the development and implementation of local regeneration plans to the community. In this context, it is important therefore to determine whether the priorities of central government and local government are in fact compatible with what people in a particular locality believe is necessary to tackle the issues they perceive as significant. It is also important to determine whether or not there is consensus among people locally on these issues.

Who is the community and what are the channels through which community representatives and other stakeholders are identified to participate in regeneration partnerships?

The stated intention of central government is to open up decision-making through locally based partnerships with the wider community (DETR, 1997a, and b; DETR, 2000c and d). However, the community is not a single constituency, but is comprised of a

multiplicity of interests. Moreover, it is arguable that the Labour Government's modernisation agenda for local government, designed to bring decision-making closer to the people, has been essentially grafted onto the traditional local government apparatus (de Castella, 2001). Partnerships may therefore continue to be constrained in their ability to achieve the objectives they establish. It is also important to question the reconstitution of governance structures, through the creation of partnerships, and to ask whether this fundamentally addresses the issues inherent in power structures, and institutional processes, or in traditional ways of conducting local authority business. Brickell (2000) for example, has pointed out that traditional governance structures have not worked so the extent to which a revamped version of the same structures will be any more effective is also questionable.

Applications for central government resources to establish regeneration partnerships also generally need to be submitted within very tight timescales, which might not allow sufficient time for the development of meaningful partnerships. There may therefore be a tendency on the part of the lead organisation, which is usually the local authority, to select those organisations within its boundaries that are already conversant with partnership styles of working, or who are known to be broadly supportive of its local plans. This raises obvious questions about democratic legitimacy and accountability. It also raises broader issues about whose views are actually included and whether the selection of community representatives can be used as a mechanism for driving through particular agendas, and frustrating the claims of other interests that do not have a particularly strong voice or organised presence.

How effective are capacity building and empowerment measures in enhancing local community involvement, particularly among the most marginalised groups?

The broader social and economic processes that create enormous power differentials between people and between places, and which entrench existing institutionalised inequalities (Sassen, 1991, 1994 and 2003; Castells, 1996; Mingione, 1996; Faegin, 1998; Burawoy et al, 2000) are discussed later in this thesis. One of the tasks of this study is to determine the extent to which urban decline and its impact on people and on places can be tackled via a partnership approach and the schemes contracted to them.

A number of techniques such as capacity building and community empowerment have been employed to secure broader participation from among excluded groups and individuals who are unfamiliar with the workings of partnerships (DETR, 1997a DETR, 2000c and d; LBH, 1998; Twelvetrees, 1998). This does however raise a question about the extent to which these techniques can be effective in ensuring that partnerships are inclusive, given the broader context of institutionalised inequalities. In addition, evidence suggests that black and minority ethnic groups who are among the most disadvantaged, have only limited involvement in the planning and implementation of regeneration programmes (Chahal, 2000).

National public sector policies also set the terms upon which partnerships are established, the broad priorities, and the confines within which they must operate, long before the community is included, and appear, by a subtle sleight of hand, to centre on liberal notions of empowerment as opposed to more radical notions of power. This is a particularly crucial issue given that power and influence, in reality, may not only reside in formal partnerships, but among an experienced elite corps of council officers and powerful community and business interests situated within a wider informal network

outside of formal partnership arrangements (Duffy, 1994; Geddes, 1997; Les Galés, 1998; Smith, 1999).

What are the specific material impacts of participation in employment assistance programmes that are contracted to deliver employment outcomes on behalf of area based programmes?

As part of an examination of the notion of participation, one of the key tasks in this study has been to look at participation in employment schemes, and the extent to which they are effective as pathways to stable labour market participation. It has also been to look at whether employment schemes and the work in which they are engaged have real meaning to people on the ground, and whether there are tangible material benefits to local people arising from their activities.

Although there are fundamental differences in the UK regulatory and the US free-market approaches to urban regeneration and economic development, area based partnership initiatives in the US do appear to follow a similar model to those in the UK, although empowerment appears to be weighted more heavily towards a business retention model that focuses on investors. In addition, as in the UK, US cities are also experiencing the effects of social and economic polarisation resulting from major changes in the economy. A comparative element that looks at examples of area based participatory approaches to tackling urban decline and its associated problems in a different social, cultural and political context, might help to inform answers to the questions posed in this study about their efficacy.

Organisation of the Thesis

The following chapters discuss the theoretical issues, the methodology, and the methodological issues in relation to this study. They also present the findings from the empirical work and have been organised along the lines set out below.

Chapter 2 examines the key debates and processes that contribute to and reinforce social exclusion. My central argument in this chapter is that whilst social exclusion has been defined in the literature in a multitude of ways, its central feature hinges on the concept of participation. This is firstly in terms of exclusion from participation in the processes of local governance and decision-making, and secondly, in terms of exclusion from participation in the mainstream labour market. These two dimensions to participation and the way participatory initiatives become enmeshed in discriminatory processes and practices have informed the approach to understanding social exclusion that I have adopted in this thesis, and have guided the framing of the research questions already set out above.

Chapter 3 looks at current and former policy responses to poverty and social exclusion, including an examination of social and urban policy transfer between the US and the UK. This chapter identifies and discusses some of the central and persistent ideas that have characterised social and urban policy debates, the accounts that have been put forward to explain the causes of urban decline, and the rationale that has underpinned the development of past and existing approaches. This chapter also poses questions about the efficacy of the various remedial measures that have been prioritised over the past four decades, including the effectiveness of current area based approaches in the UK and in the US.

Chapter 4 explores the concept of participation and looks at the notion of partnership as a vehicle for steering the development and implementation of locally owned strategies to regenerate deprived areas. It examines some of the key theoretical issues in relation to power, influence, and sphere of control within the current participatory framework. This chapter also looks at some of the conceptual issues that are raised by the application of measures designed to secure the effective representation of diverse local interests in the determination of local partnership agendas and decision-making. In this context, this chapter also explores the effectiveness of capacity building and empowerment measures, particularly among some of the most marginalised and excluded groups in society who are or who have been denied access to social, economic and political resources.

Chapter 5 sets out the approach I took in identifying and selecting the participants for the study, collecting and analysing the data, and explains the reasons why a qualitative approach was seen to be appropriate to the research questions posed above. This chapter also analyses some of the methodological issues that became apparent during the fieldwork process, and explicates these by drawing upon the fieldwork experiences of other researchers and in particular, those whose work has been informed by an anti-racist and feminist perspective.

Chapters 6 and 7 form the empirical component of the thesis. Chapter 6 explores the practical expression of participation and its corollaries, capacity building and empowerment. In particular, it examines the extent to which participation has resulted in more inclusive and locally responsive regeneration programmes. This chapter also makes reference to the practical meaning and expression of devolved decision making, capacity building and empowerment in the US. Chapter 7 extends the participation

theme to encompass an examination of two specific employment assistance schemes, @ Work, and Ascent 21. These schemes have entered into individual contractual relationships with the Shoreditch New Deal for Communities (Shoreditch NDC) and the Haggerston Single Regeneration Budget initiative under Round 4 (Haggerston SRB) to deliver employment related services. In addition, parallels are drawn with two employment programmes operating in the Bronx, New York, Innovations At Work, and Urban Horizons, both of which are administered by the Women's Housing and Education Development Co-operative (WHEDCO), and are funded by the Federal Government under the spatially targeted Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone.

The final chapter, Chapter 8, weaves together the findings from the empirical work and the theoretical discussion. It considers the implications of the findings for the type of urban policy prescriptions that are currently at a premium. One of the key conclusions to emerge from this study is that whilst current measures to increase participation in governance and in the labour market do have some value, there are major constraints on the extent to which they are able to address the multi-faceted nature of social and economic exclusion. In a global environment, these constraints, which are structural in nature, are beyond the effective control and sphere of influence of individuals and individual localities.

Throughout the thesis, I have chosen to use the term "black and minority ethnic". Others may choose to use a different term. It is important however, in my view, not to become too preoccupied with labels since what is important is recognising the distinctive and common interests of all minorities, and understanding the different experiences of racism within and among ethnic groups.

Chapter 2 - Social Exclusion: Definitions and Theoretical Perspectives

Introduction

Despite more than four decades of targeted urban policy and the spawning of various regeneration initiatives designed to tackle urban decline, and its social and economic consequences, there has been a continuing increase in the level of inequality. This increase has been accompanied by a rise in the incidence of poverty, as well as the emergence of new and more entrenched forms. Within this context the term social exclusion has become fashionable in the political and academic vocabulary. However, social exclusion is a nebulous concept, and is subject to many diverse interpretations and meanings. As a consequence, it is very difficult to arrive at a consensus about the nature of social exclusion, to agree on who is socially excluded, or to agree on and devise workable strategies for combating its causes.

An examination of the contemporary debates about social exclusion reveals that it has become inextricably bound up with notions about poverty and its causes; structural inequalities in society; ideas about the existence of an underclass; long term unemployment and welfare dependency, but with an emphasis firmly on groups that are seen as *deviant*; the inability to exercise social and political rights; malign social networks, as well as a variety of other states and conditions (Murray, 1990, 1998 and 1999; Wilson, 1990, 1997 and 1998; Gans, 1996; Mingione, 1996; Silver, 1996; Perri 6, 1997; Duffy, 1998; Oppenheim, 1998; Atkinson, 1998; Turok, Kearns and Goodlad, 1999; Kleinman, 2000; Geddes, 2000). Moreover, the various theoretical propositions that underpin the way in which social exclusion has been variously defined, have had a

significant influence on the character and shape of past and current policy responses, and thus on the type of solutions that are seen as effective.

This chapter examines some of the central debates about the nature of social exclusion, the processes that create and reinforce it, and looks at some of the competing definitions. My main argument is that given the numerous ways in which social exclusion has been understood, and interpreted, as well as the diverse groups to whom the label has been applied, arriving at an all embracing and universally agreed definition is not possible. Two of the key hallmarks of social exclusion in the literature however are firstly, exclusion from participation in decision-making processes (SEU, 1998a; Audit Commission, 1999a; Gayle, 2002; Fainstein, 2001; Kleinman 2000), and secondly, exclusion from participation in the mainstream labour market (Kirschenman and Neckerman, 1991; Massey and Allen, 1995; MacDonald, 1997; Heady, 1997; Atkinson, 1998; Robinson, 1998; HM Treasury, 1999; Turok, 2000; Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2003; Toynbee, 2003). Thus, this thesis seeks to establish some clear boundaries by focusing specifically on political exclusion and economic exclusion, and exploring the links between them. This is in terms of appraising the effectiveness of measures to promote race equality and secure diverse community involvement via local participatory initiatives, which includes programmes designed to enhance labour market participation. As an approach, it provides some understanding of social exclusion and its impact, and therefore has value in determining and appraising the effectiveness of specific policy responses.

An important contribution that this thesis hopes to make to studies of urban governance and labour market participation is in its detailed examination of issues concerning racism and race equality from the perspective of the intended beneficiaries of participatory

policies and the perspectives of local practitioners and policy makers. Indeed, an integral component of my analysis is the intersection between race, ethnicity, and gender as key determinants of participation, which have been given limited attention in studies of governance and the labour market.

Areas of urban decline and exclusion are characterised by a decaying infrastructure, a lack of investment and disinvestment, and the entrenchment of structural unemployment, and structural under-employment caused by successive rounds of economic restructuring. This has severely weakened the competitiveness of some areas, and as a consequence, the labour market position of many of the people who live there. According to the government policy literature, a principal cause of social exclusion is that people are lacking in the requisite skills demanded by high paying or well paying sectors, which characterise the knowledge economy (DSS, 1999; SEU, 1999b). Other critics argue that opportunities for adequately paid employment have been limited by structural labour market forces, particularly in areas of economic decline. (Massey and Allen, 1995; Sassen, 1991, 1994, 1996 and 2003; Bennett, Beynon and Hudson, 2000; Harvey, 2000; Peck and Theodore, 1999; Peck, 2001; Toynbee, 2003). Whichever interpretation is accepted, the fact remains that a large proportion of individuals are unable to participate economically in society and this has repercussions in terms of their choices for social and political engagement.

A Working Definition of Social Exclusion

The dual participation perspective to understanding social exclusion that has been adopted in this thesis, that is, participation in terms of the labour market and participation in local decision making structures provides a more useful basis for an operational definition of social exclusion than debates that hinge solely on issues of citizenship,

management structures and participation in local governance. The extent of community involvement in local structures of decision is an important question, but to place the emphasis here exclusively can displace attention from also looking at the material impact of urban decline on the lives of individuals. This in turn, often has consequences for the nature and extent of participation in the political process. Moreover, the entrenchment of unemployment and structural low-income under-employment in a predominantly service based economy, is a major cause of poverty and social exclusion, in which race, ethnicity, class, gender and other equalities issues are inextricably entwined. Indeed, these are some of the issues that area-based regeneration initiatives have been designed to address through local participation.

This labour market perspective underpins the selection of employment schemes for examination in this study, specifically those that are linked to the Shoreditch New Deal for Communities programme (Shoreditch NDC) and the Haggerston Single Regeneration Budget initiative under Round 4 (Haggerston SRB) in the London Borough of Hackney, and targeted employment programmes run by the Women' Housing and Education Development Cooperative (WHEDCO) in the South Bronx, New York, part of the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone. Access to employment, and adequate financial resources are crucial in economic, political, civic and social life. Inequality in access to employment, and inadequate income, are therefore important determinants of poverty and social exclusion, and are manifested in tangible material ways, with debilitating effects on morale, children, the family, opportunities for education, and housing, and also severely limit potential. For this reason, measures geared towards enhancing employment and the income of groups and communities identified as socially excluded must be one of the cardinal concerns in the framing of urban policies.

Definitions of Social Exclusion

There is an almost uniform acceptance about the fact and existence of social exclusion in the literature, although the underlying causes are a subject of much controversy. As already stated however, two common themes are exclusion from local structures of governance, and labour market exclusion. (Murray, 1990, 1998 and 1999; Wilson, 1990 and 1997; Morris 1993, 1994 and 1996; Geddes, 1997; Atkinson, 1998; Barry, 1998; Bennett, 1998; Atkinson and Hills, 1998; SEU, 1998a, b and c; Burchardt, LeGrand and Pichaud, 1999; Mandipour, Cars and Allen, 1998; Kleinman, 2000; Martins and Hampton, 2001; Gayle, 2002). Thus determining boundaries around this dual notion of participation and examining and evaluating the impact of corresponding remedial measures designed to address it are key issues in this thesis.

Atkinson (1998) sees social exclusion as a relative concept that only has meaning in relation to a wider society from which individuals or communities are excluded:

We cannot judge whether or not a person is socially excluded by looking at his or her circumstances in isolation. The concrete implementation of any criteria for exclusion has to take account of the activities of others. People become excluded because of events elsewhere in society (Atkinson, 1998: 7).

He further argues that social exclusion is a dynamic and broad concept, which manifests itself through society's institutional and economic arrangements, and which, takes on a spatial dimension, excluding whole areas and the people who live there. The example of postcode discrimination by employers and the providers of financial services and utilities for example, is often cited, and is based upon fixed ideas about the characteristics of certain areas and their residents (Atkinson, 1998).

Atkinson sees a dynamic three-way relationship between poverty, unemployment and social exclusion, but argues that they are not interchangeable, or synonymous. Employment, in Atkinson's view, whilst being of crucial importance, is only one element of social exclusion, particularly as low paid employment does not ensure social inclusion. Rather, social exclusion is an inability to participate fully in mainstream society, an inability to take part in many of its activities, and an inability to consume those services that the majority of the society takes for granted:

People may face exclusion in other parts of their lives, notably in the domain of consumption. An important strand in the concerns that have been expressed is that people are unable to participate in the customary consumption activities of the society in which they live (Atkinson, 1998: 13).

One of the reasons people are unable to participate in customary consumption activities is due to inadequate financial resources, and therefore, an inability to pay. A key ingredient of this is labour market exclusion whether through long-term unemployment, or low paid employment, the effects of which reverberate throughout numerous other areas of economic life and which, also have implications for the extent of civic engagement.

McCormick and Philo (1995) argue that social exclusion implies an inability to participate in the labour market, through a lack of opportunities for networking with employers or individuals in employment. This they also see as having a spatial dimension. Perri 6 (1997) likewise, also sees social exclusion as part and parcel of a lack of vital networks, which are needed to sustain individuals economically and socially at specific points in their lifecycle. Again, participation in the labour market is seen as one of the key ingredients in being able to secure, sustain, or participate in important networks:

The network poor are individuals who do not have the kind of social network configurations that is most appropriate for the stage in the life course they have reached, to enable them to thrive – where thriving can be a matter of securing good health, securing emotional support and development and maturity, securing work and income and status and a high level of consumption, or simply prolonging a life in reasonable comfort (Perri 6, 1997: 27).

The impact of social networks on labour market participation is emphasised by Morris (1993, 1994 and 1996). Morris's conclusions which are drawn from a study of couple households in Hartlepool, revealed that people who were among the long-term unemployed tended to live in areas with high levels of unemployment, and lived with partners or spouses who were also unemployed. They also had concentrated unemployment amongst their relatives and close friends:

It is fairly clear, then, that the concentration of unemployment in the kinship and friendship networks of the unemployed is likely to reduce their chances of finding work in relation to those with stronger contacts in the world of employment (Morris, 1994: 119).

Morris's view of social exclusion is rooted in a structuralist approach to understanding unemployment, and in particular, long-term unemployment, and the way in which the negative effects of labour market transformations are mediated through the family and local network configurations. Morris argues that a paucity or lack of networks with influence beyond the immediate locality, in communities that have been marginalised by the impact of economic restructuring, both creates and reinforces a process of social exclusion.¹

One of Morris's main conclusions is that economically marginalised communities do not represent a distinctive underclass or deviant sub-culture that is completely cut off from mainstream society. This notion of an underclass has been argued and contested in

much of the academic literature emanating from the US (Murray, 1990, 1998 and 1999; Jencks and Peterson, 1991; Gans, 1996; Marcuse, 1996 and 1997; Wilson, 1990, 1997, and 1998). It has also strongly influenced the underlying tone of the social exclusion debate in the UK (Pacione, 1997; MacDonald, 1997; DfEE, 1998; SEU 1998a). The evidence from the groups in Morris's sample demonstrates however that far from being homogenous and dysfunctional communities, areas of high and long-term unemployment contain populations that are heterogeneous, residents who are mutually supportive, and who are strong advocates of mainstream values regarding the work ethic. Moreover, many do have contact, albeit limited, with participants in the labour market, and therefore are not part of a culture with alien values, totally insulated from mainstream society. This view is also supported by Wilson's (1997) empirical study of black communities in Chicago, although Wilson does argue that structural factors have reduced the number of people within deprived areas who are in employment, particularly among black men, resulting in a lack of positive role models.

The network configuration thesis advanced by McCormick and Philo (1995), Perri 6 (1997), and Morris (1993, 1994 and 1996), raises a number of complex issues about the operation of networks, and has broader equality implications for participation generally. Indeed, the term social exclusion is usually reserved for forms of exclusion that have economic, political, and social consequences, that those experiencing it cannot directly control. Social exclusion is therefore something that is done to individuals or communities by institutional and economic arrangements and by an unequal distribution of power. The solutions proposed by the current Government in the UK however, whilst recognising this at a rhetorical level, tend to marginalise it in practice as evidenced by a

¹ Morris's study was based on a sample size of 200 married or cohabiting couples in Hartlepool, defined by the employment status of the male who was required to be aged between 25 and 55.

greater emphasis on supply-side policies of containment. These policies focus on enhancing individual employability, rather than effectively addressing demand-side deficiencies such as employer discrimination and a labour market structured around low pay and insecure employment. This would seem to explain the emphasis on a range of measures designed to enhance the suitability of individuals for employment through a host of area-based employment and training programmes, job counselling and job brokerage schemes, enforced labour market participation through a welfare to work strategy (Peck, 1999), and subsidising low pay through in work benefits (Toynbee, 2003).

Barry (1998) points out, the context in which decisions that are taken to withdraw from some of the activities in society, whilst not economically beyond the control of the subject, may not be merely a matter of exercising free-will or choice, but may be about avoiding feelings of isolation or discrimination in certain places. As Barry (1998) points out:

Taken in context the exclusion is no more voluntary than is the departure from a job of somebody who resigns one-step ahead of getting the sack (Barry, 1998: 2).

Indeed Barry's view resonates with the experiences of Britain's black and minority ethnic communities (Edwards, 1990; Mirza, 1998; Craig and Taylor, 2002, Toynbee, 2003). Many of the current definitions of social exclusion, whilst providing valuable insights into the economic and institutional processes in operation, examine the issue from one viewpoint alone. They do not incorporate a view of a society comprised of diverse groups, and the subtle manifestations of power that have particular and unique consequences for them. This has implications for the extent to which black and minority ethnic communities, who are among some of the most excluded groups, and live in

some of the most deprived areas, actually benefit from area-based initiatives, and the extent to which they are included in the participatory framework.

The issue of race is an important determinant of opportunity and the ability to participate. Whilst having the ability to pay taxes, members of black and minority ethnic communities do not enjoy all of the social, political, and civic benefits society has to offer, or the protection of being part of the so-called mainstream. In any event, the notion of a mainstream society can also be contested since it starts from the premise of a one-dimensional society, and ways of doing things to which we all subscribe, but it begs the question, do we? It also begs the question why should we all want to? However, full inclusion in the labour market does mean that individual choices can be exercised in some of the most fundamental areas of economic, political, civic and social life.

Despite differences in focus and in emphasis, as well as a lack of overall consensus about ways of defining social exclusion, the general tenor of the literature points to an acceptance that a complex inter-relationship exists between low income, poverty, unemployment and under-employment. This brings with it, an inability to participate fully in society, and denies the economic, social, civic, and political choices enjoyed by the majority of people. Moreover, black and minority ethnic communities are disproportionately more likely to suffer the effects of exclusion as they live in poor areas and some of the worst housing, experience higher levels of unemployment, suffer greater ill health and are more prone to being victims of crime than the indigenous population (ONS, 2002a).

The debate about social exclusion in relation to forms of non-participation in the labour market is also part of a wider debate, briefly touched on above. This debate is about

whether the causes of social exclusion are individual and normative, and therefore caused by people themselves who form an underclass (Murray, 1990, 1998 and 1999), or structural which emphasises the material effects of economic restructuring on people and places, but which it is argued, does not give rise to a disaffected group or underclass, but rather people who are struggling to be part of mainstream society in the face of economic adversity (Morris, 1993, 1994 and 1996; Blackman, 1997). Between these two poles is the structural/cultural thesis which contends that a sub-culture has emerged and has become self-perpetuating as an adjustment to dealing with the effects of social and economic forces that have a material impact on the lives of individuals, but are beyond their direct control (Dahrendorf, 1996; Wilson, 1990, 1997 and 1998).

In the UK as in the US, the academic debates about social exclusion therefore reflect a chasm between three broad approaches. These approaches are founded on theoretical and ideological differences concerning *who* or *what* is to blame for social exclusion. Is it the socially excluded as individuals, or factors in and beyond the society in which the socially excluded live? Alternatively, is it a combination of individual and local factors, and wider social and economic forces?

There is likewise a polarity between politicians and policy makers of various political persuasions, who have been strongly influenced by these academic debates. The theoretical or ideological stance they adopt in relation to social exclusion thus has major implications for the kind of measures they see as effective, which in turn is mirrored in their policy responses. Depending on the perspective adopted, the state should therefore either intervene and adopt policy measures that are targeted specifically at marginalised groups and areas of decline (Sassen, 1991, 1994, 1996 and 2003; Massey and Allen, 1995; Wilson, 1990, 1997 and 1998), or should take a back seat, allowing

unfettered markets to resolve issues of social and economic exclusion (Murray, 1990, 1998 and 1999).

Theories of Social Exclusion

The pedagogy that has influenced current individual and cultural approaches to understanding social exclusion was strongly influenced by the 1930s and 1940s eugenics movement (Penrose, 1933; Burt, 1939 and 1943; Dawson, 1932). An understanding of studies from this period provides an appreciation of the ideological and theoretical legacy into which contemporary debates about the individual and cultural transmission of social exclusion fit. These ideas have surfaced and resurfaced at times when social and economic crises have impinged acutely on the public consciousness, and the remedial policies proposed as a consequence have been perceived as a drain on public resources.

Cattell (1937), a prominent psychometrician in Britain during the period of the Depression, argued for example that unemployment could perhaps more reasonably be explained by innate biological differences, rather than by social and economic phenomena:

Students of population have long seen the errors of the naïve view that unemployment is due to over population; next they have passed to studies of the economics of production and distribution; but it is possible that they will find at the root of the economic problems a psychological problem arising from the social effects of too great a range of innate individual differences in mental effectiveness (Cattell, 1937-38: 438).

Murray (1990, 1998 and 1999) is generally regarded as the exemplar of the contemporary culture of poverty thesis, which, like the eugenicists of the 1930s and 1940s, places emphasis on individual explanations of social exclusion. In addition, his

work on IQ as a determinant of income inequality and poverty (Murray, 1998), also has much in common with that of his US academic predecessors such as Eysenck (1973) and Jensen (1974), whose work focuses on innate differences in the intelligence of racial groups, and had a major influence on policy development on both sides of the Atlantic. Murray's work, like his predecessors has also been influential in determining the political direction of government activity in relation to the poor and socially excluded, and on the direction of welfare reforms in the US and in the UK. Moreover, his theory about the spatial location of a black underclass in the US, and an emerging, predominantly white underclass in the UK, found a receptive audience under the former Conservative Government. The notion of a socially excluded underclass continues to enjoy an appeal under the Labour government, and as will be discussed below, it has to some extent influenced the tone and content of current government debates on social exclusion, and the shape of its urban policy agenda (DoH, 1997; SEU, 1998a, b and c).

Murray (1990 and 1999) selects three measures, which he contends are crucial in determining membership of the underclass, unemployment, crime, and illegitimacy. No convincing justification is offered however for the selection of these indicators, but this does not prevent Murray from weaving them together into a theory of an underclass which is characterised by a state of anomie and complete detachment from mainstream society, rooted in psychological and motivational deficiencies. About the underclass he sees emerging in the UK Murray says:

Britain has a growing population of working-aged, healthy people who live in a different world from other Britons, who are raising their children to live in it, and whose values are now contaminating the life of entire neighbourhoods – which is one of the most insidious aspects of the phenomenon, for neighbours who don't share those values cannot isolate themselves (Murray, 1990: 4).

Murray (1990, 1999), makes clear however that the underclass he sees emerging in the UK does not consist of all poor people, but rather, poor people who share particular characteristics and who would appear, from the references he makes, to be predominantly white young men and female single parents. They are he claims, deviant, idle and criminal, and are therefore wholly responsible for their own condition. Again, an artificially constructed difference is put forward by Murray, for which no justification is given, and is used to denote those who, in his view, are part of the underclass as opposed to those who are ordinary respectable working poor people. As Murray (1990) himself says:

When I use the term 'underclass' I am indeed focusing on a certain type of poor person defined not by his condition, e.g. long-term unemployed, but by his deplorable behaviour in response to that condition, e.g. unwilling to take jobs that are available to him (Murray, 1990: 68).

Thus, unemployed or long-term unemployed people, who cannot find adequate employment in new and emerging employment sectors, or who might not wish to be part of a reserve pool of low paid labour, can be disregarded. Their *deviant* behaviour and *deviant* values, so Murray's line of reasoning goes, places them outside the bounds of social responsibility and the collective concerns of *legitimate* society. Thus, state benefits and other forms of support can in good conscience be withdrawn altogether, and indeed should be withdrawn, as part of a strategy to encourage unwilling participants into the labour market.

In this vein Murray (1998) contends, not only have publicly funded programmes in the US not made any difference, where there has been an impact, this has been negative in that it has made the problem more severe, and is inimical to individual responsibility:

...some observers, of whom I am one, think a case can be made that activist social policy exacerbates the problems it seeks to ameliorate (Murray, 1998: 43).

Thus, for Murray, social exclusion is essentially a personal issue. Individuals and their families are poor because responsible working age adults choose to act in deviant anti-social ways, and are given perverse incentives by the state to do so. Intervention is therefore not only unnecessary and a waste of public resources, it is positively harmful. As Murray (1990) also previously made absolutely clear:

We are not going to make progress until we stop thinking as engineers, and instead return to thinking of society as an organism that must be allowed to return to health (Murray, 1990: 81).

Interestingly enough however, although government at all levels in the US have readily adopted Murray's emphasis on individual responsibility in the framing of urban policies, this has not extended to an emphasis on the individual responsibilities of private sector companies which are provided by City, State, and Federal governments with a whole menu of targeted financial incentives to select from. The financial incentives include multi-million dollar tax cuts, tax credits, tax levying powers, and inexpensive loans to sustain or expand commercial operations, the economic benefits of which, to the wider society, rest on very rickety foundations indeed (Harvey, 2000; Hutton, 2002). These policies are also, to some extent, being emulated in the UK (HM Treasury, 1999; Twelvetrees, 1998; Hutton, 2002), a subject, which will be taken up in Chapter 3 when a number of issues in relation to the impact of urban policies in the UK and the US will be explored more fully.

As illustrated, the dominant narrative in definitions and theories of social exclusion is a dual notion of participation in terms of labour market exclusion, linked to forms of political exclusion. This is a reflection of the fact that unemployed, long-term unemployed, and in

particular, low paid employed people comprise substantial numbers of those in poverty, and those who are socially excluded. The well paid and securely employed by and large, are not found within those ranks. In contrast with cultural and normative explanations however, advocates of a structuralist thesis contend that the factors, which create and reinforce social exclusion are largely economic. They argue that social and economic deterioration in places cannot be explained solely by reference to the characteristics of the people living there, but by wider regional, national and global forces in society (McCormick and Philo, 1995; Massey and Allen, 1995; Wilson, 1990, 1997 and 1998; Lovering, 1997; Kleinman, 2000). In this context, local participatory approaches to governance and local measures designed to enhance labour market participation can only have limited impact.

In structuralist terms, economic transformations and neo-liberal policies have impacted severely on labour markets. These transformations have also given rise to vast social and economic divisions between highly paid tenured skilled workers, who often enjoy a range of fringe benefits, and those who are engaged in low paid employment, with little or no prospect for improvement (Massey and Allen, 1995; Sassen, 1991, 1994, 1996 and 2003; Dahrendorf, 1996; Imrie, 1997; Lovering, 1997; Harvey 2000). This latter group of workers among whom black and minority ethnic people are over-represented, can be displaced as and when the requirements of employers dictate (Eisenschitz, 1997; Wilson, 1990, 1997 and 1998; Mishel, Bernstein and Schmitt, 2002; Toynbee, 2003).

Beck (2000) argues that structural changes in the economy have also had an impact on middle class professionals whose careers are now marked by increased risk and insecurity, or who are forced into the unpredictable world of consultancy. However, what he does not point out is that the high salaries and fees commanded by professional

consultants, does mean that in contrast with lower paid more vulnerable groups, they are in a better position to cushion the impact of spells of unemployment, or periods when lucrative contracts are not available.

The exclusion of low paid workers from secure mainstream employment opportunities has repercussions and cumulative effects in other areas of social, economic and civic life (DSS, 1999). This has particular and unique consequences for a large proportion of people living on peripheral council housing estates or in the inner city, who experience the impact of urban decline and economic exclusion. Moreover, these negative impacts are not merely an aberration on economic arrangements that would otherwise work efficiently, but are intrinsic to their operation, both in producing and reinforcing social exclusion. As McCormick and Philo (1995) point out:

the apparently remote workings of the macro-economy have effects which are transmitted down the hierarchy, thus linking the 'national' to the 'local', and allowing a situation in which some places or regions 'win' at the expense of others (McCormick and Philo, 1995: 176).

Wilson (1990, 1997 and 1998), like Murray (1990, 1998 and 1999), links the notion of an excluded spatially located black underclass in the US, to labour market participation. Wilson however weaves together the two main strands of the social exclusion debate into a structural/cultural thesis. He argues that distinct cultural styles of behaviour have developed as a mode of adaptation to adverse economic conditions, resulting from these broader economic processes. In contemporary society Wilson argues that whilst the impact of these processes are exacerbated by race discrimination, it is not a causal factor. He contends that these cultural styles now serve to sustain and reinforce the existence of an excluded black underclass at the neighbourhood level, but argues that the factors behind its formation are located firmly in the economic sphere. On this basis,

Wilson calls for comprehensive Government programmes that are not race-specific, but are designed to create a tight labour market and employment opportunities for excluded groups. However, he does not say convincingly, how this can be achieved.

The difficulty with Wilson's thesis however is not the structural argument, but the notion of an excluded black underclass. There are for example, poor ethnically white communities in the US, living in predominantly working class areas, rural areas, or in trailer parks (Ehrenreich, 2002). They are not equated however with the invidious term underclass, or as Wilson now styles it, the *ghetto poor* (Wilson, 1998), but are regarded as individual victims of various kinds of disadvantage. Moreover, poor white people comprise significantly higher numbers of the socially excluded than black people who are in a minority in the US (Fainstein, 1996). However, Wilson (1990, 1997 and 1998), in common with other writers and academics (Murray 1990, 1998 and 1999; Marcuse, 1996, 1997), concentrates his attention on a small and highly visible minority spatial grouping of black people. This gives a distorted picture about the groups and communities who are most affected by poverty, and reinforces the prejudices of those who seize upon the view that social exclusion is largely a black problem. Even though this is clearly not Wilson's intention, it also panders to popular prejudice, fostering the belief that poor black people are somehow different from *ordinary* poor white people. As a result, there seems to be the suggestion that black people are to blame for their own poverty and inequality.

The terms black and ghetto are identical and interchangeable concepts in the minds of these academics and in the language of the dominant society. Nowhere in the mainstream literature on poverty, are pejorative terms used to portray poor white people as a group or category that has been created in an ethnically homogenous and

dysfunctional ghetto. It is important to point out that in areas of disadvantage, including social housing estates and inner-city areas of the UK, more people are usually in mainstream employment than are not. Moreover, social housing schemes in the US such as those that exist in parts of Harlem, and the Bronx, house people with different outlooks, interests and perspectives on life. They may be predominantly of one colour, in this case black, but this homogeneity is at a very superficial level. In common with predominantly white areas, it does not mean that the people living there belong to a socially homogenous excluded and disaffected underclass. As Wilson (1997) himself points out:

...it is important to remember that the ghetto areas in these central cities also include a good many families and individuals who are not poor (Wilson, 1997: 12).

The concepts of community and class should not therefore be defined by reference to race and/or residence in a physical space, precisely because geographical areas house communities that are heterogeneous to a greater or lesser extent, in race and in social class terms. People living in a specific area will also have a range of social and family networks that go well beyond the immediate location, as well as similar and dissimilar interests, values, politics, and perspectives on a range of issues. Thus the networks of people living in a contiguous area are not bounded by that physical space. The wider geographical area of Harlem, which is located in Manhattan, contains predominantly black residents, and is such an example of a heterogeneous and vibrant community with overlapping networks among the people who live and work there that extend well beyond the locality (Simon, 1999).

Thus Wilson's (1990, 1997 and 1998) findings, which are focused on one geographical area in the State of Chicago, cannot be generalised to the whole of black America since

the majority of black people in the US do not live in such spatial groupings, or in ghettos. Neither can Wilson's findings be generalised to other places where spatial groupings of black people exist since the picture he paints, as Wilson (1997) also points out, does not apply to every aspect of life in those places. One fact of life they do share in common however is a stigma that has been socially constructed and transplanted onto an urban space and which is effectively an exercise of power by people with little if at all any in-depth knowledge of life in those areas, but whose views are nevertheless influential. The following statement by Kennedy, (2000) sums this up aptly:

The framing of postindustrial ghetto as the space of the black underclass has given rise to stock images of people positioned in a *mise-en-scene* of urban wasteland streets, concrete playgrounds, project housing and derelict buildings. The ghetto appears as a carceral space, confining its inhabitants as both visible and exotic, subjected to the distanced gaze of the viewer (Kennedy, 2000: 93).

Where black people live in a particular space, this does not mean that they are inferior or dysfunctional anymore than all white suburbanites who live in a particular space are an inferior and dysfunctional collective species, inhabiting an area of dull and boring sameness. That might be how some outsiders see it, but it does not necessarily reflect how people living in those communities see themselves, their surroundings, or their families and friends. As an example, I asked the pupils of a school I visited in the US to tell me a little about Harlem, one student summed it up by replying, "It's a whole world".²

Identifying the Socially Excluded

The views that have been socially constructed about people living in poverty also leads policy makers to understate the extent to which it touches the lives of many people, and crucially, the extent to which it varies among people (Walker, 1995). In addition, the

² I visited A. Phillip Randolph School in Harlem in February 2000, a high achieving school where a large proportion of its graduates, 75-80%, 99.9% of whom are black go on to University.

failure to take adequate account of time in measuring poverty, also leads policy makers to understate the extent to which people move in and out of poverty over a period of time. A fairly recent longitudinal study attempted to operationalise this more dynamic nature of social exclusion based on an idea of participation on five dimensions; consumption, savings, production, political and social. The study used indicators from the British Household Panel Survey for the period 1991-1995. The findings interestingly support the view that the socially excluded should not be thought of as a static homogenous group. Few individuals who participated in the survey were excluded on all dimensions in any given year, and fewer again experienced multiple forms of deprivation for the whole period (Burchardt, LeGrand and Pichaud, 1999).

A UK ethnographic study of a group of young people aged between 17 and 25 years of age who were homeless and unemployed, (Blackman, 1997) also concluded that its members were not part of a deviant underclass, but were engaged in a range of mainstream employment activities. Many of the young people in the study had worked as painters and decorators, cleaners, bricklayers, shop assistants, minders, and nurses for example. It was certainly not the case that these individuals avoided employment, lacked experience in the labour market, or rejected the values of mainstream society.

Certainly, Poverty Profiles in local authorities and indices of deprivation in both deprived inner London and relatively affluent outer London Borough's do not confirm the existence of an excluded underclass (LBH, 1995; LBC and CHA, 1999; GLA 2002). Although these are static views of poverty taken at a particular point in time, measures of deprivation for these areas confirm that there is rarely a majority of the population scoring positively on any indicator at Borough level or in any given ward. Moreover, whilst low income and other proxy indicators of deprivation such as high unemployment

and low levels of car ownership often exist in the same area, it cannot then be assumed that the same individuals are scoring on all of the indicators and that they therefore form a distinct group of permanently poor people suffering multiple forms of exclusion.

Green (1994) points out that the characteristics of areas defined by official indicators as poor or affluent does not necessarily reflect multiple problems or indeed advantages in the households in those particular areas, or indeed, multiple problems or advantages among the individuals living there, but reflects clusters of circumstance. This is not to underestimate the significance of poverty for a large proportion of residents in areas designated as deprived, or indeed living outside of them, but seeks to illustrate the more complex and realistic picture about the nature of poverty and social exclusion in contemporary society, and the people who are affected. This is crucial if the right policies are to be developed and targeted effectively.

The Concepts of Relative and Absolute Poverty

The concept of social exclusion is linked to debates about what it means to be poor in a post-industrial global economy. This in turn is linked to issues concerning relative and absolute poverty, and how actual poverty levels can be determined. Rowntree (1901) and Booth (1902), who both pioneered studies of poverty in Britain, were each concerned with establishing absolute measures, below which, people could be defined as poor. Rowntree (1901) however made a distinction between primary poverty, which he identified as the barest minimum needed to sustain life, and secondary poverty, which, in common with contemporary notions, also took account of the fulfilment of social needs.

As has been demonstrated, unemployment and under-employment, which some theorists argue are by-products of a global economy (Sassen, 1991 and 1994; Dicken, 1992; Massey and Allen, 1995; Harvey, 2000), have a direct bearing on levels of poverty and social exclusion. It is within this context that absolute views of poverty, which fail to link the living standards of poor people to more affluent groups in society, have come under a sustained attack, and relative notions of poverty have now moved more toward centre stage in the debates. Thus, in contemporary western societies, the socially excluded are not socially excluded because they are on the verge of starvation or because they are living on the absolute breadline, or because they are members of an underclass. Rather, people are socially excluded because the financial resources they have command over, do not permit a standard of living, or access to the range of services that is considered socially acceptable in a particular society, and at a given historical moment.

Townsend (1979 and 2000) theorised this view of relative poverty, and operationalised relative poverty measures for use in the local authority resource allocation process. Townsend (1979) argued that studies of poverty could not establish material standards that were universally applicable, but necessarily had to be social in construction, taking into account diversified social conditions and historical contexts that impact upon and interact with resource levels. This would determine whether or not individuals could participate in society, and attain the social, economic and civic objectives most people in the society would take for granted.

In the UK, as in the US, unemployed people, or low paid workers, do not have the incomes necessary to improve their living standards, obtain access to good affordable housing, or affordable transport which can facilitate access to employment opportunities,

and a range of other services. Moreover, the cost of housing varies across cities and regions. In addition, public officials, who might perceive that certain clients do not have the accoutrements of so-called success, or middle class status, might not always facilitate access to the best in state provision, and with the same ease as for other affluent groups.³ These are some of the constraints that limit career choices, employment opportunities, standards of living, and impact upon the desire as well as the capacity of people to participate in local decision-making structures.

Social Exclusion, Unemployment and Welfare Benefits

Whilst much of the emphasis in the academic and political debate has exclusion from the labour market as one of the central terms of reference, Lee and Murie (1998) do have some difficulty with this. They point out:

When social exclusion is closely linked to the labour market a dichotomy is immediately created whereby all those outside the labour market are perceived as *excluded* whilst those in work are seemingly *included*. As such a restrictive view of exclusion ignores inequality of incomes and conditions within the labour market. It also overlooks processes of social exclusion based on race and gender (Lee and Murie, 1998: 89-90).

However, an approach to understanding social exclusion based on labour market participation can also incorporate the impact of low paid employment and in that sense, it is not necessarily restrictive. Moreover, an emphasis on labour market participation is wholly consistent with a recognition that specific forms of discrimination, such as on the grounds of race and gender, are often bound up with, and mediated through labour market practices. It might however be argued that an emphasis on the labour market is restrictive because it overlooks other important aspects of social exclusion, for example, exclusion from the political process and involvement in influential decision making

³ This point has been made by local government practitioners interviewed as part of this study.

structures and processes. However, secure well-paid employment, as distinct from insecure low paid employment is, as has already been argued, inextricably linked with other economic, social, political, and civic benefits.

In any event, it is not the limitations of the labour market as a focus that is important, but the tone, emphasis, and far-reaching influence of some of the social exclusion debates. For example, the way single parents and long-term unemployed people are stigmatised in the context of discussions about unemployment, as well as some of the coercive strategies that have been advocated and designed to enforce labour market participation (Murray, 1990 and 1999; Peck, 1999). Such a focus encourages a particular way of looking at social exclusion, and targets some of the most powerless members of society, rather than the wider economic factors. The Local Government Association (LGA), reflecting this view, stated on behalf of its Member authorities in its response to the New Labour Government's Green Paper, *New Ambitions for Our Country: A New Contract for Welfare*:

The LGA agrees that for those who are able to work this should be the best way to avoid financial insecurity, child poverty, ill health and social exclusion....However, this positive image of a society with full employment, like the welfare polices devised by Government, must be tempered by the knowledge that increasingly employment is part time and temporary and does not always provide a route to security, health and participation (LGA, 1998a: 2).

It has become impossible to divorce discussions about labour market participation from discussions about the operation of the system of welfare benefits. As already illustrated, implicit in some of the influential theories of social exclusion is the notion of dysfunctional welfare dependent individuals and communities. Again the LGA, in its response to the same consultation paper, challenged the negative assumptions implied in the New Labour Government's use of the terms *active* benefit claimants, that is, those looking for

work, and passive *benefit* claimants, that is, those benefit claimants regarded as unwilling to work. The LGA also pointed out that this had connotations with 19th century notions of the *deserving* and *undeserving* poor. It also has connotations with Murray's certain type of poor person. The LGA in respect of New Dealers however argued that the current labour market was not always a permanent and secure option:

...this new direction for welfare rests on an expectation of continuous economic growth which is unlikely to sustain at current levels. The Association is concerned that without a substantial increase in sustainable employment most New Dealers will find themselves in a revolving door with periods on benefit punctuated by spells in work of programme options; the benefits system needs to promote security as well as work incentives (LGA, 1998a: 2).

Interestingly enough however, the emphasis on behavioural exclusion, which has permeated the discourse at various levels of government, and which has influenced the framing of urban policies, does not apply to all groups of people claiming public subsidies. Whilst normative commentary is also made about the eligibility of welfare incumbents for disability and invalidity benefits, tax relief for individuals is not seen as a form of benefit dependency and neither are public subsidies to private companies. Rather, the emphasis in the political and popular imagination is on the largely cultural self-exclusion of individuals and whole communities of working age, from the mainstream labour market, and who become easy targets of blame for the effects of economic factors that are largely beyond their control.

Influence of Social Exclusion Debates on Area-Based Policies

The plethora of urban policies that have been targeted at disadvantaged people since the 1960s, have to a large extent reflected the dominant social construction of poverty and social exclusion as individual and cultural. In this context, the appropriate policy prescription has been a very circumscribed one of dealing with problem people in

problem places (Beazley and Loftman, 2001) and by imposing solutions. In keeping with this policy tradition, area-based approaches, which accent local community participation, form a key element of the New Labour Government's strategy for tackling social exclusion. This is evident in initiatives such as Health Action Zones (DoH, 1997), Education Action Zones (DfEE, 1998), the Single Regeneration Budget (GoL, 1998; DETR, 2000a), the New Deal for Communities (SEU, 1998a, b, c), the Sure Start Initiative (DoH, 1999), and a range of others.

