

**Towards a Critical Understanding of Community Anchors
and a Community Sector Theory and Practice**

James Henderson

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Heriot-Watt University

**School of the Built Environment/ Institute of Social Policy, Housing, Environment
and Real Estate Research**

September 2014

The copyright in this thesis is owned by the author. Any quotation from the thesis or use of any of the information contained in it must acknowledge this thesis as the source of the quotation or information.

Abstract

This thesis seeks to support the longer-term development of the community sector in Scotland, the United Kingdom (UK) and further afield, through consideration of a community sector theory and practice (CSTP): where, such a theory and practice is assumed to involve elements of both theorising as to actual, developing practices *and* theorising as to the impact of the broader workings of society (structure) on the forming and performing of such practices.

The thesis focuses on a particular model and narrative of a community organisation as a ‘community anchor’: where, such an organisation is understood to be community-based and led, and to undertake a multi-purpose role across a range of local development, service provision and advocacy. The term community anchor has been/is active within policy-making, namely that of the New Labour UK Government (1997-2010) and, currently, SNP Scottish Government (2007-present). Within Scotland, the Scottish Community Alliance (SCA) has positioned a community anchor narrative within a particular narrative of community empowerment; the latter rooted in themes of community ownership and enterprise, local democracy, and local economic and social development (Pearce, 2003). This community anchor/community empowerment narrative (CACE) can be understood as one particular strand of a wider CSTP, a ‘CACE within a CSTP’ (CACE/CSTP) in fact, such that a CACE too can be supported and informed through theorising on practice and structural context.

The thesis works to strengthen theoretical understanding and development relating to a CACE/CSTP, and then to draw from this to inform, interpret and analyse an empirical inquiry, using a qualitative and critical case-study research methodology, of three community anchor organisations and their respective communities – one from each of urban, rural and remote island contexts.

Theoretical discussion that supports an understanding of a CSTP is developed through consideration of theorising on: post-1945 political economic trends in relation to public policy, particularly urban public policy, in the UK and currently as a dominant neo-liberalism, although as distinctive variants within policy-making in England and Scotland; the practices of community development and social enterprise, in particular relative to social structure and inequality; and, social structure and agency, through use of structuration theory (Giddens, 1984).

The understanding of a CACE is deepened through consideration of: policy-making on community anchors within Scottish and English policy-making contexts; matters and issues of practice for community anchors – in particular as being ‘community-led’, developing ‘sustainable independence’ and undertaking a diverse, multi-purpose role; the role of the community sector and its development as part of the social economy; and the wider political economic dynamics of the nation state (Giddens, 1984; Pearce: 1993, 2003; Harvey, 2009 [1973]).

The empirical inquiry, and the related interpretation and analysis, explore the three case-studies, and illustrate and develop theoretical understandings of a CACE/CSTP and a CSTP, more generally. In focusing on practice, the complexities of community-led practices, organisational independence (sustainable independence) from the state, and the integration of the breadth of working of a community anchor are considered both as activities on-the-ground and in relation to the state and market. In focusing on political economy, the complexity of the community sector’s relationship with the state and the market is explored. It is recognised that the sector will find itself undertaking a ‘community management’ role, seeking to limit social and economic crises, in response to neo-liberal economic and social marginalisation of many communities. Yet, such recognition can support the community sector in continuing with aspirations for a ‘community ownership’ and in seeking alternatives in relation to local economic and social development, service provision, political advocacy and policy-making.

The resulting articulation of a CACE/CSTP can be used to inform a developing community sector research agenda(s) for both ‘the research community’ and community sector, and to inform and support discussions of policy and practice within community sector and wider policy-making.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following, very much, for their help and support with this thesis and related research over the last three and more years ...

... My research supervisors, Dr Chris McWilliams (first supervisor) and Professor Angela Hull (second supervisor), who have kept me on track, challenging my thinking along the way. More generally, to the wider academic and administrative staff teams, and my fellow postgraduates, within IHURER for selecting me for ESRC funding and providing many and various supports.

... Laurence Demarco, from the Social Entrepreneurs Network Scotland (Senscot), and Angus Hardie, from the Scottish Community Alliance, for their input and time over the course of the same period; acting as an informal advisory group and, crucially, also challenging my thinking from the perspectives of community sector practices, theorising and representation within policy-making. In similar vein, I must recognise the thinking of John Pearce, for as becomes clear across the thesis, his theorising has been a crucial starting point for my own; yet sadly he died in 2011 and before I could meet him in person.

... The three case-study organisations and their wider communities – Govanhill Housing Association in Govanhill, Glasgow; Creetown Initiative in Creetown and the parish of Kirkmabreck in Dumfries & Galloway; and Northmavine Community Development Company in Northmavine, Shetland – have also played thoroughly crucial and generous roles within the project: many thanks to all the staff, activists, volunteers and residents who gave of their time, whether through interviews or in other ways. Similarly, many thanks to the eleven other people working within the public and community sectors, who undertook formal/informal interviews that provided significant support to the development of my thinking and research.

... The wider body of support that has given me both encouragement and ‘another life’, in particular my immediate family – Catherine, Kate, Beth, and Colin too – and friends – John and Nick – across the course of the process. While, and at risk of thanking anyone I’ve ever met, I’d like to recognise my wider family for ongoing crucial conversations, political and personal, over the last four plus decades – Hendersons, Ringler-Hendersons, Hoopers and Roberts – and more generally friends, colleagues and others; too many to list but including Nancy, Ellin, Richard, Kevin ... all crucially getting me thinking. Finally, Charles for keeping me right on contested debates as to ‘sustainable economic growth’ and ‘sustainable development’, and for proof-reading work.

ACADEMIC REGISTRY
Research Thesis Submission



Name:	James Henderson		
School/PGI:	Institute for Social Policy, Housing, Environment and Real Estate, School for the Built Environment		
Version: <i>(i.e. First, Resubmission, Final)</i>	Final	Degree Sought (Award and Subject area)	Doctor of Philosophy

Declaration

In accordance with the appropriate regulations I hereby submit my thesis and I declare that:

- 1) the thesis embodies the results of my own work and has been composed by myself
- 2) where appropriate, I have made acknowledgement of the work of others and have made reference to work carried out in collaboration with other persons
- 3) the thesis is the correct version of the thesis for submission and is the same version as any electronic versions submitted*.
- 4) my thesis for the award referred to, deposited in the Heriot-Watt University Library, should be made available for loan or photocopying and be available via the Institutional Repository, subject to such conditions as the Librarian may require
- 5) I understand that as a student of the University I am required to abide by the Regulations of the University and to conform to its discipline.

* *Please note that it is the responsibility of the candidate to ensure that the correct version of the thesis is submitted.*

Signature of Candidate:		Date:	
-------------------------	--	-------	--

Submission

Submitted By <i>(name in capitals)</i> :	JAMES HENDERSON
Signature of Individual Submitting:	
Date Submitted:	

For Completion in the Student Service Centre (SSC)

Received in the SSC by <i>(name in capitals)</i> :			
<i>Method of Submission</i> <i>(Handed in to SSC; posted through internal/external mail):</i>			
<i>E-thesis Submitted (mandatory for final theses)</i>			
Signature:		Date:	

Contents

Chapter 1: Introductions and scene-setting (pp.1-46)

Chapter 2: A developing qualitative and critical case-study research methodology (pp.47-79)

Chapter 3: Developing theoretical background for a community sector theory and practice (pp.80-124)

Chapter 4: Understanding a developing community anchor narrative (pp.125-162)

Chapter 5: Constructing a community anchor/community empowerment narrative (pp.163-196)

Chapter 6: Informing a theory and practice: community anchors as community-led and seeking sustainable independence (pp.197-231)

Chapter 7: Informing a theory and practice: community anchors as multi-purpose and empowering (pp.232-264)

Chapter 8: Informing a theory and practice: the community sector within the workings of the socio-economic systems of the nation state (pp.265-301)

Chapter 9: The concluding chapter: an overview of the research findings and consideration of a developing community sector research agenda (pp.302-334)

Appendices:

Appendix 1: Research Aims and Objectives (pp.335-339)

Appendix 2: Information for research participants (pp.340-344)

Appendix 3: Research interpretation and analysis (pp.345-361)

References (pp.362-415)

Figures

Figure 1: Three systems of the economy (p.21)

Figure 2: Map giving Govanhill's position in the City of Glasgow (p.31)

Figure 3: Map of Govanhill and neighbouring communities (p.32)

Figure 4: Map giving Creetown's position within Dumfries & Galloway (p.36)

Figure 5: Map of Creetown, Carsluith and neighbouring towns – with notes on the Parish of Kirkmabreck (p.37)

Figure 6: Map giving Northmavine's position within the Shetland Islands (p.41)

Figure 7: Map of Northmavine (p.42)

Glossary

Abbreviations – in relation to organisations:

bassac: British Association of Settlements and Social Action Centres

CI: Creetown Initiative

DTAS: Development Trust Association Scotland

GHHA: Govanhill Housing Association

GWFSHA: Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations

HIE: Highlands and Islands Enterprise

IVAR: Institute for Voluntary Action Research

JRF: Joseph Rowntree Foundation

NCDC: Northmavine Community Development Company

SCA: Scottish Community Alliance

Senscot: Social Entrepreneurs Network Scotland

Abbreviations – in relation to terminology:

CACE: a community anchor/community empowerment narrative – see initial definition in ‘Terminology’ below.

CSTP: a community sector theory and practice – see initial definition in ‘Terminology’ below.

IA: interpretation and analysis – used in relation to the research process, but only in section 2.3.3 and Appendix 3 (A3.2).

Terminology – initial definitions:

‘community’: used as a broad brush term to indicate a general consideration of various potential elements including: community organisations and groups (community sector); informal community networks and groups; local communities of place, interest and identity; and community networks or social capital active within other social systems e.g. an organisation or a diaspora.

community anchor (organisation): a multi-purpose and facilitative, community-based and community-led organisation.

community anchor/community empowerment narrative (CACE): a particular narrative constructed from the community anchor narrative and a narrative generated from an understanding of community empowerment as community sector development (see community sector and ‘community empowerment [2]’ below) *and* community ownership.

community dialogue: refers to shared and collective discussions across diverse communities of place, interest and/or identity.

‘community empowerment (1)’: a broad brush term recognising the spectrum of potential uses of the term in relation to ‘community’ and its empowerment; can be used to recognise both the breadth of possible meanings and the contested nature of the term.

‘community empowerment (2)’: a more particular usage concerned for the development of community ownership and the local community sector.

community/reciprocity: community as a means of social and economic coordination and exchange mediated by social bonds and shared interests – rather than that offered by ‘the state’ and ‘the market’.

community sector: covers the breadth of local community organisations and groups across the nation state (and further afield), from large to small, and who have some degree of formalised structure.

community sector dialogue: discussions across the community sector.

community sector theory and practice (CSTP): theorising both on the practices of the community sector and on the wider context (framing) within which those practices are implemented.

informal community networks: networks of informal community groups, neighbours, households, families and extended families within local communities of place, interest and/or identity.

local community sector: community organisations and groups within a particular local community of place, interest and/or identity.

matrix of local community diversity: the intersections and layers of communities of place, interest and identity that are active within any one sense of local community.

‘mutualist’ approach: concerned for the development of organisations and networks committed to a democratic social ownership and related sharing of risk and surplus; many not-for-profit/ third sector organisations would fit with this approach, particularly social/community enterprises, cooperatives and membership-based voluntary organisations and charities.

Chapter 1: Introductions and scene-setting

1.1: Chapter introduction

This introductory chapter sets the scene for the theoretical and empirical investigations that follow across Chapters 3 to 9, with Chapter 2 establishing a relevant research methodology and research process, and associated theoretical perspective. In so doing, the chapter seeks firstly to establish an understanding of the Research Aims and Objectives (RAOs); how they were arrived at, what they are and what they mean, and how this thesis seeks to engage with them and offer relevant interpretation, analysis and findings (section 1.2).

The chapter then provides further introductory and positional information that supports understanding of the thesis as a whole as it develops, and this includes:

- initial theoretical considerations and related frameworks with which to understand the theoretical workings and development across the thesis;
- introduction of the three case-studies of community organisations and their respective communities, through sketches developed from empirical inquiry, with which to understand both developing theory and the related interpretation and analysis across the thesis; and finally
- a chapter summary gives a final overview.

The chapter is therefore structured as follows:

- (1.2) Understanding the Research Aims and Objectives
- (1.3) Key conceptual narratives and wider theoretical constructions
- (1.4) Case-study sketches
- (1.5) Across the thesis as a whole: chapter summaries
- (1.6) Concluding thoughts

1.2: Understanding the Research Aims and Objectives

This section aims to establish understanding of the RAOs. Initially, this is done through exploring ‘the why’ of the Research Aims (RAs), and then from this the more particular Research Objectives (ROs) are explored with their related research questions and key working assumptions. The section follows this course:

- (1.2.1) Understanding the Research Aims and the context of their development
- (1.2.2) Understanding the Research Objectives

1.2.1: Understanding the Research Aims and the context of their development

This research project can be understood as having two key motivating forces in its initiation. Firstly the researcher's own long-standing concern for the relations between 'community' – in its broadest sense – and its workings on the one hand and, on the other, matters of political economy. Thus the researcher's past experiences of practice and research across themes that can broadly be described as de-centralist, democratic and 'community' related, and to include campaigning and 'the political', communities of faith, community care and social inclusion, and community-led regeneration, provide one context for understanding his commitment to such a project. Further, the researcher's own 'political consciousness' can be said to have been sufficiently developed during the 1970s, and certainly the 1980s, to actively remember (some of) the turbulent political events of those decades; economic crises, industrial disputes and shifting fortunes of political economy. Thus, the political economic conflict between those promoting a Keynesian welfare-ism and economic management and those promoting a neo-liberal market economy and 'welfare reform' provides a certain backdrop to the interpretation and analysis offered here; although considerations of political economy are not limited to these two articulations, as is outlined in 1.3.5.

The second motivating force, and crucial to the particular focus taken, has been discussions with the Scottish Community Alliance (SCA), an umbrella organisation which currently brings together 18 representative networks of community organisations from across Scotland¹. These discussions have positioned the research as concerned to support and inform the development of the community sector in Scotland: initially 'the

¹ Note: formerly known as 'Local People Leading' at its formation in 2007, the Scottish Community Alliance (SCA) was formally constituted in January 2011, and its 15 representative member networks at that time have now having increased to 18 (November 2013) and which are (in alphabetical order): Community Energy Scotland; the Community Health Exchange (CHEX); Community Land Scotland; Community Resources Network for Scotland; Community Transport Association Scotland; Community Woodland Association; Development Trust Association Scotland; EVH (Employers in Voluntary Housing); Federation of City Farms and Gardens; Glasgow & West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations; Nourish Scotland; Plunkett Scotland; Scottish Communities Climate Action Network; Scottish Communities for Health and Wellbeing; Scottish Gardens and Allotments Associations; Scottish League of Credit Unions; Social Entrepreneurs Network Scotland (Senscot); and Voluntary Arts Scotland. Further details of the organisation can be viewed via the SCA website at: www.localpeopleleading.co.uk/

community sector' here can be understood as third sector, not-for-profit organisations and groups with a focus on and commitment to a particular *local* community of place, interest and/or identity. Discussion with the SCA pointed to a particular concern to evidence the role of community anchors in relation to community empowerment: where a community anchor might briefly be described here as a 'multi-purpose, facilitative, community-led and community-based organisation'; and where community empowerment for the SCA should be understood as focused on local/grassroots democratic development and a local (community) economic and social development that includes community asset ownership.

From such beginnings it is likely relatively clear as to how and why the Research Aims (RAs) have arisen. These were developed as part of the Research Aims and Objectives (RAOs), as per Appendix 1, and the Research Objectives will be considered in 1.2.2 below, but for now the RAs will provide sufficient understanding of the overall aims and direction of the project, and are as follows:

RA1: To inform and support the development of a community anchor/community empowerment narrative (CACE) within a community sector theory and practice (CSTP) in Scotland.