An emphasis on individual causation as a result of the failure to understand or to appreciate the impact of broader economic forces in society has also helped to place issues of welfare reform high on the political agenda in both the UK and the US. Thus, in 1994, welfare reform in the US took the guise of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA). This transformed the federal government safety net from an entitlement or direct transfer programme known as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, to a state administered block grant called Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF). The federal government also earmarked a portion of the block grant for use by individual states in support of welfare to work training programmes as a condition of TANF. A similar rationale influenced and underpinned the reforms of the Social Security system in the UK after the election of the 1979 Conservative administration, and included the withdrawal of benefits from school leavers and young people. The same rationale has also underpinned the New Labour government's welfare to work programme with its focus on individual motivational factors, which are seen as being directly linked to employability.

A preoccupation with individual causation would also seem to underpin the governments policy focus on single parents, young people, and the homeless, and the specific factors

thought to be responsible for their detachment from the labour market and what is seen as their detachment from mainstream society (SEU, 1998a, b, c). These factors it is argued, include the lack of a proper work ethic, low work incentives caused by the availability of benefits, as well as low skill levels. This therefore explains the emphasis on supply side incentives in government programmes such as the promotion of job search skills, attracting employers through the adoption of dress codes, self-presentation, the adoption of correct attitudes and behaviours, developing marketable skills, and re-skilling (Haughton, Peck, Tickell, Jones, Littlewood, 2000). Inextricably linked with these incentives is a subtle shift in the focus of public policy away from broader societal responsibilities for the disadvantaged, which has been reconstituted as a form of dependency. There has also been a corresponding move towards an increased focus on active citizenship and a greater emphasis on individual rights and responsibilities. At the same time, increasing importance has been placed on equality of opportunity and equality of access, rather than on an automatic right of entitlement. Thus, measures to provide opportunities and routes into employment for disadvantaged groups, as well as opportunities for individuals and communities to take responsibility for developing solutions to urban decline via their participation in local governance, sit very comfortably with this philosophy.

There is acknowledgement of the working poor in the government's policy documents, as well as in academic studies, and of the effects of structural inequalities that are built into the labour market (SEU, 1998a, 2000 and 2001; Sassen, 1991, 1994, 1996 and 2003; Massey and Allen, 1995; Glennerster, Lupton, Noden and Power, 1999). However, consistent with the responsibility and opportunity based philosophy, the practical response of the government has centred on providing excluded and low paid groups with the means to take advantage of the chance to earn a living via an

assortment of schemes and programmes, rather than being dependent on benefits. For those in low paid work, employment assistance programmes are also seen as a progression route to higher paid jobs in a highly competitive global economy (HM Treasury, 1999). The schemes and programmes it is argued, can integrate disadvantaged groups into society by extending their employment networks and by equipping them with skills that are attuned to the demands of a flexible labour market. However, an important question in this thesis is the extent to which area-based regeneration schemes can provide extended employment networks and opportunities for employment, and whether the knowledge economy can actually accommodate everyone. Moreover, arguably, where there are limited opportunities for well paid employment, enhancing the skills of the most disadvantaged will effectively bid up the entry requirements for lower paid insecure jobs.

In the US, Kirschenman and Neckerman (1991), who looked at demand side factors in the economy, found that the negative attitudes of employers and their stereotyped views about the behaviour of different ethnic groups, impacted strongly on their labour market prospects. Mandipour, Cars and Allen (1998) also reported similar findings in relation to Europe. They found that ethnic groups were exposed to greater risks in the labour market, and were excluded through language barriers and informal codes from certain decision-making arenas that were controlled by networks where power and influence were exercised.

The policy emphasis in economic development and regeneration is however, firmly on supply side incentives and it would be very difficult to fully incorporate demand side issues into the current policy framework. This is because, within the present policy environment, the issue would be too contentious for an open and transparent discussion.

It would undermine the existing approach to urban policy, and would also be seen as an intrusion into the affairs of private enterprise.⁴ In any event, the people directly affected by demand side factors do not appear to be the ones involved in shaping and determining the overall participatory agenda, and where they are represented it is on an unequal power basis (Hall, 2001; Bennett, Beynon and Hudson, 2002).

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed various definitions of social exclusion and the key debates in the field. The underclass thesis has been the dominant narrative in urban policy, and has had a far-reaching influence on the development and framing of responses, even though there has been little supporting evidence to sustain such a thesis. This chapter has also argued that a dual labour market participation and local governance perspective that takes account of the operation of institutional racism, the way in which it is linked with economic processes, and how it is expressed at the local level, is one useful approach to understanding social exclusion which this thesis has adopted. It has pointed to evidence, which demonstrates that the socially excluded do not only represent unemployed and long-term unemployed people, but also the working poor. The working poor are also socially excluded in the sense that they are living a precarious existence through low wage employment, or moves from one *flexible* job to the next.

There are broader economic issues that are linked inextricably with social exclusion and this thesis will explore the extent to which area based regeneration schemes and their associated employment projects, are successful in mitigating those effects. This thesis

⁴ The 1960s Community Development Projects and Inner Area Studies did recognise some of the structural determinants to the problems in specific areas and is detailed in Chapter 3.

will also look at the extent to which area-based regeneration initiatives actively involve local people in customising local solutions along the lines advocated by the policies.

The next chapter, Chapter 3 sets the context in which current regeneration initiatives operate. It looks at the political and historical thinking that has informed their development, and at the key themes they embrace.

Chapter 3 – Key Themes in the Development of Urban Policy in the UK and the US

Introduction

Since the 1970s, extensive inner-city areas of the UK, as well as small pockets within its peripheral outer and rural areas have fallen into decline and decay. The social and economic regeneration of deprived areas and measures to assist the people living in them has been a continually recurring theme in urban policy. The consequences of urban decline for individuals and for communities, is often encapsulated in the term social exclusion. As argued in Chapter 2, this is a nebulous concept reflecting the complexities of the phenomena associated with urban decline, as well as its dynamic nature, and it is articulated in a set of attendant social and economic problems (Dicken, 1992; Sassen, 1994 and 2002; Massey and Allen, 1995; Castells, 1996; Fainstein, 1996; Lovering, 1997; Harvey, 2000; Bennett, Benyon and Hudson, 2000, Geddes, 2000). As Chapter 2 also suggested, the various theoretical arguments that underpin the concept of social exclusion determine the kind of explanatory framework that is adopted, and the type of urban solutions that are proposed in response.

The historical development of urban policy in the UK, has seen the birth, death, and reincarnation of numerous and fragmented urban policy initiatives. This is manifest in the plethora of area-based public sector and market based approaches to regeneration, the formation of countless types of hands-on multi-agency cross sector partnerships, and more recently, the advent of the Local Strategic Partnership to establish cohesive communities and to promote social inclusion by developing joint responses to urban

decline (ODPM, 2001). The main policy initiatives are set out in Appendix A. However, despite the vast number of urban initiatives that have emerged over the years, and which continue to emerge, the problems of poverty and deprivation have not been eradicated and arguably, are more entrenched (Imrie, 1997; Mulgan, 1998; Glennerster, 1998; Beazley and Loftman 1998; Massey and Allen, 1995).

This chapter will examine the impact of past and current urban initiatives designed to tackle poverty and social exclusion in the UK. It will look at some of the key themes and ideas running through the historical evolution of urban policy such as; the links between normative and structural explanations of social exclusion; the measures proposed to tackle it, and the debate about place as opposed to people focused regeneration. In addition, this chapter will explore much of the race and ethnicity blind approach towards urban policy, particularly in the 1980s when much of the regeneration effort was property focused. It will also look at the impact of the promotion of diversity under successive rounds of the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) Challenge Fund, and the current area based New Deal for Communities (NDC).

There has been much transfer of urban policy between the US and the UK, particularly around the theme of private sector involvement in regeneration in partnership with local government and local communities, and the spatial targeting of resources. An element of comparison with the US is important precisely because some of its cities, for example, New York, are similar in social and economic structure to London. The two spatially targeted regeneration programmes in the London Borough of Hackney, which is the prime focus of the empirical analysis, the Shoreditch New Deal for Communities (Shoreditch NDC) and the Haggerston Single Regeneration Budget Round 4 initiative (Haggerston SRB) will thus be contrasted with targeted programmes run by the

Women's Housing and Education Development Cooperative (WHEDCO) in the South Bronx, New York, part of the designated Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone. This comparison is potentially of value in highlighting issues that may arise from transporting initiatives to continents that have different political, cultural, and historical traditions.

A comparative and historical policy perspective will add depth to the empirical analysis. It enables interesting parallels to be drawn between different periods, allows insights into the thinking behind the development of urban policies to be explored, and can highlight problems and difficulties in implementation. It can also point to important lessons that can be drawn from experience, since, a historical and comparative analysis of urban policy suggests that failed initiatives are often reinvented and repackaged. These recurring patterns are part of the mainstream policy orthodoxy on both sides of the Atlantic, which views social exclusion as largely a personal responsibility. Because social exclusion is seen in this way, government policies have prioritised, employment related training schemes, and job placements for individuals as a form of rehabilitation and insertion into mainstream society of people seemingly caught up in a cycle of deprivation and dependency. More recently in the UK, there has been an emphasis on local participation as a prerequisite for urban funding. Indeed, property-based urban policies were criticised for not directly targeting deprived people in cities. On the other hand however, policies that focus on people have also been castigated for the way in which they have pathologised and individualised urban problems without reference to the underlying social and economic forces.

This chapter poses a number of questions about the effectiveness of area-based interventions, which, by securing local involvement in the development of local solutions, are intended to assist people living in places that have been affected by large-scale

unemployment and under-employment, a declining infrastructure, and under-resourced public services. The questions revolve principally around the extent to which area-based schemes can mitigate the effects of global economic restructuring in deprived areas.

As Chapter 2 has indicated, urban policies and global social and economic processes, actually contribute to and reinforce a process of social exclusion through the large-scale displacement of workers from traditional manufacturing sectors, and the social and economic polarisation of workers within new and emerging sectors of the knowledge economy. This polarisation is between high paid personnel with hi-tech skills firmly attuned to the demands of the information age, and the low paid precariously employed who include, maintenance workers, office cleaners and domestics, sales clerks, lower-grade office workers, and security guards (King, 1990; Dicken, 1992; Friedmann, 1995; Massey and Allen, 1995; McFate, 1995; Toynbee, 2003; Ehrenreich, 2002; Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2003) and who, according to Sassen (1991 and 1994) comprise roughly two-thirds of workers in this sector. As illustrated in Chapter 2, Beck (2000) points out that even those workers in professional occupations, or seemingly affluent consultants, are subject to the whims and vagaries of global economic forces. However, as Chapter 2 has also pointed out, the high salaries and fees commanded by workers in this category provides them with the ability to forward plan and to put in place some protection to absorb the financial impact.

In addition to raising a number of questions, which will be explored more fully later in this thesis about the nature, operation, and inclusiveness of regeneration partnerships, this chapter also returns again to some fundamental questions about the ecological fallacy of seemingly homogenous deprived areas raised in Chapter 2. This chapter also looks specifically at the extent to which a geographical focus can include the targeted

beneficiaries within a participatory framework, and raises fundamental questions about what this implies for the majority of disadvantaged people who actually live outside of deprived areas.

The Urban Programme, the War on Poverty and the Great Society

The period from 1969-1979 marked the genesis of a specific UK urban policy in the creation of the first Urban Programme, the terms of which were enshrined in the Local Government Grant (Social Need) Act, 1969. The Urban Programme emphasised the provision of ameliorative services, and provided for a 75% central government grant to local authorities for a range of social and welfare projects to tackle poverty and deprivation in their areas (Appendix A). Local Authorities, in turn, were required to contribute an additional 25% funding from their main programmes.

The Urban Programme, which was administered by the Home Office, was underpinned by a deficit model of individuals, families, and communities that was in vogue throughout much of the 1960s and 1970s. The rationale behind this model was that the problems manifest in the inner cities such as poverty, crime, poor educational attainment, poor housing, and poor health, were the result of the personal failings and inadequacies of the resident populations. It was argued that this gave rise to a self-perpetuating cycle of deprivation that was transmitted across generations (Lawless, 1981; Young and Mason, 1983; Imrie and Thomas, 1993; Burton and O'Toole, 1993). However, despite what was seen as an individual and community responsibility for the causes of poverty and deprivation, people living in deprived areas were nevertheless seen as being receptive to compensatory state intervention.

The nature of the intervention initially took the form of remedial pre-school educational measures funded under the Urban Programme. These programmes were eventually expanded to include play and advice centres, volunteer bureaux, community centres, and general social and community projects for disadvantaged groups. An important UK Government policy initiative at this time included the designation of Educational Priority Areas.⁵ These were also designed to make up for the perceived failings and inadequacies of individuals and communities, by adopting measures to bring them up to the level of mainstream society (HMSO, 1977; DoE, 1980). Another important initiative was the Comprehensive Community Development Programme introduced in 1969 under the then Labour Government. They were eventually abolished and replaced by the Inner Areas Initiative, under the 1970-1974 Conservative administration but were expanded again by the returning 1974-1979 Labour Government (Lawless, 1981), and focused on the most deprived areas, which included Liverpool, Birmingham, Lambeth and Oldham. This initiative was based on the idea that a managerial approach to perceived individual and social pathologies through improved local authority coordination of services to the poor, could play a significant role in addressing the problem (Lawless, 1981).

Interestingly, the literature reveals that UK policies drew on programmes in the US that were being implemented at that time. The War on Poverty in the US under the Kennedy administration in the wake of the Civil Rights demonstrations, and The Great Society Programs, enacted and enhanced during the administrations of Lyndon Johnson and

⁵ Some commentators argue that although 1960s Educational Priority Areas were never formally designated as such by the then Department of Education and Science, and were restricted to the primary school sector, they were nevertheless developed on the same notion as the 1997 New Labour Government's Education Action Zones, that is, that the poor performance of pupils can be addressed at an area level (Plewis, 2000).

Richard Nixon in the 1960s and 1970s, involved a broad range of similar compensatory social welfare policies. This also included an attempt to coordinate services to the poor. Moreover, these programmes were also based on the notion of cyclical deprivation, but were targeted predominantly at black people living in urban areas in the US. They did however include forms of cash assistance to other groups at risk of poverty, which would also have included black people, such as the elderly, and the disabled. The main US programmes, including the current Empowerment Zone initiative and Business Improvement Districts are set out in Appendix B.

The War on Poverty and The Great Society Programs also included special education measures for disadvantaged children such as Head Start, which provided free breakfast programmes and other compensatory educational measures. They also included employment-training schemes, food stamps and free medical care for those on low incomes (Jencks and Peterson, 1991; Lawson and Wilson, 1995; Ferguson and Dickens, 1999). As in the UK Urban Programme, the architects of these special measures were concerned with efforts to change the behaviour of the poor as a means of ending poverty. However, this spate of disparate initiatives lacked overall coherence.

The period 1956 to 1970 witnessed the mass exodus of people to Britain from the Caribbean and the New Commonwealth. The newly arrived black and minority ethnic population settled predominantly in industrial cities such as Sheffield, Nottingham, Birmingham and London since this was where the demand for labour was, and took place in a context of increasing government concerns about racial conflict in the wake of the 1958 race riots in Nottingham and London (Phillips and Phillips, 1998).⁶ The

⁶ The demand for labour in Britain's industrial cities was the magnet, which attracted people from the Caribbean in the 1950s.

government's concern about racial conflict was a key factor in the establishment of the Urban Programme, so much so, that it was launched by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons, in a speech on race relations and immigration (DoE, 1980).

Indeed, the whole racial and racist tenor of the urban debates in the late 1960s was captured in Enoch Powell's infamous *Rivers of Blood* speech in 1968, which was very much a precursor to the Urban Programme (DoE, 1980; Burton and O'Toole, 1993; Beazley Loftman, 1998). The geographical concentration of black people in the UK's deprived inner cities, mirrored the concentration of black people in urban areas in the US, and the racial dimension to the urban debate shared similarities (Jencks and Peterson, 1991; Beazley and Loftman, 1998; Ferguson and Dickens, 1999). However, unlike The War on Poverty and The Great Society Programs in the US, there was no explicit targeting of Urban Programme resources on black and minority ethnic communities. This was probably because the settlement of newly arrived black and minority ethnic people, in urban areas on such a large scale, was a completely new phenomenon in the UK.

The consensus surrounding pathologically inadequate communities as an explanation for urban decline began to crack, and eventually gave way under pressure from the strain of the structural critique offered by the Community Development Projects. The lessons that were drawn were instrumental in shifting the emphasis from parochial, pathological, and cultural explanations for urban decline and deprivation towards the recognition that a fundamental change in the economic structure of the inner city was pivotal as an explanation. Indeed, one of the most important conclusions of these studies was that the causes of urban decline and poverty were rooted in economic, social and political relations outside of the immediate geographical areas affected

(Pacione, 1997). This analysis framed the most influential Government White Paper on tackling the urban problem, *Policy for the Inner Cities*, which was published in June 1977.

The Community Development Projects were however short-lived and were replaced by a number of Inner Area Studies which were introduced by Michael Heseltine in 1972. The Inner Areas Studies, which did not recognise structural causation led directly to the advent of place-based urban initiatives, and the structural component of the analysis was thus marginalised. This has continued to be the case in the development of contemporary place and people-based urban policies.

The 1977 White Paper set out the first Government attempt at a comprehensive approach to urban regeneration. The terms of the existing Urban Programme were expanded as was its budget, and a formal role for local authorities as *natural agencies* in urban regeneration was outlined. These changes were encompassed within the provisions of the 1978 Inner Urban Areas Act, which designated 9 Urban Programme Partnership Areas, 15 designated Programme Authorities, and 25 areas known as Other Designated Districts. All of these areas became eligible to some extent for assistance from central government, but the bulk of resources went to the 9 Partnership Authorities, reflecting the severity of the problems in those local authority districts (HMSO, 1977; Middleton, 1991).⁷

The widened remit for the recast Urban Programme included funding for place-based industrial projects and environmental schemes, particularly on some of the worst

estates, as well as recreational schemes and projects that had exclusively people-oriented objectives. This was a recognition that areas had to be economically viable to provide a fertile environment in which social projects could flourish. The areas targeted were predominantly the deprived inner cities, defined by official composite government indicators of deprivation, drawn largely from Census data. They also contained large black populations as already indicated. However, the 1977 White Paper suggested that whilst race issues were part of the government's wider policy agenda, it was not an explicit urban policy objective:

Where members of the ethnic minorities in inner areas suffer the kinds of disadvantage experienced by those who live there, they should benefit directly through measures taken to improve conditions, for example, in housing, education and jobs. In addition the Government intend to ensure that their particular needs are fully taken into account in the planning and implementation of policies for the inner areas and in the allocation of resources under the enlarged Urban Programme. However, the attack on the specific problem of racial discrimination and the resultant disadvantages must be primarily through the new anti-discrimination legislation and the work of the Commission for Racial Equality (HMSO, 1977: 4).

The implication was that there was no need to explicitly target Urban Programme funds, or indeed other programmes on deprived ethnic minority groups. There was an assumption that a general improvement in urban areas, through a range of government measures, including the Urban Programme, would indirectly benefit all of the people who were living there. There was also an implied acceptance, in spite of the recognition of structural processes at work in the 1977 White Paper, that regeneration would be realised by local authorities, working in partnership with the government, doing things *for* and *to* deprived people and communities on an area basis.

⁷ The 9 Urban Programme Partnership authorities established with central government were, Liverpool, Manchester and Salford, Birmingham, Newcastle and Gateshead, and the London Boroughs of Islington, Lambeth and my study area, Hackney.

Indeed, whilst Urban Programme resources were targeted at local authority districts which were defined by government measures as the areas most in need, it was left to individual local authorities to identify those areas within their districts, and to distribute revenue and capital resources accordingly. However, not only did very few local authorities explicitly target deprived areas within their boundaries, a substantial portion of the resources did not go to the most deprived places (DoE, 1980; Beazley and Loftman, 1998 and 2001). In addition, only legally constituted organisations with well-developed skills in writing applications for funding, and often strong local political connections were able to access grant-aid. This worked to the disadvantage of black and minority ethnic groups that were not part of influential networks and were smaller, and less well resourced (SEU, 2000). Those that were successful, often faced additional burdens in having to surmount numerous other official obstacles in order to access grant aid and this continues to be the case today (Beazley and Loftman, 1998 and 2001; North, 2001). Many local authorities did employ community development workers and grant officers to assist groups and organisations representing marginalised communities to meet funding criteria, but there is evidence to suggest that this funding did not actually permeate or benefit the deprived communities at which it was targeted (SEU, 2000).⁸

The Partnership Theme

A recurring theme in urban policy is the concept of partnership working, and the need for agencies and local people to work together in concert, to tackle urban decline. Thus, the current orientation towards a partnership approach is not new, although the direct involvement of local beneficiaries in decision-making structures in the current policy framework is a more recent idea. The notion of partnership underpinned the main tenets of the enhanced Urban Programme, and was a key theme in US urban policies in the

⁸ This point has also been made by Officers who were interviewed and who were responsible for community development grant functions in Hackney and other London Boroughs.

late 1970s, which, like the UK, shifted its emphasis from exclusively remedial people-focused programmes, to a combination of people and place-based programmes.

Reflecting this partnership theme, in the same year that saw the publication of the 1977 White Paper and the creation of Partnership Authorities in the UK, President Jimmy Carter announced the commitment of his Democratic administration to an urban development initiative under the banner: A New Partnership to Conserve America's Communities. This programme involved a collection of housing, social services, anti-crime and job creation projects, as well as a range of tax incentives, which were to be brought together in a comprehensive fashion, and were to be overseen by an Interagency Coordination Council established by the Federal Government (Ferguson and Dickens, 1999). The approach echoed that which had been adopted in the US under the War On Poverty and the Great Society Programs, as well as in the UK under the first Urban Programme.

In the UK, the underlying analysis of the urban problem was, as we have seen, underpinned for a brief period in the late 1960s and very early 1970s by a structural economic explanation. In the US however, there was no such ideological underpinning. Rather the approach tended to be ad hoc, pragmatic and project oriented (Freedland and Zdeneck, 1998; O'Connor, 1999). An important similarity between the UK and the US approaches however was that despite the ideological structural underpinnings of the Urban Programme, the actual projects were not designed to address the underlying structural issues, and like their US counterparts they amounted to little more than a series of disjointed, projects, lacking strategic focus and impact (Robson et al, 1994; Pacione, 1997).

The emphasis in the UK was on a partnership between central government and local authorities, and centralised funding via the state to achieve regeneration objectives locally. In the US, the emphasis under the administration of President Jimmy Carter was on achieving these same objectives through a partnership between government at the Federal, State and City level, and the not-for-profit sector. Importantly, this was to be achieved by broader incentives, or penalties to encourage the private sector to realise the objectives of regeneration by entering into local partnerships in the areas in which they were located. The Community Reinvestment Act for example, enacted in 1977, had as its main objective addressing the redlining of deprived predominantly black neighbourhoods by the major federally regulated banks. It was founded on a concern that depositors in those areas saw negligible amounts of their money return to their communities in the form of business loans or home mortgages (Manning, 1998; Taylor and Wysocki, 1998).

The US theme of partnership, which emphasised private sector involvement was not however part of the urban policy framework in the UK during the 1970s. In the US, this approach grew out of a loose Federal structure, and the absence of regulation, and a relatively autonomous system of local government, with the power to levy local taxes. This was in contrast with a more or less uniform structure of local government in the UK. The Thatcher government when elected in 1979, attempted to create a central role for the private sector in regeneration along similar lines to the US model, not by vesting local government with powers to shape their local agendas in partnership with other stakeholders, but by centralising power in Whitehall. The development of local agendas was therefore controlled and dictated through a multitude of newly created arms length non-elected agencies that were directly accountable to central government.

The US approach is beginning to permeate current responses to regeneration in the UK. The US Business Improvement District model, which is a local tax levying agency, is currently being discussed and applied in the UK as a vehicle for social and economic regeneration (Travers and Weimar, 1996; SEU, 1999a; New Economics Foundation 2000a). Public/private partnerships are now of course, the mantra of the day (SEU, 1999a; Manning, 1998; Taylor and Wysocki, 1998; Patterson, 1998).

The New Partnership to Conserve America's Communities under the presidency of Jimmy Carter however, never really made much of an impact, partly due to factionalism within his administration. As O'Connor (1999) points out, the programme, which was intended to be comprehensive, became entangled in a contentious and fractious debate about the effectiveness of an emphasis on people as opposed to place in the development and application of urban policies. This tension was reflected in a fragmented collection of small job creation projects, tax incentive schemes, housing, social services, anti-crime, and public arts projects, which characterised The Partnership to Conserve America's Communities (O'Connor, 1999). On both sides of the Atlantic, the tension between people and place-based measures has continued to be a key debate in urban policy.

Despite the failure of President Carter's programme, the notion of public/private partnerships and pump priming, as opposed to exclusively direct and centralised forms of government grant-aid, has continued to occupy centre stage in US urban policy discussions. It eventually became a central theme in the UK and began to dominate urban policy discussions after the election of the 1979 Conservative administration, up to and including the second term of the New Labour government.

A Radical Shift in the Urban Policy Framework

Following the Conservative electoral victory in 1979, there was indeed a radical shift in the direction of UK urban policy towards an almost exclusive pre-occupation with the encouragement of private sector activity, and private sector investment, as a solution to the problems of urban decline. The importance of a partnership approach, which had previously been viewed in terms of a partnership between central government and local government, now became a partnership between central government and the private sector, through the creation of new policy instruments, and new agencies to deal with urban decline (Robson et al, 1994). In particular, emphasis was placed on a property-led approach as a means of achieving the objectives of regeneration, rather than the people-centred one that had characterised earlier decades (NAO, 1990).

The Conservative government's approach to urban regeneration was not however a policy shift that took place in isolation, but was part and parcel of a much broader and radical policy framework which sought to transform Britain from a State where the government bore a direct responsibility for people and the provision of services, to one which encouraged individual responsibility and a number of service providers within a competitive market-framework. Thus, the 1980s and 1990s, witnessed a retrenchment in the role of local authorities in urban regeneration through a carefully orchestrated circumscription of local government powers by Whitehall, a process which Harvey (1989) has styled, a shift from managerial to entrepreneurial approaches to regeneration.

The terms upon which this radical policy shift took place were set out in; the Local Government Planning and Land Act, 1980, an important piece of legislation which established Urban Development Corporations; the Local Government Housing Acts of 1980, 1988, and 1989, which introduced compulsory competitive tendering and curtailed

local authority capital spending programmes, and the Local Government Acts of 1988 and 1992, which extended compulsory competitive tendering to a range of public services (Caulfield and Schultz, 1989; Twelvetrees, 1998).

Despite a co-ordinated Conservative policy strategy, the outcome for urban policy, as in previous decades, was still one of continuing fragmentation and piecemeal approaches resulting in the development of a number of self-contained, highly visible, spatially targeted urban initiatives (Audit Commission, 1990). The private sector theme did however form the kernel of all urban initiatives under the Conservative government. There was a refocusing of the Urban Programme on capital schemes to encourage the creation of private wealth, and less emphasis on social objectives (Imrie and Thomas, 1993; Robson et al, 1994).

The creation of Enterprise Zones in 1981, the launch of Action for Cities in 1987, and the Task Force initiative in 1988, also typified this approach, as did the introduction of a number of property related grant regimes, some of which were modelled after similar urban regeneration grants and fiscal tools in the US. Between them these initiatives introduced; simplified planning procedures in deprived areas; local tax exemptions for businesses operating in deprived areas; loan funds for business start-ups; environmental improvement schemes, and other infrastructure improvements (Robson et al, 1994; Beazley and Loftman, 1998).

The Urban Development Corporation

At the forefront of the Conservative government's policies to regenerate inner-city areas, during the 1980s however, was the concept of the Urban Development Corporation (UDC), established under the Local Government Planning and Land Act, 1980. The

UDC's were single purpose quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations, and were financed directly by central government via the public purse. Their key objective was to regenerate declining inner city areas by creating an environment that was conducive to major private sector investment (Lewis, 1992; Imrie and Thomas, 1993). The UDC's were vested with powers of planning gain and powers to compulsorily purchase derelict land, and bring vacant buildings back into use through large-scale site-specific capital projects, as well as a number of supporting infrastructure improvements.

The government's rationale behind its shift to an exclusively property-centred approach to regeneration, as opposed to the former more people-centred approach was that the well being of residents could only be safeguarded by first of all securing the economic fortunes of areas that had gone into decline. It was argued that once the targeted areas had been regenerated, the private sector benefits associated with regeneration would stimulate increased investment activity, and eventually begin to trickle-down to disadvantaged groups and residents (Brownhill, 1993; Robinson and Shaw, 1994; Oc, Tiesdell, and Moynihan, 1997).

The trickle-down theory was a variation on the theme that had been previously expressed in the 1977 White Paper, which argued that the benefits of urban regeneration would automatically flow to deprived ethnic minority communities. This line of reasoning was taken up and applied wholesale to the concept of the UDC. Thus, no direct action or forward planning was needed to focus resources on, for example, social housing projects, community provision, or to support deprived groups and individuals. Indeed, as Brownhill (1993) has pointed out in a study about the impact of the London Docklands Development Corporation on the surrounding community:

The role of the locality was reduced to one of providing a value-enhancing backdrop to investment activity (Brownhill, 1993: 45).

Precisely because of the concentration on the physical aspects of regeneration, UDC's have been the subject of a number of strong criticisms. Whilst their highly visible infrastructure improvements have transformed the economic and social character of the areas in which they were located, there is little evidence which points to the benefits of this exclusively property area based approach to local resident populations in areas adjacent to the developments. The persistent and more entrenched nature of poverty and forms of exclusion for people living often less than a mile away offers little support for the trickle-down theory (Meegan, 1993; Robson et al, 1994; Robson, 1994, Robinson and Shaw, 1994; Imrie, 1997; Pacione, 1997; DETR, 1997a).

As part and parcel of the same property based philosophy, the Ronald Reagan and George Bush Senior administrations also introduced a radical framework for urban policy in the US during the 1980s and early 1990s. This likewise involved a corresponding shift in focus and responsibility away from people, to places. However, in contrast with developments in the UK that were taking place under the Thatcher government, the benefits of this approach were achieved through a further decentralisation of power from the Federal government, to local government. This was in the form of legislation enshrining further tax incentives to stimulate business investment, and to encourage local government to enter into a range of commercial ventures and partnerships with the private sector, and philanthropic agencies. The reasoning behind this shift in the emphasis of urban policy in the US was however, precisely the same as the reasoning that was behind the shift in the UK. It was predicated on a belief that large bureaucratic government was inefficient, unwieldy, inflexible, and unresponsive, and that it acted as a

barrier to the regeneration of deprived areas through the burden of regulation, taxation and redistribution (Twelvetrees, 1998; O'Connor, 1999).

The UK and the US borrowed heavily from each other, and there were many similarities in their approaches to urban policy during the eras of Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan and George Bush Senior, such as the designation of Enterprise Zones in low-income neighbourhoods in the 1970s. The Enterprise Zones, which emerged initially in the US in the 1970s, in low-income neighbourhoods, were imported to the UK, and sought to bring about the regeneration of designated areas through a mixture of government grants and the provision of tax breaks for businesses and other financial incentives. As an urban initiative, it was readily adaptable to the UK policy environment since the thinking behind it was consistent with the same Conservative government supply-side philosophy, which held that if private sector activity and profits could be maximised, the benefits would eventually flow from businesses to deprived communities in the form of jobs and further investment.

Whilst the US model did represent a further decentralisation of power through the autonomy of State and City governments, the UK Conservative government's approach, as already explained, represented a move towards a highly centralised version of state power precisely because it set out and tightly controlled the terms upon which national policies would be administered and implemented locally. Unlike local government in the US, UK local authorities were severely restricted in their ability to raise revenues and to apply resources locally to remedy disrepair in social housing for example, through rate capping, and government ring fencing of local authority housing revenue accounts.

Despite systemic differences between the US and the UK, the end result was nevertheless a similar complex architecture of agencies responsible for urban regeneration, and an abundance of spatially targeted funding regimes and initiatives. It was impossible to chart a path through the multitude of agencies and initiatives in any coherent way at the local level, or to appraise the effectiveness of any single strategy upon an area. This problem continues to characterise urban policy under the New Labour Government (Middleton, 1991; Lewis, 1992; Robson et al, 1994; Twelvetrees, 1998; O'Connor, 1999). Thus, an important question for this thesis is, given the systemic difference between the US and the UK, as well as striking similarities in the focus and scope of their urban policies, how far have they been able to address issues of social and economic polarisation?

Welfare Reform in the US and in the UK

Alongside property-based private sector solutions to the problems of declining areas in the 1980s and 1990s, and a sharp decline in direct forms of grant-aid for social schemes, a series of radical reforms to welfare programmes and state unemployment insurance systems was also set in motion under successive Conservative and Republican administrations. The rationale behind these reforms has some resonance with the urban debates that took place during the 1960s around the cultural and cyclical nature of poverty. These 1960s debates, as already explained in Chapter 2, and as explained above, focused upon the perceived behavioural problems and deficiencies of poor people, who were seen as being receptive to the effects of remedial policies.

The 1980s and 1990s was a climate in which unprecedented and increasing levels of unemployment and low wage under-employment was severely reducing the tax base, and thus, the revolving system of payments necessary to finance spending on social

welfare programmes. The welfare reform debates of this period on both sides of the Atlantic, led by Charles Murray (1990), therefore, once again, seized upon the notion that the problems of poor people, particularly the unemployed and long-term unemployed, were individual responsibilities. This time however, the response was not seen to lie in ameliorative social and welfare policies, or in forms of collective action that could help to maintain the material standard of living of poor people. Rather their plight was seen to be a self-imposed form of social ill and the only possible cure was a draconian one designed to break the benefit dependency cycle, and to encourage them into the labour market.

The measures advocated by Murray (1990), and made operational by the Thatcher/Reagan/Bush Senior administrations included the withdrawal and cutback of benefit programmes, such as the US Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), which it was argued, provided disincentives to work among single parents. The UK witnessed the withdrawal of unemployment benefits to young people under 18 and the abolition of Wage Councils. AFDC was eventually abolished by the Clinton administration, and replaced with a 5-year lifetime limit for claimants under Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) and benefits were dependent upon participation in employment training and employment counselling schemes (Peck, 2001). In the UK, a number of national employment training and employment counselling programmes were launched including, the Youth Training Scheme which was established in 1983, and Restart which was set up in 1987 (Robson et al, 1994). These measures were designed to address the perceived lack of motivation and willingness to work among individuals and within whole communities, and to inculcate them with the work ethic.

The approach of the New Labour government to social exclusion, which is the central concern of this thesis, continues to mirror the US approach to welfare reform with its emphasis on labour market participation. Indeed, the foundation of the Labour government's approach to tackling social exclusion is a cocktail of labour market policies, including the introduction of a minimum wage and tax credits for working families with children, underpinned by welfare reform measures, under the axiom, welfare to work (Haughton, Jones, Peck, Tickell, and While, 2000). The introduction of President Clinton's Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) in 1996 is in fact the foundation of welfare to work in the UK.

The Adoption of Comprehensive Area-Based Approaches

After a period of sustained criticism of property-focused regeneration, a criticism that hinged on the marginal role occupied by social issues in urban policy, and increasing concerns about economic and social polarisation in Britain's inner cities, the Conservative government launched a new initiative in 1991 called the City Challenge. There had been moves towards some recognition of the importance of combining people and place-based responses to urban decline, once the limitations of place-based approaches had become evident. An example of this was the spatial targeting of resources on some of the worst inner-city housing estates, via the launch of the Estate Action initiative in 1985.

The Estate Action initiative was a competitive urban programme, like the City Challenge initiative, which followed, but was targeted specifically at problems on more than 500 monolithic 1960s and 1970s system-built estates, the majority of which were in Urban Programme areas. In common with other urban programmes during this period, this was primarily through the physical redevelopment and demolition of estates, which took the

bulk of the funding. Tied to this were also construction related employment training schemes negotiated with private developers, targeted at local people, and some resource, albeit limited, for community provision. There was thus a tacit recognition at least that regeneration was not just about bricks and mortar (DoE, 1991; LBH, 1991, 1992 and 1993; Pinto, 1993).

A key aspect of Estate Action, which would form a central theme in future urban policy was the notion of tenant participation in the re-development of their estates (Jacobs, 1995). However, a number of important questions, which will be explored later in this thesis, particularly in relation to contemporary urban policies, hinge on the extent to which real participation of people in local decision-making actually occurs, as well as the impact of local employment assistance initiatives on future employment outcomes.

The City Challenge initiative did however represent the first real attempt by the Conservative government to develop a holistic, multi-sectoral partnership programme, targeted at designated Urban Programme areas, over a large spatial scale. It focused not only on housing estates but on a range of stakeholders representing local businesses, community organisations, and residents in the private and private rented sectors.⁹ There was also a renewed emphasis on the role of local government, which was given the lead responsibility for the formulation and co-ordination of City Challenge bids after having had its involvement in urban regeneration severely curtailed (Robson et al, 1994; Beazley and Loftman, 1998).

⁹ A total of 31 City Challenge Partnerships were established across the UK. Each City Challenge Partnership received £37.5 million in total over a period of 5 years, as pump priming to attract private sector investment, and was given the flexibility to prepare and implement locally developed plans to regenerate their areas.

An important contribution of the City Challenge initiative to UK urban policy was that it incorporated the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s concept of zoning and whilst it was mainly physical in focus, it encouraged local innovation around a combination of broad-based social and economic objectives within a single funding regime. In this respect, the City Challenge initiative married the main tenets of the urban policy debate, namely, whether responses should be exclusively property and area-focused, or focused on people (LBH, 1992; Byrne, 1997; Oc, Tiesdell and Moynihan, 1997).

The area-based initiatives in the UK, such as the highly centralised and still operational Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) Challenge Fund, launched in 1994 under John Major's administration, share with City Challenge; the key themes of private sector involvement in regeneration; government resources as a means of pump priming rather than direct grant aid, and the development of broad-based partnerships involving local communities.¹⁰ In common with UDC's and the City Challenge initiative before it, the SRB Challenge Fund placed greater emphasis on economic development measures and improvements to the physical infrastructure in the strategic objectives which were set out in the initial bidding guidance. There was mention also, as in City Challenge, of targeting regeneration initiatives at deprived black and minority ethnic communities (DoE, 1994). However this was not central to the strategy and moreover, the stress on community involvement appeared to be as passive objects of regeneration efforts, not as active players.

¹⁰ The Single Regeneration Budget Challenge Fund under the Conservative government took the form of an annual competition between partnerships. Local authorities played the lead role as in City Challenge, and bids were assessed by the relevant Government Office of the Region, which integrated a number of central government functions, and acted as agents of the government in the entire bidding and implementation process.

An important difference between the City Challenge model and the SRB Challenge Fund under the Conservative government was flexibility in the use of resources.¹¹ A fundamental departure from the City Challenge model however, was that the entire country was invited to take part in the annual competition for regeneration funds, not just those districts that had been designated Urban Programme areas. This move effectively consolidated the shift towards competition in urban policy, and represented a move away from targeting resources on the most deprived areas, as had been the policy intention under the Urban Programme. Moreover, the SRB Challenge Fund merged 20 separate funding programmes, which were worth some £1.46 billion. Three of those programmes were targeted specifically at black and minority ethnic communities and amounted to £66 million per year, namely, Section 11, the Ethnic Minority Grant, and the Ethnic Minority Business Initiative. However, once these funds were collapsed into the Single Regeneration Budget, they became available for any project, and as a number of studies have shown, black and minority ethnic groups have had limited success in accessing Single Regeneration Budget Funds for projects, particularly via black and minority ethnic led partnerships (GLE, 2001; Beazley and Loftman, 1998 and 2001; North, 2001; McCleod and Owen, 2001).¹²

Within the framework inherited from the previous Conservative government, the Labour administration in 1998, reintroduced a new policy emphasis of concentrating resources in small areas of greatest need, and through this, greater spatial targeting of SRB Challenge Funds. This process represented more of a managed competition between

¹¹ Flexible funding packages could be offered to partnerships for schemes to be implemented over a period of between 1-7 years, within the parameters of broad social and economic objectives determined by central government.

partnerships in a two-tier scheme where 80% of the resources were earmarked for large, comprehensive regeneration schemes in the top 65 most deprived local authority districts, as measured on an official composite index of deprivation. The remaining 20% went to support schemes in pockets of need identified on official government deprivation indices.

By allowing any local authority to apply for SRB Challenge Funds, even those that were relatively affluent but contained pockets of deprivation, it is possible that needs can be tackled at a very low level of spatial aggregation. This was in recognition of the complex nature of social and economic polarisation, which, following the economic restructurings of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, is to be found, not only at large spatial scales in Britain's inner cities, but in small isolated pockets in more affluent local authority districts, side by side with wealth and prosperity (GoL 1998; LBC and CHA, 1999; LBC, 1999; DETR, 2000a). The SRB Challenge Fund has however been abolished in recognition that an exclusively area based approach is ineffective, and replaced by Neighbourhood Renewal funding. This has been accompanied by a consolidation of the different spatial funding initiatives led by former Minister, Barbara Roche, as part of a rationalisation process. Whereas the SRB Challenge Fund tended to be used as merely another source of funding that could not be met through mainstream resources, the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund sits within the broader context of the Labour government's National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal. It represents an attempt to set up mainstream structures and funding mechanisms with a long-term focus embracing the 88 most deprived areas in the UK. The New Deal for Communities

¹² Only £11.1 million out of £4.38 billion went to black and ethnic minority led partnerships over the course of SRB rounds 1-5, representing 0.25% of all funding allocated (GLE (2001) A Review of the SRB Challenge Fund and Ethnic Minority Voluntary Sector Organisations, London.

(NDC), one of the regeneration initiatives that this study examines empirically, is a pilot project within this overall approach.

There has also been a move by the Labour Government towards the development of regional economic strategies to provide the strategic context in which existing regeneration programmes sit. The Regional Development Agencies (RDA's), which were set up in 1999, have been given the responsibility for developing regional strategies, as well as responsibility for overseeing the remaining SRB's over their duration, and responsibility for a Single Pot, which replaces SRB funding. (DETR, 1997a; GoL, 1998; DETR, 2000a). The creation of RDA's does however appear to represent the addition of yet another bureaucratic tier to the already complicated arrangements for delivering urban policy in the UK (Audit Commission, 1999) and provides little evidence of a strategic approach.

A common feature of the succession of urban policies, prior to the introduction of the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal and the allied NDC initiative, has been their extremely limited lifespan, particularly given the scale and complexity of the problems they seek to address. No politician or policy-maker could seriously expect that problems of such a complex and seemingly intractable nature would be amenable to solutions on the basis of a 5-year area-based programme. Whilst there may be benefits for a handful of individuals within the areas targeted, overall, successive urban policies do not appear to have had any discernable impact on the people most in need. Indeed, as Chapters 1 and 2 have argued, the problems of poverty and social exclusion are arguably even more entrenched. A key factor behind the tendency of governments to usher forth a succession of regeneration initiatives is because of political pressures to

offer solutions to urban problems within the lifetime of the particular parliament, as well as the political ambitions of individual ministers.

The US Urban Policy Framework

The former US president Bill Clinton's urban regeneration agenda of the 1990s and the beginning of the new millennium also placed emphasis on area-based public/private sector partnership schemes. The existing legacy of this is the concept of the Empowerment Zone, which was launched in 1993. It is a competitive urban initiative similar to the UK City Challenge initiative, but its emphasis is oriented more towards enhancements to the physical infrastructure and large-scale commercial ventures, tax incentives and incentives to encourage employment, rather than towards explicitly social objectives. The emphasis is thus on empowering deprived geographical areas to become competitive through a range of economic development measures and fiscal incentives, which it is believed, in common with much of former UK urban policy, will have spin-offs for local people.

Empowerment Zones have been established in 6 areas across the US, and each one has received \$100 million flexible block grant funding directly from the Federal Government. The designated areas encompass de-industrialising districts, as well as deprived residential areas. In New York for example, the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone covers an area of 7.6 square miles and includes Harlem, Washington Heights and the South Bronx. The South Bronx is the area in which two of the employment programmes that I examined in this study are located. Unlike any other Empowerment Zone in the country, Federal Government funds have been matched at both the State and City government level in New York, providing combined resources of \$300 million. The Empowerment Zones also receive priority consideration for other

Federal Government programmes which have regeneration objectives, and can benefit from additional Federal, State and City government tax incentives for business, inexpensive multi-million dollar loans to enable businesses to expand their operations, and employee tax credits (Clark, 1997a).

The concept of the US Business Improvement District is also a property-based area initiative that is currently the subject of much discussion and interest in the UK, and therefore the subject of some inquiry in this thesis (Travers and Weimar, 1996). They are created by commercial retailers and businesses in a contiguous commercial area under State and City government legislation, and are empowered to levy an additional but compulsory local tax on businesses, and a nominal charge on residents. This enables the Business Improvement District to fund supplementary sanitation and maintenance services, which it is argued, will enhance the surrounding environment, and encourage inward investment (Clark, 1997a and b; NYCC, 1995; Travers and Weimar, 1996).

Business Improvement Districts represent a small part of the privatised management of urban policy and have been established in all major cities throughout the US. Like local government in the US, they have powers to borrow, lend and invest, and many have gone beyond their core functions to include security functions, marketing, and other promotional activities within their portfolios. There is however negligible emphasis on services for excluded groups.

Allied to these property based urban initiatives are other important legislative tools and instruments. The Community Reinvestment Act, 1997 for example, which was outlined earlier, and which, was introduced under the presidential administration of Jimmy Carter

was considerably strengthened by President Bill Clinton through a tightening of the compliance monitoring criteria. This was designed to ensure that all of the banks in receipt of government licences and insurances, demonstrate, on the basis of annual checks carried out by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, that they actively serve all of the communities from which they draw their deposits. This must be in the form of loans, investment advice and comprehensive banking services, as well as co-operative and proactive business partnerships with deprived communities (New Economics Foundation, 2000b). The latter tend to be fairly large-scale commercial retail capital ventures, to promote economic development within deprived areas, and place little emphasis on projects with strictly social objectives. In this the ethos closely resembles that of the former UDC's in the UK. However, a number of questions raised in this thesis concern the extent to which the benefits of the Community Reinvestment Act, 1997, actually filter down to the communities at which they are targeted.