RA2: To position such a 'CACE narrative within a CSTP' (CACE/CSTP) in relation both to discussions of 'matters of practice' and 'matters of political economy'.

RA3: To illustrate community anchors as a crucial element in greater community empowerment.

However, the initial aims and intentions of researcher and SCA alone do not explain fully the resulting focus of the research project and thesis as established through these RAs. The initial literature review undertaken has refined the research focus, particularly as 'gaps' in or opportunities for further research have been identified; and inevitably, as with the qualitative case-study methodology discussed in 2.2, there is a certain on-going refinement throughout the research process. Two gaps/opportunities have been highlighted, in particular, and have become central to the thesis.

Firstly, and in relation to the Research Aim 1 (RA1) and Research Aim 2 (RA2), the

conceptual narrative that can be constructed around the term ‘CSTP’ has come to be seen as increasingly valuable to positioning discussions of community anchors within wider debates about ‘community’ and its role. There is a wealth of literature – research-, practice-, and policy-related – of relevance to what some would broadly call ‘community development’, a term often used inter-changeably with ‘community empowerment’, and this term is often used to point to ‘community’ initiatives funded and supported by the state; although its usage also points more widely than partnership with the state and can include self-funded and oppositional activity.

Activist, researcher and theorist John Pearce, who is considered further in 1.3.2 below, starts from a tradition of community development derived through the state-initiated (British) Community Development Projects (CDPs) of the 1970s. Independently of state intentions and expectations, those working within the projects arrived at an understanding of poverty and inequality as resulting (Pearce, 2003: 84):

... not of social pathology (of individual neighbourhoods) but of structural changes and historical practices over which local people had little, if any, influence.

He argues (Pearce, 2003: 84) that those involved within community development responded in three ways as follows:

- (i) working with community and labour organisations to challenge poverty;
- (ii) retreating into service provision and facility management;
- (iii) working with local people to create ‘alternative economic structures’.

This categorisation is further developed by the researcher in 1.3.2 to broaden its relevance to community anchors and more generally the community sector in relation to current practices.

Pearce (2003), himself, writes of community development as needing to re-integrate these three elements – thus highlighting that service provision and facility management can be ‘honourable’ activities too – and it is the integration of these three elements or dimensions, relative to the multi-purpose role of community anchors, that forms a crucial constituent of the discussions across the thesis. However, each of these dimension can be said to draw from distinctive – if themselves varied – theoretical

bases, with arguably the most extensive coming from those concerned for campaigning and political change, as per (i) above, and the challenging of poverty, where a strong academic tradition has resulted in an extensive community development and community education literature: see, for instance, community development readers such as that by Akewugo Emejulu & Mae Shaw's (2010), with a Scottish focus, or Gary Craig et al. (2011), with a UK and international focus.

Those concerned for a more mainstream approach via 'working on-the-ground' to deliver services, as per (ii) above, and with policy-makers and the state, although often adopting a structural analysis of inequality and poverty too, can be seen to be active within the more mainstream community development and community regeneration bodies. For instance, Jane Dailly & Alan Barr (2008), writing for the Scottish Community Development Centre (SCDC), provide a complex account of the role of community development and community bodies, as a community-led approach to health and addressing (structural) health inequalities; an approach involving both the building of community capacity to lead the community development process and a working in partnership and/or collaboration with agencies. Similarly, Community Development Alliance Scotland's (2010) position statement gives a complex account of community development, but again with emphasis on building capacity and a local empowerment of groups, individuals and communities, and on working in partnership with agencies and the public sector, whilst recognising a structural context of inequality and discrimination. The Scottish Urban Regeneration Forum (SURF, 2011a) with its multiple stakeholder approach from across public, private, third and community sectors arguably too puts greatest emphasis on service development and partnership between community and state, although very much in the context of recognising both the state's role in economic development and social welfare *and* of a growing role for the community sector. However, each of the above would likely argue for their role in relation to i) and iii) as well as ii): there is inevitably overlap and, for instance, SURF's journal although focusing on existing and currently developing policy and practices, has a diverse range of contributors including those critical of the policy mainstream².

² Note: The range of contributors to SURF's journal, Scotregen, can be considered at: <http://www.scotregen.co.uk/scotregen-magazine/by-contributor/>. See, for instance, as one example from regular contributor Chik Collins of the University of the West of Scotland, an article (Collins, 2004) that provides a fundamental critique of several decades of regeneration and more generally state economic and social policies under neo-liberalism, and its failures to tackle inequality.

Community development that starts from a focus on ‘alternative economic development’, as (iii) above, has a significant literature too, for instance, and in relation to Scotland alone: social and community business in Scotland (Pearce, 1993; Hayton, 1997); community housing associations (Clapham & Kintrea, 2000; McKee, 2010); and extensively in relation to community land trusts, and a related land reform, in Scotland’s Highlands and Islands (Callaghan, Danson & Whittam, 2011; Skerratt, 2011; Satsangi, 2013). More broadly, across the UK, there has been an increasing emphasis on community ownership and community enterprise over the last decade (Aiken, Cairns & Thake, 2008; Woodin, Crook & Carpentier, 2010; Dobson, 2011), and an often related focus on community anchors (Thake, 2001, 2006).

It should be noted though that those writing from a public policy perspective, rather than a ‘community’ or community development one, can be less optimistic as to the likely longer term impacts of such activity, whether political, service-related or local economy-related. Paul Atkinson and Graham Moon (1994) writing on UK urban policy, for instance, recognise achievements such as the influence on the Labour UK Government’s 1977 White Paper *Policy for the Inner Cities* of the structural analysis of the Community Development Projects; as well as some individual successes for ‘popular planning’ and community activism in the late 1980s. Yet their analysis across urban policy as a whole positions ‘community development’ within part of a wider state strategy, one that is ameliorative and constrained relative to urban decline rather than as an active challenge to such decline – essentially palliative rather than aimed at economic and social change.

The term community sector, which will be further discussed in 3.2.2, is likely more immediately appealing to those concerned for community development as (iii) and perhaps (ii) above, given the connotation that the term ‘sector’ carries as having a certain formality and respectability of role. Yet, it is being used here by the researcher in relation to theory and practice, a CSTP, to generate an ‘abstract and theoretical space’ in which all three of these broad dimensions of community development *can* rub shoulders, and in which each dimension of community development is seen as crucial, whilst recognising that each should also be considered as diverse individually in itself in terms of theory and practice too. Here, then, a CSTP is being understood as a gap or opportunity which the researcher is seeking to explore, both in terms of practice and political economy, and which allows for the positioning of a particular theoretical

narrative(s) on community anchors and community empowerment (CACE) within the broader discussions it generates.

The second research ‘gap’ or opportunity relates to this same CACE. Initial literature review has demonstrated an existing research and case-study evidence-base relative to the role of community anchors in particular through the work of Stephen Thake (2001, 2003, 2006) who can be understood to have developed the concept initially in a UK context, but with increasing emphasis on policy and practice in England. Max Weaver (2009, Sampson & Weaver, 2010) can be understood to have developed further a community anchor conceptual narrative, again focused on the context in England, and in particular through his discussions of a community anchor’s local mission and its need both for sufficient financial security and organisational strength to support ‘sustainable independence’ from the state. In Scotland, Kim McKee has taken up the community anchor concept in particular in relation to community housing associations (McKee: 2010, 2011), and emphasised key characteristics of being both ‘community-controlled’ and ‘embedded’ in communities (McKee, 2012).

Discussion and conceptual development via these researchers and theorists, however, cannot be understood as fundamentally separate from the thinking and developments of both practitioners and policy-makers. In part, because all three draw from either practitioner experience or links to practitioner bodies, or both, but also because practitioner representative bodies and policy-makers have both been active in the process of constructing a community anchor narrative across practitioner dialogue, policy development and developing research and its concerns and debates. In Scotland, for instance, representative bodies including the SCA, Development Trust Association Scotland (DTAS) and Glasgow and the West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations (GWSFHA) have undertaken initial research to explore the community anchor role and a related community ownership – and this researcher has had involvement with this – whilst supporting and influencing policy development (Scottish Government, 2009a) and the early workings of researchers (McKee, 2010, 2011, 2012; Sayers & Follan, 2010): this is further explored in Chapter 4.

The Scottish context, then, given the current scarcity of existing theory and empirical investigation of community anchors, provides a particular opportunity to consider critically and develop further the community anchor narrative, and to do this in relation

to a wider theoretical narrative, a CACE, that draws on related concepts of community ownership and community empowerment, and positions them within discussions of both practice and political economy which relate to wider understandings and possibilities held within a CSTP.

Thus, the researcher has worked within this project to draw from theory and empirical inquiry so as to further integrate understandings of the community sector relative to practice, policy and political economy as a ‘CACE within a CSTP’; and in particular to do so from within a Scottish context. There is, then, a particular emphasis on the Scottish experience of community anchors, and on the Scottish policy context, that lends a distinctiveness to this particular consideration of community anchors and the community sector; nevertheless much of what is discussed in relation to a CACE and certainly a CSTP is understood to have wider relevance to the UK, too, and further afield.

The RAs focus on key research opportunities for positioning a more particular CACE, a community anchor/community empowerment narrative, within a more general CSTP, a community sector theory and practice; and on working to deepen understanding of the community anchor role in relation to community empowerment, as potentially a necessary step to community empowerment on-the-ground. The ‘original contribution’ that the researcher is working towards, through this thesis, is the deepening of an understanding of community anchors and their practices relative to this ‘CACE within a CSTP’, by drawing from Scottish experiences of practice and policy. Given this breadth, it is able to further inform the discussions and thinking of researchers and the academic community, policy-makers, and practitioners/the community sector; whilst recognising that, in disseminating the findings, each will need a targeted style of communication that draws from its own particular uses of language and forms of presentation.

1.2.2: Understanding the Research Objectives

Building from the RAs outlined in 1.2.1 – and as illustrated in Appendix 1 (A1.2), the RAs themselves have been refined over time as would be expected from within an interpretative case-study research methodology (see 2.2) – the RAOs establish the following five Research Objectives (ROs) and related Research Questions:

RO1: To provide the necessary theoretical background, and from this to develop a theoretical understanding of a CACE/CSTP, from which to then interpret and analyse the case-study material.

Research Questions:

- how can a CSTP be understood and positioned in relation to relevant policy, research and theory?
- how has the community anchor model been theorised and researched, and integrated within policy development in Scotland and the UK thus far, and what common issues of current practice can be identified?
- how can a CACE narrative be further developed from the material on community anchors and positioned within a wider CSTP and used to support discussion of both matters of practice and political economy?

RO2: To further explore particular current issues of practice, as identified through RO1, of a CACE/CSTP.

Research Questions:

- by drawing from the case-study material, what is being learnt as to the practising of ‘community-led’ approaches by community anchors?
- by drawing from the case-study material, what is being learnt as to the practising of ‘sustainable independence’ by community anchors?
- by drawing from the case-study material, what is being learnt as to the multi-purpose role, and the integration of those various purposes, of community anchors?

RO3: To further explore how a CACE/CSTP can be positioned within theorising on ‘a modern mixed economy’ (Pearce, 2003) and wider matters of political economy.

Research Questions:

- by drawing from the case-study material as to how those working in the community sector understand community empowerment and relations with the state, how is a CACE/CSTP being informed and developed?

- by drawing from the case-study material and Pearce’s concern for relations between the three fundamental sectors – private, public and third – within a modern mixed economy, how is a CACE/CSTP being informed and developed?
- by drawing on the case-study material, Pearce’s concern for ‘making mutual dominant’, and theorising on ‘the state’, ‘the market’ and ‘community-reciprocity’ within political economy, how is a CACE/CSTP being informed and developed?

RO4: To consider the extent to which community anchors have been illustrated as a crucial element in greater community empowerment, and how they might be further demonstrated as a necessary step to greater community empowerment.

Research Questions:

- how have community anchors been illustrated as crucial elements in greater community empowerment?
- how might community anchors be further demonstrated as a necessary step to greater community empowerment?

RO5: To further integrate the research findings from RO1-4, highlighting other emerging conclusions, constraints and critiques, and potential areas for further research and/or development.

Research Questions:

- what are the priorities for further development and research in relation to a CACE/CSTP and more generally a CSTP?
- what are the constraints on research findings thus far?

Relative to the RAs, it can be seen that: RO1, RO2 and RO3 seek to develop theoretical discussion and empirical interpretation and analysis directly relevant to RA1 and RA2, although also supporting discussion that informs RA3; RO4 is focused on exploring issues relevant to RA3; and RO5 seeks to conclude from across the other four ROs and to seek new challenges, and so is relevant to each of the RAs. The theoretical work relevant to RO1 is undertaken as a literature review and theoretical developments from this, and is considered across Chapters 3, 4 and 5. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 draw from the

case-study material, and although all three have relevance to RO2 and RO3, Chapters 6 and 7 provide most of the interpretation and analysis relevant to RO2, and Chapters 7 and 8 most of the material relevant to RO3. RO4 is returned to briefly in the final section of each of Chapters 4 – 8, and then in a more detailed overview in the concluding Chapter 9: likewise RO5 is considered in detail in the Chapter 9.

Each of the ROs 1 – 4 is also given a ‘key underlying working assumption’ which highlights that there is at least one crucial working assumption that is being made, and in a certain sense ‘tested out’, through theoretical development and empirical inquiry. However, as is discussed in 2.2, this should be considered in relation to a ‘relative plausibility’ *rather* than as an experimental and likely decisive testing of a hypothesis against data. These ‘key underlying working assumptions’ can be summarised as:

RO1: that there is sufficient commonality between developing theory and actual practice, within actual contexts, for viable discussion, interpretation and analysis to be pursued.

RO2: that key areas of practice identified will be informative of both a necessarily ‘abstract CSTP’ and ‘actual community sector dialogue(s)’ (*note*: these terms are considered further in 1.3.2 below).

RO3: that a CACE/CSTP will be sufficiently theorised – discussed in theoretical terms – in relation to matters of political economy that it will support further critical discussion.

RO4: that community anchors are a necessary step for greater community empowerment.

More broadly, these working assumptions point to the necessity of the construction of complex sets of theoretical narratives on which the research project ‘rests’; given that research is necessarily ‘theory-laden’ as per the discussions of structuration theory and social constructionism in 2.2.3. These theoretical constructions underlie all of the project’s discussion, interpretation and analysis, but elements of them will be ‘tested out’ for plausibility via literature review, theoretical development and empirical inquiry. In particular these four working assumptions can be usefully recognised and considered,

given their importance to the project, although they will not, of course, be the only working assumptions held within the theorising on which the project depends.

1.3: Key conceptual narratives and wider theoretical constructions

This section seeks to bring further clarity to the ‘medium of discussion’ across the thesis. In seeking to work across both theory and practice, there is a range of theorising potentially relevant – to both practice and the context of that practice – that can be drawn from. Although a comprehensive theory and practice is not attempted in this thesis, this section seeks to establish certain areas of broad theoretical discussion as certainly relevant; and either to be further explored in the theoretical chapters that follow or, as valuably, adding to the theoretical backdrop to those explorations.

Initially, within this section, further clarity is generated as to the use of terms within this thesis: in particular distinctions are made between everyday dialogues, conceptual narratives and wider theoretical constructions (1.3.1). These then support further initial clarification (1.3.2) of a CACE, a CSTP, and their relations to discussions within the community sector and the wider community, and to the dimensions of community development outlined in 1.2.1. This leads on to brief outlines of three (other) theoretical areas that provide further theoretical context to the thesis: the social economy (1.3.3); structuration theory and ‘social theory’ (1.3.4); and political economy (1.3.5).

The discussion follows the following course:

- (1.3.1) Dialogue, conceptual narratives and theoretical discussions
- (1.3.2) Further clarification of key terminology
- (1.3.3) The social economy within a modern mixed economy
- (1.3.4) Structuration theory and social theory
- (1.3.5) Varieties of political economic theorising

1.3.1: *Dialogue, conceptual narratives and theoretical constructions*

A qualitative case-study research methodology is considered in more detail in 2.2, given its significance to the research methodology pursued within the research and thesis, but crucially Robert Stake (1995) writes of such a case-study inquiry as seeking ‘issues’, problems and concerns which force attention on complexity and ‘contextuality’. In

contrast, within quantitative-related methodologies there is more likely a focus on hypothesis-testing of generalisations through tightly-defined concepts. Although it should be recognised, as Stake does, that both trends or ‘traditions’ in social research, qualitative and quantitative, inevitably draw on elements of practice from each other.