The New Labour Governments Urban Policy Initiatives

The New Labour government has placed an increasing importance on urban regeneration objectives being achieved through challenge funding regimes and cross-sector partnerships involving a leadership role for local communities. This has been set firmly within the grain of urban policies inherited from the previous Conservative government.

A central plank of the New Labour government's policy agenda, as already discussed, is a focus on employment and measures to increase participation in the labour market as a means of ensuring social inclusion (SEU, 1998a; HM Treasury, 1999; Peck, 1999; Haughton, Jones, Peck, Tickell and While, 2000; DfEE, 2000). The policy continuity with the previous Conservative government is clearly evident in the continuing emphasis that

has been placed on employment training, employment counselling and promotion of the work ethic, as opposed to support for disadvantaged people through welfare redistribution payments. This view is reflected in the New Labour government's welfare reform policies and in the promotion of its welfare to work programme, which builds on two key elements of labour market policy, and welfare reform, firstly, the application of benefits open to unemployed people, and secondly, assistance for unemployed people through employment programmes.

A key component of the government's welfare to work strategy is a series of New Deals launched by the DfEE as part of its effort to improve the employability of different target groups. This includes measures to secure the labour market participation of young unemployed people in the 18-24 and 25 plus age groups. The New Deals also include measures to assist a range of other unemployed groups into work including, people with disabilities, lone parents, partners of people who are unemployed, and unemployed people who are over age 50 (SEU, 1998a; DfEE, 2000).

An important question however is, given the focus on the characteristics of the socially excluded and supply-side measures to raise their employability and their expectations of employment, how effective can employment programmes be in areas where there are significantly fewer full time vacancies paying a living wage than people to fill them? The US experience of welfare reform offers valuable lessons here in terms of its claims for success. It has been argued for example that the effectiveness of welfare to work programmes are greater in areas where job market conditions are more favourable, and the economy is strong (Peck, 1999). Certainly, early results from the operation of the New Deals in the UK would seem to bear out this thesis, and in particular, their failure to acknowledge or address demand-side employment barriers such as forms of

discrimination (Peck, 1999). These are also issues that will be examined in this study in relation to the employment assistance programmes in Hackney and New York that are the subject of empirical inquiry.

Whilst not embarking on a radical overhaul of urban policy, the New Labour government did make some shifts in its received urban policy framework by targeting existing programmes once again on areas of need. The government also brought forward a profusion of other spatial challenge funding regimes in addition to the more targeted SRB Challenge Fund (Edmans and Tarifa, 2002), which, at its inception, had been established with the express intention of streamlining regeneration funds into a single pot. The spate of new programmes included, as already mentioned, the NDC initiative, which was launched by the Social Exclusion Unit, as part of the government's National Strategy For Neighbourhood Renewal.

The NDC is the first tangible expression of a national approach to tackling social exclusion. It is a 10-year experimental programme, which has targeted resources from a competitive funding pot of £800 million on neighbourhoods within 17 of the most deprived local authority districts. The stated objective of the programme is to allow customised local responses to social exclusion to be developed and used as national showcases for the diffusion of best practice, encompassing job creation and skill training, neighbourhood management, measures to tackle anti-social behaviour, and promoting the use of information technology (SEU, 1998a; DETR, 1999). In this respect, the NDC still retains the experimental characteristics of earlier programmes.

There is also an explicit acknowledgement of the need to directly involve communities in regeneration, and indeed much emphasis has been placed on local participation in

partnerships. Moreover, there is an understanding of some of the factors and constraints that inhibit the creation of inclusive regeneration partnerships including the barriers to the participation of black and minority ethnic communities (DETR, 1997a and b; DETR, 2000a). These issues will be discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

The government committed 10% of SRB 6 resources to capacity building and empowerment measures to facilitate the participation of local communities (DETR, 1998a; DETR, 2000a). A year in which it was not necessary to commit expenditure was also specifically built into the NDC for this purpose. However, as Chapter 4 illustrates, from a resident perspective, capacity building and empowerment remain elusive concepts. One might also question the extent to which professionals who often create and steer the direction of partnerships, and determine the agenda, themselves possess the necessary skills and indeed the capacity to enter into meaningful partnerships and a meaningful dialogue with local residents. This latter point is an issue that the policy literature on partnerships has recently begun to acknowledge (Home Office, 2003), but so far has been unable to properly address.

The rationale underpinning the current Labour government's urban policy initiatives, like its approach to welfare reform, leans more towards the pathological view of individuals and communities, which led to the creation of the first Urban Programme. The Social Exclusion Unit for example has centred much of its work on single-issue approaches to working with individuals and groups who are seen as dysfunctional, as evidenced in its reports on truancy, teenage pregnancies, and rough sleeping (SEU, 1998a, b and c). In addition, the launch of Health Education Action Zones in 1998, as another example, was the outcome of a competitive bidding process led by health authorities, but in which local authorities, through their statutory joint-planning function, played a key role. The central

objectives were tackling health inequalities and social exclusion in identified geographical locations. The bidding guidance set this out in judgemental terms that evoked the existence of an excluded underclass. The political and normative concerns about the behaviour of individuals and the link between unemployment and social exclusion were clearly evident:

HAZ bids should also take account of the Government's commitment to tackle the problem of social exclusion; of a section of society who effectively live outside the worlds of work, education and normal social interaction. Tackling health inequalities is a key element of this (DoH, 1997: 2).

The other mix of competitive area-based urban initiatives have included Education Action Zones launched in 1998, and targeted at areas of educational under-performance. This would appear to be a repackaging of the designated Educational Priority Areas in the 1960s discussed earlier in this chapter. In addition, there is the Sure Start initiative launched in 1999, which shares similarities with the 1960s US Head Start Programme in that, as with Head Start, it seeks to provide a range of education and social welfare services for children under 4 and their families, who are living in areas of disadvantage (DoH, 1999).

The National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal that was developed by the government's Social Exclusion Unit appears to have been taken from the managerial approaches of the 1960s and 1970s. This is particularly evident in the government's promotion of integrated cross-departmental approaches to policy formulation and service delivery, and the multitude of structures to facilitate the planning process. Thus it can be convincingly argued that policy makers do not have access to lessons from the past and for this reason, are engaged in a circular policy development process.

The approach of the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit, which has been charged with implementing the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal has also reflected elements of the managerial approach of the 1970s in its focus on the administration and machinery of government, and its attempts to cut across the territorial aspects of public policy and the functional separation of bureaucratic responsibilities. The number of agencies that are involved in the delivery of the National Strategy, and the attempts to draw together the contribution of various government departments through floor targets, seems to have added yet again to the complexity of the various structures through which regeneration is delivered. This makes it very difficult to make sense of, and to connect with the overall policy.

Despite the government's emphasis on the benefits of area-based initiatives, the predecessors of contemporary approaches, according to the evidence, appear to have bequeathed them a legacy of minimal success (Imrie and Thomas, 1993, Glennerster, Lupton, Nodel and Power, 1999; Plewis, 2000; Smith and Gordon, 2000). The evidence also suggests that area-based policies only potentially reach a tiny minority of the people at whom they are targeted (Townsend, 1979; Plewis, 2000). Indeed, one of the reasons for the failure of past area-based initiatives was precisely because of a misguided belief in the homogenous character of people in disadvantaged locations. In the case of the 1960s Educational Priority Areas for example, the majority of disadvantaged children lived outside areas that were so designated, and they were therefore excluded from any potential benefits the programme might have had to offer (Plewis, 2000).

The same notion of spatial targeting of resources has nevertheless, as demonstrated above, informed the creation of; the SRB Challenge Fund; Education Action Zones; Health Action Zones; the Sure Start initiative, and the NDC programme. The notion of

spatial targeting also informed a collaborative local policy pilot initiative called the New Commitment to Regeneration (NCR). Interestingly, NCR emerged from the Local Government Association (LGA, 1998b) and Central Government later became a partner. Again, the underlying theme in this initiative was one of partnership within which local authorities and local stakeholders could pursue area-focused and thematic urban regeneration initiatives under a jointly developed and shared vision for their areas, cutting across different discipline and sector boundaries. The NCR informed the creation of current Local Strategic Partnerships (LSP's) which local authorities in receipt of Neighbourhood Renewal Funds in the 88 most deprived areas are mandated to have. The intention of the LSP is to provide some strategic and operational coherence to existing partnerships at the local level, focusing on the use and bending of mainstream resources to support the delivery of services in deprived areas. In this context it is envisaged that the resources from area-focused programmes will assist in the co-ordination, not the replication of service provision, as has previously been the case.

The advent of LSP's however, raises similar issues about the dynamics and the selection of people who are represented on partnerships, touched on briefly elsewhere in this chapter, and which are explored more fully in Chapter 4. Together with the NDC, the formation of LSP's does represent something of a positive step since there is a recognition that the current partnership mix is confusing (ODPM and RCU, 2002), as well as a recognition that regeneration must be pursued over a longer time horizon. In a streamlined partnership structure however, influencing the determination of Borough priorities will be dependent upon representation on the LSP, or effective consultation. There is already concern about LSP's achieving government accreditation without the inclusion of a single black and minority ethnic representative, despite the overrepresentation of black and minority ethnic people in localities in receipt of

Neighbourhood Renewal Funds.¹³ Added to this are issues concerning the effectiveness of community representation. Indeed, evidence from a study conducted by Green (1994) into poverty and affluence in the UK between 1981 and 1991, demonstrated that there was a great deal of continuity as well as significant increases in the spatial segregation and distribution of poverty. Interestingly, the continuity was in areas such as inner London, which contains my study area, in which a host of area based regeneration policies and strategies have been introduced, including participatory approaches.

The Urban Task Force initiative led by Richard Rodgers confirms again the cyclical nature of urban policy. The focus of the Urban Task Force is on institutional investment in property to act as a magnet for private sector investment, to address the problems caused by social and economic polarisation (DETR, 1998b; Kearns, 1999). However, the Urban Task Force proposals, which include the creation of Urban Regeneration Companies and Housing Regeneration Companies, do not appear to differ in substance from Enterprise Zones or the UDC's of the 1980s. They have the same emphasis on streamlined planning procedures, empty property strategies, easier land acquisition, tax incentives, and architectural design. They are also clearly focused on responding to the needs of business, rather than directly to the needs of people through social programmes. The Urban Task Force report is certainly reminiscent of the rationale behind the creation of UDC's in its claim that:

One of the most efficient uses for public money in urban regeneration is to pave the way for investment of much larger sums by the private sector (DETR, 1998b: 2).

¹³ The issue of the effectiveness of LSP's, as well as black and minority ethnic representation and exclusion was raised for discussion as an agenda item at meeting I attended with the Local Government Association, HM Treasury and the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister on 3 June 2003 about LSP's and financing of the voluntary sector.

The proposals for the creation of Town Centre Improvement Zones, which are also contained in the report of the Urban Task Force (DETR, 1998b), advocate a levy on the public and private sectors in a designated area to support the supplementary costs of management and maintenance. This does not differ in detail from the controversial US Business Improvement Districts discussed above and in the first empirical chapter, Chapter 6, which follows later. The Urban Task Force report does acknowledge the existence of disadvantaged neighbourhoods and the need for comprehensive packages to deal with the physical fabric of areas and the social welfare needs of people. However, the measures proposed relate to private sector incentives to encourage investment, whilst community participation is mentioned in the context of detailed suggestions relating to calls for stronger enforcement powers and sanctions to deal with the vandalism, graffiti writing, intimidation, noise pollution and the anti-social behaviour of undesirable elements. As the Urban Task Force report also states:

Persuading people and organisations to care for their urban environment is partly a matter of re-awakening civic pride. Community involvement needs to be supported by strong enforcement action to deal with vandalism, graffiti, intimidation, noise pollution and other anti-social behaviour. Proceeds from fines for criminal damage should be recycled to pay for repair and maintenance of the local environment (DETR, 1998b: 7).

There has been a continual recycling of a myriad of short-term experimental area-based schemes. This highlights the importance of developing a mechanism to ensure that evaluations of area-based initiatives are fed back into a policy review and policy development process (Haughton, Peck, Tickell, Jones, Littlewood, 2000; Haughton, Peck, Tickell, While, 2000; Carley, Campbell, Kearns, Wood and Young 2000). A constraint on such evaluations is however the performance culture which has been imposed on local authorities by central government. Moreover, a local government discourse that is about success as opposed to also learning from failure inhibits rigorous

internal evaluation. In this context it is therefore difficult, if not impossible for officers to admit that policies or programmes have not worked for one reason or another, even when, as in the case of the whole raft of area based initiatives, they are experimental. A culture that is enabling and based on a learning process would be more constructive.

Questioning the Efficacy of Urban Policy Initiatives

The spawning of countless and fragmented public, private and voluntary sector regeneration partnership initiatives, over the last four decades, raises a number of fundamental questions about their efficacy as a result of increasing social and economic polarisation in places. Despite systemic and cultural differences between the UK and the US, the same set of questions can be posed about their effectiveness. Although differing in emphasis, the urban initiatives that are being applied on both continents tend to share similar objectives, as well as similarities in approach. For example, US Business Improvement Districts, UK Enterprise Zones, UDC's, Town Centre Improvement Zones, and Urban Regeneration Companies, may differ in terms of their formal arrangements, but their scope is fundamentally the same, increasing inward investment through physical improvements and environmental enhancements within a geographical area. This begs the question, is contemporary urban policy offering anything that is new? The limitations of place-based initiatives were well rehearsed during the 1980s, but it would appear that urban policy is akin to an ever-revolving circle. Every so often imported repackaged initiatives are recycled and reappear on the policy agenda for discussion and implementation.

Other fundamental issues for this thesis that arise from a discussion of the effectiveness of urban policies, and which, will be examined in Chapter 4, hinge on the extent to which partnerships are inclusive and empowering, and the extent to which broader structural

issues impact on people within intensely deprived areas. An important question therefore, is the extent to which wider structural and institutional factors militate against the participation of traditionally marginalised groups, individuals and communities, who might seek to play an active role in determining and shaping regeneration plans for their areas. Moreover, further questions are raised concerning competing and often diverging interests. Can they, for example, be incorporated into agreed local regeneration and development plans around which there is consensus? Are partnerships about achieving consensus that is only a watered down version of competing and divergent interests? Alternatively, are they about an open discussion of divergent interests, influencing and changing views, and ultimately building strategies that are collectively owned? Furthermore, how can contradictory and conflicting interests be overcome?

In the case of any designated area, the interests of homeless people, market traders, residents and business interests will not always be closely aligned. Thus, the extent to which local power dynamics can actually serve to reinforce the exclusion of people and communities who are less vocal locally is an important issue for this thesis. Moreover, how far are partnerships really vehicles to endorse the already developed plans of officials and stronger stakeholders in local areas? How much of what takes place is actually real community participation and how much of local regeneration planning is actually determined by the social, economic and political power of groups who are able to determine the agenda and impose their vision on an area?

In the US, the Community Reinvestment Act, 1977 is a very important lever of power for the not-for-profit sector in the US seeking to regenerate low-income areas. It is also an initiative that along with Business Improvement Districts is being watched with close interest in the UK. An important issue to examine in this thesis is, given the

heterogeneous nature of localities, as was discussed in Chapter 2, and the issues outlined above in relation to differential power within and among local groups, how far do the benefits of the Community Reinvestment Act actually reach the disadvantaged communities at which they are targeted? It has been argued for example, that by increasing the scale of lending to wealthy residents living within a deprived area, banks can achieve compliance with the letter of the Community Reinvestment Act rather than its spirit, with no discernable benefit to the disadvantaged communities at which its provisions are targeted (Hylton and Rougeau, 1998).

The issues about the impact of the Community Reinvestment Act, 1977 also point to wider implications for Shoreditch NDC, Haggerston SRB, and the South Bronx employment projects in the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone, which are the subjects of this study. This is in terms of the extent to which the more affluent and better informed in a designated area can, through more effective networks, be strategically poised to reap any benefits arising from participation. Related to this are also questions arising from the fragmented nature of current urban policy and the constant state of flux, which characterises the environment in which policy measures are applied. This renders it difficult to determine the impact of particular strategies as distinct from other strategies operating in the same geographical location.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the shifts that have taken place in area-based policy over the years as the problems associated with urban decline have become increasingly more complex. It has argued that whilst the façade of some areas has been uplifted, the impact of urban policies have been largely superficial, and have not resulted in a fundamental difference to the problems faced by people living in deprived areas. This

chapter has also raised a number of questions about the efficacy of area-based approaches to tackling the problems of urban decline, including the tendency to continually recycle policy responses. Moreover, it has raised important questions about the extent to which regeneration partnerships can realise objectives that have material relevance to local people, as well as the extent to which partnerships can be truly inclusive.

The current urban policy agenda is today responding to a society facing very different issues from those of the 1960s and 1970s. The reality of precisely what material benefits there will be for marginalised communities, through their participation in decision making processes and particularly in terms of employment which is seen as the most important gateway out of poverty and social exclusion are key issues in this thesis.

The following chapter explores theoretical notions of participation from a governance perspective, and its adjuncts, capacity building and empowerment. This has implications for the Haggerston SRB initiative, and in particular, for the Shoreditch NDC which has styled itself as the first community led initiative,. The following chapter also includes a comparative element with governance processes in New York.

Chapter 4 – Theoretical Perspectives on Participation in Urban Regeneration Partnerships

Introduction

The concept of partnership is one of the fundamental principles in economic development and urban regeneration in the UK (Geddes, 1997; Osborne, 1998; New Economics Foundation, 1998; Jenkins, 1998; Smith 1999; Audit Commission, 1999a; Taylor, 2000; Bennett, Beynon, and Hudson, 2000; DETR, 2000b, c and d; Haughton, Peck, Tickell, Jones, Littlewood, While, 2000; Carley, Chapman, Hastings, Kirk, Young, 2000; Brickell, 2000; SEU, 2001; NRU, 2001; Gayle, 2002). The current framework for the delivery of urban policy is the development of local solutions to urban decline and social exclusion through the formation of local partnerships which seek to harness the expertise and combined resources, both financial and human, of key stakeholders drawn from the public, private, voluntary and community sectors, as well as from among local residents. A key stated intention of local partnerships is the adoption of measures to ensure the full and active participation of those members of the community who bear the brunt of the effects of a range of economic and social inequalities, and who have been traditionally marginalised and excluded from decision-making and policy implementation processes (SEU, 2000; North, 2001).

Economic development and regeneration partnerships have been established to oversee the delivery of schemes in specific geographical areas and usually have a range of social, economic, health, and environmental objectives. A central plank of the current partnership approach to economic development and regeneration is however a major

emphasis on employment and training programmes, and participation in local decision making structures as vehicles for bringing about the insertion or re-insertion of excluded groups and communities into civic, social, and economic life.

A key issue for this thesis is an examination of the extent to which the impact of urban decline on people and on places can be ameliorated by local participation in area based partnership schemes. This chapter puts forward a working definition of partnership and goes on to raise a number of important conceptual issues arising from notions of broad-based community involvement in the design of regeneration partnership schemes and their delivery mechanisms. This chapter also explores conceptually, issues of power and influence in the determination and control of partnership schemes and agendas, and the notions of inclusiveness and community representation. In exploring these issues, this chapter draws upon some of the main conceptual ideas relevant to this study which have been taken from urban regime and growth coalition studies (Wiewlel, 1990; Bassett, 1996; Les Galés, 1998), critical political economy (Young, 1990) urban sociology (Faegin, 1998) communicative planning (Healey, 1997, 1998 and 2000; Forester, 2000; Yiftachel and Huxley, 2000) critical race and multiculturalism theories (Matustik, 1998; Blum, 1998, Churchill, 1998; McGary, 1998) as well as existing empirical studies (Duffy, 1994; Duffy and Breitenbach, 1994; Bennett, Beynon and Hudson, 2000; Geddes, 2000).

Defining Partnerships

The term partnership is a pliable and ill-defined concept. In its practical interpretation, partnership evokes notions of synergy, mutuality, trust, consensus, co-operation, and agreement. Moreover, partnerships assume numerous organisational forms and therefore any attempt to categorise them is fraught with difficulties. They can be broad

or single issue based, legally and formally constituted boards of management to oversee large-scale regeneration projects, or loose coalitions of people coming together around a single issue or problem (Glendinning, Powell and Rummery, 2002). Adding to this confusion, the term partnership itself has become so overused in public policy initiatives that any collaborative multi-agency approach, even down to a one off inter-sectoral meeting is ushered forth as the welcome formation of another partnership, and marketed in local promotional literature as a key achievement. Indeed, the very fact of the existence of a partnership has often been taken as tangible evidence of stakeholders within an area working together harmoniously and effectively (see for example, LBC, 2000a).

The theoretical framework for looking beyond much of this partnership rhetoric, towards an analytic understanding of the actual dynamics and internal workings of partnerships is still in its infancy. However, the inability to clearly categorise the various forms of partnership, or to come up with a precise definition of what constitutes a partnership is not an insurmountable problem. This thesis takes as its premise that the most important ingredient in partnerships is that whatever their specific form, purpose, geographical scale, or population base, they are always ultimately about individuals and agencies working together towards objectives, and are forums in which issues of power are embodied, through sets of relationships between the different individuals, agencies, and stakeholders inside as well as outside of the partnership (Mackintosh, 1992; Duffy and Breitenbach, 1994; Geddes, 1997 and 2000; Brickell, 2000; Flyvbjerg, 1998; Bennett, Beynon, and Hudson, 2000; Haughton, Peck, Tickell, Jones, Littlewood, While, 2000; Taylor, 2000; Peterman, 2000; McInroy, 2001; North, 2001; Powell and Exworthy, 2002). This thesis employs a working definition of a partnership as a formal body comprised of

resident and public and private sector representatives that promotes social and economic solutions to urban decline within a designated area.

Typically, current local regeneration partnerships in the UK are formally constituted bodies led by a local authority or an arms length implementation agency, and operate in an environment, which is highly regulated by central government. These differ from partnerships in the US for example which typically operate as commercial ventures, and being built around a loose Federal government structure, are not centrally prescribed as with partnerships in the UK. Moreover, specific control over programme direction, coupled with a range of competitively targeted tax incentives in areas of need, as well as flexible loans and venture capital for community initiatives focused on regeneration and social investment, appears to allow schemes to be more finely tuned at the local level (New Economics Foundation, 2000a, b, c, d, e and f; Palmer, 2001). The competitive bid for Empowerment Zone status between US cities established by the 1992 Clinton Administration also provides the flexibility to waive federal, state, and local regulations that appear to impede the regeneration process (Clark, 1997a).

There is some move towards an emulation of the US model in the UK through a range of policy instruments and targeted measures (New Economics Foundation, 2000f; Palmer, 2001). The prototype Employment Zones are a key example. Other targeted measures include the Local Public Service Agreement, which is a competitive pilot programme operating within the local authority statutory Best Value framework. The programme requires consultation with the community, and offers local authorities agreed operational flexibilities and pump-priming grants of £1 million in exchange for a commitment to meet national and local priorities in addition to those contained in Best Value Performance Plans. In 2001, Local Public Service Agreements were centred on 20 local authorities,

but in 2002, they were extended to all tiers of local government (Audit Commission, 1999b; DETR, 2000b; OPM 2002). The UK model does however differ from the US approach in that operational flexibilities at the local level are determined through a centralised and highly regulated system of performance measures and performance monitoring criteria, linked to government financial incentives.

A common feature of US and UK partnerships however, is that they seek to promote social and economic solutions to the problems of urban decline within a designated geographical area. In the UK, partnerships include representatives from the public, private, voluntary, and community sectors and on occasion, although much less frequently, the trade unions, and they are an essential requirement for areas seeking to access competitively allocated public resources. In the US, the involvement of stakeholders appears to be stimulated by a range of incentives built around regulatory flexibility, tax credits, flexible loans and community finance initiatives, rather than a statutory requirement to consult and work with other stakeholders (Clark, 1997a and b; Pacione, 1997; Osborne, 1998; Smith, 1999; Ward, 2000; DETR, 2000b; Palmer, 2001).

Partnerships in Practice

There is an emerging body of empirical literature which focuses on both the US and the UK, and which seeks to evaluate the impact of specific partnership approaches on economic development and regeneration actions (Duffy, 1994; Peck and Tickell, 1994; Geddes, 1997 and 2000; Twelvetrees, 1998; Bennett, Beynon and Hudson, 2000; Haughton, Peck, Tickell, Jones, and Littlewood, 2000; Tu and Noble, 2000; Carley, Campbell, Kearns, Wood, Young, 2000; Peterman, 2000; North, 2001). These studies have been important in helping to establish a framework for this thesis and in identifying a number of research issues, which will be explored further. These issues concern the

value of the current partnership approach to achieving the objectives of social and economic regeneration, and in particular, they point to specific questions regarding the claims that are being made within the policy and academic community about the usefulness of area-based regeneration partnerships in addressing the consequences of economic restructuring for people and for places (Cooke, 1989; Taylor, 2000; LBC 2000b; DETR, 2000c and d).

A recurring theme in the empirical literature concerns the issue of power, which is seen to operate behind or indeed outside of the formal structures of participation. Smith (1999) reviews a number of partnership studies, drawing out issues and perceptions of issues in relation to the distribution of power, access to resources, accountability to stakeholders and so on. Some of these issues revolve around the impact of informal network cultures that appear to exist between some of the more powerful and influential stakeholders, particularly those drawn from the upper echelons of management in the public and private sectors. These activities seem to exclude some voluntary and community organisations, particularly from black and minority ethnic communities, that are often less powerful and do not have effective means of lobbying, access to networks, or the resources to lever in other agencies (Taylor, 2000). The issue of the relative power and influence of stakeholders appears to be crucial to the direction of partnership activity generally. In a study of a City Challenge regeneration partnership in North Tyneside for example, Geddes (1997) pointed to evidence, which suggested that informal networking between key individuals, particularly white middle class males, was viewed by a number of partners to be as important as formal structures and processes. This thesis intends to take up this theme further by examining the ways in which informal power and influence might manifest itself in partnerships, and by looking at how local

people are included or excluded from discussions at the different levels of partnership activity.

The notion of power and who is included, and how, are also important issues for this thesis from the perspective of community representation on partnerships, and highlights further questions that are explored theoretically and empirically about who has legitimacy in representing local interests. A partnership under the EU Poverty 3 Programme in the Granby-Toxteth area of Liverpool for example, was established with the specific objective of tackling poverty by attempting to extend participation to black and minority ethnic people in the decision-making process that determined local regeneration priorities and the allocation of regeneration resources. The membership of the Granby-Toxteth partnership was comprised of representatives from a range of established voluntary black and minority ethnic organisations, including umbrella agencies. This raises a number of other important issues about how far and on what basis representatives of disparate voluntary organisations and/or umbrella organisations covering specific geographical areas can legitimately claim to represent the range of local interests that are to be found, including the range of interests among black and minority ethnic people (Bradford Vision, 2001). A number of issues are also raised about who decides whether community representatives are legitimate or not, the basis on which they are selected, and the tangible benefits of local representation through formal partnerships to people in localities.

The notion of legitimate community representation and who participates in regeneration partnerships would appear to have provenance in Community Development Corporations in the US. These are not-for profit agencies funded by Federal and City governments, as well as Foundations, and are vehicles through which the voluntary

sector and local communities become involved in economic development and regeneration alongside the private sector. As these partnerships have evolved over time they have taken on large-scale development functions, primarily around low-income housing, commercial development in neighbourhood shopping areas, the upgrading of street furniture, increased security measures, and to a limited extent, social programmes. Due to the nature and scale of the developments, it has become necessary to co-opt external technical expertise, as well as community leaders with some understanding of project appraisal, project management and project delivery (Zdenek, 1998; Rusk, 1999). This raises a key issue about how far Community Development Corporation board members, and those managing schemes under the auspices of Community Development Corporations, are representative of the people living within the contiguous area that they serve. It might be the case that the board members are representative of the local population in terms of race and ethnicity but the question still remains as to whether that is also the case in terms of social and economic position. However this does not mean that Community Development Corporations have not provided an important role for deprived communities via their housing and social programmes, as well as commercial partnership developments in areas lacking in investment.

As with the Granby-Toxteth partnership in the EU Poverty 3 Programme cited above, Community Development Corporations in the US seem to have a tendency to select board members from among the leaders or more active members of established voluntary and community-based projects. This is possibly because they are easier to reach and are more visible than other members of the community, particularly the more marginalised groups and individuals, and in particular, those whose principal language is not English. This could however mean that partnership representatives may be less

responsive to the needs of low-income residents for example, who have little time or resources to engage in local initiatives, and so might unwittingly perpetuate a form of elitism and exclusion.

The issue of elitism and exclusion is an important subject for consideration in this thesis. Many black community organisations in the US enter into multi-million commercial partnership ventures with the US Federal, State and City governments, and manage other large capital development and re-development schemes.¹⁴ For this reason some UK local authorities look to the US for successful capacity-building models of economic development and regeneration involving traditionally excluded groups and communities (Twelvetrees, 1998; Palmer, 2001).¹⁵ It might however be the case in the US that it is those members of the community with sets of skills already attuned to the detailed demands and operational requirements imposed by formal partnerships such as feasibility studies and option appraisals, that are actually included, and who are actually able to participate in determining and shaping local partnership agendas. It is therefore important to investigate empirically, the degree to which local people are representative.

Bennett, Beynon, and Hudson (2000) in their study of UK Coalfield communities, looked at a number of schemes with primarily social objectives, which were relatively small-scale in comparison with the large development schemes in the US. They did however find evidence that the implementation of local regeneration strategies and the ideas put forward by local groups with limited if at all any former partnership experience, were

¹⁴ Interview in February 2000, with Director of the Abyssinian Congregation for Community Improvement a development consortium of churches in Harlem, Upper Manhattan, which has undertaken large-scale retail developments, and the management of capital projects.

¹⁵ In 1999, the Greater London Enterprise undertook a study tour of UK local authorities, to community organisations in the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone Harlem, New York.

indeed often adversely affected by the complex and often competing demands imposed by public funding regimes. The study also found evidence of serious concern among those who had a voice through formal partnerships, about the possibility of the co-option of projects by members of the community with conflicting agendas, and aims. If this is the case in partnerships generally, the key issues might not only be ones of building capacity to remedy what is seen as a partnership skills deficit within the community, and which, is the prevailing view of local and central government officials, but might actually be about looking more closely at the formal and informal influences and networks of power upon partnership activity highlighted above by Geddes (1997) and Smith (1999), and indeed the capacity of local officials to engage effectively.

Other issues to explore are about central government allowing greater local flexibility in regeneration funding programmes as seems to be the case in the US, and the bending of mainstream local authority resources to support dedicated regeneration funding packages (Carley, Chapman, Hastings, Kirk, Young, 2000). An exploration of the factors impacting upon and bound up with the working of partnerships might also however point to the necessity of looking at or adopting an entirely different approach to economic development and regeneration altogether, to effect long-term solutions to the problems of urban decline.

One of the key issues raised by the existing body of literature on partnerships, that is particularly relevant to this study, is determining economic development and regeneration outcomes, and whether or not, where specific outcomes can be identified, they can be attributed to the work of specific partnership initiatives (Geddes, 2000; Haughton, Peck, Tickell, Jones, Littlewood, 2000; Evans, 2001; Williams, 2001). This is a particularly important point in view of the complicated web of overlapping strategies

and partnership initiatives in particular areas, and the various methodologies that are employed for official government evaluations and quarterly progress reports. This point was highlighted in Sir Herman Ousley's race review (Bradford Vision, 2001), and was also raised in the UK Coalfield study already referred to. However, even where specific local outcomes can be identified, evidence does suggest that it cannot automatically be attributed to partnership activity. For example, in the case of the Granby-Toxteth partnership in the EU Poverty 3 Programme, a discernable shift did take place in the official policy discourse of decision-making bodies, which was reflected in the incorporation of race issues and issues of racism into comments on official council reports and policy documents. Arguably however, this might not have been directly attributable to the work of the project since the incorporation of race implications into council committee reports was part of a national trend in local government that had existed since at least the early 1980s, spearheaded by the Greater London Council's Ethnic Minorities Committee. Even if it was the case however that the Granby-Toxteth partnership was responsible for a change in the official discourse, further evidence would be required to determine whether this semantic shift was indicative of a broader and more fundamental cultural shift permeating attitudes and practice, and whether it impacted on tangible outcomes in relation to regeneration (Duffy, 1994; Duffy and Breitenbach, 1994).

Theoretical Perspectives on Partnerships

The theoretical literature on urban regimes and growth coalitions (Bassett, 1996; Les Galés, 1998) race and multiculturalism (Matusik, 1998; Blum, 1998; Churchill, 1998), critical political economy (Young, 1990) urban sociology (Faegin, 1998) and communicative planning (Healey, 1997, 1998 and 2000) approaches attempt to theorise many of the issues raised in the empirical studies cited above that are also relevant to

this thesis. The literature on urban regimes, growth coalitions, urban sociological approaches, and critical political economy, looks at the key players in local politics, and focuses on structures and networks of power, and the nature of co-operation and alliances between local politicians and local development interests seeking to secure the benefits to be derived from local economic development and regeneration actions. Communicative planning, theory is also a useful analytical tool and is particularly applicable to this study in that it takes these approaches further by looking in detail at the interaction between and within local interests, as well as the dynamics and intangible processes at work in operational and planning practices. Some of the theories about race and multiculturalism help to focus on some of the specific concerns, which relate to black and minority ethnic people who are amongst some of the most excluded groups living in areas that are subject to regeneration initiatives. In general terms, critical race and multicultural approaches help to highlight the broader and systemic nature of racism. It also highlights the contradictions arising from a recognition and celebration of racial and cultural diversity, whilst at the same time attempting to reconcile this diversity with the promotion of community cohesion in a local context. Together, these theories have guided the selection of the research questions that were posed at the beginning of this study to determine the efficacy of partnership engagement.

Mackintosh (1992) establishes three broad partnership paradigms, which have also been useful in terms of laying the theoretical foundations for this analysis. These paradigms, the synergy model, the budget enlargement model and the transformation model, provide alternative ways of theorising partnerships. Moreover, the three paradigms are important in that they further help to clarify and pin down the two broad questions, which form the focus of this thesis, and which have also been raised in the empirical literature. Firstly, who is included and represented on or through the expanded

range of institutional partnership forms surrounding local government and what are the demonstrable outcomes of that involvement? Secondly, in terms of labour market participation, what are the demonstrable outcomes of employment assistance programmes that are allied to area regeneration initiatives?

The first model, the synergy model derives from corporate strategy literature and relates to additional benefits that can be provided by stakeholders with compatible aims and objectives, but with different assets, strengths and skills, working together co-operatively and collaboratively on joint ventures, rather than individually (Johnson and Scholes, 1994). The current emphasis in the official partnership language of local and central government is heavily weighted towards the synergy model (DETR, 1997a and b; DETR, 2000a, c and d; SEU, 1998a; LBC, 2000a and b; SEU, 2001; HM Treasury, 2002). The second model, the budget enlargement model is predicated on the notion that partnerships are established and welded together by a collective need or desire to access external funding to resource local initiatives. The creation of broad-based inter-sectoral economic development and regeneration partnerships could be seen to derive from this model in that they are a mandatory requirement of government urban funding regimes. The third approach, the transformation model, looks beyond the public and official face of partnerships implicit in the synergy model, and the instrumental approach that is implicit in the budget enlargement model. It is premised on the idea that the various partners in regeneration will often have different and competing objectives, agendas and modus operandi, and will seek to convert other partners to a particular point of view.

To some extent Fraser's (2000) theoretical work on recognition, like the work of Mackintosh (1992) the architect of the three partnership paradigms, adopts a line of

reasoning that questions many of the assumptions concerning consensus, co-operation, and agreement implicit in the synergy and budget enlargement partnership models. Fraser's (2000) more theoretical work on recognition can also be applied to some of the underlying issues about the dynamics of power within regeneration partnerships, which are also set out in Mackintosh's transformation model. Fraser argues that the official recognition of groups that have been traditionally discriminated against and excluded from participatory structures and processes is founded on a faulty premise or "identity model" (Fraser, 2000: 109). This Fraser argues, bypasses, obscures, or deliberately marginalises crucial issues of economic and material injustice and by being largely "silent on the subject of inequality, the identity model treats misrecognition as a free-standing cultural harm" (Fraser, 2000: 110).

In Fraser's terms, the material impact of economic exclusion cannot be considered separately from issues of identity since it is entwined with institutionalised inequalities, which are also reflected in social, civic and political life. As Fraser points out, "the idea that one could remedy all maldistribution by means of a politics of recognition is deeply deluded: its net result can only be to displace struggles for economic justice -" (Fraser, 2000: 112). However, where local authorities are genuinely making concerted attempts to promote social inclusion by addressing some of the underlying institutional issues, the task is a very difficult one. It requires a radical cultural and institutional shift in established ways of working and communicating that are ingrained in the fabric of local government custom and practice. Moreover, the power to address broader institutional issues that have a direct bearing on localities are beyond the locus of local authorities and arguably therefore, the transformatory goals of partnerships might be somewhat unrealistic.

Healey (1997, 1998 and 2000) focuses on this very issue of social and power relations in organisations through which business is conducted. Healey (1997) argues that structural processes are not something set apart from us which impact on us, but are created by us through various forms of interaction. Therefore, Healey states, it is important to understand issues of agency and the processes through which diverse experiences and power relations are structured and mediated in everyday planning practices, "ideas, discourses – whatever we care to call them – carry structuring power and shape the way material resources are distributed and regulatory power exercised" (Healey, 2000: 919). This approach offers a very useful means of analysing partnerships by drawing attention, not only to formal processes, but also to the intangible ones, an issue also highlighted in some of the empirical work reviewed above (Duffy, 1994; Geddes, 1997). Where Healey's approach does seem to flounder however, is in the assumption that power relations can be fundamentally altered by uncovering and understanding these processes, thereby finding the key to "fostering collaborative, consensus-building practices" (Healey, 1997: 5). In this Healey argues, "the realm of ideas and the discussion of ideas is a critical resource. Through the development of ideas in *policy discourses*, systems of meaning can be changed" (Healey, 1997: 61).

The key issue, which remains unresolved by Healey (1997) however is, given that "relations of power have the potential to oppress and dominate" (Healey, 1997: 29), not all interests will be able or permitted to contribute to this "critical resource" of ideas to transform those very processes that are exclusionary and which prevent those voices from being heard in the first place. If certain voices are never heard, how can they confront power within Healey's own frame of reference? Moreover, as Yiftachel and Huxley (2000) make clear, implicit in this approach is also an unjustified assumption that

planners do not have vested interests but are beyond power relations, acting as “critical friends” (Yiftachel and Huxley, 2000: 923).

The value of communicative approaches in establishing the “strategic directions” (Healey, 2000: 918) to inform the routine practices to which Healey refers are capable of being translated at the frontline in any number of ways and there is nothing inevitable about this being for the better. The practical interpretation of broad objectives can actually become oppressive in masking those very injustices they were supposedly designed to address. In this, the language of equality and justice can be co-opted whilst associated practices remain largely unchanged or more sophisticated in their ability to exclude (Eisenschitz, 1997; Brickell, 2000). Hence, claims about the continuing gulf between policy and practice (IES, 1999). Healey makes an unjustified assumption that there is consensus and agreement about challenging and changing exclusionary practices, and resolving conflicts through reasoned argument and enlightened discussion. Healey also assumes that the diverse needs and aspirations of people living in deprived places can be shared and understood by the municipal powers leading to, “a sympathetic and respectful grasp of the social worlds in which those in difficulty live by those controlling governance resources (material, regulatory, relational) of what living in a place is like” (Healey, 1998: 71). This approach first of all, positions groups facing particular forms of exclusion as inferior in relation to those who are able to exercise power within a municipality and within participatory processes. At the same time it exhorts members of those same groups positioned as inferior to engage in participatory processes on the basis of their inequality, as a means of overcoming their inequality (Hall, 2001).

Healey (1997 and 1998) offers no real justification for concluding that those who are used to wielding power and being in control of decision-making processes, will be willing to cede power to those they have positioned as inferior in relation to themselves. Neither is any justification offered for the assumption that groups positioned as inferior actually seek to enlighten powerful interests by participating in discussions on the basis of their inequality, or that such discursive forms of participation can actually change material reality. Similarly Forester (2000) assumes that "communicative theories can help us to distinguish enabling from disabling practices in real settings" (Forester, 2000: 915). This assumes that practices and organisational cultures and networks of power will be receptive to change when confronted with hard evidence based upon sound reasoning. However, Forester (2000), like Healey (1997 and 1998), offers little if any evidence in support of this view.

Flyvbjerg (1998) also adopting a communicative planning approach to understanding the context within which planning decisions are made, did find evidence that institutions and processes, ostensibly existing to serve the interests of the wider public, in practice actually serve the interests of the more powerful stakeholders. These powerful interests Flyvbjerg (1998) argues, when facing opposition, have recourse to subtle "strategies and tactics" (Flyvbjerg, 1998: 5) which, whilst appearing on the surface to be part of an inclusive, even-handed and transparent democratic decision-making process, actually give legitimacy to the plans of powerful influential interests by procuring the "knowledge which supports its purposes, while it ignores or suppresses that knowledge which does not serve it" (Flyvbjerg, 1998: 226).

Indeed, one of the concerns of this thesis is the extent to which key issues concerning power and exclusion, manifested for example in some of the fundamental issues about

racism, are prevented from even having a discursive existence within traditional participatory structures. Moreover, transformative approaches may have a discursive existence on the policy agenda but can be eclipsed by liberal “tokens of diversity” (Matustik, 1998: 101), which co-opt and sanitise much of the language of a transformative approach and parade the “cultural spectacle of difference” (Matustik, 1998, 102). For example, Amadiume (2000), in a study of women's groups and organisations in Nigeria and Britain, found evidence of differences in approaches and in the controlled language of social justice in top-down state partnerships, and the more challenging approaches and challenging language of social justice in bottom-up grass roots community-led strategies. The former approach effectively bypasses central questions about the operation of underlying structural and institutional processes, shifting the individual material consequences of those processes to centre stage. In this context, remedial solutions are correspondingly proposed within a framework of individual rights, individual responsibilities, opportunities and citizenship, which include celebrations of diversity, cloaked in notions of racial tolerance and racial harmony that are difficult to translate into a practical value. This is because a focus on cultural diversity ignores and leaves in tact the processes that actually give rise to particular material outcomes which remain exclusionary and discriminatory (McGary, 1998; HM Treasury, 1999; DSS, 1999; SEU 2000). In this context, enhanced race relations legislation for example and the proposed creation of a Single Equalities Commission which attempts to address the cross cutting equalities issues, whilst welcome, can only have limited impact.

Issues of Power and Community Involvement

The concept of community, like that of partnership is high on the political agenda. It is central to the administration of public funding for regeneration partnerships in the UK,

and is therefore important to this study. Indeed, central and local government policy documents repeatedly make reference to community (DETR, 1997a and b; SEU, 1998a; LBH, 1998; LBC, 2000a; DETR, 2000c and d; SEU 2001), and the introduction of the New Deal for Communities (NDC) is the first area-based regeneration initiative to be specifically promoted as community led.

At a conceptual level, the community development, social exclusion and urban planning literature reveal that the term community has evolved in two main ways. Firstly, to denote a group of persons sharing and often identifying with a particular characteristic, as for example in notions of the black community, and does not necessarily have one specific geographical focus, or indeed, a geographical focus at all. The second meaning of community is used in reference to a group of persons who reside in an area and who share in common the fact of their geographical proximity to each other. Whilst some academics (Marcuse, 1996; Wilson, 1998) argue that in economically deprived areas, residents will often share similar social and economic characteristics, others (Macfalane and Laville, 1992; Osborne, 1998; Ferguson and Dickens, 1999; Kennedy, 2000; Taylor, 2000) state that sharing the same location does not necessarily imply that those individuals identify strongly with the area, or indeed with each other.

In this context, attempts to operationalise the term community among policy-makers and practitioners engaged with economic development and regeneration partnerships, would appear to have emerged from a synthesis of these schools of thought as an instrument for fostering a strong and positive identification among people living in a neighbourhood or contiguous neighbourhoods. The practical interpretation of community has thus become a means of the state intervening in the building and re-building of symbiotic relationships among people living, working, or investing in a particular area, and for

moving them collectively towards a shared vision for the future of their localities (DETR, 1997a and b; DETR, 2000c and d; Bennett, Beynon, and Hudson, 2000). In this sense, the concept of community is constitutive, and attempts to unify diversity by embracing individuals and groups with different, competing, and incompatible needs and priorities within an area. An alternative way of looking at this could however be that notions of community, and community involvement, actually serve as rhetorical appliances, devolving responsibility for problems within an area to the people living in the locality, but with none of the corresponding power to take real decisions attached which remains centralised at higher spatial scales.