By drawing from such a qualitative case-study research methodology, and one to be set within Anthony Giddens’ (1984) structuration theory in 2.2.3, this researcher is concerned to explore ‘issues’, and their complexity and context, through various means relating to language, or what Giddens calls ‘frames of meaning’. These include:

- (i) everyday thinking and discussions between and with those working within the community sector – an ‘everyday dialogue’;
- (ii) theoretical narratives and concepts – conceptual narratives;
- (iii) broader theoretical constructions – complex inter-weavings of conceptual narratives.

In relation to this research project, (i) can be understood as the everyday discussions of those working within the community sector. These may be understood as ‘under-theorised’ in that the theory used is not necessarily joined-up nor explicit, but often implicit or used unwittingly. However, as indicated in the consideration of structuration theory in 1.3.4 and 2.2 below, there is also a working assumption of a crucial relationship between existing everyday discussions, and the theorising ‘held’ within them, and the further development of theory: the latter begins at least with an understanding of the former, even if it then provides a fundamental challenge to it.

In the cases of (ii) and (iii) above, themselves the result of theoretical development, there will be increasing use of abstractions. A CACE, for instance, can be understood as an increasingly theorised development of an increasingly inter-related set of conceptual narratives; for example in relation to community anchors, community empowerment and wider political economy. Such a CACE can be understood, certainly in relation to (ii), as one or more conceptual narratives, and possibly aspiring to (iii) through increasingly complex inter-weavings of theoretical narratives across a range of theoretical disciplines. A CSTP can be understood as seeking a level of broader and complex theoretical construction in line with (iii); although it seeks to ‘hold together’ a range of relevant and likely contested theoretical narratives, discussions and debates,

rather than to pursue and assert one coherent or semi-coherent perspective as might be the focus of some theoretical constructions.

Such thinking as to everyday dialogue, conceptual narratives and wider theoretical constructions, usefully frames the discussion that follows in 1.3.2 below.

1.3.2: Further clarification of key terminology

Drawing from discussions in 1.2.1 and 1.3.1 above, further clarity is now generated as to the researcher's use of terminology in relation to certain key concerns, firstly that of a CACE (1) and a CSTP (2), and then secondly two related themes:

- the relationship between a CSTP and dialogue within the community sector and within the wider community (3); and
- the dimensions of community development (4).

(1) *A Community Anchor/Community Empowerment narrative*: as very broadly discussed in 1.2.1, such a CACE, as a conceptual narrative, begins in the thinking of the SCA (Local People Leading [LPL], 2008a) with:

- an initial understanding or definition of a community anchor as a 'multi-purpose, facilitative, community-led, community-based organisation';
- and community empowerment as relating to local democracy and local economic and social development; and
- with a community anchor as a necessary step towards greater community empowerment.

However, in the process of further theoretical development in Chapters 3, 4 and 5, a further theorised set of narratives is interwoven with this initial sketch of a conceptual narrative of a community anchor. For instance, community anchors are interwoven with theory relating to community asset ownership, types of local community, and a community sector. Similarly, understandings of community empowerment become further developed, and in part, as implied in 1.2.1, in relation to two loosely-defined narratives or dialogues:

'Community empowerment (1)': as largely synonymous with 'community development', and where both are used very broadly and likely often in contested ways

in relation to an increasing and general focus on ‘community’; but where, at least, conflicted parties would seem to agree that ‘something important is at stake’ even if they struggle to agree on the meaning or the significance of the term and related matters.

‘Community empowerment (2)’: more particularly, and as used by the SCA (LPL, 2008a) and its concern for community ownership, community enterprise and local democracy; but increasingly also understood as a ‘local community sector development’ and the ability of communities to ‘get things done’ or ‘provide traction’ – even the exertion of a measure of local control. However, this definition or narrative, in itself, still leaves plenty of scope for conflicted views as to what counts as a ‘meaningful’ or ‘significant’ community sector development.

Within Chapters 4 and 5 below, a more particular version of a CACE is developed, building from the SCA’s initial articulation in a way that interweaves conceptual narratives of social economy and of political economy with those relating to community anchors, community empowerment and community ownership.

(2) A community sector theory and practice: the community sector has already been loosely-defined, within 1.2.1, as referring to those third sector community organisations and community groups working within, and committed to, particular local communities, whether solely of place, or of interest and/or identity too – and this is further considered in 3.2. As indicated above, such a CSTP within this thesis will be broadly concerned with the on-going development of the practices of the community sector in relation to both the theorising of such practice and the positioning of the community sector within a wider theoretical context, that of political economy; yet, recognising that other theory could be used to develop understanding of the context of practice. The term ‘theory and practice’ is in relatively common usage within research literature – see, for instance Peck, (2008: 7-8) and Campbell (1993: 302-324), and although a more technical discussion of the term is beyond the scope of this thesis, two key influences are recognised below.

Firstly, and through the researcher’s own experience of social work training, David Howe’s (1987) discussion of the role of theory within social work practice – as a clarification of how particular social work interventions and strategies can be

understood in relation to broader expectations, contexts, value-bases and political aspirations – illustrates the potential diversity of material within any theory and practice. There is potential for conflict and common cause across such theoretical diversity, however a particular theory and practice relates to an apparently commonly-held social construction of ‘a field of activity’, in Howe’s case of social work; although doubtless what counts as part of that constructed field of activity can and will be contested too. There is a similarity here with the work of the Third Sector Research Centre (Alcock, n.d.) as it seeks to understand and develop theory on a diverse third sector working within a complex policy environment. In relation to a CSTP, such theoretical diversity, and related conflicts and common causes, would be expected too; with the community sector as a commonly-held, as well as likely contested, particular ‘field of activity’.

Secondly, Rory Ridley-Duff & Mike Scott (2011) have generated a particular understanding of a social enterprise theory and practice: this is a ‘field of activity’ that in part relates to the community sector but is also distinctive from it, as becomes clearer through the discussions in 3.4. Their publication forms two distinctive halves: firstly as a drawing on theory to provide an explanation of how the social economy and the third sector has emerged over the last two-to-three hundred years, and particularly as social enterprise in the last three decades; and secondly, as theorising on current practice and issues arising, for instance in relation to governance and strategic management. What Ridley-Duff & Scott achieve for the reader is both an understanding of a broader range of theory and theoretical positions commonly-used in relation to social enterprise, *and* an explicit offering and development of their own theoretical and ‘critical’ position as to the potential for a democratic and cooperative understanding of the social economy. Whilst this researcher is unable to present such a comprehensive overview and critical account of a CSTP within this thesis, nevertheless he does seek to illustrate the necessarily eclectic nature of a CSTP and to provide an interpretation and analysis of the case-study material from a more particular and critical understanding of a CACE/CSTP.

(3) An abstract CSTP, a community sector dialogue, and a wider local community dialogue: given the more abstract and theoretical nature of a CSTP, it would seem to be more likely the abode of those practitioners, activists, policymakers and researchers

with time for reflection and writing – even if only fleetingly the case. And it would best be understood as a collective and on-going effort, rather than the work of one person or group whether or not contained within a single volume; although those concerned for a CSTP may currently be working in relatively isolated networks with limited exchange between each, for instance within the different emphases given within the dimensions of community development outlined in 1.2.1. There are risks, too, of certain groups becoming too powerful or unrepresentative across such an abstract and theoretical ‘space’, in particular researchers who have more time for such reflection and discussion, and of such thinking failing to connect to current issues of practice and current context as experienced, worked with and reflected upon by those working in the community sector.

Such dilemmas must be recognised and worked out in practice, through the relations between the different parties: however they highlight two further crucial areas for discussion and dialogue from which a more abstract CSTP must necessarily draw and to which it must seek to relate. The first area is that of ‘community sector dialogue’, as the everyday discussions across the community sector both as practice-on-the-ground and as representing community sector interests to policymakers. As indicated in 1.3.1 above, these will influence a CSTP, and potentially will be influenced by it, such that this is a two-way relationship and the dynamics of power between the various parties must be considered.