At the same time, the concept of community, which has also become linked with current debates about community cohesion, and building cohesive communities, is deeply racial in overtone. It has become bound up with notions of British citizenship and social exclusion/inclusion in which the emphasis has been subtly placed on black and minority ethnic communities as the cause of problems that beset the inner city and which can, in part, it is claimed, be solved by bringing those communities into the mainstream through remedial policies such as citizenship studies and language classes. In addition, the negative discourse emanating from government that has become associated with people seeking refugee status in the UK, actually conflicts with the governments policy of valuing diversity and its policy of successfully integrating refugees, that is integration in terms of belonging and participating in the social and civic life of the wider community. This conflict is manifest in the powerful message government sends out in its actions and statements (Home Office, 2002) that refugees and other migrants are not really supposed to be here. The treatment of refugees on arrival in the UK also directly contradicts the Home Office's own evidence based research which shows that negative experiences through the application of punitive asylum policies, actually impedes the

future integration and participation of refugees that the government's integration programme is ostensibly seeking.¹⁶

Areas such as Oldham, one of the northern towns which experienced disturbances in 2001 was also one of the former Community Development Projects to inform the conclusions of the 1977 White Paper, Policy for the Inner Cities. The problems in disadvantaged areas in the UK such as poor housing, low pay, and unemployment, whilst disproportionately affecting black and minority ethnic groups, actually cuts across racial and ethnic boundaries. Thus the current government stance on community cohesion and social inclusion, which actually targets black and minority ethnic communities as the problem, promotes divisions between communities. It also undermines the governments stated policy aspiration of identifying joint solutions to commonly experienced problems.

It is important therefore to deconstruct political vocabulary and to examine carefully the ways in which language and concepts can actually mask and perpetuate various forms of inequality and exclusion. In this sense, apparently innocuous all-embracing terms such as community, might actually subtly serve more powerful interests by excluding people who are perceived to fall outside the officially recognised or officially constructed notion of community. This issue is also significant since participatory strategies in area-based regeneration adopt place-based notions of community, thus fostering a parochial rather than lateral view of solutions to urban problems. This may inhibit the forging of broader links between diverse groups of people facing similar sets of issues that go

¹⁶ The Home Office jointly with the Department of Work and Pensions sponsored a UK National Integration Conference of policy makers, practitioners and academics, in June 2002 to look at evidence based approaches to supporting the settlement of refugees and asylum seekers.

beyond communities of place, and immediate identifiable interests (Lorde, 1984; Fraser, 2000).

The practical interpretation of place-based notions of community fails to recognise that people living in a defined geographical location will also be part of other communities and networks. In this sense therefore, communities are not static single configurations which conform to stereotypical associations, but are mobile and fluid containing diverse individuals (McGary, 1998) with “multiple positionalities” (Hall, 2001) as with diasporic formations of black communities in the UK and the US for example. Thus, what may be seen from the outside as an apparently homogenous group, does in actual fact mask a wide range of differences between people who may look similar, and be or appear to be in similar social and economic circumstances, but who in actual fact, have divergent interests and experiences. Those same individuals and groups may also have different ideas about who can legitimately claim to represent them, or whether they perceive themselves as part of a community. These differences may be as wide among people perceived to be members of the same community, as between people perceived to be members of different communities.

These differences have numerous implications for area-based regeneration partnerships, which seem to have been conceived on the basis of common perceived experiences, and fixed identities of people living in a defined location, as well as a universal all embracing supposed logic about communities, which has little empirical foundation. Whilst the social world does not divide into distinct and fixed cultural identities, one for each of us (Hall, 2001), this does not however rule out the possibility that a community defined geographically may in fact contain people who, whilst having diverse interests and experiences, may nevertheless all benefit from specific projects or

programmes. Thus an important issue for this thesis will be looking at how diverse interests are targeted, and the extent to which the measures are effective.

In any given location, the sheer number of groups purporting to stand for the community renders the issue of representation in participatory structures even more complex, and can promote competition and conflict between groups and individuals living in an area. In addition, it is important to examine the procedures in place for the selection or for the removal of representatives, the means through which partnerships are accountable to members of the wider community, and how decisions about local plans are arrived at.

Young (1990) adopts a very powerful analytical tool that has value in looking at current ideas of power within partnerships and the way in which agendas can be determined and controlled by powerful stakeholders, principally "the way in which the particular perspectives of dominant groups claim universality, and helps to justify hierarchical decision-making structures" (Young, 1990: 97). The approach adopted by Young (1990) is also important in looking at the way in which the term community serves as an ideological construct of seemingly impartial bureaucrats who wield power and influence in decision-making. In this, the unity implied in the term community provides the justification needed to legitimise official pronouncements on local plans as being in the interests of everyone in an area when in fact it is those plans favoured by powerful and influential interests that are being pushed through behind a smokescreen of inclusiveness. Young (1990) argues that this "reinforces oppression by hypostatizing the point of view of privileged groups into a universal position" (Young, 1990: 112). Foucault (1984), also theorises the way in which seemingly rational and even-handed practices, like other systems of exclusion "rests on an institutional support" (Foucault, 1984: 113) which gives the partisan stance of particular interest groups the official sanction through

a subtle exercise of power. Taylor (2000) very eloquently puts it this way “power is entrenched in cultures and discourses that enshrine particular ‘scripts’ and ways of seeing” (Taylor, 2000: 1022). Thus, anything that falls outside this official way of seeing and doing can be labelled as an aberration or deviant and therefore legitimately ignored or discredited.

Le Galés (1998: 496-497) makes reference to the capacity of modes of urban governance to represent broad community interests within an area, as well as representing those same interests to audiences outside the area, which is described respectively as ‘internal integration’ and ‘external integration’. This is also a very useful tool of analysis, which can be applied in this partnership study to look at the representation of interests in partnership forums, that is, ‘internal integration’. It can also be used to look at the capacity of those same partnerships to represent the views, interests, and experiences of those members of the community not directly represented at the partnership table, that is ‘external integration’. For example, issues concerning institutional racism are part of much broader processes than the immediate locality.

Linked to ideas of community and community participation are also notions of capacity building and empowerment as a means of enhancing social capital within communities. These concepts are based on a model of individuals or organisations in deprived areas seen to be lacking the necessary assets, skills, and knowledge, which prevents them from forming the social bonds, that will enable them come together and to participate in creative ways in local initiatives (LBC 2000b; Putman, 2000). Therefore area-based programmes based on notions of resident participation in deprived areas are designed to strengthen social capital and enlarge local networks. They are also a response to some of the criticisms arising from the disastrous designs of system built housing estates that

were imposed on people living in areas such as Hackney during the 1960s and early 1970s, many of which became hard to let and had to be subsequently demolished (Pinto, 1993 and 1995).

As part of this debate, there is an emerging strand of policy literature however, that is re-conceptualising this notion of capacity building, empowerment, and social capital, and is highlighting issues around inflexible bureaucratic processes that are built into urban funding regimes. It is also giving a profile to processes within mainstream policy forums and funding bodies, and the relationship of partnerships to wider power structures that often block participation, including the participation of black and minority ethnic residents and organisations for example, through institutionalised discriminatory practices (North, 2001; Beazley and Loftman, 200; Hibbitt, Jones and Meegan, 2001). Most competitive funding regimes are based on the argumentation of needs, which have to be put across in a way that is defined by the bureaucracy before it is even heard, never mind accepted. This has major implications for effective partnership working as defined by policy makers, and is explored empirically in Chapter 6.

Conclusion

This chapter has established a working definition of partnership as formal body that promotes social and economic solutions to urban decline within a designated area, and has examined various theoretical approaches to understanding how partnerships operate, and how broader notions of power and structural and institutional inequalities may be mirrored in them. This chapter has also looked at theoretical approaches to understanding the concept of community, which is important given that community involvement is at the heart of the government's partnership approach to the delivery of urban policy and is a mandatory requirement of most funding regimes.

The broad research questions posed in Chapter 1 form the focus for the remainder of this thesis, and will be explored empirically by adopting a case study approach of the Shoreditch New Deal for Communities (Shoreditch NDC), and the Haggerston Single Regeneration Budget (Haggerston SRB) initiatives, both of which are in the London Borough of Hackney. It will take account of the perspectives of partnership participants involved in the strategic and implementation aspects of the partnership objectives, as well as the perspectives of the actual scheme participants. The case study approach, as has been stated elsewhere in this thesis, will also have an element of comparison with the US through interviews with some of the key operators in regeneration, and the intended beneficiaries of their employment assistance programmes. Two of the employment schemes that will be examined in Hackney are actually contracted to the Shoreditch NDC, and Haggerston SRB partnerships. The other two employment programmes are in the South Bronx, New York, within the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone, and are managed by the Women's Housing Education Development Cooperative (WHEDCO). The funding for these programmes comes from the Federal and City government.

Before embarking on the empirical discussion however, the next chapter, Chapter 5, sets out the method of inquiry I adopted. It also explores many of the issues, which arose during the fieldwork stage that are of direct relevance to this study.

Chapter 5 – Methodology: Reflections on the Intersection of Position, Race, Ethnicity and Gender on the Research Process

Introduction

This chapter describes the study area and sets out the approach that was adopted, that is, the method of data collection, the process of actually carrying out the fieldwork, and the analysis of the results. This chapter also looks at the reasons why the approach adopted was particularly appropriate to the research questions that were set out in Chapter 1.

The following is a reflexive account based upon notes and impressions that were kept, particularly throughout the fieldwork phase. It is embedded in some of the general literature on research methods, some of the literature on research methods by other black, and minority ethnic researchers who connect with issues concerning the influence of race, gender and identity, and white researchers who are informed by an anti-racist and a feminist perspective, and who are similarly concerned with politics and method, and issues of identity and reflexivity in the research process (Yin, 1994; Kvale, 1996; Bryman, 1996) politics and methods (Massey and Meegan, 1985; Temple and Edwards, 2002; Edwards, 1990; Egharevba, 2001; McDowell, 1991 and 1992; Kobayashi, 1994; England, 1994; Troyna, 1998; Connolly, 1998; Gilborn, 1998; Blair, 1998; Rakhit, 1998; Wright, 1998, Mirza, 1998; Neal, 1998). For the purpose of clarity and structure, this account presents the research process as an almost linear progression. However, whilst there were obviously some fixed parameters, actually carrying out the research was far from straightforward and sequential, but was a process characterised by fluidity as well

as much uncertainty. This involved clarifying issues through frequent revisits to the conceptual literature on social exclusion, urban policy, and participation, and was often followed by subsequent shifts in direction and in emphasis, as well as a continual focusing and refocusing of the research questions.

Research Aims

The primary focus of this thesis is an examination of the efficacy of local participatory approaches to area regeneration at the broad level of programme implementation, and at the level of individual project delivery. The latter has a specific focus on participation in schemes that seek to enhance the employability of individuals. The reason I chose to focus on participation was because it emerged from the theoretical discussion as the hub of current approaches to area based regeneration and economic development in the UK. At the same time, labour market participation emerged as the key plank of current approaches in both the UK and in the US to tackling social exclusion.

My interest in area regeneration and local economic development grew out of 17 years as a local government officer with the former Greater London Council, and the London Boroughs of Hackney, Haringey and Croydon, where I worked in strategic central departments. The major portion of my time was spent in the management of voluntary sector programmes, developing and implementing race equality strategies, and developing and implementing anti-poverty partnership initiatives funded by central and local government, including the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB).

As a local government officer, one of my key concerns was with some of the major constraints on policy development, evaluation, and implementation, which are heavily influenced by the priorities and the interests of local and national officials, and local and

national political administrations. The demands posed in the actual delivery of programmes, and the development of strategies within the excruciatingly short timescales imposed by funding regimes, also means that it is difficult for officers to do any real exploratory work, to think critically about the types of approaches being put forward, or to assess their potential long term value. Moreover, the competitive nature of the resource allocation process has encouraged the development of a bidding culture in which an armoury of transformatory language is marshalled in support of strategies that promise *bold, imaginative, innovative and radical* local solutions to the most intractable and entrenched forms of urban decline, and the devolution of decision making to local people.

Whilst some of the officers that I worked alongside saw regeneration and local economic development in procedural terms, other officers, despite the optimistic proclamations contained in funding submissions, were privately and in some cases publicly, rather more cautious. Others still were of the view that nothing short of a miracle would be able to transform deprived areas, particularly within the constraints of the overall model adopted, and within the confines of limited resources and time. It was thus important, in my view, to look more closely at the impact of area based approaches to urban renewal and their outcomes, and to assess the validity of the theoretical propositions and the claims underpinning them. In this, it was necessary to capture the perspectives of the actual participants in the programmes and projects, in order to understand how the initiatives were interpreted and practically experienced by people at the local level. To answer the specific research questions that I had posed, it was also important, in my view, to bring a broader perspective to bear on the analysis by looking at the extent to which the views of local participants were allied to the perspectives of key local and

national operators who also had a major interest in the design and the delivery of the specific programmes under examination.

Selection of Study Areas and Themes

The London Borough of Hackney has a resident population of 203,400 (ONS, 2001) and stretches over a total area of 1,970km in North London, and borders on the City of London. Employment is primarily small scale with deep roots in cabinet making, clothing and footwear.

Transport in the Borough is regarded by residents as generally good (LBH, 2001) and whilst the Borough does have the distinction of being the only one in Inner London without an underground station within its boundaries, underground stations do border on Hackney/Islington in north and Hackney/Tower Hamlets in the south. Despite the close proximity of Hackney to the City of London (Map 1) the Borough has an appearance that is generally run down and displays some of the most dramatic and intractable hallmarks of social and economic decline in Britain. It does however have some recent pockets of gentrification in Stoke Newington, and Shoreditch which are both on the edge of the City of London where new-media activities have developed, often bringing their own highly skilled workforce with them (Map 2). As a result, the price of housing has escalated and the average price of a terraced house in Hackney is £227, 364, compared with an average of £89,499 for England and Wales (ONS, 2001).

According to official indices of deprivation, the Borough is one of the most deprived in the UK on virtually all indicators having among the worst housing conditions, some of the highest levels of unemployment, one of the greatest densities of poverty, and one of the highest levels of homelessness. The NDC area includes the local authority wards of De

Beauvoir, Hoxton, Queensbridge and the ward of Haggerston, which also falls within the SRB study area. These wards mirror the levels of deprivation that are found at local authority district level. Table 2 below sets out some of the proxy indices of deprivation at the local authority district level and the study areas, Shoreditch and Haggerston.

Table 2: Indicators of Deprivation

| Indicator | Description |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Index of Multiple Deprivation Source: 2000, DTLR | 100% of the wards in Hackney are within the worst 10% of wards nationally. Hackney has among the highest IMD scores, 57.06 compared with Inner London as a whole 39.21. Wards that have the highest IMD scores include those within the study areas, for example, Queensbridge, 70.52, and Hoxton, 67.10. |
| Housing Tenure, London Source: ONS 2001 Census | 30.7% rent from the Council, 20.1% from Housing Associations or Registered Social Landlords. Average price of a terraced house in Hackney is £227,364 compared with an average of £89,499 for England and Wales. |
| Languages spoken, LBH, 2002, MORI | 66% of pupils in Hackney are from black and ethnic minority groups. 53% speak English as an additional language compared with 40% and 29% in London as a whole. 17% of residents do not speak English as a principal language and a further 5% state that they do not speak English well. |
| Ethnic Profile of Hackney Residents Source: ONS 2001 Census | 59.4% of Hackney residents fall into the White category, compared with for example, 24.7% residents who are Black or Black British, 12.5% Caribbean, and 2.9% Bangladeshi. The ethnic ward profiles are similar to those at district level. |
| Unemployment Source: ONS 2001 Census | Local authority district level 6.9%, compared with Haggerston, 7.4%, De Beauvoir, 6.7%, Queensbridge, 7.4%, Hoxton, 7.4%, and 3.4% for England and Wales |
| Households Without a Car Source: ONS 2001 Census | 56% of households in Hackney do not own a car. This compares with the Hoxton ward for example where it is 62.7%. |
| Long Term Illness Source: ONS 2001 Census | 18% of Hackney residents have a long-term illness. In Haggerston this is 17.7%, and in Hoxton rises to 20.2%, and in Queensbridge 21.6%. |

The London Borough of Hackney was selected because I was particularly interested in looking at the New Deal for Communities (NDC) and one of the earlier SRB

programmes. The reason for this choice was because the criteria for the NDC had ostensibly addressed some of the problems that had become apparent in the practical delivery of SRB programmes. In particular, the issue of flexibility, the ability to carry over resources from one year to the next, the constraints of centrally established and centrally driven programmes on the determination of local priorities, and the ability to customise responses. It also responded to the issue of longer lead times to allow a sufficient period for community led partnerships to develop and gel effectively, and which, could then go on to steer the overall implementation of regeneration programmes. As Hackney has been the recipient of virtually every known compensatory initiative including the NDC, and was running schemes under all of the former SRB bidding rounds, the Borough was selected on that basis.

Two of the employment assistance programmes are based in the London Borough of Hackney and are allied to the Shoreditch New Deal for Communities (Shoreditch NDC) and the Haggerston Single Regeneration Budget (Haggerston SRB) initiative under Round 4. One of the employment assistance programmes is being run by a national organisation called @ Work. It is a private employment recruitment agency, that specifically targets hard to reach clients, and has offices in 13 of the most deprived areas in England. In Shoreditch, @ Work has been established for a year as a drop in facility with outreach services, and has one of its offices in a highly visible location on a busy high street in the centre of the regeneration area. The other programme is being run by a local community based outreach project called Ascent 21, which is located on a Council Estate in the Haggerston SRB regeneration area. It was established in 1986, initially as the Haggerston Employment and Training Project and also targets hard to reach people on a drop in basis and through outreach work.

Both @ Work and Ascent 21 run programmes that are funded via a range of UK and EU sources, covering specific aspects of their work on job placement, job brokerage with employers, abbreviated forms of job readiness training, and benefit advice services which includes advice on in work benefits. Ascent 21 has however run specific customised employer backed training courses. One of the key funding sources for @ Work, in addition to EU funding is the Shoreditch NDC, whilst Ascent 21, in addition to EU funding, and funding provided by the local housing association and the City Fringe SRB programme, receives some of its resources for specific programmes from both the Shoreditch NDC and the Haggerston SRB programme.

The other two employment assistance programmes that will be examined in this chapter are being administered in the Bronx, New York by an organisation called the Women's Housing and Education Development Co-operative (WHEDCO) established in 1992. One of the individual WHEDCO schemes is called Innovations at Work and is a mandatory job search and job readiness preparation programme for welfare recipients. The other scheme, Urban Horizons, is a short federally funded employment oriented culinary arts training programme targeted at low-income individuals. WHEDCO is situated in a deprived area of the South Bronx, New York, and lies within a New York Empowerment Zone. Like the NDC and SRB regeneration areas, Empowerment Zones are spatially designated areas for economic development. They receive funding via Federal, State and City government, and lever in support from not-for-profit agencies including foundations, and corporate sponsors as discussed in Chapter 3. Areas that are awarded Empowerment Zone status also receive additional flexibilities based on targeted tax incentives with the stated intention of encouraging inward investment and stimulating job creation.

The WHEDCO employment assistance scheme in the South Bronx, and the @ Work and Ascent 21 schemes in Shoreditch and Haggerston do share a number of similarities in terms of the emphasis they all place on job search and job readiness training. However, unlike the programmes in Shoreditch and Haggerston, WHEDCO targets its Innovations At Work job search programme exclusively at welfare recipients who travel in to the South Bronx from across New York City, and has certain similarities with New Deal employment programmes in the UK. In addition, both WHEDCO and Ascent 21 are voluntary organisations and have extended their programmes beyond job search and job readiness training to intensive customised training courses geared to specific service related employment opportunities.

The schemes in the Bronx, New York, were chosen as comparators, principally because the UK has tended to be somewhat seduced by the US experience, and New York faces similar sets of issues to those in London which contains my study area. For these reasons I believed it to be important to look at how similar policies have been applied to similar problems, albeit in a different institutional context, and to assess the extent to which they have been effective.

Employing Qualitative Research Methods

The theoretical and conceptual issues that I dealt with in the chapters on social exclusion, urban policy, and participation, provided the context for the purpose and the design of this study, and the framing of my specific research questions. The purpose of this study is to locate regeneration partnership initiatives, and the experiences and interpretations that local people, local practitioners, and local and national policy makers have of them, within the broader context of globalisation and economic restructuring, and a broad policy emphasis on participation. I was not concerned with employing a

similar approach to that adopted in formal evaluations, which tend to be superficial in the questions they pose. In addition, given the overlapping nature of urban policy, there is also the problem of attributing specific outcomes to specific policies. The formal evaluations, in my view, reveal very little about what is actually happening on the ground in relation to the extent and the intensity of the problems the programmes are designed to help address. As one Local Resident and former Shoreditch NDC Board Member stated during interview, the approach taken to formal evaluations in her experience was essentially:

We've done capacity building, that's one day, tick box. We've done crime, tick box we've spoken to three policemen. We've done youth, we've spoken to two youth leaders, and this is what it's all about and now what you've got is people saying hang on a moment, we're spending, we're getting exhausted from doing all this work and we're seeing nothing for it (Local Resident and former Shoreditch NDC Board Member, ID 13).

If there had been good quality data about, for example, how many people were employed as a result of the programmes, as well as data on pay levels, work related benefits, and stability, this would have helped to answer some of my research questions. Moreover, I was specifically interested in obtaining detailed interpretations and accounts of the schemes, from the perspectives of the intended local beneficiaries, and from the standpoint of practitioners and local and national policy makers about *how* and *why* the schemes are experienced and interpreted in the way that they are.

The research questions, which emerged from the theoretical discussion and documentary reviews, were set out at the end of Chapter 1. As the questions were exploratory in nature, and my approach an interpretive one, this justifiably suggested a qualitative approach as that most fit for purpose. The utility of a qualitative approach as a method of inquiry to obtain knowledge about the social world has been amply

demonstrated in a significant body of theoretical work (Alexiadou, 2001; Kobayashi, 1994; Bryman, 1996; Burgess, 1996; Fielding, 1996; Kvale, 1996; Rakhit, 1998; Mullings, 1999; Ward and Jones, 1999; Temple and Edwards, 2002; Edwards, 1990). As my research project was specifically concerned with the perspectives of respondents, I adopted a qualitative method because I was of the view that my overall research objectives would be better achieved by providing a framework that was fluid enough to enable issues to be raised and discussed by respondents that were of significance to the study, but that I as the researcher might not have previously thought of, or might have an entirely different perspective on. I also chose this method because of the flexibility it could offer in allowing me to respond intuitively in various interview situations, and to clarify issues and questions. Indeed, the literature on qualitative methods points to these possibilities as strengths (Alexiadou, 2001; Yin, 1994; Kvale, 1996; Bryman, 1996; Burgess, 1996; Blair, 1998; England, 1994; Skyers, 1994; Troyna, 1998).

This method had additional advantages for three main reasons. Firstly as the approach was exploratory, there was significant potential for some of the preconceptions I had about the effectiveness of regeneration initiatives, based upon my own local authority experience, to be challenged. Secondly, my personal experiences and observations as a UK born Black woman, of Caribbean descent, of direct and indirect forms of discrimination and exclusion based on race and gender, had the potential to shed light on some of the forms of exclusion directly relevant to this study. Rakhit (1998) for example in her study of South Asian teachers, demonstrated the way in which her personal experiences of racism in education helped in the formulation of her research design, and helped her to establish congenial relationships with the people she interviewed who had gone through similar experiences. Thirdly, my personal experiences of policies in action and local government in operation also had the potential

to illuminate issues that arose from my inquiry about the effectiveness of organisational policy responses designed to foster greater inclusion.

I was concerned however that without the imposition of some form of loose structure, the interviews would be unfocused and would go off on tangents that were totally unrelated to my subject of inquiry. For this reason, I decided to employ an approach to interviewing that was based upon loose themes and semi-structured questions. These were used primarily as a guide to initiate and prompt respondents, and allowed supplementary questions and themes to be explored during the interview, as well as to focus and inform subsequent interviews as and when questions and themes arose from my ongoing analysis of the data, or from my revisits to the theoretical literature.

Qualitative Methods and the Influence of Post-Structuralism

Despite the numerous advantages of a qualitative approach, as with any form of social inquiry, its validity as a research method is the subject of debate. This debate revolves principally around the status of knowledge, and issues of power and control, in an approach where the interviewer, as the instrument of data collection, data analysis, and interpretation, can influence the process, and the outcome either wittingly or unwittingly. This debate also relates to the impact of systemic inequalities in society, which are played out in a multitude of ways in an interview situation (Blair, 1998; Kvale, 1996; Bryman, 1996; Kobayashi, 1994; McDowell, 1992; Mullings, 1999). Edwards (1990) for example, carried out in depth interviews with Black mature mother undergraduates, born in the Caribbean but living in the UK. She explored the hidden dynamics and divisions between women in which institutional and structural divisions based on race affected her access as a white woman researcher to some respondents, permeated the interview

situation where she was able to gain access, and as a consequence, impacted on the information she received.

I did of course recognise the methodological issues inherent in an approach that claims to enable others to speak, particularly as this takes place through a researcher, and is also adjusted so that it conforms to an established academic framework (McDowell, 1992; Blair, 1998). Whilst recognising these and other limitations, I adopted a qualitative method because it was able to provide some scope and the facility at least for respondents to be active participants in the inquiry, to express their views and opinions about the issues under examination, in words of their own choosing, and to introduce and explore issues that they felt to be of importance.

Other methodological concerns about qualitative approaches stem from the fact that people may not be open during the interview process, or indeed accurate in their responses, or might adopt a position that they think is more socially acceptable to the interviewer (Gilbert, 1996; Stone, 1996). Added to this, once collected, the researcher has direct control over the data and can use it selectively to support or deny a particular theoretical position. This can result in findings that reflect the particular quirks of the researcher (Rose, 1997; Bryman, 1996). Temple and Edward's (2002) use of translators in their research highlights some of these methodological concerns very clearly. They found that the translator does not perform a technical role as a neutral mouthpiece, transferring information from the interviewee to the researcher, but that the scripts are actively influenced and shaped by the social location of the translator, their experiences, and their interaction with the interviewee. This point can be similarly applied to the effect of the social location of researchers generally, and indeed specifically to the way my social location infused this study.

The influence of post-structuralism has however led to a growing acknowledgement of the influence of 'identity' and the way in which it permeates both the research process and content. It has also become an integral part of discussions about a qualitative approach as a reliable and valid research method and the types of data that constitute 'evidence'. Mirroring this post-structuralist turn, the importance of a reflexive stance on the research process and the values that all researchers bring to the process has been boldly underlined (Edwards, 1990; McDowell, 1991 and 1992; Rose, 1997; Blair, 1998; Rakhit, 1998; Wright, 1998; Mirza, 1998; Troyna, 1998; Egharevba, 2001; Temple and Edwards, 2002). Reflexivity however, and its practical application is not without its difficulties, particularly as, for example, it is impossible to know with any certainty, the impact the researcher has on the research process, or to entirely understand the interview from the perspective of the interviewee (Edwards, 1990; Schoenberger, 1991 and 1992; Rose, 1997). How I was perceived by the people I interviewed and how I perceived them had a crucial impact on the exchanges that took place during the interviews in ways that seemed clear to me, some of which are explained below, as well as in ways that it will never be possible for me to know, or to imagine. This was based on a whole constellation of factors including my, race and ethnicity, as well as my age, gender, and position.

The advantages of attempting to adopt a reflective stance in my study as with many of those studies already cited, does not lie in a quest towards perfection, but in explaining and justifying the rationale behind my selection and application of a particular method, in attempting to demonstrate, as far as possible, the rigorousness with which I applied it, and in being open and transparent about the entire process. I have already acknowledged, for example, the reasons underpinning my selection of study theme, my position as a local government officer in a number of authorities including Hackney, my

own experiences of exclusion based on race and gender, and my experiences of applying a range of local authority policies, as well as working within them. These factors certainly did have some bearing on the research process not only in terms of the themes I chose to explore as already stated, but importantly, on how I interpreted responses to them. In addition, my knowledge of local authority structures and 'insider' status as a local government officer, and access as a Black woman, to what has been termed the 'elite' operators (Ross, 2001; Herod, 1999; Sabot, 1999; Ward and Jones, 1999), further elucidates the complexities and conflicting nature of identity and the fluid or indeed artificial nature of the boundaries that surround it.

To some extent, my interviews with people who are considered 'elites', also reveals much about the views some researchers have about access to people working in environments that they are unfamiliar with (Herod, 1999; Schoenberger, 1991 and 1992; Ward and Jones, 1999). It never occurred to me for example, that I would have less access than anyone else to individuals and groups that were relevant to this study, whatever their position, and in whatever environment. In local government, this did of course relate to my position as a local government officer at that time, understanding something of the micro politics, and knowing where to go and who to go to. However, the views of researchers about restricted access to elites, as Ross (2001) points out, based upon her studies of political elites is artificially constructed by researchers who conceive of them as being comprised of people that they assume are far too busy and far too important to participate in research interviews. In my experience, local officials actually welcome interviews, which they often see as a respite from the working day.

In the following account of the fieldwork stage and the analysis of the data, I have also attempted to be open and transparent about the research process in terms of the

identification and selection of respondents, any methodological concerns and issues that became manifest during the fieldwork stage, and any decisions that I took as a result. I have also attempted to detail the way in which my interviews with a diverse range of respondents in the UK and in the US appealed to or conflicted with different parts of my identity as a Black woman researcher and as a local government officer, and how I interpreted its impact on the research process. This does not mean that having acknowledged my position and as far as I am aware, the various influences that I am subject to, that my account is biased and therefore is not a valid one. Although there are some very useful studies on techniques for analysing and interpreting qualitative data (Kvale, 1996; Alexiadou, 2001), there is no blueprint for this. Therefore, the interpretation and inferences drawn from the data, and the way in which it has been structured is ultimately based on the way in which I have understood the issues from my acknowledged standpoint. However, during the analysis of the data, I did attempt to draw out the different ways in which interviewees' interpreted issues. For example, as is detailed in the empirical discussion in Chapter 6 on participation, which follows, one of the partnership participants referred to the 'community' as being 'one'.

As I explain in Chapter 6, my tendency is to see such statements as manifestations of racism, which work to exclude less powerful groups, particularly black and minority ethnic groups by positioning them as inferior in relation to a mono-cultural view of society. However, by trying to adopt a different way of looking at the data, I also considered an alternative view that whatever the effects, the statement was actually motivated more out of a concern that powerful local and national interests would use diversity and difference to drive a wedge between various local constituents, and to prevent the forging of broad based alliances, hence the assertion "we are one". In that sense my account is based upon a rigor in my analysis as well as collection of data. As

a further example of the rigour with which I applied my method, my decision to stop interviewing was not an arbitrary one, but was taken on the basis of theoretical saturation, that is, the identification of consistent themes and patterns that emerged from my ongoing data analysis during the fieldwork stage (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). On this basis my account is therefore as valid an account as is the work of researchers who, as Blair (1998) points out, do not state or fail to recognise the influence of their social position.

Identification and Selection of Interviewees

The thesis was concerned with a dual notion of participation in local initiatives from the perspective of the official operators in regeneration, and local people. The selection of practitioners and policy makers at the various levels of central and local government, the voluntary sector, and quasi public/private regeneration delivery agencies in both the UK and in the US, was decided on the basis of their connection to the initiatives, and to the specific issues under examination. The interviewees were senior managers, operational managers responsible for the delivery of the Shoreditch NDC and Haggerston SRB programmes, and front line workers with responsibility for the management and implementation of the employment assistance projects. In order to obtain a broader view on the programmes and projects in relation to sub regional and national regeneration and economic development objectives in the UK and in the US, other policymakers and practitioners were identified on the basis of their strategic orientation to the wider regeneration aims, including, in the UK, those in other London Boroughs. The local people selected were those represented on the Shoreditch NDC and Haggerston SRB partnership boards, and also included the intended beneficiaries of the employment assistance projects connected to the programmes in the UK, and to the projects in the Bronx within the Empowerment Zone in New York. A breakdown of

interview participants is set out in Table 2 below and in a summary profile of interviewees, which forms Appendix C.

Table 2: Status of Interviewees

| Officials and Practitioners | | | Tenants/Residents/Trainees | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|---------------|----------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| <u>ORGANISATION</u> | <u>MALE</u> | <u>FEMALE</u> | <u>MALE</u> | <u>FEMALE</u> | <u>TOTAL</u> |
| SHOREDITCH NDC | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 7 ¹⁷ |
| HAGGERSTON SRB | 2 | | 2 | 4 | 8 |
| @ WORK | 1 | 1 | 6 | 6 | 14 |
| ASCENT 21 | 1 | - | 1 | 2 | 4 ¹⁸ |
| WHEDCO | - | - | - | 4 | 4 |
| RENAISI | 1 | 1 | - | - | 2 |
| HACKNEY COUNCIL AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND RENAIISI | 5 | 3 | - | - | 8 |
| US OFFICIALS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OFFICIALS INCLUDING NOT FOR PROFIT AGENCIES | 8 | 2 | - | - | 10 |
| OTHER UK LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND AGENCIES | 6 | 1 | - | - | 7 |
| TOTAL | 26 | 10 | 10 | 18 | GRAND TOTAL = 64 |

The interviews commenced in February 2000 and continued to May 2003 but the main bulk of them, as can be seen from the details of the respondents set out in Appendix H, were carried out between June and December 2002. The interview guides used for policy makers, practitioners, and participants in the UK and in the US form Appendix D, E, F and G. Not all of the themes in the interview guides were appropriate in all

¹⁷ 2 of the interviews were conducted jointly.

interview situations and therefore an eclectic approach was often used drawing on all of the interview guides. All of the interviews took place on a face to face basis, in offices, coffee shops, and in participants' homes on a couple of occasions where they were known personally to me and in all cases, I gave an undertaking of absolute confidentiality. The interviews ranged from 40 minutes to 1 hour and 30 minutes. Out of a total of 64 interviews, 56 were recorded using a tape recorder, and were later transcribed and coded using Ethnograph, a qualitative software package. The package incorporates various functions to facilitate and augment the process of qualitative data analysis. I adopted a process of setting out themes under common categories that would be comparable when it came to doing the analysis, and coding the data within each transcript to make it manageable when it came to bringing together all extracts that were pertinent to a particular theme.

The 8 interviews were not recorded because in 1 instance the interviewee specifically asked not to be tape recorded and the other occasions were at the beginning of the fieldwork phase, when I had made a conscious decision not to use a tape recorder because of fears that it might put people off speaking frankly about sensitive issues in relation to the application of policies. I eventually changed my mind about using a tape-recorder in my study because of the sheer volume and complexity of the information I was getting back, and because of this, my inability to concentrate fully on the issues being discussed. Without a tape recorder the quality of the material to inform my subsequent analysis would have been seriously compromised.

Kvale (1996) points out the advantages of using a tape recorder to provide a verbatim record, and to act as a reminder of particular nuances and events during data analysis.

¹⁸ 3 of the Interviews were conducted in a group interview.

As already mentioned, only 1 interviewee specifically asked not to be taped. However, when sensitive issues concerning the efficacy of policies were discussed, two interviewees did ask me to turn the tape recorder off during the interview and then continued to talk freely about their views on the effectiveness of area based programmes, and allowed me to make notes. Also, when discussing issues concerning race equality with black and minority ethnic interviewees, I did not always record those conversations, but did write down key points during the interview. This latter decision was based upon my own experience of having been interviewed twice by academics in the past, as a local government officer, about local authority race equality policies and I specifically asked not to be tape recorded on certain issues so that I would have no fears about being directly quoted. In this respect therefore, turning the tape recorder off at certain points in the interview, in my view, enhanced the quality of the information given. It was notable also that in some instances, after I had finished the interviews and turned the tape recorder off, and was engaging in general conversation, I obtained additional data, which I asked if I could note and make use of in my study.

Access to Potential Interviewees and its Impact on Research

Whilst some researchers who have employed qualitative research methods in similar studies have identified the difficulties they came across accessing potential interviewees (Stone, 1996), my difficulties were relatively minor in comparison. In the UK, with the exception of two no shows, getting interviewees to turn up was not a problem and I had multiple forms of access. This was clearly because, having previously worked for the London Borough of Hackney, and at the outset of my fieldwork, being employed in local government, I had an insiders knowledge of its various partnership structures. I also had existing professional contacts with some of the people directly connected to the programmes I was looking at, and to the Borough's wider regeneration objectives.

Through my local knowledge and local contacts, I was able to quickly gain access to a range of operators in regeneration as well as access to local residents in or at the sharp end of delivery. Indeed, on a few occasions interviews were actually set up for me, and personal introductions made to decision makers and residents. This led to snowballing and further offers of help and referrals, as well as direct access to workers at the frontline. For example, the lead contact at Ascent 21 was given to me by a former colleague, which I then followed up. Ascent 21 then set up a group interview on my behalf. In the case of the @ Work employment assistance programme, I was introduced to the @ Work project manager by one of the programme managers in the Shoreditch NDC delivery team. I was then given the contacts details of people who had been placed in jobs through @ Work, and invited to visit the offices of @ Work on a drop in basis during opening hours to interview existing clients, new clients, the staff, and people who were merely passing through, or using the Internet.

As well as established contacts in Hackney, I also had links with the trade unions through personal networks and was able to set up an interview with the then leader of the Trades Union Congress. In terms of central government, there was a certain amount of luck involved in that a Minister at the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) whom I had also previously worked with invited me to her office to discuss my research and the review of area based initiatives going on in ODPM at that time. I was then asked to feed the results of my research into the review, and into the ongoing work of ODPM. This ministerial meeting was important in that meetings were set up with civil servants on my behalf, which also informed this study. I was also then able to identify and interview other civil servants with a connection to the programmes being examined.

The interviews with local people represented on the Shoreditch NDC partnership board were organised on my behalf by senior managers within the Shoreditch NDC delivery team and RENAISSI. It could however be argued that by selecting the partnership board participants for interview, both managers may have acted as gatekeepers in attempting to exercise some control on the outcome by only putting forward those thought to be *acceptable*. However, to try and overcome this possibility, I attended a meeting of the Shoreditch NDC Partnership Board where I was able to see who was involved first hand, and was able to identify other local residents whom I subsequently interviewed. In the case of the Haggerston SRB partnership board, there were only three local residents represented on the board, and I was able to interview two of them and a local businessman whose details I got from a list of the partnership board members involved in that programme.

The two 'no shows' referred to above were women who had initially agreed to be interviewed. Both were former clients of @ Work and were working in a shop front, helping to establish it as a local retail outlet. The interviews were scheduled to take place at times and in venues that they had suggested. However, both women failed to show, in one case on two occasions, and in the other case on three separate occasions. Initially, I was told that this was due to situations arising in the home and to extended work commitments, and therefore I rescheduled the interviews. I was keen to make contact with both of them to discuss their experiences of @ Work, and employment, but eventually received a telephone call from one of the women saying "I am ringing to tell you that I can't make it today and I can't take part in the interviews ever". However, a subsequent interview with another woman respondent who had worked for the same employer but had recently left frustrated and angry, indicated that there were potential

difficulties in the relationship between some of the employees and the employer, and conflicts around the nature of the work that was expected of them.

Mullings (1999), on the basis of her experience interviewing workers and management in Jamaica's information processing industry which is dependent on female sweated labour, explained that many of the women she was put in touch with by management were reluctant to participate, despite the fact she herself was of British Jamaican heritage. This Mullings (1999) explained was based on fears that her professional status and route of access to them aligned her with the management (mostly male), and that she would share the information she received with them. As an example it demonstrates how perceived associations with a particular group can influence research outcomes.

Although we did not share the same ethnic group, I therefore initially thought that a similar reluctance to discuss employment issues with me might explain why the two women repeatedly failed to show. This was compelling as an explanation given that my introduction to the two women had also been made by a senior manager from @ Work and might therefore have given an incorrect but nevertheless subtle signal that I was somehow closely aligned with the @ Work project, and with their employer who was a business client of @ Work. However, I was not in a position to firmly establish that this was the case. On the other hand it could also quite simply have been that whilst an interview with both women was of significance to me at that particular time, it was actually very far down the list of their priorities, and eventually fell off their list of priorities altogether. Mirza (1998) for example in her interviews with students in institutions of further and higher education pointed out that she had major problems with access which she suspected was due to the marginal importance of her research to them.

As access to the UK interviewees progressed relatively smoothly, I was not initially concerned about potential problems with access, even to 'elite' interviewees in the US. Whilst Herod (1999) points out the difficulties in gaining access to foreign institutions and individuals in situations where the researcher is less familiar with organisational structures and practices, I experienced none of these difficulties in the UK and neither did I expect to in the US even though the territory was less familiar to me. I had some previous experience working on a US project as a local government officer, albeit limited, and therefore had an entry point. I was also introduced to a former Fulbright Scholar through a local government colleague, some months prior to beginning my fieldwork, and was given an extensive list of named New York contacts. I wrote to a number of the officials in New York, and not-for-profit organisations, and with one exception, I received e-mails and telephone responses from them agreeing to be interviewed and in some cases, providing me with further contacts. The US interviews took place in February 2000, and again in June 2002. One interview was eventually cancelled because the interviewee had an urgent commitment that arose and I was unable to rearrange it due to my heavy interview schedule in the US during what was my final fieldwork visit.

I did become anxious at a later stage about access to participants in employment programmes in the US. This was because, the more the US fieldwork progressed, the more apparent the fragmented nature of US local government and US styles of governance became, and I had no idea where individual programmes were positioned, or how I was going to select which employment projects to look at. Fortuitously, one of the New York 'elite' contacts who had agreed to an interview with me in June 2002 introduced me socially to a colleague who was employed by the Consortium for Worker Education (CWE), the largest employment, training, education and placement agency in

the US, and which is trade union based. Through this, I was able to establish contact with an employment assistance programme run by WHEDCO in the Bronx, and having made contact with the WHEDCO project, I was allowed to ask for volunteers to be interviewed on my arrival in the US. I was also given a room in which to carry out the interviews.

My CWE contact also offered to set up a focus group for me consisting of 6 CWE clients. I had decided on the use of focus groups to complement and enhance my research strategy (Blook, Frankland, Thomas, and Robson, 2001). In the event however, 5 of the participants failed to show and this was because the focus group, which was due to take place on June 27, 2002, 9 months after September 11, was also at a time when the extended unemployment benefit given to some casualties of September 11 was coming to an end. As a result, the 5 CWE clients who failed to show were in a financial as well as an emotional crisis, and telephoned the Social Worker at CWE to say that they could not afford the subway fare to get to me. I was due to leave New York that night and therefore had to abandon the idea of the focus group, but did manage to interview the 1 CWE client who did turn up, and who had also been through a WHEDCO programme.

The Fluid Nature of Identities and the Impact on Interviews

In the theoretical discussion in Chapter 2, I discussed the inability of some observers to see diversity among black people living in a defined geographical location, and argued that this was based upon the prejudices and assumptions of those on the outside looking in. My interviews in the US also demonstrates this diversity of experience among black people in that, in instances where to an outsider, I might have shared the same physical characteristics as some of the people I was interviewing, and they with each other, this did not mean that there would necessarily be congruence in any other area. Not only

does this further illustrate the complex and multi-dimensional nature of identity, but it also calls into question observer perceptions of insider/outsider status.

Mirza (1998) points out that “no one is ever just a woman or just black or just working class, but actually possess fluid, multi-layered social identities” (Mirza, 1998: 90). In the case of the interviews I carried out in the US with participants in the WHEDCO employment programmes, whilst I shared the same or similar race and ethnicity, with two exceptions, and the same gender in all cases, this did not mean that there was commonality between us in any other area. Neither did it suggest that I would necessarily possess the appropriate culturally sensitive tools that would enable me to obtain ‘richer’ and more ‘truthful’ data. Indeed, whilst there was symmetry based on race and ethnicity, the context was cross-cultural, and the age gap, generational. It did not therefore automatically prove easy to find common ground in an interview situation, and to position myself in a way that might have attenuated the interview process. With US policy makers and practitioners, all of whom, with one exception were not black, it was in general terms, and despite systemic differences in modes of governance, a little easier to establish some common ground based upon similar work experiences.

In the UK on the other hand, knowing which aspects of my identity to emphasise or not, depending on the interview situation, in an effort to get the most out of the interview process, was far easier. It also cut across the boundaries of race, ethnicity, and gender. Moreover, it felt almost instinctive because it was based on familiarity with the surroundings, including, despite being born in the UK, a familiarity with being seen or feeling to be an outsider, and having experience in making judgements about how to deal with a variety of social and work situations. Ross (2001) in her interviews with political elites also points out that she adopted slightly different modes of being and

modes of saying which were mostly contingent on her interviewee's political colours so that the interview process would go smoothly.

In my case, with policy makers, for example, we were able to talk about the local government policy-making process and at times share in jokes. In interviews with practitioners and local people, where issues concerning the constraints on programmes were raised we were able to talk jointly and frankly about our experiences of programme management. With black and minority ethnic scheme participants, policy makers, and practitioners, as well as our shared minority status, we also had a shared vocabulary for discussing race issues born of our experiences of direct and indirect forms of race discrimination in the UK. This actually complemented my research by enabling me to identify some of the themes that I later explored.

The exchange during interview was not however a process that I controlled and indeed, local government respondents for example, when discussing issues of discrimination and exclusion were also keen, on occasions, to introduce and emphasise their 'otherness', and to demonstrate their various experiences of being positioned as 'outsiders'. This appeared to be part of an effort to try and establish a rapport with me, and to instil feelings of confidence on my part by demonstrating that they also had experiences of exclusion. For example, in terms of being Irish or of Irish descent and historically experiencing similar forms of discrimination, or other forms of exclusion on the basis of gender and/or social class. Egharevba, (2001) points out that interviewees' "notions of difference or commonality between themselves and the researcher can affect the type and level of information shared in the interview situation, as well as the manner in which it is shared" (Egharevba, 2001: 235). Mullings (1999) however also points out that whilst researchers might be trying to position themselves in a particular way in

interview situations, there are numerous “meanings attached to a researcher’s body, regardless of the way that he/she may chose to represent it” (Mullings, 1999:344).

Thus as a Black researcher of Caribbean decent, my race and ethnicity clearly had implications for my potential to access certain kinds of information during the interviews, as well as the potential for certain kinds of information to be circumscribed or withheld by respondents. An example of this came to light in an interview with a local partnership representative. I was pursuing a line of inquiry with another tenant representative, this time from the Haggerston SRB Partnership Board about the distribution of funds by the partnership to local groups and organisations. This included questions about the types of schemes that the partnership funded, and the criteria for funding them. At one stage, before responding, the interviewee looked uncomfortable and asked me twice, and emphatically, to promise not to get upset if she told me, and then went on to explain that they had recently turned down a bid for a project centred on Afro-Caribbean young men. This was because, as illustrated in the earlier example given above in relation to funding specific ethnic groups, single group funding was also seen by the Haggerston SRB partnership as segregation and counter to community cohesion. Normally I would have challenged the rationale behind such a view but on this occasion decided not to because of concerns that it would jeopardise the remainder of the interview.

On the spot judgements of this kind are in fact made by researchers all the time in relation to whether to be open or not about fidelity to a particular theoretical or political position when it is potentially in conflict with respondents’ views (McDowell, 1992; Neal, 1998). In any event, I was interested in hearing more about the views of the interviewee on single group funding but whereas the discussion had proceeded easily before, on the specific point of single group funding, the discussion became rather stilted and in my

view, this was because of the way the interviewee positioned me as a Black woman in relation to the decision not to fund the Afro Caribbean project for young men, and her desire either not to offend me, or to be seen as racist.

Methodological Constraints

At the time that I was engaged in the fieldwork, the interviews with people who were either passing through the @ Work offices, or using the Internet facilities but not actually registered with the project, in my mind addressed the issue of obtaining the views of people who were not directly participating in any of the local projects. However, now that the fieldwork has been completed and I have had time to reflect on this, it is clear that my method might have been strengthened by attempting to find out the views of local people who do not establish contact in any way with local agencies, possibly by carrying out other interviews at random with people on the surrounding estates.

A further limitation is that, as is the case in formal participatory structures in the UK, and the language of state institutions, the principal language I adopted during the fieldwork phase was English. This automatically excluded people whose principal language of communication was not English, but one of the other 30 or so principal languages and dialects spoken in Hackney. It also excluded people with refugee status or those seeking refugee status or asylum in the UK who lack basic support structures, and who, although living in a dwelling in a locality, as with first generation migrants to the UK, and often second generation ones, do not necessarily see it as their home, particularly in cases where they are separated from their families, and extended families, for years, decades and sometimes for ever.¹⁹

¹⁹ These points were raised by Priya Kissoo, PhD Candidate at Kings College, London in a presentation at an ESRC Seminar on the Experiences of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in

Given my resource constraints, and notwithstanding the points made by Temple and Edwards (2002) about the role of interpreters, whilst this dimension would have greatly enhanced my research, they were impossible issues for me to address within the boundaries and the resource constraints that I was forced to set in order to complete this project. Moreover, there may be hidden communities in areas such as Hackney that are difficult for researchers and advocates of participation to identify, because of punitive immigration policies and inflammatory media portrayals of people who are different. There are also ethical issues involved in asking people about their immigration status, particularly in the current climate. This is however an important area for researchers and policy makers to consider in the future, and raises the possibility of obtaining another perspective on local participatory approaches to community led urban regeneration.

Conclusions

I have not made a claim that the approach I have adopted is a value-free one, no study ever is, or that the areas and the schemes I have selected for examination are representative. Based on the discussion above, I would however make the claim that these are not major shortcomings given the purpose and aims of the study, the nature of the issues being examined, and the research questions that have been posed.

The research is concerned with the particular, not with replication or generalisations to wider populations outside my geographical area of concern. The area and the schemes I selected, and the methodology I adopted do however, fulfil a broad purpose that goes beyond the specific schemes and the immediate localities in which they are based in two main ways. Firstly, by elucidating the dynamics of contemporary urban processes at the

London and the Toronto, and other black and minority ethnic participants which included refugees and those born in the UK.

local level, and the way local initiatives are played out in a specific context, the approach provides analytical insight into the various theoretical propositions on social exclusion and participation. Secondly, whilst policies do impact differently in different areas (Meegan, 1993), a backdrop is provided against which, the impact of current remedial policies on social and economic exclusion can be assessed and issues of concern identified that may be of value to policy makers in designing future programmes. On the basis of those criteria, the approach I have adopted in conducting this study, whilst not generalisable to populations, is generalisable to theoretical propositions and is therefore a valid one.

Chapter 6 – Area-Based Regeneration Partnerships in Action

Introduction

In this chapter, some of the salient features of community participation in two regeneration partnerships in the London Borough of Hackney will be examined, the Shoreditch New Deal for Communities (Shoreditch NDC) programme established as part of the national New Deal for Communities (NDC) programme in 2000, and the Haggerston Single Regeneration Budget (Haggerston SRB) initiative established in 1997 under Round 4 of the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB). The SRB Round 4 programme does share some similarities with the NDC programme. It places a greater emphasis in its strategic objectives on participation, local community involvement, and social regeneration, than on the physical infrastructure developments and improvements that characterised City Challenge and the first SRB programmes when they were introduced in 1994. Where the NDC ostensibly differs from all SRB programmes however, is in appearing to allow far greater flexibility and local discretion than has been the case with SRB funding streams. This approach seems to borrow much from the US where the determination of regeneration and economic development priorities takes place within a loose Federal structure that devolves power to the State and City level.

The NDC has been promoted as the first community led area-based regeneration initiative in the UK. At its inception, a year in which it was not necessary to commit any expenditure was built into the programme to allow an effective community based and community led partnership to develop. As a consequence, unlike the arrangements that characterised SRB programmes, in theory, under the NDC, there was less pressure on

partnerships to spend within the first year of the programme, and more room for discussion about local priorities from a community perspective. There was again, in theory, less emphasis overall on targeted quantifiable outputs in terms of numbers of people accessing employment and training schemes or health facilities for example, and more on the actual outcomes on the lives of people accessing the programmes.

Through an examination of the Hackney based schemes and an element of comparison with the US model, specifically, the impact of devolved decision-making within a private sector led economic development framework in New York, this chapter explores empirically, the extent to which the shift towards greater community participation in partnership structures has resulted in more locally responsive and inclusive regeneration programmes. This chapter will encompass the theoretical issues in relation to participation that were raised in Chapter 4, and will address the specific research questions that were posed in Chapter 1 about notions of empowerment and capacity-building within local communities, and the extent to which local communities have or are perceived to have a voice. This chapter will also look at how representative Shoreditch NDC and Haggerston SRB structures of participation are of a community that is racially and ethnically diverse, and the extent to which their views are represented. Indeed, the call for greater diversity and representation in local participatory structures was founded upon the view that more responsive, sensitive, and creative solutions to urban decline and forms of exclusion would ensue, resulting in communities that were more cohesive and connected to the mainstream, and decisions that were more democratic.

Linked to the question of participation, representation and effective partnership working is the extent to which the partnership arena is dominated by the interests of individuals and/or groups with influence and access to wider networks, and which, mirror underlying

disparities in economic power, wealth and access to resources. This will also be examined empirically. However, policies have unintended consequences or contradictions as a result of gaps in the policy framework which may enable local communities to insert activities or programmes that might not sit comfortably with broader priorities, either at Borough or national level. Thus, the extent to which this is the case will also be examined empirically.

The analysis of the issues will be from the perspective of local people actually participating in local partnership structures in the UK, people living locally but who are not directly engaged, and the key operators in regeneration at various levels of central and local government in the UK. In the US, there are systemic differences in the approach to economic development and regeneration and the analysis will be from the perspective of some of the key operators in economic development at the State, City, Borough, and neighbourhood level in New York, in both governmental and not-for-profit agencies.

Notions of Capacity Building and Empowerment

The concepts of capacity building and empowerment were, at a very general level, seen by both the residents who were directly involved in the Shoreditch NDC Board and the Haggerston SRB Board, as being people focused and directly linked. That is, capacity building was seen as a means of empowering people to take decisions. This view was also shared by the policy makers and practitioners engaged at some level with the Shoreditch NDC and Haggerston SRB initiatives, among regeneration officials in other local authorities managing similar schemes, and among central government officials who were also interviewed as part of this study.

Looking at these concepts in more specific terms, among partnership participants, policy makers and practitioners, there was a lack of clarity and definition about their practical application. This lack of clarity concerned whether the process of capacity building should take the form of discrete initiatives targeted at the individuals actually participating in partnerships, or whether it should be focused at a more strategic level on the organisational development needs of voluntary and community sector organisations to enable them to undertake particular programme management functions, and implement specific regeneration projects. There was also the suggestion that capacity building, far from being a means of empowering people, organisations or communities, had little practical value and was merely another buzz-word in the armoury of contemporary regeneration speak. One RENAISSI Programme Officer directly involved in Haggerston SRB articulated the following view:

I have a problem with capacity building in that, is capacity building for existing organisations, new organisations, organisations that have simply been put together to capacity build, or is it for individuals. It's very, very difficult....I think capacity building is something for the zero or whatever it is we call this decade, you must be seen to be doing it....Well personally, I think it's a bit of a buzz word. It sounds good and you can write lots of learned papers on what it involves, which I've done, but to actually put it into practice and make it stick is another thing altogether (RENAISSI Programme Officer, ID 8).

This view had wider currency among the regeneration officials and partnership participants involved in the Shoreditch NDC and Haggerston SRB initiatives who shared in this confusion, and were in agreement that capacity building was so pliable as a concept that it could mean all things to all people. This very confusion about capacity building was a consistent theme that emerged from the interviews with participants, policy makers and practitioners, and was seen as an avenue through which regeneration officials could sometimes resist local claims by incorporating the language of capacity

building and empowerment into the existing policy framework whilst associated regeneration practices remained largely unchanged to serve vested interests.

It was clear that whilst local residents and regeneration officials shared a common language of capacity building and empowerment, the language itself obscured very different meanings, practical interpretations and agendas among and between all of the players at a national, Borough and neighbourhood level. Indeed, the ideological context in which the terms are used determines whether capacity building and empowerment are construed as something personal and individual, whether they are seen as forms of consultation through the involvement of local people in political decision-making, or whether they are seen as a process by which the community takes political power. A local resident and Haggerston SRB Board Member explained:

What is capacity building? You tell me? It's everything and anything you want it to be, whether about individuals or organisations. Oh yes, I've learnt the jargon but there is resistance from officers about the community capacity being built up (Local Resident and Haggerston SRB Board Member, ID 21).

In New York, as in general across the US, empowerment is based predominantly on a business retention model of economic development which is influenced by Federal government policy, fiscal tools and financial incentives, but is determined at the individual State level through the Empire State Development Corporation, a quasi public-private body. In New York, this is backed by a strong State Governor and a strong City Mayor. There is some emphasis on community involvement and the empowerment of local people, primarily via initiatives supported by the philanthropic sector such as foundations, or local initiatives driven by independent community organisations. However, there does not appear to be the same emphasis as in the UK at the government level on community empowerment and capacity building to secure broader

participation in governmental initiatives. As a Community Worker in a local project in the South Bronx pointed out:

...like the City employees or City agencies, New York employees or agencies of the City are not at all interested in helping communities to develop leadership. It's considered threatening to the City to have leaders rise up out of the ashes and they do not fund that, and they don't encourage it (Community Worker, South Bronx, ID 34).

Indeed, the prevailing view amongst those interviewed in New York was that there are very few opportunities for local people to influence national or State policy in a strategic and meaningful way. This situation is exacerbated by countless initiatives that are spawned at the Federal, State, and City level. The Empowerment Zones in New York for example have a strong public-private sector partnership theme based around commercial business ventures and targeted financial incentives to increase inward investment. There are also a number of other independent quasi public-private bodies in New York such as the Harlem Community Development Corporation, the Abyssinian Harlem Congregation for Community Improvement and a large number of disparate Business Improvement Districts (BID's).

The BID's also have commercial imperatives as their central focus and vary in size from small retail corridors such as the Harlem, 125th Street BID, which has an annual budget of \$275,000 to the affluent Grand Central BID, which has an annual budget of \$9 million (NYCC, 1995). The result of these private sector focused empowerment initiatives is a highly fragmented system of economic development with no operational or structural coherence between the various initiatives. BID Managers are unconcerned with and unconnected to what happens outside of their immediate geographical areas. The BID Manager for Times Square was, for example, unconcerned with the fact that gains in that area were achieved by displacing undesirable activities to other areas, not by

solving them.²⁰ A Senior Representative of the Fiscal Policy Institute in New York, a body established by a coalition of labour unions and union service organisations in the early 1990's as a result of concerns about the general direction of tax policy explained:

The United States believes strongly in a Federal system of government delegating a lot of authority to the State level. Um, sometimes that's good but in the area of economic development it ends up fostering competition between areas. The Federal government has done nothing to try and regulate or prevent um, unhealthy competition between areas (Senior Representative, Fiscal Policy Institute, New York, ID 35).

The business empowerment and business retention approach to economic development does not result in benefits to people, more employment opportunities, or greater investment incentives, but in minimal costs to business for the use of local infrastructure, and labour. In addition, cities attempt to outbid each other by offering up the tax base through a whole menu of tax cuts and unfocused subsidies, and there is a failure of City officials to properly analyse business threats to leave, ostensibly resulting from external pressures in a competitive global market. Thus the City plays a key role in the policy and political decisions that undermine the tax base rendering their jurisdictions easy targets for a growing industry of retention deal consultants. As the Senior Representative of the Fiscal Policy Institute in New York further explained:

...the City, primarily the City, and sometimes with the assistance of the State, have given tax subsidies to 50 to 70 larger companies, all the major banks, the securities companies, Wall Street companies, all the major networks, all the major daily newspapers, so, in both media and finance and in major insurance companies in the finance area, all the major companies in both of those sectors have gotten retention deals. It's become a cottage industry for the consultants who know how to extract these concessions out of the City. You know, once they complete one deal, then they line up another client and say this is what you have to do. Go look at Real Estate in Jersey City, come back, do your cost comparison, you get a meeting with the Mayor or the Deputy Mayor for Economic Development, sit down, make your case, make noises about leaving (Senior Representative, Fiscal Policy Institute, New York, ID 35).

²⁰ ID 60 and 61, interviews with the Head of the Time Square BID and the now, former Head of the Abyssinian Harlem Congregation for Community Improvement.

In relation to the State of Maryland, Harvey (2000), makes a similar point about extensive public subsidies to private companies in downtown Baltimore, designed to minimise the costs to business, attract inward investment and to keep the city competitive. In the US, this business empowerment model based on public subsidies is applied in a social, economic and political climate in which importance is placed on individual thrift and self-reliance; public subsidies to individual casualties of successive rounds of economic restructurings are discouraged, and expenditure on public services is being cut back. At the present time, there is no accountability in the use of tax-based subsidies for businesses in receipt of them in terms of enforceable commitments for job creation or paying people a living wage. The beneficiaries of the US approach to empowerment are therefore almost entirely business.

There are isolated examples of business and community partnerships that do bring tangible benefits to neighbourhoods. In New York Harlem for example, the Path Mark Supermarket, is the only supermarket in the area and was opened in 1999, through a Community Development Corporation and business franchise partnership, in conjunction with the Abyssinian Harlem Congregation for Community Improvement, a consortium of churches operating as a community development partnership agency. This brought with it, other retail developments and was funded through subsidies provided directly by the Federal Government, loans provided by federally regulated banks under the terms of the Community Reinvestment Act, 1977, and a \$4 million loan provided by the New York Empire State Development Corporation²¹. However, the commercial and retail developments in Harlem, as in the Shoreditch regeneration area, are to a great extent

²¹ ID 58, 59, 60, 61 based on interviews with two staff members in the Harlem Community Development Corporation, a Senior Official with the Abyssinian Harlem Congregation for Community Improvement, and a Senior Official in the Empire State Development Corporation, New York.

being fuelled by ongoing commercial as well as residential gentrification, as well as global market and demographic forces that are impacting on the area, and which are causing concerns about the displacement of locally owned and operated businesses.

Despite a greater level of emphasis on community empowerment through capacity building in the UK, particularly under the NDC, many of the residents and Board Members involved in the Shoreditch NDC remarked that capacity building, with its associated lack of clarity was essentially a bureaucratic exercise. They further argued that the interpretation of empowerment through capacity building, adopted at an official level, implied exerting control on the nature and extent of local involvement and indeed, the entire capacity building and empowerment process. One Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member summed up this view remarking:

It's another tick box. I don't know what that means to be honest. It is just, it's classic government speak like everything else, like social exclusion, all these buzz phrases but in reality does capacity building mean, you know, ensuring your Board members have the skills to make the decisions they need? Does it mean the Shoreditch community are brought up to speed, and enabled to be involved to a greater level? Most of the time I think it's about ensuring that your chosen few which is what regenerations always love, that their skilled up little members that they can roll out as the public face to show look, they are delivering it, and 'here's the community'. I think that's what it is about. It's about gearing up a few skilled core people to be the public face of NDC's (Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member, ID 24).

The view of this Shoreditch NDC Board Member was also shared by a Shoreditch NDC Practitioner who stated that the term *community-led* was in reality something of a misnomer since regeneration took place within a received and highly regulated government framework, along with associated constraints. This had resulted in tensions between local and statutory players about the context in which they operated, as well as tensions and frustrations arising from the restrictions of working within it:

So, this concept of being totally community led is um, has got flaws because there's um guidelines. To be sustainable it's got to have matched funding so there's a compromise to be made. The community have to be, OK, your ideas are good, this is how we can achieve your ideas but there's got to be give. But, sometimes that's not explained and I'd say that in our New Deal it has caused a lot of problems (Shoreditch NDC Practitioner, ID 53).

Structural Obstacles to Capacity Building and Empowerment

The analytical context and structures in which, notions of capacity building and empowerment have emerged is seen by local residents as precisely the same as that underpinning previous regeneration initiatives. This has created a high degree of tension between some officers, capacity builders, and local representatives. In practical terms, the community representatives interviewed did not experience capacity building as empowering them to take crucial decisions. Rather, they experienced it as oriented towards adapting local partnership representatives to traditional ways of conducting local authority business that are ingrained in the organisational culture, custom, and practice, and designed to give legitimacy to the existing plans of the more powerful stakeholders within the district.

In the US, local participation takes the form of community-building initiatives in the voluntary sector and empowering local people to act as social entrepreneurs to find their own solutions to urban problems as an alternative to state action. This does not openly challenge the existing business model of economic development. At the same time, it is seen as more palatable to the authorities. As the Community Worker from the South Bronx pointed out:

...that's why I use the word community building....it's got less of an edge to it than organising. It's more of a friendly term. Um, they know that you're not gonna line up outside their office with placards. But organising, you might. Um yeah, the City is much more at home with helping us to provide services (Community Worker, South Bronx, ID 34).

A policy emphasis on the UK and US capacity building and community development models of empowerment is also in existence at a global level in the design and implementation of poverty reduction development projects financed by the World Bank. Interestingly, evaluation studies conducted by the World Bank point out the limitations of local empowerment and capacity building initiatives, and the low level of community participation (World Bank, 2001 and 2002). Indeed, much of the literature in planning and development studies (Cooke and Kothari, 2001) suggests that participation, capacity building, and empowerment, are essentially concerned with ensuring that local people are familiar with and accepting of the planning and development language in projects which incorporate the language of social justice but leave exclusionary structures and processes essentially in tact.

In the Shoreditch context, whilst the language of capacity building and empowerment implies transformation, and the ability to take decisions, the practical reality for many residents is also experienced as tangential to decision-making. The fundamental concern is not actually about sitting at the partnership table, but actually having the power to directly influence the partnership once represented on it. As Craig and Taylor (2000) point out, capacity building can be seen essentially as “new rhetoric poured into old bottles” (Craig and Taylor, 2000: 134). A local resident and former Shoreditch NDC Board Member who left after having become disillusioned with the process expressed a similar view:

You see, we go back to the point I made before which is all we're doing is working from the same old format that you did in City Challenge because you've got the same old officers really and truly who carried out the other projects and are now brought onto these projects and instead of adapting to what the community wants, they are carrying on in the way they know and understand best and unless you are a full time community member who can actually sit there and watch what they are doing on a full-time basis, you don't and can't control it...all they're doing is laying new ideas on old foundations and the old

foundations are taking over. That is the problem so you know, bright idea, sorry about the procedure (Local Resident and former Shoreditch NDC Board Member, ID 13).

This former Board Member went on to say that challenges to official notions of capacity building were labelled as the resistance of difficult people. Thus participants exerted their own power not by direct confrontation, but more subtly by not attending capacity building sessions at all:

Capacity building I think has been a dismal failure because they don't really understand what they are doing. It is because they are doing it from an already agreed formula. They just try to ply on top of people, what they know and if it's not being met or taken on board or received well, it isn't ever their fault, it is never the capacity builders fault. It's the people, they're difficult....So we never, from last June when we went down, we have never had another capacity building because nobody would go to them. We said we've got so much to do we are not going to waste time with capacity building (Local Resident and former Shoreditch NDC Board Member, ID 13).

These experiences were not confined exclusively to Shoreditch NDC however. A similar situation also prevailed in the Islington NDC. A RENASI Programme Manager who was involved in Islington NDC and had been involved in the Shoreditch NDC remarked that it had also proved impossible to get local people to attend capacity building sessions in Islington, or to engage in the regeneration process. The approach adopted was rejected by people and was made manifest in their failure to participate in capacity building sessions:

They tried everything to get people, they changed the times of the session, they did them in the evenings, they put childcare on, they put food on, and one day they were due to have twenty-six people, they had three and I think at that point they decided that this is not right for this group of people (RENAISI Programme Manager, ID 3).

A key issue raised by some members of the Shoreditch NDC and the Haggerston SRB Boards, also concerned the formulaic approach adopted by many professionals towards

capacity building and empowerment, which, in spite of an ability to meet laid down government criteria, appeared to have very little if at all any discernable impact on the ground. In this respect, the following view of a local resident and Haggerston SRB Board Member who had been involved in a number of schemes had strong resonance with the views expressed by other members of the Shoreditch NDC Board in that the numbers of people (outputs) engaging in capacity building sessions might look good on paper, but in terms of actual impact (outcomes), little if anything would be achieved in terms of enhancing the effectiveness of people. Capacity building thus does not actually provide the tools to do the job effectively and it tends to be the same people at the local level who are involved in regeneration and who are continually being capacity built. As the Local Resident and Haggerston SRB Board Member pointed out:

I mean, I've been capacity built under three different schemes right and quite frankly, my view on capacity building is that if you employ a consultant, the money will go on consultants. You'll get some nice figures at the end but nobody's actually any further forward (Local Resident and Haggerston SRB Board Member, ID 23).

The residents involved in both the Shoreditch NDC and Haggerston SRB Boards also broadly concurred with the view that the community could not be empowered via courses put on by consultants' as was the tendency in regeneration. In terms of delivering specific programmes, residents argued that real empowerment would arise from a process of actually being involved and learning on the ground, in a supportive environment where participants were given the technical tools needed to do the job:

...rather than say well, you need to know about this, that and that, and you have a little sit down and you have a half-day training session. It doesn't work. What does work is if you've actually got somebody on the ground looking at their accounts saying well, that's not good enough you need to do x, y and z (Local Resident and Haggerston SRB Board Member, ID 23).

This was a view that was shared by a Senior RENAISSI Official who argued that part and parcel of the capacity building and empowerment process was allowing residents the space to make mistakes:

You take them on away days, you take them to see other established partnerships, they learn from all those experiences but actually there is nothing like doing the job....They will make mistakes, but have public bodies not made mistakes, have government's not made mistakes, have Europe not made mistakes, have Council's not made mistakes. So they are saying, we will make our own mistakes thank you, and along the way, yes we'll get some things wrong and we'll get some things right and the fact of the matter is, if we get it wrong, at least it's our fault we get it wrong whereas up to now, we've been done to. So this is all part of this, empowering communities, that's what it's about (Senior RENAISSI Official, ID 16).

However, this view implies having the power to take effective control, rather than being empowered through established capacity building measures, which implies others being in control and deciding on how much empowerment local people shall have, over what aspects of regeneration, and to what degree. Indeed, a continually recurring theme among the local partnership participants was not insufficient capacity but concerns about the incredible demands, which could exhaust the physical capacity of residents. As another Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member explained:

When I look back, it's three years ago. I really don't know how we stood the pace because we were doing meetings, regular meetings, weekly meetings. Sometimes even more and we'd start at half-past six, seven o'clock and we'd still be there at 2 O'clock in the morning (Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member, ID 27).

In the UK, the language of participation and empowerment appears, at a superficial level, to transform the relationship between local communities and decision makers by giving power to local people to take decisions over matters that affect their lives. However, at a practical level, residents experienced empowerment as merely discursive, and to some extent dis-empowering. The wider structural and institutional factors that

constrain the ability of participants to engage effectively in regeneration remain unchanged. These factors cannot be properly addressed by a parochial approach championing community led regeneration in a designated locality. By the very nature of drawing an administrative boundary and focusing on the locality as the point of decision-making, the locality is artificially separated from the much broader context in which decisions are taken which in turn impact upon it. As Peterman (2000) points out:

...key decisions affecting our lives and, by extension, the lives of the neighbourhoods in which we live frequently are beyond our control – and many decisions about us and the state of our neighbourhoods are made by people who are not our neighbours (Peterman, 2000: 62).

As an example, one of the crucial issues facing Shoreditch NDC is much needed resources to realise its future housing investment strategy. The decision about housing resources is however beyond the immediate influence of Shoreditch NDC and takes place in the broader context of a central government policy proposing the transfer of housing stock to housing associations or the private sector through the Private Finance Initiative, or local authority retention of housing stock. However, these broad policy options are tied to local authority decisions about housing stock investment options in cash starved Boroughs.

The London Borough of Hackney for example is under Government Direction to improve failing services and has been given 10 service priorities and an additional £25 million to bring about improvements in performance. One of Hackney Council's priorities relates to financial management and ensuring that any spend takes place within strict budget limits. This has major implications for building effective partnerships with the community, particularly as the government's priorities for improvement and indeed, the Council's own priorities at Borough level may not necessarily accord with the priorities identified by

regeneration initiatives operating at discrete areas below Borough level. Indeed, members of Shoreditch NDC identified difficulties in getting commitments to future spend, and pointed out that there was no such thing as secure matched funding and effective partnership working in a financial climate where public sector resources were severely constrained. This is particularly the case where external intervention through central powers of direction means that the emphasis of the statutory players is on balancing budgets and meeting their own service priorities, rather than the priorities of specific partnership initiatives. Moreover, at a central as well as local government level, departmental lines of responsibility, performance measures and floor targets essentially based around core business means that officers and civil servants are pulled away from the very joined up thinking advocated by the government.

The emphasis on actors within a locality actually loses sight of the whole and the interrelationship between the priorities of various intermediaries and operators in regeneration at the national and local level. This creates tensions at the local level, which cannot easily be resolved. The autonomy of local government in the US however does not offer any more of a solution where devolved power and the resulting competition between States can impact adversely on the tax base of cities, and where the accounting practices of major corporations can further deplete the tax base by enabling them to shield their income, with limited resulting benefits for local people.²² Moreover, in the US, in the case of the Empowerment Zones, whilst the emphasis on community participation in the not-for-profit sector might secure a certain degree of local involvement, the result is the same dislocation and fragmentation, the impact of which is questionable, and is further complicated by a tangled web of overlapping strategies and

²² According to the Fiscal Policy Institute in New York, in 2000/2001, the largest corporations in New Jersey paid the minimum \$200 in tax as a result of loopholes in the system.

initiatives. As a Senior Representative at the Centre for an Urban Future in New York explained about the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone:

A lot of these place-based strategies are driven by the philanthropic sector, which at least on paper are obsessed about getting community input and in some ways they do but I don't think it leads to anything. It's not connected to anything. It's very isolated and then the Government has other strategies besides the Empowerment Zone (Senior Representative, Centre for an Urban Future, New York, ID 37).

At the inception of Shoreditch NDC, during the consultation and planning period, the residents interviewed stated that they were frustrated by the fact that housing, which is seen as one of the most pressing issues facing tenants was not even allowed a discursive existence on the initial partnership agenda, even though the regeneration strategy was intended to be community led. Hibbitt, Jones and Meegan (2001) point out that housing, as an issue seems to be a key motivation behind resident participation in local initiatives. Indeed this was certainly the case in Shoreditch, which was and is suffering from chronic under investment in housing. However, due to the scale and controversial nature of the housing issues, there were attempts by local officials to prevent discussion. One Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member explained:

I don't know about other forums but with our forum, we had our Community Officer, she was our facilitator and because the tenants have had nothing done to their places for 30 years in Shoreditch, we were all crying out for new windows, central heating, our roofs are leaking, the lifts don't work, but every forum we went to naturally everybody wanted to speak about housing but we were told not to by the facilitator. 'No, you musn't talk about housing' (Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member, ID 14).

The housing issue in Shoreditch now has an existence on the political agenda, which is a positive step and at one level does represent a success for the partnership. However, the more fundamental and problematic issue is not a discursive one but centres on the

level of investment needed to resource Shoreditch NDC's housing strategy. The constraints on public sector resources, has a significant impact on local authorities such as Hackney, which has limited funds for housing investment. This, coupled with a central government policy that is focused on the transfer of local authority housing stock to private landlords or housing associations, and the provision of affordable housing for sale for key workers in the capital, gives rise to other concerns about how the housing investment issue will be resolved in the medium to longer term. The tenants in Shoreditch represented on the NDC partnership and the results of a housing consultation with a broader tenant constituency in the Shoreditch regeneration area, points to security of tenure with the local authority as extremely important and there appears to be local resistance to housing stock transfer. Indeed, the public housing issue is not unique to Shoreditch but also faces other housing estates in disadvantaged areas of the UK. Lupton (2003 forthcoming) found that there was similar resistance and concern about being displaced in 10 deprived areas of the UK.

The official interpretation of empowerment and participation focuses on the "personal" and the "local" as "the sites of empowerment and knowledge" (Cooke and Kothari, 2002: 12). This potentially obscures or by passes the issue of where power is actually located. Indeed, another resident and member of the Shoreditch NDC Board explained that there were numerous other obstacles to effective engagement, which had been pointed out to government on countless occasions such as, people losing money or jeopardising their paid employment in order to participate and to be effective locally. These factors are however, outside the control of partnership participants and cannot be resolved by collaborative local discourse. There was thus a sense of frustration and disillusionment expressed by partnership participants about their current inability to influence the broader agenda in spite of the emphasis on empowerment and capacity building. The

views of one Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member encapsulates this:

We've had Hilary Armstrong²³ and Lord Falconer²⁴ where we've actually put them on the spot we've said, you're saying you want genuine community led regeneration, give us the tools to do the job and that means that we don't have to be watching our back every time we go to a meeting. We don't need to get into financial hardship because we are giving up paid time....It's been brought up now for the last couple of years and we have yet to see any movement on it. They say 'Oh, we're looking at it'...These are the kind of things you measure to determine whether they are serious about giving it the best chance of being successful and the jury is still out because the obstacles are there and they're still looking at it (Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member, ID 26).

In terms of structural obstacles, it was also suggested by the Shoreditch NDC and Haggerston SRB participants that the rhetoric of community empowerment, community engagement and joined-up government was in marked contrast to the practical day to day realities of residents, and failed to recognise their other commitments and responsibilities. Moreover, participation was seen to conflict with the policies and priorities of other government departments, the delivery of core service objectives, and the pressure to meet centrally determined targets. For this reason, despite the emphasis placed on participation by government, it was not seen as valuable in reality because the broader constraints on participation had not been addressed. The negative impact of welfare benefit regulations on community participation for example was a prominent theme among Shoreditch NDC interviewees, a view that was also shared by residents who participated in a National NDC Conference in Bristol, 2002 (Urban Forum, 2002). Although those residents involved were persistent in trying to make the participatory model work, it was questionable to some, whether real community engagement was actually desired at all except at a rhetorical level:

²³ At the time of interviewing, Minister for Local Government

²⁴ At the time of interviewing, Minister of State, Housing, Planning and Regeneration

If you really want to lead the process, you have to do the job for nothing, which is what they want. Taking time off work, they hassle you about your benefit payments and how many hours you are doing voluntary for the NDC. I'm not on benefits anymore but certainly when I was, I had to move an important meeting with GoL because they wanted me to do some silly day course. Well, I always found a way to move them but they are not very flexible about those sorts of things (Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member, ID 24).

Indeed, those Board Members interviewed saw participation as being incredibly time consuming. A recurring theme throughout the interviews with residents, practitioners and policy makers was the extent to which regeneration partnership activity was geared towards a handful of individuals who wanted to be involved, who were able to invest considerable time and energy in understanding the process, and who were able to reorganise what are seen as traditional family tasks between men and women to make involvement possible. Again, the following remark by ID 24 whose wife was in full-time employment, thus enabling a substantial amount of his time to be devoted to the Shoreditch NDC, and caring responsibilities to be shared, is indicative of this broader view:

Well, there's the active people, the same faces, wherever you go, there is a batch of us who want to be involved, who have built up the skills to be involved and are willing to put the time and effort in to make it work. Now there's only a finite number of those out there and the way it's geared up, if you work, how are you gonna take a lead in the process? Fitting in a couple of meetings a week? Well that's not really being community led (Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member, ID 24).

Thus it is questionable whether regeneration is community led when the number of people actively involved in local regeneration partnerships is extremely limited, and where people, because of other commitments with family and work, do not have the space to participate effectively even if the intention is there. Moreover, the heavy reliance on a small number of long standing local residents raises concerns about the sustainability of local involvement if and when local representatives decide not to

continue (Hudson and Hardy, 2002). Another important and related issue is also the extent to which one can talk about genuine participation and empowerment when the entire structure and participatory framework is established and imposed, prior to any local consultation or engagement.

The themes of community participation and empowerment have essentially become the mantras in social and urban policy in the UK but it is interesting that these themes are only invoked once the policies, the rules, and the framework for engagement and drawing down funds have been determined. Whilst it is accepted that accountability for public resources is crucial, this still does not explain why participation and empowerment are not also part of a continual dialogue, taking place throughout the entire policy development and implementation process. This includes determination of the necessary rules and procedures for accountability and the structures for involvement. However, given the obstacles identified in terms of securing broader involvement, it is questionable whether local people do want to be engaged in intensive and detailed partnership activity given the nature and the level of commitment that is required.

Within the current partnership framework, the performance based culture within which local authorities operate and the publication of comparative local authority league tables does not readily lend support to risk taking and experimentation with new ways of doing things (Dickson, Gewirtz, Halpin, Power and Whitty, 2002). This is for fear of public failure and the associated adverse publicity, particularly where the local authority is ultimately the accountable body for a partnership. At an individual level, practitioners are in general supportive of more creative ways of working with communities but are effectively capped by the resistance of institutions, established rules and procedures, and often as the accountable body, the pressure to demonstrate quick high impact

results. In this context, there is no real incentive to make real changes in working practices unless prior evidence demonstrates that it is actually going to be worthwhile.

Local residents, policy makers, practitioners and private sector representatives shared the view that participatory processes and structures did in fact prioritise the interests of those with the time and the means to get involved, and excluded those with caring responsibilities for example. Indeed, Peterman (2000: 45) points out, "...there are often political, social and economic inequities that define the relationships between those in power and those in the community". This gives rise to a major concern that local participatory processes and structures may not necessarily enhance democratic accountability since they do not reflect the broader community interest. The following remark from a Hackney Council Regeneration Official about partnerships generally illustrates this point:

...the partnership will end up dominated by one or two people and again it's the art of dictatorship of those with the time because people who can invest more time in understanding the whole agenda, obviously end up dominating that agenda (Hackney Council Regeneration Official, ID 15).

Indeed, some of those interviewed who had no involvement in the Shoreditch NDC participatory structures either at Board level, or at Area Forum level expressed precisely the same concerns about having the physical capacity to participate as those who were directly involved. Many of those interviewed expressed an interest in local issues and were involved at some level, either through church, or work with specific groups which took the form of practical involvement in tangible projects. However, people tended to steer clear of involvement in the regeneration process because of the level of commitment they perceived would be required:

If you're working full time in a job, it's hard to find time for your family these days with the demands they place on you in the workplace, you know, to actually find time for your family, let alone other outside interests like you know. But, it's good to have people say like pensioners or you know, people who are not employed who are actually involved in those kind of things so at least there's an eye going on and that's good. I would find it hard anyway justifying going to meetings and meetings after spending 14 hours at work or whatever, and then you've got the missis complaining you never spend any time with her or the kid (ID 42 Recently Unemployed IT Technician and Shoreditch Resident).

Rubery et al (2003) pointed out that in their study of private and public organisations the notion of protected and standard hours was under challenge, and that the demands placed on workers faced with flexible scheduling meant that there were intrusions into their private space. Therefore, even if local people were so minded, current work practices have consequences for the ability of people to engage in the management of local schemes since they are no longer able to easily plan their private activities around work. Indeed other residents who were not directly engaged expressed little interest in becoming involved in participatory structures. This was because of a number of factors including, being busy working unsociable hours in extremely low paid jobs, trying to enhance their skills whilst currently employed, being engaged in job search, issues surrounding childcare, or a combination of some or all of those factors. Some of those interviewed did however express an interest in forms of community engagement that were tangible, and where the benefits to the community were more immediate. However, they were of the view that they could contribute more effectively when they were in a relaxed state, had more control over their own lives, and had a degree of certainty about the direction they were going in. This was particularly the case among those who were unemployed or employed in low paid jobs and it is therefore perhaps paradoxical to expect people who are socially excluded to participate in detailed partnership activity.

The US, as already discussed, does not place the same degree of emphasis on broader community participation in statutory initiatives, and participation is more a feature of non-governmental initiatives led by not-for-profit agencies. At the State government level in New York, where community participation is in evidence, the issues concerning who participates are not however dissimilar to those in the Shoreditch NDC, and the Haggerston SRB initiatives. The more powerful interests tend to dominate, and the racial and ethnic balance is often far from representative of diversity in New York (Labour Community Advocacy Network to Rebuild New York, 2002). As a Senior Representative of the Ford Foundation in New York, speaking about Workforce Investment Boards established by State government to oversee workforce development explained:

I think some Boards have significant involvement and participation for disadvantaged communities, others have very little....the 51% employer requirement will shape the structure of the Board from day one....the folks from the Employment Services and Vocational Rehab tend to dominate the process because I mean, they're in the know, you know, they know the lingo and because there's generally a very poor job of developing folks once they join the Boards...they tend to be at a disadvantage and they end up frustrated and marginalised in these discussions (Senior Representative, Ford Foundation, New York, ID 36).

In the UK, officials with a pan-London perspective on regeneration partnerships were of the view that unrealistic expectations were placed on local participants, and pointed out that even those who were familiar with the workings of bureaucracy and who could invest the time, were often daunted by the exclusionary language of regeneration. Hibbitt, Jones and Meegan (2001) in their study of a European Objective One Programme in Merseyside, arrived at a similar conclusion. As a result, participants sometimes succumb to the tremendous pressures placed upon them. As a Civil Servant from the Government Office for London explained:

I have known some really good people who have just had to take time out because it was just too much pressure, and I have been at meetings where people have said they, you know, have literally gone home and cried their eyes out because they didn't understand a word that was said (Civil Servant, Government Office for London, ID 7).

However, there is an inconsistency in the official language of capacity building and participation, and its practical articulation. It was envisaged that local people would enhance decision-making by adding a specific and unique dimension to local partnership activity, and that this would give rise to more creative solutions (DETR, 2000c; SEU, 2001; NRU, 2001). In practice however, capacity building and participation have effectively meant understanding how local officials conduct the business of regeneration. This means that local residents who assume responsibility for representing their constituents or who are elected to do so, become immersed in official discourses on regeneration, which bear little relationship to the meaningful and creative dialogue that government policy documents appear to envisage. Rather, the process represents more of a controlled dialogue through institutionalisation and the stated rationale for involving the community is therefore to a large extent displaced by official interpretations of capacity building and empowerment.

In the case of Haggerston SRB, there was less local resident involvement at Board level than in the case of Shoreditch NDC, possibly because of the statutory requirement placed on all NDC's to secure majority resident participation on their Boards. However, majority local resident representation was not a statutory requirement under the terms of any of the SRB programmes and local participation on the Haggerston SRB Board consists of three residents. The more numerous participants are statutory players with limited private sector involvement because Hackney is a poor area. It does nevertheless prove difficult, whether on a statutory or non-statutory basis to attract participants and to

retain community interest over the lifetime of any regeneration initiative. This is particularly the case where the structures are unnecessarily complicated and include numerous uncoordinated partners, many of whom are often unaware that they are involved in a local partnership. As a Civil Servant from GoL remarked on the assessment of SRB bids at outline stage:

...basically, you opened the bid and it looked like a real partnership structure and if they told you it worked it was fine. You might worry that it was a bit complex. In outline, I did tell one prospective bidder that his list of prospective partners looked like he had just lifted it out of Yellow Pages which went down really well...and you know, there was an issue about people being quoted as partners in a bid who had never known anything about it (Civil Servant, Government Office for London, ID 7).

The level of active local participation is also dependent to some extent upon the geographical area covered and the extent of existing local involvement in tenants and residents associations, as well as the ability of participants to cope with the huge demands required. However, at the best of times, participation among local residents is very limited. The following remark referring specifically to Shoreditch and Islington NDC's provides some illustration of this:

I think in some areas for New Deal perhaps it's slightly easier in that some of them are based around one estate so um, in some ways, it's a bit easier because people know each other....Here and in Shoreditch it's more difficult because it covers a bigger area and lots of different estates where there's, you know, a very active community and you'll get sort of seven or eight people come regularly whilst on other estates you can't get a soul....Keeping those that make a commitment is very hard work. People get burnt out. I have to say I can see it happening here, our Chair at the moment is very tired and I do kind of worry for her health sometimes (RENAISI Programme Manager, ID 3).

As previously mentioned, under the NDC programme, a capacity building and empowerment element for the first year zero was actually incorporated. This was designed to foster the creation of more inclusive partnerships and to enable discussions to take place on a range of issues that were important to people locally, before

partnerships became focused on priorities and on spend. The capacity building element was also, to some extent, built into the later SRB Round 6 programme over a six-month period, but it had not been included in the earlier SRB Round 4 programme under which the Haggerston SRB partnership was funded. Among local residents, local practitioners, and local and national policy makers, there was much support for a capacity building or a “year zero” as it is known. However, in terms of actual experience implementing initiatives at the front line, local residents and practitioners felt under the same pressure, as in earlier programmes, to draw up and submit delivery plans, and argued that a much longer time horizon was needed to get people gelling and a range of issues of local importance dealt with.

The pressure to meet the dictates of bureaucracy has to some extent had an impact on the consultative element of Shoreditch NDC. As with SRB programmes, in practice there is very little flexibility to carry over spend and therefore there is a real drive to meet spend targets to safeguard the funds. In this context, the pressure to spend and the pressure to get through delivery, has to be balanced against wider consultation and efforts to increase participation to inform programme decisions and priorities which, as a result, are sometimes compromised:

I mean you’ve got this pressure every year a spend programme to meet, government targets, and you know, if things get cut, the thing that does get cut is the consultation because that’s the thing that’s difficult, that’s the thing that takes the time and if you’re rushing to spend money otherwise the government is going to take it away, then I suppose you have to make decisions that you’re not totally comfortable with, but you’re doing it for the right reasons (Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member, ID 24).

The case of the second and final NDC bidding round does add a further interesting dimension to the Shoreditch NDC experience and indeed to the whole notion of community empowerment. Despite the emphasis on the process being community led,

very early on in the second bidding round, it became evident that communities were only empowered up to the point where political imperatives dictated otherwise. An example of this was the timing of the second general election, which coincided with the end of the second NDC bidding round. This resulted in pressure being put upon partnerships to submit their delivery plans so that the successful ones could be announced as good news during the election campaign. As the RENAISSI Programme Manager who was directly involved in the Shoreditch, Islington and Luton NDC's observed:

I mean, we noticed, particularly at the time of the election um, you know, the build up to the election that having worked on a round one NDC in Shoreditch and then working on this one, and I worked on the one in Luton as well, the pressure that this round are under is one hundred times worse than the pressure that round one's were under and it did change around the time of the election, you know. 'You will get your delivery plans in by this date because if you don't we can't announce the results before the general election's called'....So it's quite interesting really that there is this kind of perception that this is all very community led, but there was this real shift, you know, around the political agenda (RENAISSI Programme Manager, ID 3).

Thus, as Clarke and Glendinning (2002) point out: "...policy cannot be simply and readily separated from politics. All governments engage in the calculation and the management of public debate" (Clarke and Glendinning, 2002: 35-50).

There has been a shift in emphasis at a rhetorical level in the NDC initiative towards measuring the qualitative impacts on the lives of people arising from their participation in NDC programmes and a corresponding rhetorical shift away from quantifiable outputs in terms of the actual numbers of participants. The latter approach characterised SRB programmes, which were criticised because the outputs measured were not seen as relevant or meaningful. However, in reality, the approach to measuring the performance of NDC's does not appear to differ markedly from their predecessors, which includes the Task Force initiative, City Challenge, and SRB. As with those programmes, there is still

the pressure to demonstrate quantifiable outputs rather than less tangible impacts, and whilst impacts are more difficult to measure, they do reveal more about how people perceive the effects of specific programmes. As the RENAISSI Programme Manager went on to say:

...there still is the push to perform. It's not written anywhere but it's kind of unwritten so even if, though you know, our delivery plan, you know, during this quarter we're expected to do x, y and z, what they really want when we do our returns, they want to know how many people have been trained or how many people have used the health facility. So you know, the practice is going more and more along the lines of an SRB programme (RENAISSI Programme Manager, ID 3).

Building Whose Capacity?