The second area is that of ‘wider local community dialogue’: to be understood as ‘us’ within communities as residents and ‘members’ sharing and constructing identity, purpose/interests and places/space, and the discussions ‘we’ develop through such shared activity. There is a risk here too of mistaking ‘community sector dialogue’ for ‘wider local community dialogue’. The two would be expected to be linked, as in a local community sector having a strong grasp of the range and diversity of views of their local communities, and vice versa, but this can’t simply be assumed but must be demonstrated through actual experiences and events.

These three distinctive but crucially-related ‘dialogues’ are recognised in the discussions of the dynamics of power within the research process in 2.2.4 below.

(4) *Dimensions or categories of community development*: within 1.2.1 and drawing from Pearce's (2003) thinking, three trends or dimensions within 'community development' – as very broadly understood – were outlined and recognised as being distinctive, but with the potential to be integrated. This framework or initial categorisation will be further explored and discussed in relation to theorising from community development, in 3.4.1, and then will continue to appear across the thesis to support clarification and discussion of the multi-purpose role of community anchors. However, here, the researcher offers some revision of the framework; it should be recognised that Pearce offers this framework largely 'in passing' to encourage those involved in community development, in its broadest sense, to explore and integrate their thinking and actions. The researcher offers a re-framing of the three dimensions or categories as follows:

- advocacy, campaigning and policy-related/political action(s) – to assert local community interests (*advocacy and political actions*);
- partnership-working with the state (and others) – in particular to develop and provide local services (*partnership-working and service provision*); and
- community economic and social development – to develop 'alternative' economic and social activity (*community economic and social development*).

This re-framing was undertaken following the empirical study of three community anchors to capture the breadth of their activities, and in order to reflect: a broader advocacy role for local community interests than solely that relating to poverty and policy development; the formation of partnerships, particularly with the state, to deliver public and community services as likely one key element of the anchor role; and a focus on both local economic and social development, rather than solely economic concerns, which can be understood as 'alternative' in particular through developments in the extent of community ownership and local control.

Not making poverty the sole focus of advocacy and campaigning *might* be suggestive of a lack of concern for this particular issue, and likewise for a related concern for economic and social inequalities, yet this researcher *stresses* structural concerns for inequality and uneven development as central to both the thesis and a CACE/CSTP across the chapters that follow: in seeking to understand the breadth of the multi-purpose role of community anchors, however, it has been necessary to recognise the wider spectrum of advocacy being undertaken.

Pearce's (2009) recognition of the role of both community and labour organisations in campaigning against poverty is returned to briefly, in particular in 7.2, as a recognition of the need for wider alliances; but at least relative to the case-study organisations there was no current evidence of joint-working. As noted earlier, service provision, and likely in partnership with the state, is not understood as necessarily a 'retreat', depending on how other dimensions are integrated with this element: however, as becomes apparent, working with the state necessarily generates complexity for community anchors in seeking to be both multi-purpose and community-led.

Finally, the researcher does not seek to understand these dimensions as the only or a comprehensive way of categorising community development; for instance faith-based/religious organisations (Jenkins, 1976) and ecologically-focused communities (Dobson, 2007) would doubtless argue for additional dimensions to community development and the researcher is supportive of this. However, as noted above, the strength of the term community development is its breadth and inclusivity of activity relating to 'community'. Such a categorisation supports a broad understanding of the field of activity relevant to a CSTP, but cannot, in and of itself, provide further theoretical insight, understanding and justification as to the value of different types of activity.

1.3.3: Theoretical constructions (1): the social economy and the three economic 'systems' of a modern mixed economy

The concept of a social economy is, in fact, a considerably 'older term' than the current revivals in social enterprise and community development might suggest. For instance the International Centre of Research and Information on the Public, Social and Cooperative Economy's (CIRIEC, 2012) report on the social economy in Europe points to early use of the term in relation to a laissez-faire economics concerned for integrating economics and morality during the 19th century. However, the report also argues for the social economy as rooted in the working class friendly societies and early trades unionism that arose in Britain in response to the development of industrial capitalism in the 18th and 19th centuries, and including cooperatives, mutual assistance societies and resistance societies. Already then highlighting a certain tension within social economic narratives as to those concerned for social mission and duty and those for democratic

and egalitarian practice; and potentially resonating with more recent debates between political left and political right. The report considers the rise of social enterprise and social cooperatives in Western Europe and North America from the 1980s, positioning it in relation to an increasing wider shift towards market economic thinking; and this is discussed further in 3.4.4.

The related conceptual narrative of a ‘third sector’ has become increasingly common in recent decades, and Ridley-Duff & Bull (2011) point to it currently as an alternative to the often apolitical assumptions that some seek to articulate through use of the concept of ‘civil society’. They point to three broad and historically-generated categories of such not-for-profit, third sector organisations: benevolent trusts and charities; voluntary (membership) organisations; and cooperatives, mutuals and now social enterprises. They also recognise the work of John Pearce in seeking to draw together thinking on the social economy, the third sector and the economic systems of the nation state.

Pearce’s (2003) model of three economic systems, working within what he later (Pearce, 2009) terms a ‘modern mixed economy’, is a crucial starting point for theoretical development and interpretation and analysis within this thesis. The diagram, overleaf, illustrates Pearce’s theorising as to the nature of such a political economic model, with three fundamental sectors or ‘systems’, the private, the public and the third, that run spatially from ‘ultra-local’ neighbourhoods through to the global. The third sector is understood as having both a trading element, the social economy, and a non-trading element, the voluntary sector, as well as key local components of a community economy and a self-help economy. Although Pearce’s model can be understood as generic in relation to the economic or socio-economic systems of a developed nation state, and so able to provide a framework for further investigating the functioning of the market economy, it can and should also be understood as advocacy for an increasing role and power for the third sector. The term *modern mixed economy* is also suggestive of some degree of ‘common heritage’ with the previous articulation of a concept of a ‘mixed economy’ of private and public sectors as part of the political economic narrative of a post-1945 Keynesian Welfare State: although this is not a linkage Pearce seeks to make explicitly, and within Chapter 5 of this thesis, it becomes clear that he is cautious as to the power of the state and seeks instead a ‘dominant mutualism’.

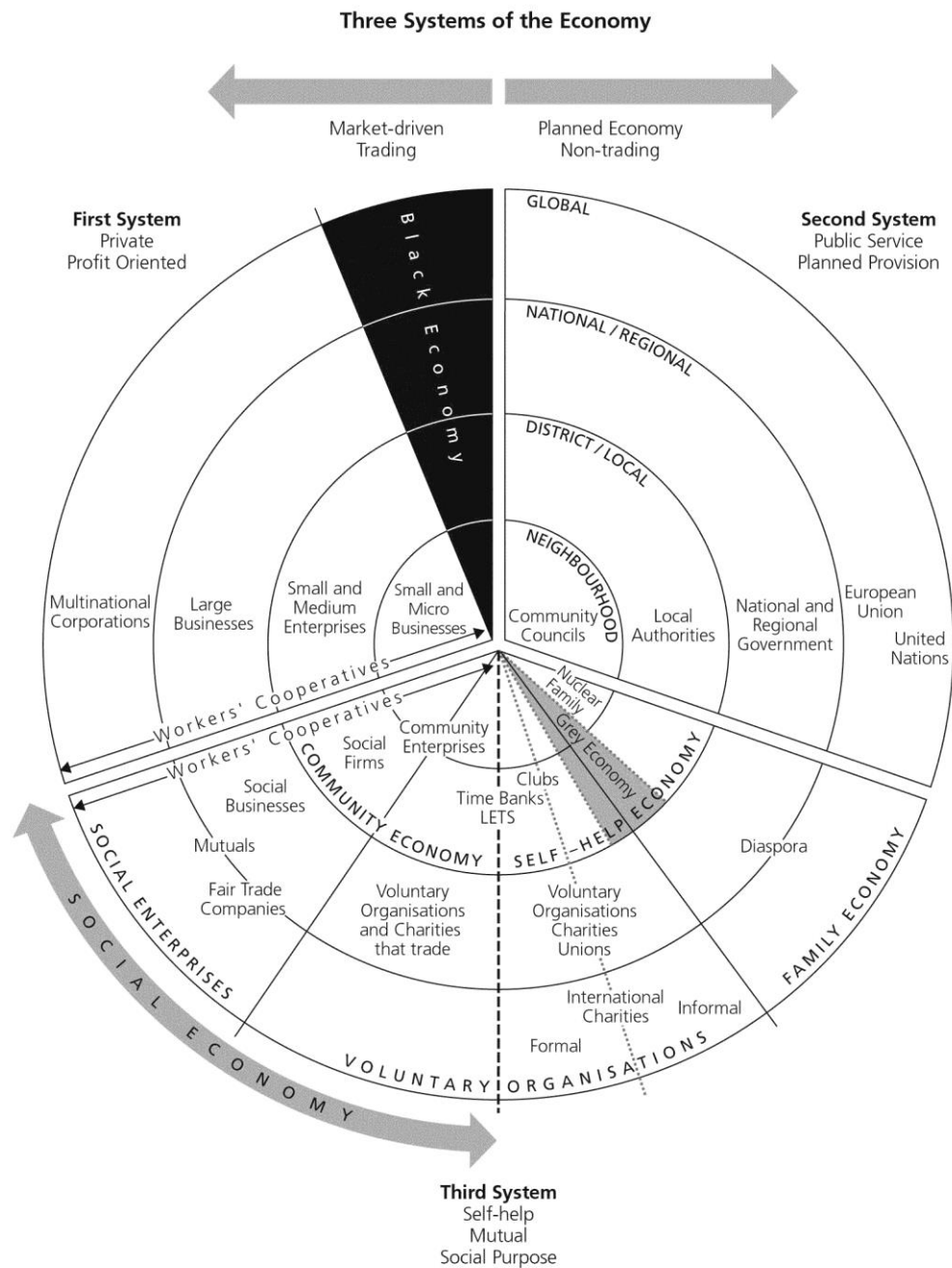


Figure 1: Three systems of the economy

John Pearce's (2003) model as established in his publication 'Social Enterprise in Anytown', and also later as 'a modern mixed economy of three systems' (Pearce, 2009: 25). The diagram has been kindly provided and reproduced courtesy of Alan Kay; and, likewise, courtesy of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

It is worth briefly recognising, too, the credibility established by Pearce in the worlds of both social economic practice and of research and theory development. His work in international development (1960s), the British Community Development Projects (1970s) and from then in social and community enterprise in Scotland, and more generally in social accounting, until his death in 2011, gives substance to his thinking on the social economy (Kay & Tuffs, 2011; Birkhoelzer, 2012). His on-going research and generation of publications, including research and development work with academic researchers (Birkhoelzer, 2012)³, continues to be referenced in academic texts as one key articulation of the social economy; as noted with Ridley-Duff & Bull (2011) above, and also Hayton (1997) and Cochrane (2007). His publications archive has now been transferred to Glasgow Caledonian University's Social Enterprise collection. Pearce's work thus provides *one* crucial starting point for a thesis seeking to be relevant to both theory and practice in relation to the community sector.

Whilst no other theorist within this thesis is given such a biographical context, the researcher has sought to include a footnote on some of the more prominent contributors to the theoretical background and development in Chapters 3, 4 and 5, so as to illustrate whether their 'credibility' and specialism(s) are established through being researcher, practitioner or policy-maker – or some mix thereof.

1.3.4: Theoretical constructions (2): Structuration theory and Social theory

Chris Philo (2009) broadly describes 'social theory' as being concerned for understanding the nature of the 'social power' which gives shape and coherence to a society; and which will likely draw on economic, ideological, political and spatial dimensions. Within this research project, Anthony Giddens' (1984) work on *structuration theory* provides the key theoretical background for recognising dimensions of such social power; as well as providing clarity in the research methodology. Three elements of structuration theory are briefly outlined here as supporting theoretical understanding and development within the thesis:

³ Note: Karl Birkhoelzer is a German academic researcher – view more detail at http://www.socioeco.org/bdf/pt/corpus_auteur/fiche-auteur-188.html – who worked with Pearce on European-funded social enterprise-related research. Birkhoelzer (2012) notes other joint-working that Pearce undertook with researchers including with what Birkhoelzer calls 'the Polytechnic of Paisley', or the University of Paisley and now part of the University of the West of Scotland – view more detail at <http://www.uws.ac.uk/about-uws/overview/> and latterly an association with Glasgow Caledonian University.

The 'duality of structure': Giddens points to a duality of structure, in which both the roles of social systems and human agency are assumed to be necessary in order to understand the reproduction of such social systems and the structural properties 'held' within them. Within structuration theory, the nation state is understood as historically distinctive in that the relative clarity of its spatial boundaries gives a particular sense of society or 'total society'.

Historical and contemporary forms of human society: Giddens emphasises three forms of human society developing through human history, namely: tribal societies; class-divided societies developed around the early state, for instance as medieval European feudal society; and (capitalist) class society developing out of industrial capitalism. Currently, and on a global scale, Giddens writes of a 'contemporary capitalist world economy and a world nation state system'; although one in which tribal and class-divided societies can still be found, and at which at the time of writing in 1984 also included significant numbers of 'socialist' nation states that provided a rival model to that of capitalist nation states.

Power and social critique: Giddens' thinking is concerned too for power and its distribution through social systems and human agency. Indeed, he understands social science as a form of social critique which impacts on the on-going and changing nature of society rather than as simply the seeking of generalisations as to the way society is currently: these themes are further developed in 2.2.3.

It should be noted that Giddens' central political thesis of 'The Third Way', written after his work on structuration theory, and in which a communitarian civil society is seen as central aspect of social democratic renewal – and by some as a supporting structure for a neo-liberal political economy (see for instance, Haugh & Kitson, 2007) – is *not* used as a fundamental theoretical building block within this thesis. Instead, as indicated in 1.3.3 above, it is John Pearce's (2003, 2009) theorising on a conceptual narrative of three economic systems of a modern mixed economy, and related thinking on the social economy and a mutualist political economy, that gives particular theoretical direction within this thesis.

Other social theorists have also, inevitably, influenced this research project. In particular, the thinking of David Harvey, neo-Marxist geographer, has continued to generate a range of crucial questions and challenges. Some caution has to be exercised here, for Harvey in his earlier work uses a classical Marxist analysis in which a Marxist dialectic is fundamental (Harvey, 2009 [1973]). This sits uneasily with Giddens' (1984) critique of the economic determinism of such a Marxism; although at the same time Giddens' thinking would seem to recognise an indebtedness to Marx too. Nevertheless, key elements of Harvey's thinking are recognised across the thesis as supportive of the theoretical discussions undertaken, perhaps as 'metaphors that challenge', and these include:

- the political and contested nature of social science (Harvey, 2009 [1973]);
- neo-liberalism as a class-based political economic project rather than as economic doctrine (Harvey, 2005);
- modes of economic integration – market exchange (the market), redistribution (the state), and reciprocity (community) (Harvey, 2009 [1973], citing Polanyi, 1968);
- the dilemmas generated by a global capitalism as three-fold: the exploitation of labour (the deprived), the exploitation of the assets of communities globally (the dispossessed), and the collision between capitalism's drive for growth with global ecological constraints and an exploitation of 'nature' (Harvey, 2011: 215-260); and
- the need to consider alliances of classes and groups that could oppose such exploitation and establish alternative forms of economy and society (Harvey, 2011: 215-260).

1.3.5: *Theoretical constructions (3): varieties of political economy*

Eric Sheppard (2009) points to political economy as focused on the relationship between political and economic processes, particularly within capitalism, in relation to current economic orthodoxies and their critiques and alternatives. This, then, is a varied field of study, drawing from across social science. Within this thesis, Pearce's (2003, 2009) political economic thinking – as per 1.3.4 and developed further in Chapter 5 – is used to provide an initial political economic theoretical base for a CACE. However, it is recognised too that such thinking alone is insufficient for a CSTP in seeking to engage critically with a range of political economic thinking. To this end, a brief introduction is

given here as to the current political economic orthodoxy of neo-liberalism, although largely through its critics within social science rather than its advocates, and its main challenger a neo- or post-Keynesianism, before also recognising the potential of other strands of political economic thought too.