There is a disjuncture between theoretical notions of capacity building and empowerment and their practical implementation. This argument also extends to who is being capacity built, in what respect, for what, and by whom. Some of the local residents interviewed who were involved in the Shoreditch NDC Board, were of the view that the professional organisations that had been commissioned to undertake capacity building as a means of empowering the community, also had little idea of precisely what this meant in practice. As a result, some capacity building organisations had difficulty translating the concept into tangible programmes. As an illustration, one resident and Shoreditch NDC Board Member explained that an organisation that the partnership had entered into a contractual arrangement with to deliver a capacity building programme, actually looked to the community it was supposedly capacity building for direction and guidance and was told in response:

...that's your job to tell me how we should be doing it, that's, what you're supposed to be finding out. If we knew, we wouldn't be employing you. It's as simple as that isn't it? (Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member, ID 25).

The mainstream policy literature on participation, community involvement and empowerment in regeneration in the UK emphasises the collective articulation of knowledge from a broad range of actors as the key to successful regeneration. In this, the knowledge, capacity and involvement of local people is seen as pivotal (SEU, 2000; 2001; NRU, 2001). However, there is an inherent contradiction in that the practical expression of capacity building as a means of empowering the community to take decisions is built on a deficit model of local people and local communities living in disadvantaged areas. This notion focuses on perceived internal shortcomings within the community, which it is argued, inhibits their capacity, individually and collectively, to engage in partnership work and regeneration activity. Thus responses tend to be tailored to how the community can be changed and adapted to the requirements of partnerships, which appear to be little more than reconstituted council committees.

Indeed, a committee type arrangement is still the prevailing form of democratic accountability at the local level. What is missing from the prevailing official notions of capacity building and empowerment is some acceptance of how current approaches might need to fundamentally change or adapt to engage people in different ways (Hibbitt, Jones and Meegan, 2001). There is however a certain amount of lip service that is currently being paid within policy documents to capacity building officials. However, the main emphasis, which is also encapsulated in the titles of those documents is about capacity building the community (Home Office, 2003). Indeed, a Hackney Council Regeneration Official remarked:

Don't you find it interesting that we always talk about capacity building the community? We never seem to capacity build ourselves, or the state establishment over our ability to engage (Hackney Council Regeneration Official, ID 6).

Putnam (2000) employs a notion of social capital that is directly related to current approaches, which seek to enhance local participation and empowerment through capacity building. It is however unclear how widening participation in governance will solve the problems of economic disadvantage, given the broader structural and discriminatory factors that create and perpetuate the decline of neighbourhoods. Thus, an exhortation to empower people by developing their capacity and enhancing the available social capital within a locality, diverts attention from those broader structural factors, onto local people, and therefore, as an approach it is somewhat misguided and misplaced. Putnam (2000) moreover, looks at social capital and civic engagement entirely from the perspective of engagement with formal organisations, and as a result, he ignores the importance of informal structures of support that have arisen in deprived communities among black women for example in daily life (Hyatt, 2001; Sassen, 2003). A Hackney Council Regeneration Official, expressing a similar view, remarked that people who had migrated to the UK for example, that is, Hackney's black and minority ethnic population, had already demonstrated their capacity and that the emphasis should be on releasing existing capacity rather than building capacity:

Capacity building means we haven't got the capacity. We do have the capacity, each person in the world has the capacity. What we don't have is the means....you go back to our parents generation and they had loads of capacity, willingness, they got off their arses from their own country and migrated across the world or the sea to get a job....I think what these people need more than anything is opportunity, diversity, choice. Turn the thing on its head and say where is the capacity within central government or local government to pave the way to widen the opportunities....So I think when people talk about capacity building what they're doing is mirroring onto the world their own failures, that's what they're doing (Hackney Council Regeneration Official ID 5).

As Brickell (2000) points out, despite an emphasis on collective knowledge and information as an important and high-value commodity in regeneration, in reality, more value is actually placed on the knowledge of professional consultants and the knowledge

and skills of local people who have been asked to give up their time voluntarily is correspondingly under-valued or ignored. This was a key theme among the local participants interviewed and one Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member, summing up this particular view remarked:

We've had capacity building and I can't be patronised and then they talk to you like, you know, you've just come up and I've had to say to certain people, you know, I'm really sorry but I could teach you more about it than you'll ever teach me because you're about a third of my age and I can't, I don't mind people trying to talk to me equally but when they try to think that I'm beneath them and you know (Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member ID 27).

The issue of whose capacity needs to be built is in many respects directly related to the issue of race, age, class and power, as well as perceptions of power among and between all of the players in regeneration. Some partnership participants understood capacity building and empowerment to mean developing their capacity to exercise power through questioning and subjecting the advice of officials to scrutiny. Other participants however, appeared reluctant to do so. As one Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member explained:

...I don't want to speak ill of tenant representatives but there is um, particularly among the older members, deference to people up the social ladder and I've had it said about myself in the past, that I'm impertinent to these posh people, these nice middle class people who all know what they're talking about and who am I to question them because they must know (Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member, ID 26).

The RENAISSI Programme Manager expressed a similar view about experiences in the Islington NDC:

...it's this kind of 'oh, they must know better' kind of thing and we get this whole thing always after a Board meeting people will come and they'll say 'what did he mean' or 'what did she mean', and well, 'I don't agree' and you say, 'why didn't you say so at the time?' And then they'll say 'oh well, I didn't like to' and this sort of thing of um, you know, someone knowing better than they do (RENAISSI Programme Manager: ID 3).

The notion of power and its impact on participation was also shared by some of the regeneration officials interviewed in Hackney and in other London Boroughs. A consistent theme was the relative powerlessness of local people participating in partnerships and thus the term partnership does not actually reflect the working arrangements in terms of how decisions are taken. Formal partnerships tend to have a lead agency, usually the local authority, and are founded on hierarchical relationships. The lead agency tends to take more account of those partners they perceive as more valuable, or potentially more useful, particularly where those partnership representatives have the support of a large-scale institution that commands and can deploy significant resources, and can more easily obtain access to key political decision making networks. These networks have a high degree of social cohesion and social capital as their members are a bonded group with similar interests, and have the potential to exclude. This view, was summed up by a Hackney Council Regeneration Official who pointed out that in Hackney:

...you have a group of people who have been together for over 20 years possibly, who are knitted together by various means, who actually sit on a range of different things that make similar decisions, that actually influence how other decisions are taken in say European funding, in say employment training networks, in terms of other initiatives like the New Deal, like the Sure Starts and so on, actually making decisions that exclude other people because those other people aren't included, and what I find very dangerous about this kind of power base that's being built up by a number of individuals is that where they take strong dislike to a particular individual organisation or anyone else, they can actually lock them out of the process, and that in itself excludes huge numbers of the community from benefiting from programmes (Hackney Council Regeneration Official, ID 9).

A Regeneration Official in another London Borough made a similar remark about the involvement of local people participating in partnerships alongside more influential players:

They are conscious that there might be some big businesses there and who are they compared to those businesses and I think that puts them at a disadvantage and also because the people who are controlling the partnership tend to take more notice of the people with the higher status and then more power, be it because they've got a business and are more um useful to the Council and potentially more valuable to them (Regeneration Specialist, Outer London Borough, ID 2).

These examples further illustrate a crucial issue touched upon earlier about the extent to which the claims of the NDC for being genuinely community-led are really authentic, or whether, as in the case of SRB Partnerships, genuine community empowerment can prevail in an arrangement where participants do not come to the partnership table with equal power and resources. It is difficult if not impossible to speak of a genuine and equal partnership where one party has been selected to participate in the process of governance on the basis of relative powerlessness (Hall, 2001). In this respect, in terms of residents in disadvantaged areas "the equity they bring is seen as a negative value – they are the problem that needs to be solved, the deficit that needs to be reversed" (Taylor 2000: 1025).

Community Participation and Community Cohesion

The concept of community in much of the policy literature on regeneration is based on a place bound notion that defines people living within a defined geographical locality as bonded by shared interests (DETR, 1997a, b, and 2000a). Whilst one senior officer interviewed for this study employed the term community in reference to local people and other public and private interests in the locality, the remainder of the policy makers and practitioners interviewed used the term community in reference to people actually living in the area. Some however were of the view that in a diverse area such as Hackney, the idea of a homogenous community of people with a shared identity had no real basis, but

was an artificial construct that was applied, in particular, to people who were perceived by outsiders as sharing a common racial and cultural heritage:

I think there are also problems when we talk about communities. We give, particularly ethnic communities, we give those communities different cultural characteristics and if you explore those, I think they are not there. There are tensions, there are anxieties, there are differences....I think, in a way, community is often used as a word to control and to define and I have major problems with that. And I think that loose words like the black community, the Asian community, I don't think those things exist anymore really because in the black community there are cultural differences, within the black community there are gender differences and all sorts of things and people are trying to find ways of surviving urban life, either as part of a tradition, custom etc, etc, or by breaking loose from it (Hackney Regeneration Official, ID 6).

The Shoreditch NDC Tenant and Resident Representatives and Board Members, and the Haggerston SRB Board Members who were interviewed, all employed the term community in reference to people actually living in the area. There was however evidence that this static all embracing configuration of community did not in fact, capture the reality at the local level. The case of housing in Shoreditch, discussed in the previous section, is a classic example of an issue over which the interests of local people differ or fragment, giving rise to real material conflicts. The following remarks from two Tenant Representatives and Shoreditch NDC Board Members, living in different housing blocks on different parts of the estate within the regeneration area encapsulates this:

Now because I have worked for the community for so many years, I know a lot of people, and elderly people are saying to me, do you think it's fair that we have a vote on our block, and we've got a lot of youngsters come in who naturally want maybe a little house and a garden, do you think it's fair that I've lived here since the block was built, for 50 years, I've exercised my right to buy, and because the youngsters want a little house, I've got to, you know, see it pulled down and move out at my time of life. And when you look at it like that, it isn't fair is it? (Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member, ID 14).

The other Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member had an entirely different view:

We've got no central heating in some blocks. I've had four people dying that had no heating at all. There are so many issues, if I had the money, I'd blow some of the blocks up and re-do them from scratch (Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member, ID 27).

However, the conflicting community interests over the issue of housing do not end here. Amongst property owning tenants who had exercised their right to buy, and those who rented, interests differed widely. Some residents who had already exercised their right to buy saw that they would benefit from rising property values and welcomed the gentrification of Shoreditch. Other tenants saw gentrification as taking away their right to buy because they had been priced out of the housing market in a region where the average price of a residential property is £233,000.²⁵ Other former tenants who had exercised their right to buy in blocks that were in a poor state of repair saw personal benefits in demolition that would arise from compulsory purchase of their homes by the local authority at market prices, which also carried with it a right to re-housing. Other tenants who had a strong emotional attachment to the area were concerned about displacement as the gentrification of Shoreditch proceeded. In New York Harlem, which like Shoreditch, is witnessing gentrification and escalating property prices, there are similar conflicts of interests between residents, locally owned businesses and the private sector. As the Senior Representative from the Centre for an Urban Future in New York explained:

...there's a lot of tourism focus on Harlem right now. There's the Apollo Theatre, there's the Harlem Studio Museum, Sylvia's, so there's issues where the residents are very upset about all this cultural development because they feel as though it's going to lead to displacement. So then, when you have, if you're talking about getting the community involved in business development and like

²⁵ GLA report (2002) London Divided: Income Inequality and Poverty in the Capital.

when those residents are at meetings with the people who are involved in business development and say OK, we want to listen, we want to hear what you have to say, what do you have to say? The residents that show up just like fling arrows at them (Senior Representative, Centre of an Urban Future, New York, ID 37).

In Shoreditch, the tensions look set to intensify in the longer term in the absence of a way forward on its housing investment strategy for the area. Moreover, there is concern that some of the residents who were elected to put forward the wider community interest at the Shoreditch NDC Board, through a process of formal consultation via Area Forums, linked to the Board, do not always consult. In other instances, where elected partnership representatives do consult, they fail to bring the decisions of the Area Forums to the main Shoreditch NDC Board when those decisions are in conflict with their own personal interests. This lends support to the view that there are fundamental and irreconcilable local differences that undermine the notion of community and genuine partnership working, and raises questions about who can legitimately represent and speak on behalf of the community. It is thus difficult to see how "collaborative consensus-building practices" (Healey, 1997: 5) can be established at the local level, through dialogue, in the face of material conflicts of this nature and of this magnitude.

The prevailing view amongst those local participants resident in Hackney, who were directly involved in partnership decision-making processes is that the community is an entity comprised of residents who have or should have a common interest. However, the extent to which all local interests can be met by an approach that stresses the commonality of experience, but which does not recognise diversity and difference within a locality is open to question. Across the board approaches where everyone receives the same treatment can be discriminatory, hence the governments own recognition of the need for positive action in service planning and delivery. Thus community, whilst

being a superficially agreeable term, can actually be exclusionary and limiting. This has particular relevance for black and minority ethnic people who are over-represented in areas that are subject to urban renewal and participatory strategies and as Craig and Taylor (2002) point out are: "...too often treated as if their interests are homogenous and are rarely resourced in a way that can give voice to their many different members" (Craig and Taylor, 2002: 135).

The following remark made by a Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member referred to in Chapter 5, in the context of the NDC Board's decisions about resource allocation, illustrates the way in which particular understandings of community can exclude and reinforce racism. This remark also illustrates the way in which organised and cohesive groups can exclude by imposing their view of community on funding practices even when trying to engender a sense of unity of interest that goes beyond racial and ethnic boundaries:

We didn't want to get into this segregation so, if something was specifically for black people, you know, I mean we had applications coming in for, to do um, just segregated groups like African Groups or young West Indian men and people just chucked them out because everybody felt that we are one, no matter what your colour, where you come from, the only way its gonna work is if everybody works together (Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member, 27).

A similar comment was expressed by other community representatives and is indicative of the extent to which social divisions within a locality can become intensified through misinformation, particularly in an arena where groups directly compete for limited public resources. As the experience of Bradford, Leeds, Oldham and Burnley has shown (Horre Office, 2001), these divisions become heightened when visible minority ethnic groups appear to win at the expense of others. The evidence however paints a completely different picture in that black and minority ethnic organisations are and have

been historically been under-resourced, even at a time when urban grants such as, Home Office Section 11, Minority Ethnic Business Initiative, and Minority Ethnic Grants were ring-fenced (GLE, 2002). As urban funding has become increasingly tied to economic development and regeneration partnership initiatives, black and minority ethnic groups have continued to receive only modest amounts of the resources because of their limited representation on partnerships (McLeod and Owen, 2001; Beazley and Loftman, 1998, 2001; Craig and Taylor, 2002; GLE, 2002). However, it should be pointed out that the level of resource earmarked for competitive urban programmes is miniscule amounting to 0.2% of all government funding.²⁶ In the US context Wilson refers to the consequences of similar struggles between racial groups as “essentially a battle of the have-nots” (Wilson, 1997: 187).

The interviews conducted with residents involved in the Shoreditch NDC and Haggerston SRB 4 as part of this study do however lend support to the view that groups that are better resourced and organised tend to be more able to respond to requests to participate, compared with groups that are less organised and less well resourced. This however also raises a further issue about how the views of residents that are not articulated through local community organisations, residents groups or other structures can be included (Meegan, and Mitchell, 2001).

The Cantle Report (Home Office, 2001) revealed that ethnic minority groups in deprived areas were seen, albeit incorrectly, as being in receipt of a larger share of the resources than white groups living within the same deprived locality. However, there has not been a concerted effort to correct this misinformation. Rather a new policy orientation is

²⁶ Shamit Sagar, seconded to the government’s Strategy Unit from Queen Mary University, speaking at a Conference organised by Queen Mary University on the implications of the findings

emerging within the Home Office based on a presumption away from funding specific ethnic groups, and arising from the recommendations of the Cantle Report. What is of real concern is that Ted Cantle's recommendations pander to the distorted beliefs and perceptions about resource allocation that he had highlighted in the report. Furthermore, these policy debates are being constructed around identities of race and ethnicity, which accent competition between local groups, and the swamping of British culture and traditions by asylum seekers and refugees, not the shared forms of inequality that go beyond race, ethnicity and place. As Goode (2001) points out: "...these ideologies mask the larger political and economic power relationships that underlie local conflict" (Goode, 2001: 366), and can be exploited for political advantage, thus preventing the forging of broad alliances that transcend racial and ethnic boundaries. Competition for resources can undermine trust, generate divisions, and undermine the forms of social capital and social cohesion that urban policies seek to promote (Hibbitt, Jones and Meegan, 2001; Allen and Cars, 2001).

As detailed in the foregoing social exclusion and urban policy discussion in Chapters 2 and 3, and as will be explored in the following Chapter 7 which looks at labour market participation, social and economic exclusion cuts across racial and ethnic boundaries. Moreover, the solutions that have been offered and applied have largely failed for all ethnic groups. However, official policy agendas leave very little room for a specific discussion about the macro issues, including the manipulation of the race agenda by government and the media, but there is plenty of scope for contained units of conversation about very specific local issues. Thus, in raising the spectre of resource allocation to black and minority ethnic groups as counter to community cohesion, the Cantle Report is effectively being used to scapegoat those communities and has also

of the Final Report of the Strategy Unit (2003) on Ethnic Minorities and the Labour Market.

had a profound effect on policy development in other areas. It identified what it saw as a trend towards more segregated and communities across England, but did not provide a justification for arriving at that conclusion. Nevertheless, community cohesion policies and community cohesion pathfinder programmes are being applied universally across England, on the basis of experiences within 4 northern towns, and misinformation about resource levels. This policy orientation is specifically designed to quell what has been termed a “politics of envy” within the indigenous white community.

Who Participates in Partnerships?

All of the representatives interviewed who were participating in either the Shoreditch NDC or the Haggerston SRB Boards were tenants and residents, and had been actively involved in the tenants’ movement, or had participated in other local structures through previous regeneration initiatives in Hackney. Most of the representatives participating directly at Board level in both regeneration schemes are white older people, predominantly women, a feature that is also characteristic of the tenants’ movement in general. Unlike Haggerston SRB Board and the SRB partnership boards that preceded it where representatives are largely self selected and can remain in perpetuity, Shoreditch NDC does have a sophisticated structure for the election of resident, tenant, private, and voluntary sector representatives every two years and diverse representation at Board level and at Area Forum level. However, any claim to be representative is always open to challenge in a Borough such as Hackney where at any one time, more than 30 principal community languages, other than English are spoken, and more than 70 associated dialects.

The issue of inclusion or exclusion via the operation of local networks of public, private and community interests was raised by most of the practitioners and local people who

were interviewed. Networks do bring enhanced opportunities for people to meet, but, as has been demonstrated, networks that are highly cohesive can also be exclusionary. This again has particular implications for black and minority ethnic residents who are excluded from local decision-making networks, and are disproportionately under-represented on local partnerships (Geddes, 1997; Smith, 1999; Brickell, 2000; Beazley and Loftman, 2001; Alcock and Scott, 2002; Dickson et al, 2002). In a sense, partnerships can therefore be viewed as anti-democratic in selecting people, or local organisations that have a second vote, and can more easily pursue their own vested interests. A Senior Hackney Official pointed out that what went on via networks outside of partnerships was often more important than what went on in actual partnership board meetings, arguing:

In all partnerships that is going to deliver, that are going to deliver some form of product or good to an area, you will have the people that are more experienced. They have the networks already and the challenge for them is whether, or how much they're going to share (Senior Hackney Official, ID1).

In Shoreditch a group of active tenant representatives, as part of the growing tenants movement had initiated the building of a collaborative partnership prior to the onset of the NDC. They had also previously completed a process of consultation with residents around the development of a local regeneration strategy, and were also involved in a Borough wide neighbourhood group. Thus, when the NDC came on stream, as Wainwright (2003) and Allen and Cars (2001) found in similar UK initiatives, they capitalised on an already established tenant and resident network. Likewise, the local residents involved in Haggerston SRB were either known to local officials and had been approached by them, or had been active in other regeneration initiatives in Hackney and in neighbouring Boroughs.

There is thus cause for concern that all voices in the community are not being heard. Despite attempts by people within the partnership, it appears that involvement is among relatively few people and among local activists, and that local involvement is decreasing further. Indeed, the Shoreditch NDC Board and project team have pointed to problems sustaining interest within the local community in the Area Forums where the involvement of local residents is declining (Shoreditch Our Way Delivery Plan, 2002). As a Hackney Council Official and Shoreditch NDC Board Member pointed out:

...the agenda behind for example, the New Deal scenario which is to in fact engage the community, to get that community to drive, to generate and drive the ideas and all the rest of it, um has started to become debateable as to whether that is exactly what is going on, or are we looking at a relatively small group of individuals....I mean what we see in Shoreditch under New Deal for Communities at the moment and indeed the team are trying to address it now, to change the structure of the Area Forums because in these so called Area Forums, business has been dropping off dramatically (Hackney Council Official and Shoreditch NDC Board Member ID 11).

Partnership Proliferation and the Creation of Local Strategic Partnerships

There were concerns expressed about the physical capacity of the community to engage effectively as a result of the vast and tangled partnership web operating in Hackney, all demanding resident participation. For example, a Civil Servant from the Government Office for London, commenting specifically about Hackney, pointed out that balancing paid work and local partnership commitments could be extremely taxing:

...you've got the kind of proliferation of partnerships right, and you get partnership overload and there are people in Hackney that are on 20 different partnerships. It could be a full time job being a partnership representative so I don't know quite when you do the day job (Civil Servant Government, Office for London, ID 7).

The proliferation of partnerships in Hackney has been recognised by central government as symptomatic of a general un-coordinated mushrooming of partnerships in local authority districts across the UK. Part of the government's response has been to

discontinue SRB and to establish Local Strategic Partnerships (LSP's) in the 88 most deprived local authority districts. There does not however appear to be an established approach to determining who participates in an LSP and the process tends to vary across local authorities. Some LSP's hold elections for community representation via local infrastructure voluntary organisations, whilst statutory organisations and the private sector, which are in the majority, are appointed.²⁷ The LSP's are provided with Neighbourhood Renewal Funding as a straightforward allocation rather than on the basis of a competitive contest. The funding is given as a lubricant or catalyst to facilitate collective working at a more strategic level, linked to a National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal. The LSP's determine overall local priorities, and are there to provide the strategic context in which all other partnerships within a local authority district sit. They also provide the architecture at the local level to allow mainstreaming or the bending of main programmes to garner the totality of resources within a district, rather than the multitude of disparate area based initiatives. The Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) and the Regional Co-ordination Unit (RCU) completed a review of area based initiatives in 2002, with the objective of providing better co-ordination, interaction and integration between urban programmes and mainstream funding, and further streamlining initiatives where necessary (ODPM and RCU, 2002).

At a regional level however, there is little compelling evidence of an overall strategy in relation to how the Single Pot, which replaces SRB, might be used by Regional Development Agencies to support the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal. It is also too early to say definitively, what the impact of LSP's will be upon the current partnership maze. It is interesting to note however that proposing the creation of

²⁷ Interviews with Council officials revealed that the process for establishing LSP's and selecting participants was not always open and transparent.

another partnership structure as a solution to the complexity of partnerships has attracted some controversy and was seen by some of those interviewed for this study as in a sense, paradoxical. Crucially, interviewees raised similar issues concerning the locus of power and representation of the broader community interest within the streamlined LSP structure.

In terms of the potential success of LSP's as the architecture to facilitate the bending of main programmes at a local level, it is easy to generate a dialogue about priorities between the different players and about where the poorest neighbourhoods are for example. What is potentially more difficult is obtaining consensus between all of the players on what the priorities are, and on the level of resources that should be accorded to each priority. This can be exacerbated by the budgetary constraints of each of the statutory participants. Moreover, whilst the rationalisation of partnerships at the local level is to be welcomed, the move towards increasing centralisation through the creation of LSP's does give some cause for concern. There is certainly the potential for an intensification of the struggles for power, and representation of the broader community interest in a more streamlined approach, as well as genuine interest in participation where key decisions over the allocation of resources are being taken. One Hackney Council Regeneration Official stated that this was indeed the experience to date:

...for the first time, it's not just a strategic partnership talking about priorities, but it's also a partnership that agrees how money gets spent and the different groups that have been contacting me since then to find out how they can become involved, and how they can get onto it because they want to try and get control over the money whereas they didn't give a monkey's about the policy or the direction or the future or the strategy. It's only because it's talking about money they suddenly want a piece of it which is quite amusing I suppose but it does change the whole nature of the partnership (Hackney Council Regeneration Official, ID 15).

Central government has taken an optimistic stance towards reconciling these various local interests and enhancing local participation in a more rationalised and simplified structure:

These are risks that have to be managed in each locality. Often, if it was Tuesday, it was the Crime Reduction Partnership, if it was Wednesday it was the Drug Action Team Partnership and if it was Thursday, it was the SRB Partnership and often times, it was the same people participating in each one because often the common denominator is the public service providers. Anything that can reduce the transaction costs of this is welcome, but the challenge is to do this in ways that do not cut out the ability of local people to participate (Civil Servant, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, ID 28).

The interviews for this study suggest that it is often the same players, statutory as well as community that are represented on the numerous partnerships. This however lends further weight to concerns about the extent to which formalised partnership structures truly reflect the wider interest of local residents. Furthermore, some LSP's, in an effort to be inclusive, have established thematic groups that are subsidiary to the LSP and have therefore, in effect, created more participatory structures.

Conclusion

There is agreement among policy-makers, practitioners and local partnership participants with the broad tenets of community participation and its corollaries, capacity building and empowerment. However, in terms of practical application, these terms, as part of the language of regeneration, and as demonstrated, have different meanings depending upon the ideological stance adopted. As currently applied to regeneration approaches in the UK, capacity building and empowerment, do empower some participants at an individual level. However, they have effectively been transplanted onto traditional decision making processes and are largely ineffective in the context of broader and institutionalised inequalities. These inequalities create power differentials

between partnership participants that are often played out subtly in participatory approaches.

It is difficult to see how a more streamlined approach and a more simplified local partnership structure built on the formation of LSP's, will be any more amenable than the NDC or SRB model to securing broad based local involvement, except among the most highly organised groups, and what the specific impacts of this will be. The move towards the rationalisation of local structures for involvement, the integration and merging of specific urban initiatives, the pooling of budgets, and the mainstreaming of specific programmes (ODPM and RCU, 2002) does address some of the key concerns posed by increasing bureaucracy, duplication, and fragmentation. What this approach does not appear to effectively address however, is the failure to provide a voice to more marginalised sections of the community or those who for one reason or another do not, cannot, or choose not to invest their time heavily in formally designed and imposed structures of participation.

The rationale behind increased community participation and involvement was the creation of regeneration programmes that would be more inclusive of local people and as a result, more responsive to local needs. As already discussed the level of community participation in Shoreditch NDC is fairly limited and is particularly limited in the case of Haggerston SRB. The residents who are involved in decision-making forums tend to be those with a long history of community activism and involvement, not the more marginalised people within the locality. This is an issue that eludes resolution given the transient nature of the population in Hackney, as well as its enormous diversity. However, local participants who are directly involved in partnership structures are nevertheless, also constrained in their ability to be effective. The decisions of more

powerful networked stakeholders at local and higher spatial scales, as well as the effects of wider structural issues, impact locally, but are beyond the direct influence of the local partnerships. The difficulties in effectively representing diversity, in an area such as Hackney also means that the majority of residents are limited in the extent to which they can be included in a collaborative discourse about the determination and funding of local priorities.

The following chapter will continue with this participation theme. It will explore the impact of participation at the programme level by examining local engagement with two employment assistance programmes in Shoreditch and Haggerston in Hackney, and with reference to two employment assistance programmes in the South Bronx, New York. This will be specifically in terms of the extent to which employment programmes can provide an effective route to sustainable labour market participation.

Chapter 7 – A Participant and Practitioner Perspective on Employment Regeneration Programmes

Introduction

Many of the conceptual ideas about the meaning of social exclusion draw upon the notion of non-participation. This chapter continues with the participation theme, but from the perspective of practitioners and local people at the sharp end of the delivery of individual projects that are allied to area based regeneration initiatives. The efficacy of four specific employment assistance schemes under the auspices of the Shoreditch New Deal for Communities (Shoreditch NDC), and the Haggerston Single Regeneration Budget (Haggerston SRB) programmes in the UK are examined. The UK programmes are also compared with two employment assistance programmes run by the Women's Housing and Education Development Cooperative (WHEDCO) in the Bronx, New York, looking in particular at their effectiveness in promoting and enhancing sustainable labour market participation. An emphasis on measures to secure sustainable labour market participation and to reduce unemployment as a means of tackling social exclusion is a central tenet of government urban and social policy objectives on both sides of the Atlantic.

There has been a spate of publicly funded employment assistance programmes designed to tackle social exclusion through increased labour market participation, arising from a reorientation of the values underpinning the UK's economic and social model and an alignment with US style local workfare type experiments (Peck, 2001). This policy transfer between the UK and the US therefore underpins the rationale for the selection of

employment assistance programmes as a subject of empirical inquiry. This chapter will examine the extent to which supply side initiatives, such as the four programmes that form the subject of the discussion that follows, are able to make a valuable contribution to the lives of the people that they target. It will also look at the impact of broader economic factors on; job security; on individual labour market choices; on opportunities for progression within the labour market, and at the extent to which employment assistance programmes can mitigate these influences. Policies in the UK and in the US focus on raising the employability characteristics of the population in areas where unemployment is high. Accordingly, this chapter will look at the efficacy of a supply side focus that is based on the idea that the problem of unemployment is linked to the characteristics of unemployed people.

A supply side approach dovetails with a UK and US policy focus on addressing some of the perceived barriers to employment in relation to the work ethic and the motivation of people living in deprived places, as well as a perceived culture of dependency among unemployed people, particularly those who are among the long-term unemployed. In this respect, current supply side employment measures are founded on an identical premise to the capacity building and empowerment measures that are built into participatory structures of local governance in that individual and local agency forms the centrepiece. In terms of labour market participation, locally based employment assistance and employment related training programmes focus on empowering individuals to become active citizens by developing or enhancing their capacity to connect with and to participate in the labour market. This approach is also combined with various restrictions on benefit entitlements, which it is argued, actively encourages unemployed people to throw off the yoke of dependency by modifying their behaviour and their attitudes towards work.

The current policy approach accents people who are detached from the labour market and obtaining employment is seen as one of the main solutions to social exclusion. However, this approach does not recognise that low paid employment, may represent a difference in form but not in the nature of social exclusion. This is particularly the case since low paid work is often accompanied by few if any associated employment benefits, exhausting work, and long unsocial hours. This makes meaningful participation on a range of dimensions in society, including participation in governance, very difficult if not impossible to achieve. This chapter will therefore also examine the effect of low paid employment on social exclusion.

Access to Resources and Advice on Job Search

At some level, either generally or specifically in terms of their individual personal experiences, interviewees in the UK as well as in the US identified a number of tangible benefits arising from their participation in the employment assistance programmes being run by @ Work, Ascent 21, and WHEDCO through Innovations At Work. The benefits identified by participants revolved principally around the provision of free and unlimited access to resources to assist them in finding employment. These included; access to Internet job searches; access to job pages in the national and local press; the use of software; assistance with writing and formatting CV's; obtaining references for prospective employers, and free use of telephones, fax machines and photocopiers. The job search process does imply access to a considerable range of resources that people in well paid employment either have access to at work, or can afford to meet the costs of privately. This is often a critical issue for people who are either in low paid employment with limited access to resources in the workplace, or who are reliant upon some form of state benefit. One Haggerston resident and former long-term unemployed

user of the services provided by Ascent 21, but currently employed by the project on a full time permanent basis explained it in this way:

I mean it's not that easy to manage to go out there and buy the papers if you're unemployed and you've got a limited income, you know? To go out there and buy the papers on a daily, weekly basis, it costs. So, on a practical level, and using the phone here and stamps and things like that, that's really important (Ascent 21 Employee, ID 56).

Similarly, in the US, an unemployed Cashier who was participating in the mandatory Innovations At Work job preparation and job search programme that was being run by WHEDCO, and who was in receipt of Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) payments pointed out:

That class there, you get on the telephone, you have a Fax machine, you call up different companies and ask them are they hiring, you take down the information and if they are hiring you can Fax them your resume. You do all this in Job Search. They have what you would call Business Link, they have different positions so you can call them up if you interested in that job. Fax them your resume....I've faxed things all over the place and places like this here helps you whereas you go outside, that's gonna cost you about 4 dollars, just to fax (Unemployed Cashier, ID 30).

As well as support in the practical aspects of job search, the employment assistance programmes administered by @ Work, Ascent 21, and WHEDCO through Innovations at Work, were also seen as fulfilling an important extended network and on going support function for participants. The programmes provided participants with the opportunity to interact and connect with the paid staff running the programmes, and to draw upon their considerable array of skills. Crucially, the programmes were seen as an important conduit for imparting the necessary soft skills that were needed in an intensely competitive job market, such as doing a good application that would stand a chance of making a shortlist, as well as intensive one to one coaching in interview presentation and interview communication skills. Acquiring or enhancing these skills was seen as

particularly important among participants who were trying to enter the labour market for the first time, or who had been out of the labour market for some time, as well as those who were trying to progress from low paid, or sessional and contract work, to a job with more stability.

In tandem with the development of soft skills, employment assistance programmes can also fulfil an important role in sustaining the confidence of participants and in keeping up their levels of motivation. Indeed, one of the key themes amongst clients in the @ Work, Ascent 21, and WHEDCO Innovations At Work employment assistance programmes was a high level of satisfaction with the way services were provided and with the attitude of the paid staff. This theme was however voiced more consistently in the @ Work and Ascent 21 programmes than in the mandatory WHEDCO Innovations At Work programme, and the WHEDCO Urban Horizons culinary arts programme targeted at low-income individuals, where responses tended to be more varied.

In isolation, the job search process is often experienced as lonely, demoralising, and demotivating for participants, particularly in the face of repeated rejection by employers. In this context, the @ Work and Ascent 21 programmes were also important on a personal level in helping individuals to cope with the effects of that rejection, when there was very little prospect of a job on the immediate horizon. There was also a perception among interviewees of intense competition for jobs, even at the low paid end of the job market, accompanied by stiff recruitment criteria. A formerly unemployed Haggerston resident had been rejected for numerous low paid service related positions but was now employed by Ascent 21 as a Sessional Outreach Worker on a short-term contract basis. He remained a continuing client of both @ Work and Ascent 21 and had this view about the services they provided:

When you get rejected like, you don't get accepted for a job, especially if it's a job you know you can do, it's kind of de-motivating because it's like, if I can't get that job, what's the point. So, it's nice that you know, with your application forms, you can have a go at it but you can actually have someone there who knows what they're talking about and they can go and say to you "well I think this is the best thing" and not just that, they can actually take what you've done and word it in a way that is a lot nicer (Ascent 21 Sessional Outreach Worker, ID 57).

Similarly, a married @ Work participant with two children who had formerly worked as a Cleaning Supervisor had been unemployed for more than a year, after his company lost a number of contracts. He was living on a low income and had managed to secure an interview for a position as an ambulance driver with assistance from @ Work at the application stage. He expressed his view of the service thus:

...they made me feel so easy, they make me feel so good that even if I don't get it, I still feel contented. But, I really wish I can get the opportunity to work (Unemployed Cleaning Supervisor, ID 40).

There was a close fit between the views of clients in the @ Work and Ascent 21 employment assistance programmes about service priorities, and the views of practitioners. Indeed, practitioners expressed similar views about the importance of practical and personal forms of support tailored to the needs of individuals engaged in job search. As one of the Shoreditch NDC @ Work Practitioners explained:

If I've got a candidate going for a really good retail job and I think he's a really good candidate but I think he's lacking on confidence or lacking on what to say, or, I will sit him down and say right, this is what you're gonna have to do, right, relay back to me and then, he goes for the interview a lot more confident in what he's gonna say and what he's gonna do. I can advise him on the company, I'll get on the Internet and get a bit of history on them, you know, it's all that. You don't get that in like say the Job Centre. Job Centre are a lot more corporate, do you know what I mean? Well we're, we're not small but we're not huge either. We can you know, give them all that as well (Shoreditch NDC @ Work Practitioner, ID 50).

For some unemployed residents, the benefits of the service did not however stem directly from its more tangible aspects as a direct point of contact for specific job

vacancies, and/or as a practical form of support at the application and job interview stage, but from a less tangible and possibly unintended consequence. The services provided by @ Work for example, are not immediately relevant to all unemployed people, or people on low incomes living within its targeted regeneration area. Their job vacancies tend to lean predominantly towards catering, personal services, security, and other service related fields (Appendix D), reflecting structural changes in the labour market. These jobs are also consistently found at the bottom of the low pay league in both the US and the UK (ONS, 2002b; Mishel, Bernstein and Schmitt, 2002; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; Anderson, 2003; Sassen, 2003; Toynbee, 2003; Zarembka, 2003). However, as a national organisation, @ Work can provide access to extended networks via the personal contacts and resources of its paid staff, and which, whilst not a directly envisaged part of the services it provides, can be an important aspect of job search for some of its clients. As a recently unemployed Web Designer and client of @ Work said about the relevance of the services provided to him:

...personally not but they are still mid-way between me and an employer. I'm sure if I needed to call upon them for anything they'd do their best to help. Um, I mean as I said earlier, they have supplied me with some contacts because obviously if they're working in this environment and they have peers, colleagues, friends or whatever who are working, you know, perhaps for sister companies, or, you know, I think they call upon all their own personal resources, as well as that, they have in their own network (Unemployed Web Designer, ID 41).

In addition to taking advantage of the services and networks provided by local employment assistance programmes, unemployed participants would, as a part of their own concerted job search efforts, attempt to create their social networks with other participants. This was seen as a route to learning about other possible employment opportunities in cases where people had been successfully placed, rather than having to depend on benefits. Indeed, the prospect of having to depend on benefits is not an attractive option or a disincentive to work as populist notions of welfare dependency

claim (Murray, 1990; 1998 and 1999; Dahrendorf, 1996). The participants interviewed in this study were actively trying to gain a more secure foothold in the labour market through opportunities for training or through other forms of employment assistance offered by the programmes. Some of those who were participating in the labour market were actively engaged in the search for an additional job to supplement the low wages of their existing full or part time job so that they could raise their poor living standards. This position was also confirmed by research carried out on behalf of a consortium of voluntary organisations in East London called The East London Communities Organisation into the pay and conditions of workers employed by private contractors (Wills, 2001).

The participants in both the US and UK programmes who were living on benefits, were all actively engaged in vigorous efforts to get off benefits because of feelings of loss of self-esteem. The terms welfare and public assistance are pejorative in the minds of benefit claimants as well as in the minds of the wider public. In contrast with the UK, redistribution payments in the US have never really been comfortably associated with the same rights based philosophy, underpinned by an ethos of collective societal responsibility for people in adverse circumstance (Hutton, 2002). Rather public assistance in the US has traditionally been viewed as a pernicious form of dependency on the part of those who do not have a mature attitude to work, and who refuse to acknowledge their individual responsibilities. This is because as Wilson phrases it “the politics of welfare centres around the management of individual deficiencies” (Wilson, 1997: 61). An unemployed freight worker, displaced following the events of September 11 who had completed the WHEDCO Urban Horizons culinary arts employment training programme, had almost exhausted her extended Federal Unemployment Benefit. However, there was still no job in sight and she described her fears about being faced

with the prospect of having to claim welfare and her fears about the treatment meted out to claimants:

I don't wanna go that route. I don't wanna go that public assistance route. I don't want to go through the disgust that they put you through to get on it, I'd rather just have a job....I don't know. If nothing else's gonna happen then, I don't see anything else but that. That maybe a reality which I don't want to have to face (Unemployed Freight Worker and WHEDCO Participant, ID 32).

This example is one of countless illustrations in this study that people who are forced into claiming public assistance are not feckless with a history of long-term dependency, but are people who have had stable work histories but due to external factors, have fallen on hard times. Nevertheless, they become ensnared in a negative ideology about their willingness to participate in the labour market.

As a result of various reforms to the rules governing welfare benefits in the UK, there is now increasing convergence with US attitudes towards people in receipt of public assistance. The same set of principles are now transforming the values of the welfare state, cloaked in a language of individual responsibilities, and individual empowerment. These principles also fashion unemployed people as responsible for their own plight, thus providing the foundation for a coercive posture in relation to UK labour market strategies designed to enforce participation. Moreover, in a carefully orchestrated attempt to incorporate the wider structural factors into this philosophy, New Labour is trying to develop the very skilful act of walking a tightrope, recognising that people have been adversely affected by industrial restructuring on the one hand, but in need of active encouragement and assistance to help them to navigate and respond to risks and opportunities in the new and flexible economy on the other (Peck, 2001).

Targeting Hard to Reach Groups through Outreach Services

All of the clients participating in the WHEDCO Innovations At Work employment assistance programme are accessing welfare benefits, and are referred via the statutory employment agencies on a mandatory basis. However, almost two-thirds of the clients that make contact with @ Work and Ascent 21 are unemployed but are not necessarily accessing benefits. This is either because they have partners who are in employment, or because they are unaware of the benefits available. They do not therefore exist on official unemployment registers, or in official unemployment statistics. To a large extent, employment programmes react to issues that directly present through people that know the system, or who actively solicit advice via contact with a local agency or advice service either statutory or voluntary. Therefore, some unemployed people slip through the loop of Job Centre Plus or locally based training scheme for example, from where clients are actively canvassed, and in that sense, they can fall by the wayside and into a potentially hard to reach group.

As well as providing drop in job search and advisory services, and advice on access to welfare benefits for people directly accessing their services, both @ Work and Ascent 21 target unemployed people or people on low incomes within their designated regeneration areas on an outreach basis. The outreach work takes various forms and includes, for example, local festivals, door knocking, approaching people and talking with them on the local housing estates, visits to community centres, and liaison with Job Centre Plus and local training agencies. Even so, it is recognised that making contact with people who are not accessing services is imperfect and for that reason, there are always people who will be excluded. As a RENAISSANCE Haggerston SRB Programme Manager pointed out:

...if you don't have perfect knowledge about what's going on, how do you address the problem and to a large extent, you're reacting to problems that present themselves and as much as you do, you know, you dig as much as you possibly can to try and be more proactive and pre-empt any shortfalls in provision, you're always gonna miss things and I don't think that's a criticism really, I just think it's being realistic (RENAISI Haggerston SRB Programme Manager, ID 4).

Employment Opportunities for Unemployed People in Regeneration

Ascent 21 however, as well as targeting and promoting its advice and support services by initiating contact with people in the regeneration area who may be harder to reach than those who initiate contact on a drop in basis, also runs a sessional outreach programme. This is an important provider of paid work opportunities and practical work experience for unemployed people, albeit limited in number and of limited duration. These work opportunities come principally from short-term funding of varying lengths, from two weeks to two months, and are for random local consultations mainly in data collection, based on face-to-face structured questionnaires. These are relatively easy to administer, and do not have the same training implications as more qualitative styles of inquiry. The consultations are used to inform service planning for specific projects and community facilities in the regeneration area, which contract with Ascent 21, and to solicit the views of local people generally about what they see as their local service and regeneration priorities.

Through opportunities for sessional work, unemployed local residents can acquire new skills, enhance existing ones, and obtain employer references from Ascent 21. A few clients within the regeneration area continue to work for the project on an ongoing sessional basis, whilst others have obtained employer references from the project and have gone on to do similar work with other programmes in the Borough. In this respect, through the opportunities available for sessional outreach work, Ascent 21 provides a

tangible connection with the world of work for some unemployed local people, and a temporary respite from reliance on benefits. This enables them to participate, at some level, in some of the customary social activities that most people take for granted, although in a culturally and ethnically diverse society, the traditional activities people may wish to participate in will vary. One of the Ascent 21 temporary Sessional Outreach Workers pointed out that the opportunity given to him to do some work meant that he was relieved from many of the pressures and demands made on those who were reliant on benefits, particularly during the Christmas season when people would tend to spend more money than at other times:

I'd say like, doing outreach work now it's kinda good because it's like Christmas time. But Christmas time, most people, you find that they spend a lot more money than they've got but when you're on the dole, come Christmas time, you are kinda wishing it was 6 months earlier because at the end of the day, you ain't got no money to do anything anyway. Like, being on the dole is so not worth it (Ascent 21 Sessional Outreach Worker, ID 57).

Two of the three permanent staff employed by Ascent 21 were women who had returned to work after having been out of the labour market for a number of years. They had learned about the services and support provided by the project through visits by Sessional Outreach Workers to their homes. Over a two-year period, both women had progressed via work with Ascent 21, initially in a voluntary capacity, then on a sessional contract basis, and then on to full time employment with the project. As an employee of the project, one of the staff members was given access to training and career development opportunities in community work on a paid day release basis. In the case of the other staff member whose principal language was not English, prior to joining the staff team, support was given by the project to enhance her English language skills. This provided her with more confidence dealing with people in an office environment.

As an employer, Ascent 21 has provided its employees with some flexibility over the organisation of work activities to enable them to balance work-life commitments. As one of the staff members pointed out in the context of a general discussion about the significance of the project in providing a route to work, and other work opportunities:

Well, I was a Sessional Worker, now I'm the Manager of the office so um, I'm not looking, I don't want to look for a career anywhere else because first of all, I'm very happy. Even before, even when I was an office administrator, I was very flexible. They've been always very um friendly. They give me, when I first started, they give me the opportunity to have my lunch at 3 O'clock to pick up my children, take them to the childcare, come back in the office. You can't find this kind of job anywhere...I'm happy and I stay here where I am (Ascent 21 Employee, ID 55).

A degree of flexibility in employment practices does seem to be a general feature of smaller voluntary and community based groups and organisations like Ascent 21, and for staff that are directly employed in what remains of the public sector more generally. There are however a number of issues around core funding, for smaller community based organisations, particularly black and minority ethnic groups, as well as issues of physical capacity where limited staff resources are dedicated to frontline work with clients but, at the same time, are also engaged in balancing the bureaucratic demands of different regeneration funding regimes (SEU, 1999b; 1999; McCloud and Owen, 2001; ODPM and RCU, 2002; Taylor and Hoyle, 2003). There are also major concerns about the sustainability of particular initiatives run by smaller community based organisations when funding programmes dedicated to supporting particular activities expire, or when they come up for renewal on an annual basis.

The @ Work employment assistance programme, which is relatively recently established in Shoreditch, also tries to adopt flexible working practices to support staff members with family and childcare commitments, and in common with Ascent 21, provides advice on a

range of in work benefits. As one of the @ Work Practitioners pointed out in respect of a former Shoreditch NDC participant who subsequently went on to full time and then part-time employment with @ Work:

...one of my members of staff is a lone parent with 4 children. She was working here on a full time basis. She has two twins aged 10, trying to hold down a full time job, these long hours. It was just chaos. So, what we agreed was for (her) to go part time. She went onto family tax credit. She now earns exactly the same as she would have done full time, but it means that she's only working 20 hours a week so she can now balance the life-work thing (Shoreditch @ Work Scheme Practitioner, ID 39).

As well as employing a former NDC client from within the Shoreditch NDC area, @ Work in Shoreditch also employs former clients as staff members from other NDC areas in England where the company has an established presence. Moreover @ Work also offers work placements to local people who live in the Shoreditch NDC area, and through its outreach liaison work, establishes links with residents who are enrolled in other employment training programmes in the Borough, but who live within the regeneration areas targeted by their funding streams.

The employment of clients did not appear to be a policy of WHEDCO's employment assistance programme in the South Bronx, New York, although the federally funded Urban Horizons culinary arts programme operated by WHEDCO over a four-month period did provide on site work experience opportunities for participants. However, dissatisfaction was expressed about the practical hands on aspects of the programme. The former freight worker referred to earlier explained that in her view, there was little emphasis on the creative side of cooking:

...this is like funny too but not really. You know, as you rotated through those kitchen stations, the station that I did the most work in was the Stewards Station and that was the dishwashing, floor mopping, or sweeping. That's the one where you know, you don't get to bake when you're in the Baking section but when

you're in the Stewards section, you sure get to wash those dishes and they make you spend a week doing that (Unemployed Freight Worker and WHEDCO Participant, ID 32).

Whilst Ascent 21 and @ Work did provide some work opportunities for unemployed people living in the Borough, concerns were expressed that this was not a general feature of the organisations involved in regeneration and economic development in the Borough. The scale of regeneration and economic development in Hackney has potentially created a broad range of employment opportunities for local people in construction related fields, in the planning and delivery of a range of services, in local regeneration agencies, and indeed, in the Council itself. However, with the exception of some of the local housing partnerships that use local labour for construction and housing management related work, these jobs are not being accessed by unemployed people in the Borough. Rather, local employers in regeneration, tend to draw principally on people commuting into Hackney from various parts of London. One of the former clients of Ascent 21 and current Office Manager stated that in her experience, employers generally, including those engaged in local regeneration, had stereotypical perceptions about Hackney's workforce and made little attempt to recruit local people:

They don't do it because they also discriminate against the Borough. Sometimes they don't even advertise with the local agencies and this is wrong...they think we haven't got skilled people in here (Ascent 21 Employee, ID 55).

It is not possible to confirm the accuracy of this statement, but there is a perception that this is in fact the case.

The Employment Training and Employment Advice Conveyor Belt

Whilst there were many positive benefits identified by participants engaged in the employment assistance programmes in the UK and in the US, one of the key issues for

this thesis is whether the programmes can significantly influence actual job outcomes in a sustainable way, given the vagaries of global markets and the consequent limitations of area based schemes discussed in the earlier chapters. Indeed, clients of @ Work, Ascent 21, and WHEDCO, through Innovations At Work who were interviewed, had not only participated in previous employment related training schemes and employment assistance programmes in the majority of cases, but had become caught on a training conveyor belt which would sometimes be temporarily suspended by periods of low paid short term employment, or in other cases, no spells of employment at all. Craine (1997) who conducted a longitudinal ethnographic study of young people in a high unemployment inner city area in Manchester also found that whilst unemployed people participated in multiple schemes, there was no evidence that such participation provided access to employment. As an example in this study, the unemployed Cashier who was engaged in the mandatory WHEDCO Innovations At Work Programme, whilst very supportive of it and of the approach adopted by the staff, pointed out that she had actually attended exactly the same programme during a previous period of unemployment:

You only allowed a certain time to be on Welfare OK. This is my second time around here. Now they got me my first job and I was laid off so now I'm back again (Unemployed Cashier and WHEDCO Participant, ID 30).

Similarly, an unemployed Store Manager who had become subsequently homeless, and who had been engaged in the job search process for over a year, explained that WHEDCO Innovations At Work was the third programme she had been mandated by the statutory employment agencies to attend between January and June 2002. As the programmes in her view, taught essentially the same sets of skills, she had become somewhat cynical about the entire cyclical employment training and mandatory employment assistance process:

...it's so much bullshit. I got to be honest. It's so much bullshit. And, um I feel that again going through the whole process of going through writing a resume but what if you already have one and OK, let's update it, that's fine with me but now, this is gonna be the third programme that they've sent me too. I've updated this resume six times already. How much can you update? This will be the third time I've been in a place like this but let's see what this one can do that the other two couldn't do (Unemployed Store Manager and WHEDCO Participant, ID 31).

As well as the practical skills and resources necessary in the job search process, the UK and the US programmes, as illustrated, could at another level engender a certain amount of optimism and enthusiasm among participants, particularly those dealing with the effects of continual rejection by potential employers. However, some of the doubts expressed by the participants in the WHEDCO Innovations At Work programme, about the ability of the schemes to deliver tangible labour market outcomes, despite being well intended, resonated strongly with doubts expressed by participants in the Shoreditch @ Work and Ascent 21 employment assistance programmes.

A former student and mother of one small child and a year old baby who was a client of @ Work had attended a number of interview preparation and job search programmes over a period of about a year. After more than 200 job applications, her efforts had still not resulted in a job outcome. In addition to being a client of @ Work, she was currently on a trainee placement with them learning additional office related skills. Moreover, her husband had been unable to find work in the UK and had returned to Nigeria the previous year to see if he could find work there and eventually send for his wife and children. Parents and children that are forced to live apart for economic reasons is an experience that has also been documented in other labour market studies, which examine the impact of globalisation on families (Parreñas, 2003; Hochschild, 2003). This interviewee explained that her main concern was to find a real job opportunity, not to participate in further programmes. As she explained:

I should be given a chance you know. I've gone to so many seminars on how to fill in application forms and how to answer questions. I think I should be given a chance (Unemployed former Student on @ Work Placement, ID 49).

However, finding an opening was becoming increasingly difficult because her qualifications, which were from Nigeria were not recognised. This was compounded by subtle acts of race discrimination she sometimes experienced at the application and at the interview stage. Although born in the UK, her names were clearly Nigerian, and she had grown up in Nigeria. This she felt had restricted her employment opportunities despite her education to degree level, because of stereotypical associations about West African people. She explained that in the past, the impossibility of finding employment and the need to get off benefits, had effectively forced her down the care work route, which was seen as an employment opening that was fairly easy for black women to access. This experience is consistent with the findings of labour market analysts who have examined the experiences of black and minority ethnic women in for example, the UK, France, Canada and the US, Hong Kong, France, Germany, Spain, and Portugal (Cheever, 2003; Constable, 2003; Rivas, 2003; Parreñas, 2003; Zerembka, 2003). As the interviewee further explained:

When I did a placement for the care course, for a whole week I couldn't eat. I worked with people with dementia, when you finish cleaning them they mess up again, they bite you but I did it because I was tired of being on income support. I'm 25, I'm educated, all through my life I've been working...I heard that most people when they come to this country, that's the easiest job to get you know (ID 49).

In the UK, experiences of labour market discrimination, particularly when they are indirect, are very difficult to document, even more difficult to tackle with policy instruments, and can be off-putting to such an extent that people may eventually feel pressured into revising their expectations. This also has the effect of minimising the extent to which discrimination is officially recorded.

The Commission for Racial Equality, which monitors the recruitment decisions of employers, has found evidence of direct forms of race discrimination at the application stage, as well as more sophisticated and institutional forms (CRE, 1983, 1991 and 2001). Similarly, in the US, Wilson (1997) found evidence of direct and indirect forms of race discrimination amongst employers in Chicago. At the local level in Hackney, a Shoreditch @ Work Practitioner expressed similar concerns about structural barriers to labour market participation. This was in the context of the operation of the immigration rules and procedures, which, depending upon how conversant employers are with them, can actually exclude residents from abroad who have been granted leave to remain in the UK and have been given Work Permits, but until they actually have a job, cannot get a national insurance number. This has particular significance for a Borough such as Hackney, which is a reception area for migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. As was explained:

...there are a lot of employers I'm finding now who are being very anal about immigration and work visas and they're saying, we will not give anyone a job who doesn't have a national insurance number and I go hang on, they can't get a national insurance number unless they have a job and it's "well, that's not our problem" and you have to break down these barriers with employers (@ Work Practitioner, ID, 39).

The Knowledge Economy, Polarisation and Flexible Working

There exists a considerable body of evidence detailed in the foregoing theoretical discussion in Chapter 2, which analyses the shift towards a flexible knowledge or information economy, and which looks at the consequent changes in the occupational structure of the UK and the US. This body of evidence also examines the reorganisation of traditional forms of work, as well as the way in which work is structured in new sectors of the economy. It also looks at the impact of these changes on job supply and on the distribution of earnings (Sassen, 1994, 1996 and 2003; Massey and Allen, 1995;

Castells, 1996; LGA, 1998a; Abu Lughod, 1999; Peck, 1999; Beck, 2000; Peck, 2001; Perrons, 2003).

The nascent knowledge economy is conceived in government accounts as one that is characterised by high paid jobs in information technology, the new media, and professional work more generally concerned with the development and application of ideas. This view also incorporates a seductive blend of ideas about labour market flexibility, key skills, knowledge, and life-long learning that has become directly associated with official accounts about the shift towards a knowledge based economy, and the need for a workforce that can adapt easily to changing circumstances and demands, augmented by increased opportunities for life-long learning (SEU, 1999b). However, more critical commentators argue that the knowledge economy is a divided one that is characterised by increased labour market inequality between two poles, high paid jobs requiring long hours which also generates the demand as well as the ability to pay for personal services (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2003; Perrons, 2003). Whilst in London which encompasses my study area, professional and managerial jobs have witnessed an expansion (GLA, 2002) there has been a corresponding decline in well-paid employment opportunities for low skilled people, and a weakening in the collective bargaining powers of workers through the individualisation of work (Wills, 2001; Low Pay Unit, 2002). The experiences of participants in this study, provides support for this view.

The US, which is seen as axiomatic of the burgeoning information age had entered a recession in March 2001, and New York was among those states that were particularly hard hit. A number of software developers and firms that provided high-tech knowledge related services, as well as financial services, as in the UK, were thus having to deal with a steep decline in business and plummeting share prices, added to which, the

labour market status of key workers in the knowledge economy was becoming increasingly precarious (Fiscal Policy Institute, 2001; Mishel, Bernstein and Schmitt, 2001; Hutton, 2002). In New York, the onset of the recession was exacerbated by the fall out from the events of September 11. This increased the numbers of people displaced from a range of industry sectors, including knowledge and information services, but particularly low paid workers earning less than \$11 per hour (Fiscal Policy Institute, 2000) many of whom subsequently enrolled in federally subsidised training programmes in New York. At the same time, it swelled the numbers of people claiming unemployment assistance and potentially, welfare. A Social Worker who assists in providing front line services to unemployed clients at the Consortium for Worker Education (CWE) in New York, the largest job training, education and placement agency in the US, which is also trade union based explained:

I have a handful of clients who were unemployed before September 11 who were either part of the dot.com bubble or the Wall Street layoffs. So that had just started to happen before September 11 and September 11 has just made everything just that more difficult and right now, you know, it's happened in phases where in October, 80,000 people lost their jobs then came the holiday season, everyone waited till the holiday came and went, then in February, 14,000 lost their jobs. It keeps coming in waves which makes it really competitive, the market, which is why so many of the ECH (Emergency Clearing House) clients, a lot of them have gone into the training programmes (CWE Social Worker, ID 38).

In common with the experiences of unemployed people who were participating in employment assistance programmes prior to September 11, and the experience of participants in employment assistance programme in the UK, many of the post September 11 displaced workers are also discovering that their expectations of finding a pathway to alternative employment via training and assistance programmes, have not materialised. As the CWE Social Worker further explained, this is not the result of reduced job search effort or a lack of motivation, but in her experience, intense competition caused by limited opportunities in the labour market:

They're going into the training programmes. Now when they are coming out, they are finding they are not getting the jobs now either. So it's the whole time in a training programme thinking this is going to be the ticket and it's still tough to get a job after.... I wish there were more jobs right now and I've been following these people, they've been sending out resumes and they're not getting calls back. Maybe they'll get an interview here and there and then they don't get the follow up interview...and they've been looking, and they've been looking for nine months (CWE Social Worker, ID 38).

According to some theorists (Sassen, 1991, 1994, 1996 and 2003; Castells, 1996; Beck, 2000; Peck, 2001; Rubery et al, 2003), flexible working in new and emerging sectors of the economy have become almost synonymous with contracting out and sub contracting public and private functions. This line of argument also posits that there has been; a decline in the availability of full-time secure employment; an increase in part-time work; an increase in insecure temporary contract work, and an erosion of fringe benefits, directly as a result of employer led strategies to minimise direct costs and associated risks in a globally competitive market. In the case of the public sector, flexible working practices have arisen in the context of a performance based management culture that has imported private sector principles into the organisation, management and delivery of public services, and is likewise based principally on a strategy of cost reduction which includes the use of agency workers.

Other theorists (Doogan, 2003) contend that there is a paucity of evidence to sustain, what they argue, is no more than a strongly held perception that the labour market is becoming characterised by greater insecurity and risk. He emphasises the more stable nature of the labour market by pointing to increases in long-term unemployment in hotels, restaurants and the catering industry for example. However, this argument sidesteps the issue of insecurity and risk for employees who, in the absence of viable alternatives, are forced to accept long-term employment on very low pay and with little prospect of promotion. In addition the issues facing long-term involuntary part time

workers who are also trapped in low pay positions are not accounted for. This is part and parcel of a global phenomenon that Peck (2001) has referred to as a form of “economic conscription” (Peck, 2001: 189). This study did find evidence in the UK and in the US to support claims about the increasing precariousness and short-term nature of work among participants, based on their direct labour market experiences, not merely their perceptions. A Senior Representative of the Ford Foundation, in New York, who has overall responsibility for the development of employment and training strategies also concurred with this finding:

Certainly you can see employers looking for these flexible labour arrangements in order that they don't get stuck with high fixed labour costs (Senior Representative, Ford Foundation, ID 36).

The changes in the way work is organised and structured has certainly been accompanied by a continual downward pressure on wages at the lower paid end of the employment spectrum, that is hotels and restaurants, retail, clothing manufacture and other services, including personal services, which also encompass the fastest job growth categories. This is at variance with accounts about the potential of the information age to produce sustainable knowledge related employment since clearly, this will not include all workers or even the majority of workers. Rather, the economy is a divided one, but this is something that is not recognised in accounts that emphasise knowledge sectors. Moreover, the downward pressure on wages, particularly among the low paid, but which is increasingly impacting on middle-income earners, coupled with the expansion of low wage jobs, both long term and short term, has resulted in increased income polarisation, as well as increased competition for jobs (Abu Lugod, 1999; Mishel, Bernstein and Schmitt, 2001; Ehrenreich, 2002; Hutton, 2002, Peck, 2001; Perrons, 2003; Sassen, 2003).

The results of a study carried out by the Fiscal Policy Institute (Fiscal Policy Institute, 2001) in New York, demonstrated the uneven impact of overall positive economic growth and low unemployment. Between 1989 and 2000, the wages of the highest income earners increased sharply whilst the wages of low paid and middle-income earners, which would have stagnated or dropped, increased only slightly due to longer working hours. This is reflected in the huge disparity between the average wage and the median wage in New York for that period in that, whilst the average wage rose by 18.4%, the median wage dropped by 5.1%. At the same time, the pay of CEO's witnessed an almost exponential growth during the same period of some 79% (Fiscal Policy Institute, 2001). Similarly in Greater London as well as in Inner London, which encompasses Shoreditch and Haggerston my main study areas, since 1992, there has been increasing labour market and income polarisation with growth in earnings concentrated among employees in higher paid groups. Those workers who are among the lowest paid have received only modest pay increases (Low Pay Unit, 2001, 2002; GLA, 2002; ONS, 2002b; DWP, 2002). Nevertheless the New Labour government continues to stress the importance of social inclusion and community cohesion, whilst income inequality continues to accelerate. This structural imbalance cannot be corrected by supply side measures since those measures create few if any jobs. Moreover, when meshed with the current labour market structure, and active labour market policies, they can actually serve to confine people to low income jobs and at the same time, increase competition for them, further entrenching inequalities (Peck, 2001).

The experiences of the Haggerston resident employed by Ascent 21 as a Sessional Outreach Worker on a short-term contract basis, but actively seeking a full time permanent position, are in harmony with this view about the impassable chasm between the two poles of the labour market:

The big problem with the Job Centres is you go there and the jobs fit into two categories either highly skilled which obviously isn't me. I'm only 20 years old you know. How much can you cram into 20 years? So that's no use to me, and all the other jobs are like bottom line (Ascent 21 Sessional Outreach Worker, ID 55).

He also described the difficulties, because of increased competition, getting jobs traditionally associated with low pay and seen as easy to access:

I went to the interview, took it seriously and it's like, I never got a phone call from them so when I phoned up, I was basically told that I wasn't suitable for the job, like, I was kind of like, that's it! If they won't employ me to do that, work in a Coffee Shop, what kind of job am I likely to end up with because at the end of the day, I just want a Coffee Shop as a short term thing to put money in my pocket, build up my motivation, have something to show on my CV (Ascent 21 Sessional Outreach Worker, ID 55).

In the US, the stagnation or downward spiral in the wages of low paid workers has been intensified by the extremely low wages paid to undocumented workers who are employed in the cash economy through "off the book jobs". A large proportion of low paid workers are African American and Hispanic (Mishel, Bernstein and Schmitt, 2001; Fiscal Policy Institute, 2001 and 2002; Hutton, 2002; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003). Added to this has been the hiring of workers on a temporary rather than permanent basis, coupled with the substitution of higher paid workers with lower paid workers, to do precisely the same tasks in areas of the formal economy also traditionally occupied by women and migrant workers. The areas include for example, retail, catering, garment factories, and care services, and form part of a deliberate strategy adopted by employers to transform wage structures and reduce fringe benefits. This also illustrates the fact that labour market and income polarisation as in the UK, takes place along the deeply entrenched lines of race, gender and ethnicity. This situation is more pronounced in the case of black and minority ethnic women on both sides of the Atlantic, who have taken on many of the traditional care services that allow women who are predominantly white,

middle class, and professional, to enter or re-enter the labour force to work the long hours that are required, and to pursue gender equality (Hochschild, 2003; Parreñas, 2003).

An African American WHEDCO Innovations at Work Participant (ID 29) who had left school without a High School Diploma and had been employed mainly in “off the book jobs”, explained that at one time, she had worked in a local clothing outlet that had previously laid people off and which, had then gone on to advertise the same jobs in the local paper at a lower rate of pay. As in Beck’s (2000) terms, labour market flexibility thus represents the transfer of risks from the employer onto the employee “the redistribution of risks away from the state and the economy towards the individual” (Beck 2000: 3), and there is limited intervention from the state to soften the impact.

In the UK, as in the US, flexibility is also increasingly being achieved through the transfer of risks to individual workers, and a weakening of labour market institutions. Rubery et al (2003) in their study of private and public organisations, found evidence of the blurring of the lines between traditional employer and employee responsibilities particularly people on short term or temporary contracts for holiday pay, sickness benefits and parental leave for example, a phenomena referred to as the “commodification” of work. Labour and the costs traditionally associated with it are thus increasingly treated as variable costs and passed onto the employee to give more flexibility to employers. The impact on the incomes of all low paid workers is an adverse one but it is disproportionately so in the case of low paid women workers, and ultimately children who are over-represented in low income households (Fiscal Policy Institute, 2001; Equal Pay Task Force, 2001; Wills, 2001; GLA, 2002; ONS, 2002b; DWP, 2002). Whilst a central component of the New Labour governments strategy for tackling social exclusion

is making work pay, there are a number of barriers in the labour market which help to perpetuate in work poverty among low paid women workers, particularly black and minority ethnic women (Platt, 2002). The unemployed former student and mother of two children who was on placement with @ Work, described how her experience working on a peripatetic basis as a Trainee Manager marketing services to major banks, could, because of the financial burden the employer expected her to carry, have placed her in even more of a poverty trap:

I got the job but the problem is there was no Basic Salary and it's the kind of job that involves like, the first day I was sent to Wimbledon and you're not given any transport allowance or anything and they expect you to buy your Travel Card. You know when they say Trainee Manager you expect to be in an office and all of that but you had to go around talking to people and say come and register....my childminder takes £80 per week and £6.00 for a Travel Card and at the end of the day I'm losing so I quit after a day (Unemployed former Student on @ Work Placement, ID 49).

Whilst women comprise nearly half of the UK workforce (ONS, 2002b), affordable childcare is still a barrier to entry, particularly for women seeking to enter or re-enter the labour force (GLA, 2002; ONS, 2002b), and to maintaining a position within it. The operation of the rules governing Working Family Tax Credit also, whilst offering some benefits for women, can result in difficulties for those whose husbands are also in low paid employment, particularly in circumstances where they may find it difficult to get a job with sufficient working hours to qualify for in work benefits, whilst also fitting in with their childcare responsibilities. An added factor however is that more than a third of those entitled to means tested benefits do not take them up. The study carried out on behalf of The East London Communities Organisation (Wills, 2001) referred to above, also found that there were few good sources of employment advice on in work benefits, as well as limited take up (Wills, 2001). This along with other evidence on benefit experience and low take up (Platt, 2002) provides some support for the view that the

notion of benefit dependency (Murray, 1990, 1998 and 1999) has been grossly exaggerated.

These issues must however, also be seen within the much broader context of a low pay structure in jobs traditionally occupied by *women* as an inclusive general category, and disproportionately by black and minority ethnic women, and which renders reliable childcare arrangements out of reach. Indeed, the race/ethnicity dimension is a key aspect of labour market disadvantage and employment exclusion that is recognised in labour market studies and the gender/race/ethnicity dimension is a key issue that these studies which are concerned with issues of race equality are beginning to connect with (Strategy Unit, 2003; Platt, 2002; Peck, 2001; Sassen, 2003; Toynbee, 2003).

There is a perception among people from black and minority ethnic groups that gender discrimination is conceived in terms of its impact on white, predominantly middle class able-bodied women and correspondingly ignores or renders invisible, forms of race and gender discrimination experienced by black and minority ethnic women. Some studies do in fact suggest that “racial discounting” (Ehrenreich, 2003:2) does take place in traditional gender labour market studies. There is however an interesting body of work emerging by labour market theorists, anti-racists, and other critical voices, that is concerned with issues of diversity and with giving a profile to the existence of issues surrounding race, and the various manifestations of gender inequality among ethnic minority groups, as well as different family forms among and between the various ethnic groups (Rakhit, 1998; Parekh, 2000; Peck, 2000 and 2001; 2002; Fredman, 2002; Platt, 2002; Toynbee, 2003; Rivas, 2003).

There was evidence in this study of racial inequality and labour market discrimination among the black and minority ethnic women and black and minority ethnic men who were participating in the employment assistance programmes being studied. The experience of discrimination included those who were well educated and had previous work experience in the UK and abroad. Thus, by accenting the various dimensions to race, ethnicity, and gender as important concerns, this thesis also seeks to add to the emerging body of evidence that is beginning to highlight their importance and the interplay between them as key labour market determinants.

The pursuit of economic opportunities in the US, and increasingly in the UK, rests on notions of individual self-reliance, the quest towards the attainment of a balance between work and life, and race and ethnicity blind approaches to gender equality (Rivas, 2003). In practical terms, these opportunities are being realised through the support function provided predominantly by black and minority ethnic people and in particular by black and minority ethnic women (Sassen, 2003; Rivas, 2003; Zarembka, 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2003). It is thus important that the specific sets of relationships in which race, ethnicity, and gender are embedded, are seen as the multi-dimensional issues they in fact are, so that they can also be given due recognition in policy development. This is critical given the younger age structure of ethnic minority communities, the different experiences of labour market discrimination between and within communities, coupled with the fact that according to government estimates based upon the 2001 Census, half the growth in the working age population up to 2009 will be from ethnic minority communities (Strategy Unit, 2003). Furthermore, many of them are children growing up in low-income households (Platt, 2002; GLA, 2002, ONS, 2002b; DWP, 2002). Thus in addition to concerns about the current welfare of black and

minority ethnic people, there are also significant implications for their future welfare in terms of their eventual labour market position and the perpetuation of disadvantage.

The Knowledge Economy, Insecurity and 'Risk'

The reverberations of economic restructuring also impacts upon middle-income earners and university graduates in the UK and in the US. Whilst many possess key skills in applied information technology, they nevertheless face intense competition for employment opportunities, labour market insecurity, deteriorating salary levels, and in the case of graduates, they are also saddled with increasing student loan debts. As Beck (2000) argues; "...even in the apparently prosperous middle layers, their basic existence and lifeworld will be marked by endemic insecurity. More and more individuals are encouraged to perform as 'Me & Co', selling themselves on the marketplace" (Beck 2000: 3). This has indeed been the experience of the Unemployed Web Designer registered with @ Work. Since becoming unemployed, he had only managed to pick up one short term contract and was finding that far from producing sustainable job opportunities and high levels of pay, work in the knowledge economy was becoming intermittent. Furthermore, evidence of increased earnings, and higher associated living standards was becoming increasingly difficult to uncover, a situation that was exacerbated by a lack of employer flexibility and limited worker bargaining power over contracts that might enable other work to be undertaken:

I went for a job on Monday, quite a local company and um, you know, the amount of work they wanted done in such a short space of time and for the money that was just half of what I would have expected. It's unbelievable....I asked them to send me a specification, I said that I'd draw them up a site and then I thought we could re-negotiate so that I thought perhaps I could work from home and do a 20 hour week for the same money or something like that, um because that would, I'd be able to lend myself to other projects that friends were involved in and, you know, nothing's clear. I'm in a transition, things are in the pipeline, friends have phoned me up, leave it with me, you know...(Unemployed Web Designer, ID 41).

Similarly, an unemployed Call Centre IT Technician was made redundant after his company had lost a number of contracts due to a lack of buoyancy in the market and registered with @ Work. During the interview he explained how having become frustrated by the lack of prospects in his job as a Security Guard he was allured by the promise of the information age and had undertaken a course of IT training, working double shifts and as much overtime as possible to counter the impact of benefit rules by providing a financial cushion for himself. As he explained:

Well basically I got fed up with the whole situation so I decided to go into IT. So, I packed in the security job and took some time off. Because I packed the job in, there's no unemployment support for six months or whatever, so um, yeah, after those six months, after I'd done the training course and that, I went onto an NVQ training course in the City, training up on networking and stuff like that and I applied for a Call Centre job...they had a crisis in IT and I helped them out with that and so I got the um, showed them I'd got IT skills so they put me in the IT Department (Unemployed IT Technician, ID 42).

Without the prospect of a financial cushion, the ease with which people on limited incomes are able to make the transition from low paid employment, to full time education or participation in training programmes can be seriously undermined. In the above case, the period for unemployment support mentioned is in fact six weeks, not six months, indicating that there is much confusion around the operation of the benefit rules. This could be one explanation for the extremely low take up of out of work as well as in work means tested benefits.

It would also appear that having the status of an educated knowledge worker does not provide a defence against the whims of market forces, insulation from deteriorating income levels, or immunity from declining living standards because the level of demand for these skills fluctuates in some areas. The following comment from a Civil Servant at

the Government Office for London on an IT scheme in the south of London illustrates this, as well as the divided nature of the economy:

...when the potential trainees were asked they said without doubt they wanted IT training, they wanted to do word processing, spreadsheets. Um when they went to the employers...the slightly surprising answer for that particular locality was they didn't want IT skills, some of the people they wanted were for quite low skill jobs you know, for example, packing, warehousing and Security guards and all the rest of it, and there was a huge gulf between what the trainees wanted and what the employers needed. I think the research was commissioned by one of the Training and Enterprise Councils and they were presenting it but still reeling about what it meant for them because you know, it probably meant they'd been heading in the wrong direction at that time (Civil Servant, Government Office for London, ID 7).

The policy makers and practitioners interviewed in the London Borough of Hackney, the Shoreditch NDC, the Haggerston SRB, and other London Boroughs running similar area based programmes, and the participants in @ Work, Ascent 21, and WHEDCO Innovations At Work who had gone through multiple schemes, were generally of the view that it was difficult for isolated training and employment assistance initiatives to provide a route to sustainable employment, although there were exceptions. The principal reasons cited were; the poor quality and short-term nature of jobs in the labour market; the limitations of a geographical focus, which excluded some residents, and inflexibility caused by programmes that were developed within a rigid quality model determined by funding agencies. In terms of looking at retention levels, the funding agencies usually require the progress of participants in work to be tracked over a period of six months. Two years ago, RENAISSI commissioned a group of consultants to carry out a longitudinal study under employment programmes in the Haggerston SRB 4 Programme. However, a Senior RENAISSI Official, (ID 16) pointed out that the exercise proved an impossible undertaking since the majority of people had moved out of the Borough and only 9% of the participants that had passed through the employment programmes were eventually tracked. This confirms the transient nature of Hackney's

population and also offers further evidence to support the view that whilst participants in programmes continually change, the schemes do not address the underlying economic and social processes that generate and support forms of inequality. These inequalities continue to remain and because the current approach does not address their systemic nature, within the terms of the current model of area regeneration and local economic development, there will be a perpetual need for similar forms of intervention.

In local authorities and in the voluntary sector, in a competitive funding climate, there is considerable kudos attached to writing a winning bid. Moreover, whilst the New Labour government emphasises evidence based learning and the sharing of good practice among its various local initiatives, competition actually inhibits the sharing of a knowledge base. This is because local agencies become preoccupied with innovation and protecting their competitive edge. As a result, bids for employment initiatives tend to be developed in a way that captures the attention of funding agencies, rather than on the basis of rigorous labour market assessment. In this study, there was little evidence of co-operation between various local schemes, but more of a fragmented approach and a proliferation of schemes, also probably a symptom of the vast number of funding regimes. In addition, because of the heavy emphasis on accountability and the need to demonstrate success, there is necessarily, much weight attached to administrative bureaucracy. This diverts resources that would be better used in providing services for people at the front line. As an Ascent 21 Practitioner pointed out:

We do co-ordinate all of the paperwork in house. We're not an organisation that has the resources to buy in the services of somebody that will do bids for you. I mean we get these letters, "Hello, I'm Joe Bloggs, I can write a winning bid for you". So, we do have to handle all these things ourselves and it's yes, sometimes it does seem that we spend more time proving that we help people than actually helping people (Ascent 21 Practitioner, ID 54).

The current policy emphasis towards student loans to support education and training, as well as an increase in the number of students living at home because of high living costs, particularly in London, and the South East (ONS, 2002b; DWP, 2002), will be more acutely felt by low-income families. Added to this, intermittent low paid agency work, and unspecified working hours actually takes away the ability to effectively forward plan and at the same time, fails to provide a secure material foundation. As a result, people become trapped in a cycle of in work poverty, also a form of social exclusion. John Monks, former General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress, Vice Chair of the Learning and Skills Council, and current General Secretary of the European Trades Union Congress put it in this way:

...people struggle and they have to do it because they need the money and it's far too exhausting to do any learning and you haven't got the time to go and look for better jobs (John Monks, former General Secretary, TUC, current General Secretary, ETUC).

The day-to-day experiences of a Shoreditch Resident who earned £160 per week as a Kitchen Assistant in South London, and who was registered with @ Work confirm this view. Flexibility for him, in a work context, meant navigating a number of risks resulting from unplanned gaps in earnings due to uncertain hours. It also meant difficulties in meeting the high costs of living, housing, and transport in the capital, restricted mobility in job search also because of high transport costs, and the prospect of mounting financial debts. At the same time, his efforts to participate in training as a route to career development and to a better paying job were being thwarted, even though he was making serious efforts to overcome the structural constraints that he was facing. This actually undermines the government's stance on lifelong learning as the key to individual economic security in a knowledge economy. As the Shoreditch Resident and Kitchen Assistant explained:

There's Hackney College. I would have applied but they sent me a letter to call me for an interview but because of my job you know, if you lose one day, you miss money and I was not able to go for the interview (Kitchen Assistant, ID 47).

Given the structure of the labour market and the consequent nature of the job vacancies offered by @ Work and Ascent 21, as well as the transition costs involved in attempting a move to training or further education, it is difficult to see how this cycle can be broken. The two lowest paid jobs within the low pay league in the UK are kitchen porters and bar staff who realise average weekly earnings of around £184 per week. This amounts to less than a fifth of the earnings of treasury and company financial managers who are the highest paid occupational group realising average weekly earnings of £1,059 (ONS, 2002b). The table in Appendix H sets out the highest and lowest paid occupations at April 2002 in Great Britain.

In London, as indicated earlier, according to research carried out by the GLA (2002), employment growth in the capital in the 1990s has been dominated by increases in managerial, professional and associated professional and technical occupations that require a degree or its equivalent for entry. Moreover, the research shows that whilst personal and protective services also grew during the 1990s, this was small in comparison with the major increases in the three highest paid occupational groups along with significant increases in the pay given to the highest paid workers. This income disparity reflects the values of a society in which certain types of work predominantly in areas occupied by white men are included as valuable. Other service related jobs which are equally necessary in society and to the functioning of the economy are predominantly occupied by women of all ethnicities, but disproportionately by black and minority ethnic women, as well as by black and minority ethnic men, are not regarded as valuable. As these jobs are seen to be lacking in social value and therefore respect,

they are, as a consequence, poorly rewarded, and their incumbents are also accorded low social status and value (Ehrenreich, 2003). Moreover, as black and minority ethnic women and black and minority ethnic men predominantly occupy positions that are rooted in relationships that place little value on those that do them, this directly contributes to the reproduction of racism and negative perceptions of visible minorities from one generation to the next.

There have been some attempts to theorise labour market inequalities as well as the forms of stereotyping which result in a low attendant monetary valuation placed on jobs done by groups routinely subject to stereotypical associations on the basis of race and gender (Sassen, 1996 and 2003; Peck, 2001). Monetary rewards therefore can be seen as a result of the associations that go with groups that are employed in particular jobs, rather than something that is intrinsically related to a job or to its complexity. Doogan (2003) is critical in pointing out some of the normative assumptions in the literature on labour market studies, and which are manifest in the use of terms that designate particular job categories as “marginal” or “peripheral”. However, in his analysis, Doogan (2003) unquestioningly accepts the use of value-laden terms such as “elementary” and “low skilled” to describe occupational change and long-term employment across a number of employment sectors. John Monks describes this same phenomena in class terms and explains these attitudes towards low paid workers in this way:

We tend to in the British class system and all that, to look down on people who do service jobs and we shouldn't do...I think we probably over value graduates and we under value others (John Monks, former General Secretary, TUC, current General Secretary, ETUC).

As well as limited flexibility over the working day and a preoccupation with managing increased risks, low paid workers, such as the Shoreditch Kitchen Assistant, are also left

with little time or energy to enter into voluntary local citizenship commitments such as the Shoreditch NDC, or Haggerston SRB schemes, and the type of community activities envisaged by Putnam (2000). With the exception of the residents who were directly involved in the Shoreditch NDC or Haggerston SRB participatory structures driving the overall programmes, there was very little awareness about the scope of the programmes and there was a lack of awareness about individual projects directly associated with the schemes, even the employment assistance programmes that they were directly connected to them. In addition, participants who were enrolled with @ Work but who were in employment, cited limited time during the working day as the key factor which worked against their capacity to participate practically at some level in the local area. This also contradicts and undermines the government's position on participation in governance as the route to local economic stability, social inclusion, and community cohesion. Or, as Beck (2000) poses:

Civil society and direct democracy presuppose that citizens are able to find the energy for active involvement. But does this not exclude those who cannot participate in social and political life because they are under intense pressure or actually on the brink of ruin? Does the idea of citizens' democracy not derive from a middle class idyll? (Beck, 2000: 6).

Individually as well as collectively all of the above factors help to perpetuate a cycle of disadvantage, particularly given that people with fewer qualifications are also, paradoxically, at more risk of exclusion through unemployment and low pay (Low Pay Unit, 2001; ONS, 2002b). However, the relationship between higher education and skills that have formal recognition on the one hand, and higher earnings on the other, is not a direct one either in the UK or in the US. In the case of people from black and minority ethnic groups who currently have relatively high levels of representation in further and higher education, the relationship between higher education and their earnings and position in the labour market is even more skewed (TUC, 2000; Fiscal Policy Institute,

2001; Strategy Unit, 2003) due to the effect of more subtle forms of indirect labour market discrimination that are difficult to detect.

Platt (2003) points out that it is rarely possible for someone to know that they have actually been discriminated against. The black and minority employees interviewed in this study also indicated that absolute knowledge about whether discrimination has occurred is not always possible. However, it does manifest itself in intangible ways through conscious or unconscious attitudes and body language, which is extremely difficult to convey to people who do not directly experience it. Actually proving the existence of discrimination in ways that conform to the legal framework, and then providing the kind of supporting written evidence that is required is therefore difficult. The work of Temple and Edwards (2002) on cross language research and translations offers a very useful insight into these processes. They talk of “a particular social reality that may not necessarily have a conceptual equivalence in the language into which it is to be translated....with English often, usually by default, used as the yardstick for meaning in societies where it is the language of state and public participation” (Temple and Edwards, 2002: 3). The same is often true of many non-verbal experiences of racism, which can be difficult and often impossible to communicate to outsiders, and even more so in cases where the principal language of the person discriminated against is not English.

The Increasing Significance of Race and Ethnicity

One explanation for the persistence of race discrimination in the labour market is that whilst racism characterises the experiences of ethnic minority people as a whole, the way in which it operates, in comparison with the experiences of first generation migrants to the UK, is now extremely complex and multifaceted. It takes on a multitude of

permutations, and is sustained and reinforced by other forms of disadvantage such as area of residence, placement in local authority residual housing, educational experiences, stereotypical assumptions about people from ethnic minority groups and often the way in which race equality legislation is practically implemented. A powerful subliminal message is thus sent out about the kind of aspirations black and minority ethnic people should have, and about their value as people. Moreover, comparable educational performance among ethnic minorities with white people, does not translate into comparable labour market outcomes in terms of employment, earnings or progression in the labour market (Strategy Unit, 2003) leaving what Platt, 2002 refers to as the “ethnic penalty” (Platt 2002: 109) as a key explanation, not the capacity or social capital of individuals or communities.

Indeed, public and private organisations were not designed with diversity in mind and they have become increasingly more sophisticated and adept at surmounting race equality legislation, particularly when faced with the possibility of exposure. In addition, keeping up to date with race equality legislation is akin to trying to photograph an object that is continually in motion. The legislation is continually changing to incorporate the EC Article 13 Race Directive, and although little acknowledged, race discrimination can be entwined with other forms of discrimination. There will be a further legislative overhaul when the Single Equality Commission comes on stream, which will see further reforms to the laws on race and gender discrimination, and discrimination on the basis of disability, and the adoption of new laws prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. The official government response has nevertheless been a continued one of trying to simplify the issue of race equality through a uniform but nevertheless complicated bureaucratic paper driven process. This approach places a premium on performance management and the adoption of policies and procedures designed to plan

racism out of recruitment, selection, and service delivery. Moreover, the current approach does not recognise that the experiences of black and minority ethnic groups are also linked with other forms of discrimination.

Whilst in theory, the proposed Single Equality Commission should address the multifaceted nature of discrimination, the focus on performance management as the solution will merely ensure that the right boxes are ticked in terms of race and gender awareness training; positive action approaches; good practice guides, and voluntary codes with employers. It will not actually prevent those discriminatory practices from arising in the first place, or remedy them, since performance management is ad hoc and takes place on an individual organisational basis that deals with some of the symptoms and not with racism at its root and branch. For this reason, piecemeal reforms offer no real need or incentive for fundamental organisational change and can only be of limited effect.

The adoption of race equality policies and formal planning procedures does have some impact, particularly in individual cases but crucially, because they cannot identify and capture the more prevalent and subtle ways in which racism is expressed by individuals, and the way it is manifested at an institutional level, they cannot effectively address it. These forms of race discrimination are therefore not capable of amelioration within a simplified planning process because they are not overtly identifiable. Thus, managers who are resistant to working with or alongside people who are different, or who associate people from particular racial or ethnic groups with specific jobs, either at a conscious or unconscious level, and who are skilled in the application of race equality policies and procedures, can and do use them to defend highly questionable non-appointments. They use them to exclude black and minority ethnic individuals from

recruitment processes, to curtail their prospects for promotion, and to support other discriminatory employment practices. Thus, supply side employment assistance programmes that are premised on the notion of individual economic self-sufficiency cannot be expected to address wider structural issues because they are not informed by recognition of them

Indeed, the more subtle forms discrimination takes has been cited as an important determinant by black and minority ethnic policy makers and practitioners working in public authorities, and was cited by those interviewed as part of this study, as one important explanation for different employment outcomes between and among different ethnic groups. It was also cited as a crucial labour market determinant by some of the ethnic minority scheme participants that were interviewed as part of this study, and as one that was very difficult to demonstrate or to articulate. A Social Services Practitioner and Equalities Specialist in an Outer London Borough tried to explain the way in which equal opportunities procedures can actually be used to support individual and institutional racism:

You can bypass Equal Opportunities policies and procedures because if you are setting up a panel and the lead person decides they want a particular person, they select people on the panel who will follow the procedures, tick the right box and all the procedures around equal opportunities, but even in that process you can discriminate against groupings that you don't want, but you will have followed the procedures. People are also canvassed outside of equality processes and people are *encouraged* to apply and are given pre-information and the old boys and old girls networks. It is difficult to prove because people are very clever at concealing wrong-doing by using the procedures we described earlier on (Social Services Practitioner and Equalities Specialist, Outer London Borough, ID 62).

At a more general level, employment assistance programmes also have the potential for discrimination given that practitioners have immense local discretion in terms of who is and who is not put forward for the most attractive vacancies. In addition, there is much

canvassing of employers and requests for potential employees by word of mouth, a practice that the Commission for Racial Equality itself identified many decades ago as potentially and indirectly discriminatory, and which, some public authorities at least, were cognisant of in their recruitment practices. However things appear to have come full circle and there is potentially much latitude in publicly funded employment assistance programmes for the screening out of people seeking work on the basis of signals from employers who might not see certain applicants as “suitable”. This could reinforce or reaffirm inequalities experienced by already marginalised groups. Anderson (2003) for example found that employers working through agencies expressed preferences for specific nationalities of domestic worker based on skin colour.

There has been a great deal of emphasis placed by the government on race equality, following the publication of the McPherson Report into the death of Stephen Lawrence (Home Office, 1999), and following that inquiry, the enhanced statutory duty that has been placed on designated public authorities to eliminate unlawful race discrimination and to promote race equality through the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000. The Commission for Racial Equality, the government regulatory body, is however grossly under-resourced, despite a significant increase in the responsibilities that have been placed upon it, arising from the updating of race equality legislation. The Commission is therefore necessarily selective about the individual cases of race discrimination that it takes on. Moreover, at a more strategic level, given its lack of resources, the Commission cannot hope to scrutinise the activities or race equality action plans of the thousands of designated public authorities that now fall within the remit of the enhanced race equality legislation.

Whilst there is clearly a need for a regulatory as well as a scrutiny role to address race discrimination in the labour market, this approach will continue to fail because it does not actually promote diversity or equalities in a wider sense. Rather, the approach is a parochial one that encourages an individual defensive or adversarial response in which a complainant has to come forward. This is a huge step in itself, and when faced with a challenge, well-resourced organisations can succeed more often than not by a process of attrition, using their policies and procedures to frustrate and isolate individuals. The internal policies and procedures do after all belong to the organisation, not to the individual who has come forward. One Social Services Employee and former Equalities Practitioner pointed out that her particular case of race discrimination was acknowledged because of the particular relationship she had with her manager, who had left the authority. Without the support of her former manager, and based on the experience of others, she took the view that the procedures would have instead been directed against her:

Now if you make a complaint as far as I am concerned, the investigation is already weighted to disprove you. They are not looking for fairness. In my case particularly, if I had not contacted my manager when she left. My manager put her hand up and admitted it and then I had the IT²⁸ settled. She was a white woman manager who broke ranks with them really and truly because of the relationship I had with her. I had the supervision notes and if she had not admitted it, I would have had to go through the whole internal procedure and the IT...They build up a case and squash you and then they attack. They know the psychological effect on people and the effect is far greater than the original act and gives a message to people not to go there (Social Services and former Equalities Practitioner, Outer London Borough ID 63).

Moreover, she further pointed out that people in the work environment have a full time job to do and in this context posed the following question:

Who goes into a job making notes on a day-to-day basis about what is and what is not happening? By the time you realise something is happening, you've lost

²⁸ Industrial Tribunal but now referred to as Employment Tribunal.

the opportunity (Social Services Employee and former Equalities Practitioner, Outer London Borough ID 63).

Indeed, the former Chair of the Commission for Racial Equality at the TUC Conference in 2001, described how people that seek to have complaints resolved through the formal procedures of employers will then often find themselves castigated as the problem and the subject of formal investigations and procedures that isolate them and eventually wear them down.²⁹ In that sense, whilst policies exist ostensibly to be used, they are often more about window dressing and compliance with the letter of the law than with affecting and delivering real change, and more about concealing the problem, rather than learning from the experience. In this sense also, diversity awareness campaigns and proposed government diversity award schemes can actually work to the detriment of black and minority ethnic people facing discrimination by enabling institutional racism to continue behind a cultural smokescreen of “valuing diversity”.

Platt (2002) points out that it is arguably easier to spot the recruitment processes of organisations that work to the disadvantage of members of particular ethnic minority groups, than it is to observe or to identify a clear process of discrimination. This is in fact true to a large extent, given that public authorities are now required to compulsorily collect and publish ethnic monitoring data covering all aspects of recruitment and service delivery under the terms of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act, 2000. The level of government commitment to race equality is open to question though, given that the new duties only apply to those public bodies that have been so designated, not to all public bodies. In addition, higher educational institutions which all have the status of exempt charities under Charity Law but are financed by public funds, large voluntary organisations which are also financed by public funds, private companies which use

publicly funded infrastructure, and Trusts and Foundations which receive benefits from the public purse through tax advantages, are all exempt from significant aspects of the enhanced duty. This is no doubt a tribute to their skilful lobbying capacity but renders it extremely difficult for the activities of organisations falling into those categories to be scrutinised, for processes and patterns of discrimination to be identified, and for them to be held publicly accountable. Employment assistance programmes in the UK do not therefore work in isolation from these wider factors and discriminatory processes.

Whether it is possible or not to spot recruitment processes and patterns that work to the disadvantage of particular ethnic minority groups an important fact which remains is that the collection of ethnic data, whilst important in providing an evidence base, is potentially highly complex and time-consuming for poorly resourced external organisations or individuals to digest. In practice however, despite the emphasis on the production of race equality schemes and actions plans, there is actually no accountability at a managerial level within public authorities in cases where race equality policies and procedures, or good practice guides have been breached or ignored, or where there has clearly been a collective managerial failure: As a Hackney Council Regeneration and Policy Official pointed out:

In practice however, it is extremely difficult to develop race equality indicators that are actually meaningful measures and there are very few statutory race equality indicators that are actually audited and which are comparable across authorities. Also race equality action plans get written but it is whether they are monitored and what people do with the information. The point I would make is that you can set a million indicators but unless the information is robust and is collected and acted upon, then there is no point. They are performance indicators, it is an indication of how you are doing, it is meant to prompt and stimulate debate and challenge, and make sure that the right questions are asked and that the information is being presented to the right people. Indicators are only as good as the monitoring system. It is the action in between the

²⁹ Gurbux Singh, speaking at the TUC Conference in Brighton, September 1, 2001.

monitoring that is important and I am not sure that that always happens (ID 18, Hackney Council Regeneration and Policy Official).

As a result, there is no real need even for those public bodies that have been designated under the terms of current race equality legislation to fundamentally alter the way they have traditionally done things. Public bodies, particularly local authorities, are subject to so many requirements to collect and to publish performance data and in this context, unless there is goodwill, as well as the resources to back up action that may need to be taken on the basis of the information collected, the new requirements on ethnicity can become just another routine planning exercise, or a regulatory spasm to be endured until the next time. One of the biggest obstacles to addressing institutional racism in the labour market is in fact, institutional resistance combined with structural labour market factors.

This is the broader context in which employment assistance programmes, premised on a supply side philosophy, operate. The approach places importance on the needs of employers and the needs of business, whilst issues faced by applicants at the recruitment stage, as well as the experiences of actual employees of discrimination in the workplace are not properly acknowledged, or addressed. An exclusively supply side approach to labour market participation assumes that equal opportunity is a reality and that employers in general do not set out to discriminate. Where it is acknowledged that failings in the system can occur, the current approach assumes that these can be addressed with more effective monitoring and tweaking of recruitment practices. Whilst monitoring is a hugely important first step, the kind of data collected, which includes for example, the number of employees trained in diversity awareness, or organisations in receipt of Investors in Equality Awards, does not reveal much about the culture of the organisation, or the impact of the policies from the perspective of the employees most

affected. Even where useful data is collected such as the ethnic and gender composition of a workforce, this is unlikely to include more revealing data on the extent of labour market discrimination to be found in the contractual structure, including the gender and ethnic breakdown of those employed indirectly, or in receipt of discretionary awards for example.

Conclusion

The key components of employment assistance programmes are premised on addressing the perceived barriers to labour market entry by modifying the behaviour and attitudes of individuals towards work, and ways of improving the flow of information about employment opportunities. However, there is doubt about their potential to deliver opportunities for sustainable labour market participation. Though the programmes may be well intended and beneficial for individuals in isolated cases, the tendency is towards participation in a number of schemes, rather than a direct route to employment because of the current labour market structure. Furthermore, whilst participants did not passively accept many of the structural constraints they faced and actively tried to navigate them, their attempts were often frustrated.

Attachment to the labour market does not represent any more of a prescription for addressing social exclusion for those at the low wage end of the labour market. A low income does not guarantee that people will be included on a range of societal dimensions, or that they will be able to participate in activities that are advocated as ways of potentially improving their labour market position. This is because of broader economic factors, the interplay of various forms of discrimination, contradictions in the way policies are conceived and framed, and the problems and difficulties people have in making sense of and working through those constraints at the micro level. These issues

are not about providing people with the tools for economic sufficiency upon which the schemes are based, but are beyond the control of the actual employment assistance programmes. As a result, employment assistance programmes often end up providing temporary diversions or temporary respites from labour market inactivity, rather than sustainable labour market outcomes and social inclusion.

Chapter 8 – Conclusions, Implications and Contribution

Introduction

This concluding chapter weaves together the conceptual and empirical discussion that was presented in the foregoing chapters. It also considers the evidence that has been put forward in relation to the specific research questions that were posed in Chapter 1, and looks at the implications of this evidence for future policy development and policy direction.

In Chapter 1, the central concern of this thesis was established. This concern centred on an examination of how theoretical ideas about labour market participation are practically expressed, and the way in which theoretical notions about participation in governance are played out at the local level through measures to promote community empowerment and community capacity building. As Chapter 1 made clear, these twin characteristics of participation are the centrepiece of current approaches to tackling social exclusion in the UK. Importantly, Chapter 1 also situated current participatory approaches, including the specific programmes that were under examination in this thesis, within their wider context. This was by highlighting the fact that the theme of participation in economic development and regeneration has its mirror image on a global scale, as well as at a local level.

The conceptual discussion in Chapter 2 explored the nature and the causes of social exclusion, and argued that its key features are embedded in an inability to participate in the labour market, and exclusion from processes of governance and decision-making.

This understanding of social exclusion thus provided the foundation for the exploration of social and urban policy responses that was undertaken in the following Chapter 3. In particular, it provided the basis for locating conceptual ideas about the nature and causes of social exclusion within urban policy development, and for exploring their validity. These ideas have had a profound influence on the shape of previous policy prescriptions and ultimately on the lives of people. The same is also true of current urban policy responses, which incorporate contemporary understandings of participation, whilst also drawing upon ideas from earlier decades.

Taking up the participation theme, Chapter 4 went on to look at some of the related theoretical issues, particularly in relation to the locus of power inside or outside of formal decision-making arenas, and discussed questions about the inclusion of a diverse constituency of interests in participatory structures. Together with Chapters 2 and 3, this helped to establish a clear framework for the design of the study, and informed the selection of a qualitative methodology to explore a series of open-ended research questions. The research questions, which were eventually incorporated into the introductory Chapter 1, were explored empirically in Chapters 6 and 7, and specifically embraced the key themes in the thesis, that is, the effect of labour market participatory programmes at the local level, and the effectiveness of community empowerment and community capacity building measures in securing participation in local economic development partnerships.

Urban Policy Intentions and Actual Policy Outcomes

The most significant overall finding in this study was the long history of the short-term pilot nature of area based urban programmes and the lack of alignment between expressed policy intentions and actual policy outcomes. This was both in terms of local

community engagement in partnership activity, and the efficacy of labour market participatory programmes. The results of this study have demonstrated that local partnership initiatives cannot and indeed do not operate in isolation. Rather, the resources they control are minute, and the sphere within which they do operate is limited, being set within the context of wider decision making structures and networks operating at local authority district, regional, national and global levels. There is thus, a tangled and complicated web of influences that constrain or limit the range of decisions that local actors are able to have effective control over.

The constraining power of these influences also extends to the community empowerment and community capacity building measures that are seen as necessary adjuncts to local participation. As with the partnerships they are associated with, capacity building and empowerment measures do not operate in a void, but are also curtailed by policy imperatives at different spatial scales that often override, undermine, or conflict with key partnership decisions. However, this study found that the actual terms capacity building and empowerment were locally contested concepts. Official understandings which were seen as pre-eminent within the current policy framework, often failed to recognise local initiative where it was seen to fall outside officially recognised ways of doing things. Official interpretations also promoted a controlled form of dependence on the state by portraying local people and communities as somehow deficient in social capital and capacity, whilst advocating state sponsored capacity building and empowerment initiatives as the route to overcoming this dependence. From a resident perspective, the findings from this study confirm those of other studies (Bennett, Hudson and Beynon, 2000), that local people do not lack capacity but were seeking ways of realising or releasing their existing capacities by overcoming poverty

through the attainment of resources and economic power, rather than through a circumscribed dialogue of state empowerment.

The conclusions of this study also strongly support the view that a policy emphasis on participation in governance has not resulted in greater community legitimacy and local ownership. Moreover, this study has offered evidence to support the conclusion that notions of community which underpin the current model of regeneration, rest on a simulated construct or the mistaken belief that residents within a contiguous geographical area are or can be welded together in a coalition of shared interests. Not only did this study find that this conception of community was extremely limited in its capacity to effectively represent and include different cultural and racial identities, as well as standpoints, it also found real conflicts of interest across ethnic groups, and conflicts on fundamental issues such as housing. This study also found that community, like capacity building and empowerment, can operate as a restrictive device to legitimately exclude groups and individuals that do not share received ideas about how to conduct the official business of regeneration. There was however, little supporting evidence in this study that people actually sought intensive participation in local partnership activity and this was a key explanation put forward for the limited degree of local involvement.

The theoretical analysis also pointed to the structural nature of the factors that inhibit participation in governance and the labour market. Thus, even within the terms of the current orientation of policy towards participation, structural issues and contradictions in policy actually undermine the stated aspirations on the two key dimensions I examined. They also reveal the gulf between the hyperbole that often accompanies the announcement of new policy initiatives, the exaggerated claims that are made in funding submissions, and the reality of what can actually be achieved on the ground. Indeed,

whilst much of the social exclusion debate in both the UK and in the US has centred on moving unemployed and long term unemployed people from welfare to work, as Atkinson (1998) found, the reality is that work itself can also be a form of social exclusion because it does not guarantee the ability to participate in society economically, politically, or socially. Indeed, at the local level, this study identified an inherent tension between the various government policy initiatives designed to promote and enhance participation in the labour market and new structures of governance, and for example, the rules governing immigration, and welfare benefits. This study also found inconsistencies in social and urban policy objectives, and the way in which work is currently organised and distributed, and the low social valuation placed upon occupations traditionally undertaken by some of the most marginalised groups, and which, reinforces their exclusion. These tensions actually weaken the delivery of the governments overall policy objectives in relation to social inclusion, and in relation to its more recent policy stance on community cohesion. This study did find that employment assistance programmes are important in providing support for participants, and in helping them to maintain positive feelings of self worth as armour against negative discourses about disadvantaged groups and unemployed people. However, employers that connect with these programmes do not tend to offer employment opportunities that actually promote social inclusion, or that “make work pay”. In any event, a highly competitive and deregulated global market does not provide an economic environment that is conducive to the more benign of employers.

Based upon the empirical evidence from employment programmes in the UK and the US, and a fuller appreciation of the interplay of a multitude of social and economic factors, this thesis rejects the culture of poverty argument explored in Chapter 2. In keeping with Morris (1993, 1994 and 1996) and Blackman (1997) this study found that

unemployed people do adhere to mainstream values about work. Furthermore, like Craine (1997), this study also provided some support for the view that people registered with employment programmes have previously participated in similar employment schemes and learning based activities, are often well educated, and have an employment history, but face a lack of suitable job opportunities. There is however a need for further qualitative research over a longer time horizon into employment outcomes for participants who are successfully placed by employment programmes looking at factors such as job length, type of job, previous education and skills, length of residence, race, ethnicity and gender. Moreover, the experience of migrants and refugees and communities that do not necessarily connect with statutory services is an important dimension to participation that researchers do need to explore further. An examination of these issues was not possible in this study due to time and resource constraints, and because of the transitory nature of the population living in Hackney. The latter point would appear to confirm that there is a continual recycling of people through employment programmes.

The Constraints of the Current Policy Environment

Despite the considerable body of evidence that points to the limited impact of compensatory programmes, they still have currency among policy makers and government. This is because the present solutions to urban decline are not necessarily informed by a full appreciation of its causes, or by an evaluation of similar remedial approaches that have been applied in the past. Furthermore, current initiatives are powered by a liberal welfare state and individualistic ideology, which has borrowed heavily from the US. In a UK context, the structural determinants of poverty and social exclusion have been woven into a narrative of individual responsibility as a prior condition of society's reciprocal obligations, and have been decorated with touches of

transformatory language. However, the practical responses do not address the systemic nature of the structural impediments that constrain individual forms of agency and in this context, by accenting individual responsibility, they effectively legitimise inequality.

In formal policy environments the agenda is heavily constrained, leaving little room for the insertion and discussion of alternative proposals that might arguably have more of an impact such as redistribution through progressive taxation to finance increased spending on social security, unemployment benefits, and mainstream services, and a commitment to increasing the minimum wage on an annual basis. Rather these alternative ideologies are portrayed as archaic, conservative, absurd, or even bizarre, set against the backdrop of, what is promoted in policy terms as, rational, judicious, modern, and realistic transformatory approaches. Even when the evidence-based academic research of government departments conflicts with government policy (see for example research on the integration of refugees sponsored by Home Office and DWP, 2002, and the conclusions of the LGA, 1998a), the results are not used to inform or support a change in policy. Indeed, Healey (1997 and 1998) and Forester's (2000) belief that local evidence can be used to inform changes in practices that do not work at the local level was not supported by the results of this study.

The UK's preoccupation with the US and its model of economic development demonstrates the power of this liberal ideology and the tenacious adherence to it, particularly as this study and indeed others (Wilson, 1998; Peck, 2001; Hutton, 2002; Ehrenreich, 2002 and 2003; Zarembka, 2003) have shown that the US is also experiencing increasing social and economic divisions and some of the most pernicious forms of inequality. Given the weight of this evidence, it is surprising indeed that it

should be so sought after among UK policy makers and government as a model they wish to emulate.

The Future Direction of Policy and Contribution

The current course does not look set for any significant changes in the overall approach to social and economic organisation. There are however some changes that can be made within the existing policy framework, which could go some way towards ensuring that a broader range of views are heard than is the case at present. If people do not want to, or are not able to be involved in detailed partnership governance and delivery mechanisms, this is no reason to effectively disenfranchise them.

A distrust of local government, which has been historically weak on delivery, has tended to be one of the factors driving the move towards participatory styles of controlled governance, as well as a declining interest in local democracy. The problem is that partnerships are not effective replacements for local government because they merely mix or substitute local government vested interests with an aristocracy of vested local interests among residents and other stakeholders. Moreover, whilst there are big and complex issues that do need to be properly tackled in terms of the way local government conducts its business and who is included in decision-making, their democratic election processes, as weak as they are, are far more transparent than is the case with partnership bodies although they are by no means transparent enough. However, genuine accountability is as much the crux of the issue for local government as it is for partnerships.

One way forward would be for local government to be mandated to implement alternative ways for extensively consulting with constituents about local plans so that

local people are not necessarily required to be involved in detailed partnership activity. This would effectively separate the governance side of partnerships from the delivery side, and would allow for a more elastic interpretation of participation. Whilst not without its own set of problems in terms of leaving scope for the slanting and hi-jacking of consultation processes to support specific ends, and raising the expectations of people about what can realistically be addressed locally, it would ensure that consultation and the way priorities are informed go wider than merely those formally or informally networked to partnerships, or to the current Local Strategic Partnerships.

The approach to consultation would need to be a highly prescriptive one which establishes the form consultation should take with diverse local interests, and it would need to be properly in sync with policy intentions, independently inspected and monitored, and incentives built in to ensure the results are acted upon where appropriate. It is interesting that when other regulations have been introduced to transform the way local government conducts its business, notably, the privatisation and contracting out of what were once public services, and the transfer of certain planning functions to quasi-private bodies, local government has had to implement the changes, and has been forced to re-define the way in which it delivers services. The US also offers a further example and evidence of the power of strong regulation and redistribution by the state through its effective empowerment of big business via financial incentives funded directly out of public resources. These state driven approaches have achieved their objectives because there has been very little slackness within the process to allow the institutional resistance of opposing interests to prevail. This is not the case in terms of the current partnership agenda, or in terms of race equality issues for example, whose regulations and voluntary codes of practices allow considerable latitude for manoeuvre, window dressing, and resistance. One answer therefore is clarity about

policy intentions, and an overhaul of the planning system to include clear regulations, effective monitoring public accountability and transparency.

The policy context is however a highly complicated one and prescriptive styles of consultation will not necessarily bring outcomes that all constituents are happy with. There does not seem to be any way in which competing demands and influences at different spatial scales can be reconciled, particularly in the context of a reduction in public expenditure on social services, housing and education, which is acutely felt in areas such as Hackney. Nor indeed is there any certainty that local decisions will result in the outcomes intended, particularly when they are influenced by decisions taken outside of the locality. Take the housing issue discussed in Chapter 6 as an example. Whilst the government appears to have accepted that a vote on stock transfer is not the correct route for Shoreditch, the local Council does not have the resources to invest in public housing. Furthermore, remaining in local authority control actually goes against the grain of government policy on housing and residents are understandably concerned that their current victory could be a hollow one. This is because, in spite of a clear decision, the Council does have exclusive reserves of power to draw upon and the fear among some tenants is that social housing in Shoreditch, which is already in a state of serious disrepair as a result of chronic under investment, could potentially face a compulsory purchase order and subsequent demolition if it slides further into disrepair, and as a result, is deemed by the Council to be unfit and/or unsafe. This would therefore arguably represent privatisation through the back door since it would effectively nullify the decision taken by the partnership, even though it was arrived at through extensive tenant consultation.

In labour market terms, as well as looking at the way in which they employ people, local authorities and the government can play a part in helping to steer the economy towards a less polarised job structure in the procurement and management of their operations, which should be transparent, open to scrutiny, and all contractual arrangements underpinned by social considerations as well as economic ones. Public resources should be spent in ways that clearly benefit the public at large and government, local authorities, and other bodies that commission public services, should not enter into partnerships with contractors that repeatedly discriminate, or that pay working people poverty wages.

Conclusion

The programmes examined in this study have not effected a fundamental transformation of their designated areas, but they have brought some changes that have been important to individuals. Locally based initiative can ameliorate and respond to some of the effects of social and economic restructuring, but ultimately, cannot resolve them because the problems are situated within a much wider context of influences and decision making. Within the current model there will therefore be a continual need for similar compensatory approaches.

The way economic affairs are carried out actually goes against the stated aspirations of policies that are designed to promote social inclusion and because economic affairs are not democratic, broad based and diverse participation in governance within the government's own terms is also very difficult to achieve. Present policies are centred on the local and mechanical aspects of participation and are resistant to placing political pressures on the sites where power is located.

This thesis has contributed to the current theoretical debates on social exclusion in its examination of the broad issues governing structural processes operating outside of the areas targeted by local initiatives and which are inextricably linked with globalisation and divisions in the labour market. What the current debates have accented less is the way that divisions in the labour market are structured along combinations of race, ethnicity and gender. This thesis has contributed to an explanation of the processes of institutionalised racism; the way in which it is linked to the economic sphere, and how it is articulated locally. In this respect, the thesis has made both a theoretical contribution and an empirical contribution.

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Appendices

UK Urban Initiatives

| Title | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Educational Priority Areas, 1967 | Area-based targeted programme designed to address educational needs of disadvantaged areas. |
| Urban Programme, 1968 | Provided funding for ameliorative social and welfare services and community centres. Founded on a culture of poverty. |
| Comprehensive Community Development Projects, 1969 | A range of social welfare programmes focused on the needs of the most deprived areas of Oldham. Based on the notion of improving the conditions of life in the most deprived areas. |
| Urban Programme, 1978 | Revised scheme established the concept of a partnership authorities in the most deprived areas. The scheme was designed to provide a framework for the development of a partnership between the local authority, the private sector and the community. |
| Urban Development Corporation, 1980 | Quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisation with powers of planning gain and powers to co-ordinate and co-locate planning authorities in the defined areas in which they operate. |
| Enterprise Zones, 1981 | An initiative to promote regeneration through incentives, simplified planning procedures and exemptions from certain taxes to encourage inward investment. |
| Estate Action, 1985 | A competitive programme providing local authorities with funds for the revitalisation of rundown estates. Particularly for the development of plans for individual estates. |

| (continued) Title | Scope |
|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| City Challenge | A competitive urban programme incorporating a range of stakeholders to represent local businesses, community organisations, and residents in the private and private rented sectors. Also, a renewed role for local government as the lead partner in formulating and coordinating bids. |
| Task Force, 1988 | Area-based programme with 3-5 year remit to promote economic development. Controlled directly by Central Government, and managed by a team of secondments from the Civil Service, local government and the private sector. Provided funding for employment training, infrastructure and environmental improvements, loans for business start-ups and limited funding for community provision. |
| Single Regeneration Budget, 1994 | An area-based, annual competitive partnership programme, led by local authorities. Targeted at the entire country, not only former Urban Programme partnership areas as under City Challenge. Since 1997, Government has moved towards targeting the bulk of resources on the most officially deprived local authority districts. |
| Health Action Zones, 1998 | An area-based competitive programme led by health authorities with local authorities as a key partner. Established to tackle health inequalities and social exclusion in areas officially designated as deprived. |
| Education Action Zones, 1998 | An area-based competitive partnership programme led by local authorities. Targeted on areas of educational disadvantage and under-achievement and has striking similarities with Educational Priority Areas of the 1960s. |
| Sure Start Initiative, 1998 | A competitive area-based programme. Provides funding for a range of social and welfare services for children under the age of 4, and their families, in areas of disadvantage. |
| New Deal For Communities, 1998 | Launched by the Social Exclusion Unit as part of the Government's National Strategy For Neighbourhood Renewal. A 10 year programme costing £800 million to pilot ways of assisting unemployed people into work. Targeted at the young unemployed, the long term unemployed, people with disabilities, single parents, partners of unemployed people, and unemployed people over 50. |
| Urban Task Force, 1998 | Promoting institutional investment in property to regenerate areas. Seeks to attract and retain businesses in an area through streamlined planning procedures, empty property strategies, easier land acquisition, tax incentives and architectural design. |
| Local Strategic Partnerships, 2001 | Policy and resource focused partnership at local authority district level encompassing a range of stakeholders to pursue jointly developed area focused and thematic urban regeneration initiatives, underpinned by a National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal. |

US Urban Initiatives

| Title | Scope |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| The War on Poverty and the Great Society Programs, 1960s and 1970s | A national programme provided by the Federal Government and included cash assistance to low-income families, free breakfast programmes for school children, free medical care, as well as training schemes for unemployed people. |
| Community Reinvestment Act, 1977 | Introduced under the administration of President Carter in 1977, it aimed to address the redlining of deprived black areas by strengthening under the administration of President Bill Clinton. |
| Enterprise Zones, 1980s | An area-based programme with the objective of regenerating deprived areas through a mixture of government grants and the provision of tax breaks and various other financial incentives for businesses. |
| Empowerment Zones, 1993 | An area-based competitive initiative similar to the UK City Challenge, established in 6 areas across the US, which receive funding from Federal, State and City Government. Designated areas also receive priority funding for other Federal Programmes, and additional tax incentives and loans for businesses. |
| Business Improvement Districts, 1980s ongoing | Established by retailers in all major cities throughout the US in an attempt to regenerate deprived commercial areas and levies an additional charge on business to provide supplementary sanitation services to those areas. |

Appendix C

Summary Profile of Interviewees

| Code | Age | Status | Interview Date | Racial/Ethnicity | Gender |
|--------|-----|----------------------------------------------------------|----------------|------------------|--------|
| ID 1 | 50+ | Senior Hackney Official | 17/9/01 | Irish | Female |
| ID 2 | 32 | Regeneration Specialist, Outer London Borough | 18/9/01 | Black | Female |
| ID 3 | 30+ | RENAISI, Programme Manager | 21/9/01 | White | Female |
| ID 4 | 30+ | RENAISI Haggerston SRB Programme Manager | 25/9/01 | White | Male |
| ID 5 | 50+ | Hackney Council Regeneration Official, | 2/10/01 | Irish | Male |
| ID 6 | 40+ | Hackney Council Regeneration Official | 4/1/01 | Asian | Male |
| ID 7 | 50+ | Civil Servant, Government Office for London | 10/10/01 | White | Male |
| ID 8 | 40 | RENAISI, Programme Officer, Haggerston SRB | 11/10/10 | White | Male |
| ID 9 | 40+ | Hackney Council Regeneration Official | 15/10/01 | Black Caribbean | Female |
| ID 10 | 38 | Regeneration Specialist, London Borough | 15/10/01 | White | Male |
| ID 11 | 40+ | Hackney Council Official and Shoreditch NDC Board Member | 8/2/02 | White | Male |
| ID 12 | 40+ | Regeneration Specialist, London Borough | 22/10/01 | White | Female |
| ID 13* | 40+ | Local Resident and former Shoreditch NDC Board Member | 5/2/01 | White | Female |
| ID 14* | 69 | Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member | 5/2/01 | White | Female |
| ID 15 | 38 | Hackney Council Regeneration Official | 8/1/01 | Irish | Female |
| ID 16 | 55 | Senior RENAIISI Official | 19/1/01 | White | Male |
| ID 17 | 38 | Hackney Regeneration Official | 23/4/01 | Asian | Female |
| ID 18 | 46 | Hackney Council Regeneration and Policy Official | 18/12/00 | Irish | Female |
| ID 19 | 40+ | Hackney Community College, Practitioner, SRB Board | 31/02/02 | African | Female |
| ID 20 | 60+ | Local Business Man and Haggerston SRB Board Member | 21/1/02 | Turkish | Male |
| ID 21 | 65 | Local Resident and Haggerston SRB Board Member | 31/1/02 | White | Female |
| ID 22 | 55+ | SNDP Trust Official | 18/2/02 | White | Male |
| ID 23 | 57 | Local Resident and Haggerston Board Member | 15/3/02 | White | Male |

| Code | Age | (continued) Status | Interview Date | Race/Ethnicity | Gender |
|-------------|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| ID 24 | 35+ | Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member | 15/3/02 | White | Male |
| ID 25 | 60+ | Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member | 15/3/02 | White | Female |
| ID 26 | 40+ | Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member | 15/3/02 | White | Male |
| ID 27 | 60+ | Tenant Representative and Shoreditch NDC Board Member | 15/3/02 | White | Female |
| ID 28 | 40+ | Civil Servant, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister | 5/6/02 | Black | Male |
| ID 29 | 20+ | WHEDCO Trainee, Bronx, Unemployed off-the book-jobs | 26/6/02 | Black | Female |
| ID 30 | 52 | WHEDCO Trainee, Unemployed Cashier | 26/6/02 | Black | Female |
| ID 31 | 38 | WHEDCO Trainee, Bronx, Unemployed Store Manager | 26/6/02 | Puerto Rican | Female |
| ID 32 | 45 | WHEDCO Trainee, Unemployed Freight Worker | 26/6/02 | White | Female |
| ID 33 | 24 | CWE Worker, New York | 27/6/02 | White | Female |
| ID 34 | 50+ | Community Worker, South Bronx | 26/6/02 | White | Male |
| ID 35 | 40+ | Senior Representative, Fiscal Policy Institute, New York | 28/06/02 | White | Male |
| ID 36 | 38+ | Senior Representative, Ford Foundation, New York | 26/6/02 | White | Male |
| ID 37 | 28 | Senior Representative, Centre for an Urban Future, New York | 25/6/02 | White | Male |
| ID 38 | 25 | CWE Social Worker, New York | 27/6/02 | White | Male |
| ID 39 | 35+ | Shoreditch @ Work Scheme Practitioner | 4/9/02 | White | Female |
| ID 40 | 54 | Unemployed Cleaning Supervisor, Stoke Newington Resident on @ Work | 11/9/02 | Black African | Male |
| ID 41 | 25 | Unemployed Web Designer | 11/9/02 | White | Male |
| ID 42 | 31 | Unemployed IT Technician | 11/9/02 | Asian | Male |
| ID 43 | 18 | Recently unemployed Sales Assistant and student @ Work | 14/9/02 | Turkish | Female |
| ID 44 | 26 | Part-time Fitness Instructor/self-employed, student @ Work | 18/9/02 | Black-Caribbean | Female |
| ID 45 | 23 | Part-time Courier Worker/Unpaid Artist @ Work | 20/9/02 | White | Female |
| ID 46 | 43 | Unemployed factory worker @ Work | 3/10/02 | Black Caribbean | Female |
| ID 47 | 29 | Kitchen Assistant @ Work | 3/10/02 | Black African | Male |
| ID 48 | 53 | Recently unemployed Driver @ Work | 3/10/02 | Black Caribbean | Male |
| ID 49 | 25 | Unemployed former Student on @ Work Placement | 15/10/02 | Black African | Female |
| ID 50 | 28 | Shoreditch NDC @ Work Practitioner | 16/10/02 | White | Male |
| ID 51 | 24 | Student (Between Courses) @ Work | 16/10/02 | Chinese | Female |
| ID 52 | 18 | Hackney Community College Student @ Work | 16/10/02 | Columbian | Male |
| ID 53 | 45+ | Shoreditch NDC Practitioner | 29/10/02 | White | Female |
| ID 54 | 30+ | Ascent 21 Practitioner | 29/10/02 | White | Male |
| ID 55* | 35+ | Ascent 21 Employee and former client | 9/12/02 | White | Female |
| ID 56* | 35+ | Ascent 21 Employee and former client | 9/12/02 | Black Caribbean | Female |
| ID 57* | 20 | Ascent 21 Sessional Outreach Worker and Client | 9/12/02 | Black Caribbean | Male |

| Code | Age | (continued) Status | Interview Date | Race/Ethnicity | Gender |
|-------------------|------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| ID 58 | 40+ | Director of Harlem Community Development Corporation | 1/3/00 | Black American | Female |
| ID 59 | 35+ | Housing Specialist Harlem Community Development Corporation | 1/3/00 | Black American | Male |
| ID 60 | 50+ | Director Time Square BID | 1/3/00 | White | Male |
| ID 61 | 50+ | Head of Economic Development Empire State Development Corporation, New York | 2/3/00 | White | Male |
| John Monks | 55+ | General Secretary of TUC, current General Secretary of ETUC | 17/12/02 | White | Male |
| ID 62 | 45+ | Social Services Practitioner and Equalities Specialist, Outer London Borough | 9/5/03 | Black Caribbean | Female |
| ID 63 | 40+ | Social Services Practitioner and Equalities Specialist, Outer London Borough | 19/5/03 | Black Caribbean | Female |

- * Interview with ID 13 and 14 conducted jointly and
- * Interview with ID 55, 56 and 57 conducted as a group interview

Appendix D

Interview Guide

A. Training Scheme Practitioners

Explain that the purpose of the study, what it is about, who is conducting it, why it is important and give assurances about confidentiality.

B. The Effectiveness of Area-Based Employment Training Schemes

1. The provision of employment related training and work placements with employers.
2. Training opportunities provided by the programme and their perceived relevance to current and future job opportunities.
3. Determination of the course content of the programme.
4. Target audience for programme participants.
5. Difficulties in reaching target audience.
6. Monitoring the progress of participants during participation in training programme.
7. Monitoring the progress of participants after leaving the training programme.
8. Extent to which the programme has met/begun to meet the objectives established.
9. Relevance of the objectives of the training programme to people locally
10. Concrete benefits to people locally as a result of the activities of the programme.
11. Mechanisms for feeding the views of scheme participants into the on-going design and delivery of the programme.
12. Systems in place for monitoring the achievements of programme.

Personal

13. Age
14. Gender
15. Position in relation to the Partnership
16. Employment Employed Self-Employed Unemployed 6 months Unemployed 12 months
Unemployed longer than 6 months (for residents only)
17. Education
18. Residence Local Authority Tenant Housing Association Tenant Private Tenant
Owner Occupier Living With Family (for residents only)
19. Racial/Ethnic Group

Appendix E

Interview Guide

A. Community Representatives and Partnership Officials

Explain the purpose of the study, what it is about, who is conducting it, why it is important and give assurances about confidentiality.

B. Establishing Partnerships

1. Why the partnership was initially started.
2. The Partnership objectives.
3. The type of projects contracted to the partnership.
4. How people came to be involved in the partnership.
5. How other participants on the partnership were identified.
6. Whether participants represent an organisation or sit on the partnership as individuals.
7. The process for the selection/de-selection of partnership members.
8. The extent to which the plans and goals of the partnership were determined in discussion with all of the participants?
9. The extent to which everyone on the partnership was in agreement with the plans and goals.
10. Extent of consultation on the plans and goals of the partnership.
11. Including the views of people not directly represented on the partnership.
12. Target beneficiaries of the schemes.

C. Maintaining Partnerships

13. Clarity of partnership objectives.
14. Extent of participation in Board discussions.
15. Agreement on funding individual projects within the partnership.
16. How decisions are made about which projects are actually supported and funded by the partnership.
17. Whether the current arrangements for involving communities in the development of plans work.
18. Views on notion of community involvement in partnerships.

19. The extent to which the notion of community involvement is a good idea.
20. The extent to which community involvement works in practice.

D. Empowering Communities

21. The effectiveness of capacity building and empowerment measures.
22. Previous experiences of capacity building an empowerment measures.

E. Achievements of Partnerships

23. Personal benefits of partnership involvement.
24. The extent to which the partnership met/begun to meet the objectives established.
25. The relevance of the partnerships objectives to people locally.
26. The success of the partnership to date.
27. The extent to which the schemes administered by the partnerships reach their intended beneficiaries.
28. How intended beneficiaries are targeted.
29. Previous partnership involvement.

Personal

30. Age
31. Gender
32. Position on the Partnership
33. Employment Employed Self-Employed Unemployed 6 months Unemployed 12 months
Unemployed longer than 6 months (for residents only)
34. Education
35. Residence Local Authority Tenant Housing Association Tenant Private Tenant
Owner Occupier Living With Family (for residents only)
36. Racial/Ethnic Group

Interview Guide¹

A. UK and US Employment Programme Participants

Explain that the purpose of the study, what it is about, who is conducting it, why it is important and give assurances about confidentiality.

B. Perceptions of Quality of Area-Based Training Schemes/Effectiveness²

1. Length of involvement with the programme.
2. How the participant heard about the programme.
3. Reason for interest in the particular programme.
4. How the programme publicised?
5. Kind of things taught.
6. Length of time spent with the programme each week.
7. Length of the programme.
8. Reasons for participating in the programme.
9. Whether there were other training schemes to select from.
10. Whether there are any changes that could be suggested.
11. Changes that could be helpful for participants.
12. Views on the way training is carried out.
13. Opportunities for placements/links with employers.
15. Quality of the support provided within the programme.
16. Feedback from course practitioner.
17. Form of feedback.
18. Relevance of training opportunities to getting a job.
19. Other ways in which this course has been of benefit.

¹ The term *scheme* was substituted with the term *programme* or *project* for the US interviews since, I was advised by the training practitioners in the US that the term *scheme* had negative connotations with activities that were not entirely legal.

20. Previous participation in training programmes.

21. Expectations on joining the programme.

C. Involvement and Influence in the Wider Partnership

22. Ideas or suggestions for improving the course.

23. Process for feeding ideas about the course to the organisers.

D. Achievements of Partnerships

24. Expectations of the programme on joining.

25. Benefits of participating in the programme.

26. Important generally of programmes to people.

E. Local Involvement (UK Trainees Only)

27. Extent of interest local community activity.

28. Aware of any development projects going on in the area.

E. Personal

29. Age

30. Gender

31. Status

32. Dependents

33. Employment Employed Self-Employed Unemployed 6 months Unemployed 12
months Unemployed longer than 6 months

34. Education

35. Residence Local Authority Tenant Housing Association Tenant Private Tenant
Owner Occupier Living With Family

36. Racial/Ethnic Group

Appendix G

Interview Guide

A. US Officials and Practitioners

Explain that the purpose of the study, what it is about, who is conducting it, why it is important and give assurances about confidentiality.

1. The remit of the organisation
2. Target client groups worked with
3. Targeting hard to reach groups
4. Programmes run and administered
5. Workforce development issues
6. Links with other programmes
7. Links of programmes with employers
8. Employment progression rates for trainees
9. Local community involvement as a specific policy objective
10. Involvement of other sectors in regeneration
11. Urban policy incentives in operation
12. Meanings of empowerment
13. Meanings of capacity building
14. Successes of the programmes

Personal

15. Age
16. Gender
17. Employment
18. Racial/Ethnic Group

Appendix H

| Highest and lowest paid occupations, April 2002 ¹ | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Great Britain | Average gross Weekly pay (£) |
| Highest Paid | |
| Treasurers and company financial managers | 1,059 |
| Medical practitioners | 964 |
| Organisation and methods and work study managers | 813 |
| Management consultants, brokers, investment analysis | 812 |
| Underwriters, claims assessors, brokers, investment analysis | 775 |
| Police officers (inspector or above) | 766 |
| Computer systems and data processing managers | 757 |
| Solicitors | 748 |
| Marketing and sales managers | 719 |
| Advertising and public relations managers | 690 |
| Lowest Paid | |
| Educational Assistants | 212 |
| Other childcare and related occupations | 205 |
| Counterhands, catering assistants | 196 |
| Launderers, dry cleaners, pressers | 196 |
| Hairdressers, barbers | 190 |
| Waiters, waitresses | 189 |
| Petrol pump, forecourt attendants | 189 |
| Retail cash desk and check-out operators | 185 |
| Bar staff | 184 |
| Kitchen porters, hands | 184 |

Source: New Earnings Survey, Office for National Statistics

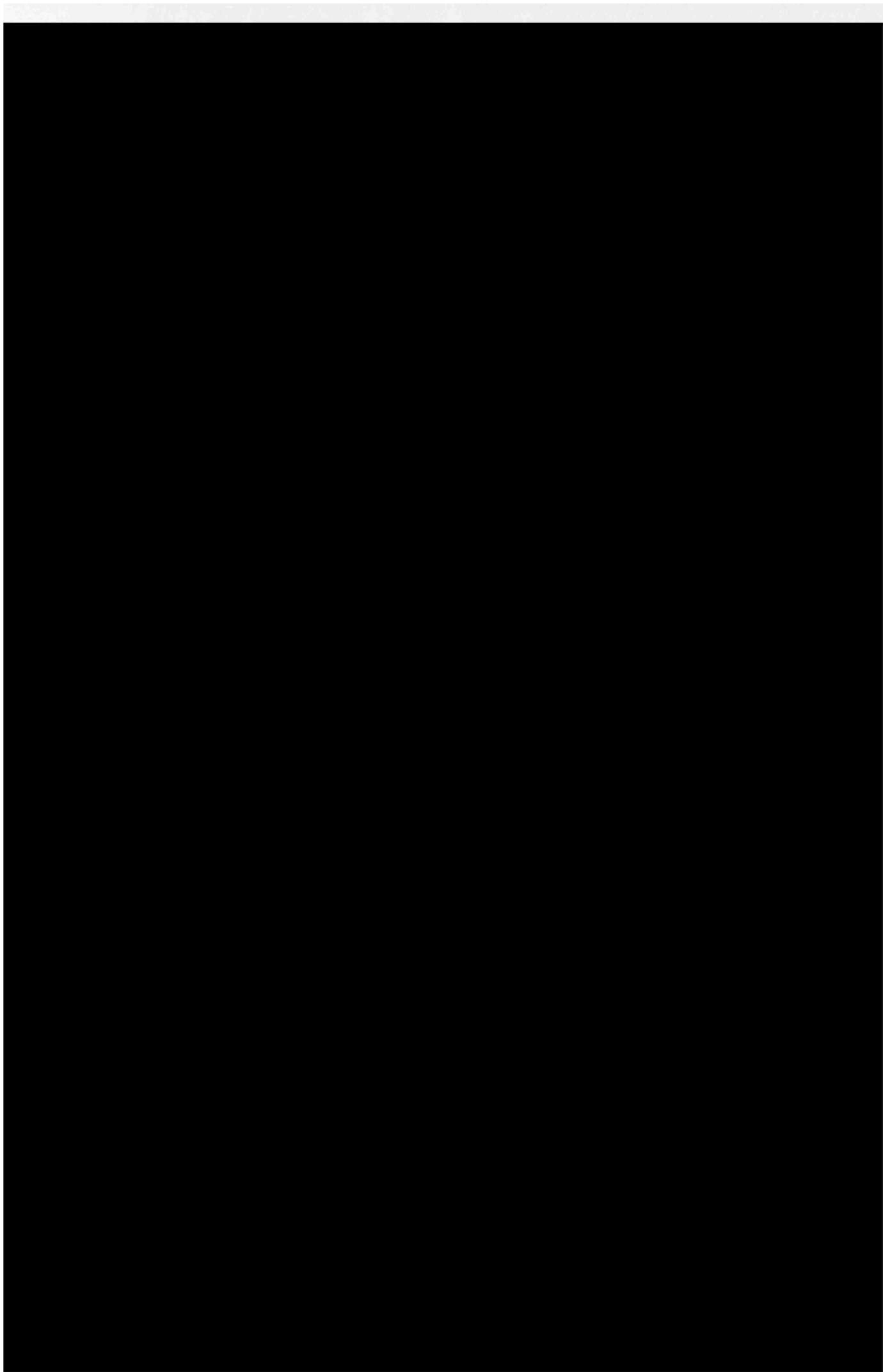
¹ Taken from Social Trends, No 32, 2002 edition

Appendix I

| @ Work Project: Vacancies October 1, 2002 ¹ | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| Position | Annual Salary | (£) per hour |
| Security Guard Prison Service | £17,802 | - |
| Security Guard Prison Service | £13,545 | - |
| Security Guard (Part Time) | - | £7.44 |
| Conference Banqueting | £16,000 | - |
| Customer Service Co-ordinator (Part-Time) | - | £5.50 - £6.00 |
| Customer Service Co-ordinator Call Centre | £12,000 | - |
| Customer Services Co-ordinator Call Centre | £7,800 | - |
| Immigration Adviser | £19,230 - £21,177 | - |
| HGV I | £16,695 - £27,000 | - |
| HGV | £18,680 - £18,680 | - |
| Multi-Drop Driver Biker | - | £4.50 |
| Chambermaid | - | £5.00 |
| Beauty Therapist | £12,500 | - |
| Sales Consultant | - | £6.73 |
| Sales Consultant Mobile Phones | £14,000 | - |
| Nursery Nurse | £12,957 | - |
| Evening Maid | 5,000 | - |
| Floor Supervisor (Cleaning) | - | £6.00 |
| Waiter/Waitress | - | £5.00 |
| Commis Chef | £12,000 | - |
| Commis Chef | £13,000 | - |
| Bar Attendant | - | £5.00 |
| Chambermaid | - | £4.70 |
| Waiter | - | £4.50 |
| Trainee Warehouse Operative | £3,500 | - |
| Office Manager/Bookkeeper (Clothes Company) | - | £12.00 |
| Finance Administrator | £16,146 - 18,387) | - |
| Waiter/Waitress | £12,350 | - |
| Cashier (Staff Restaurant) | - | £5.00 |
| Customer Service Assistant (Bingo Hall) | - | £5.00 |
| Junior Receptionist | £8,190 - 10,010 | - |
| Administrative Support | £18,000 | - |
| Account Manager | £18,000 | - |
| Plumbers | - | £8.20 |
| Electricians | - | £8.50 |
| Plasterers | - | £8.00 |
| Carpenters | - | £8.00 |
| Junior Fitness Instructor | £12,000 | - |
| Health and Fitness Instructor | £12,000 | - |
| Kitchen Assistant | £6,500 | - |
| Ambulance Driver | £22,000 | - |
| Fitness Instructor (Corporate Gym) | £12,000 | - |
| Chef | - | £4.50 |
| Chef | - | £6.00 |
| Fitness Instructor | £12,800 | - |
| Club Manager | £14,000 - £18,000 | - |

¹ The following table shows the estimated costs of the project.

| (Continued) | | |
|--------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| Position | Annual Salary | Weekly (£) per hour |
| Catering Manager | £17,000 - £20,000 | - |
| Chef | £24,000 - 26,000 | - |
| Catering Manager | £16,000 - £19,000 | - |
| Receptionist | £10,000 £13,000 | - |
| Cashier | - | £6.41 |
| Sales | £19,000 | - |
| Sales Assistant | - | £4.99 |
| Chef | £24,000 | - |
| Sales Consultant (Part Time) | £7,700 | - |
| Sales Assistant | - | £5.00 |
| Sales Assistant | | £4.99 |
| Sales Assistant | - | £5.70 |
| Sales Assistant | - | £4.88 |
| Operations Manager (International Courier) | £25,000 | - |
| TeleSales Person | £12,000 15,000 | - |
| Accounts Assistant | £18,000 | - |
| Administrator (Part Time) | £7,500 £8,250 | - |
| Kitchen Porter | - | £5.50 - £5.70 |
| Food Service Assistant | - | £6.00 - 6.25 |
| Waitress | - | £5.00 |
| Linen Porter | | £5.00 |



The London Borough of Hackney Wards

Map 2



Source: London Borough of Hackney