Neo-liberalism: Jim Glassman (2009) summarises neo-liberalism as a loosely-conceived doctrine focused on self-regulating markets, outside of social and political control, and concerned to promote a minimalist or ‘night-watchman’ state. He points to the many contradictions within the practice of neo-liberalism including an aggressive and substantial neo-liberal state, and its complex relations with other political forces such as neo-conservatism. Allan Cochrane’s (2007) critique of neo-liberalism points to it as a market-focused project enabled by the neo-liberal state and globalisation, and which rolls out in varied and changing forms across different states around the globe; whilst Jamie Peck (2008) and Andrew Cumbers & Robert McMaster (2012) write of a ‘market fundamentalism’ within economics particularly in relation to neo-liberalism. Atkinson & Moon (1994) outline four schools of thought within the New Right, with Milton Friedman’s ‘Chicago School’ and monetarist philosophy – with an emphasis on monetary policy, expanding private sector/market and residual state, and anti-egalitarian thinking – proving most influential on Conservative UK Government policy in 1980s and internationally too (Harvey, 2005).

The rise in neo-liberalism thinking and influence within mainstream policy-making in the UK, and globally, since the 1980s correlates, too, with growing economic inequality in the UK since that time, if plateauing in the early 2000s (Cribb, Joyce & Phillips, 2012; Shucksmith, 2012). As noted previously in 1.3.4, Harvey (2005) articulates an understanding of neo-liberalism as a political economic strategy of the capitalist class to use the power of the state to increase the power of capital, rather than as some finely-tuned economic model, and a strategy that is therefore coherent with such a rising inequality.

Neo-Keynesian/ post-Keynesian: Atkinson & Moon’s (1994) discussion of UK urban policy post-1945 to the 1970s notes the ‘social democratic settlement’; sufficient consensus between the interests of capital and labour – state, business and trades unions – as to economic development, as a ‘mixed economy’ of private and public sectors and a regulated economy, and social development through the welfare state. Central to such

an approach was the economic and political economic theorising of John Maynard Keynes in particular as promoting (counter-cyclical) state-led demand management to seek to sustain a full employment and return to economic growth during a ‘downturn’ or recession (Cochrane, 2007). However, economic and political crises during the 1970s created political opportunities for the New Right’s neo-liberalism, taken forward by the UK and US Governments, amongst others internationally, in the 1980s (Harvey, 2005; Peck, 2008).

Neo-Keynesian economic theory has however continued as a distinctive voice: Tim Jackson (2009) describes its reappearance following the 2008 financial crisis as an international ‘Green New Deal’ to provide a global economic stimulus. In the UK, Will Hutton (2011) continues to advocate for neo-Keynesian approaches through his stakeholder capitalism, commitment to a fair society, and support for alternative models of private sector and mutualist ownership (The Ownership Commission, 2012⁴). The Post-Keynesian Economics Study Group (n.d.) uses the terms ‘post-Keynesian’ to highlight a wider group of international economists who share a common concern for demand management and for understanding that social practice, including that of economic institutions, is historically and socially generated:

This approach (post-Keynesian economics) is distinguished by the central role of the principle of effective demand (that demand matters in the long run) and an insistence that history, social structure and institutional practice be embodied in its theory and reflected in its policy recommendations.

David Harvey (see Burtenshaw & Robinson, 2013), however, argues for a tendency for capitalism to flip back and forth from a supply-side, production and capital focus (monetarism and neo-liberalism) to demand-side, consumption and labour focus (welfare state and neo-Keynesian); thus calling into question the long-term sustainability of increasing equality through post-Keynesian approaches. Instead, he calls for a ‘postcapitalist imagination’, having already begun to consider a steady-state economy himself (2011).

⁴ Note: Will Hutton was Chair of The Ownership Commission.

Two political economic projects are gaining some prominence in Scotland and the UK currently as alternatives to the political economic mainstream, and which might fit with this sense of a post-capitalist imagination. The first is that of a steady-state political economy, and Tim Jackson (2009) presents a broad coherent account of a developing, and more egalitarian, steady-state model, with a focus on health and well-being within the nation state and globally. Active state intervention is understood as necessary for an effective ecological macro-economic management, including that of the sharing out of paid employment; while a ‘community social enterprise’ generates local, sustainable social and economic development. Jackson describes this approach as a ‘capitalism, but not as we know it’, with likely, if unspecified, shifts in forms of ownership. Andrew Dobson’s (2007) account of ‘political ecology’ as a political philosophy adds further to the sense of steady-state political economic thinking being concerned for local economic activity and decision-making.

Secondly in Scotland, The Jimmy Reid Foundation’s ‘Common Weal’ project (The Jimmy Reid Foundation, 2013) has begun to construct and promote, with support from academics⁵ and other specialists, a Scottish ‘Nordic Model’, with particular emphasis on both the welfare state and domestically-owned economic development – as public, private, and social/community enterprises. Whether such a Nordic model, it has been called ‘social democracy plus’, would be distinctively different from more mainstream post-Keynesian and social democratic thinking, such as Hutton’s (2011) stakeholder model, is currently too early to say.

Key current debates on alternatives to the neo-liberal political economic orthodoxy would then seem to include a prioritisation of and concern for:

- more equitable economic and social development through new models of ownership including social and community-owned organisations;
- a re-commitment to an interventionist and welfare-focused state, if not necessarily of the same ilk as the post-1945 to 1970s Keynesian Welfare State; and
- investment and suitable infrastructure to support ecological, economic and social aims at global, nation state and local levels.

⁵ Note: academic researchers identified in an article in the Herald (05.05.13) as involved in the development of the Common Weal project, namely Mike Danson of Heriot-Watt University, Ailsa McKay of Glasgow Caledonian University, and Andrew Cumbers of Glasgow University (Gordon, 2013).

1.4: Case-study sketches

Sketches of the three case-study community organisations and communities are developed in this first chapter such that a more concrete understanding of community anchors, the community sector and their working contexts can inform the thesis as a whole. The particular reasoning for their selection, rather than other community organisations and communities, is considered further in 2.3.1. For now, each of the three community organisations involved can be understood to fit with the broad understanding of a community anchor as ‘community-led and community-based’ and ‘multi-purpose and facilitative’ – as initially articulated in 1.2.1 and 1.3.2 (1): in that each has a locally-elected Board/Management Committee of local residents, a clear local presence including local offices or hub, and would seem to be ‘well-known’ in their area/community. And that each is multi-purpose and undertaking a range of activities that can be interpreted through the ‘dimensions of community development’ – community economic/social development, partnership-working/service provision, advocacy/political actions – as articulated in 1.2.1 and 1.3.2 (4) , and thus is facilitative of wider local community sector and informal community developments. Further understanding of a community anchor model and narrative is developed in Chapter 4.

In each case-study, too, a local community sector can be seen to be active and under development, with such a community sector loosely understood, at this stage, as encompassing those third sector community organisations and community groups working within and committed to particular local communities, whether of place, interest or identity – as indicated in 1.2.1 and 1.3.2 (2), and to be developed further in 3.2.

The case-study sketches are as follows:

- (1.4.1) Govanhill Housing Association (GHHA) and Govanhill, Glasgow
- (1.4.2) Creetown Initiative (CI) in Creetown and Kirkmabreck, Dumfries & Galloway
- (1.4.3) Northmavine Community Development Company (NCDC) and Northmavine, Shetland Islands.

Relevant maps for each community are provided towards the end of each sketch.

1.4.1: Govanhill Housing Association and Govanhill, Glasgow

Govanhill is an urban community of currently over 15,000 people, positioned a mile or so to the south of Glasgow City Centre. It is administered by Glasgow City Council (GCC) local authority and can be understood as part of a broader largely urban region of Glasgow and Clyde Valley (Glasgow and the Clyde Valley Strategic Development Planning Authority, 2012). Local industrialisation in the 19th century led to the building of tenements for the workers in the area, and drew many immigrants including Irish people and later East European Jewish people. Arguably, it has continued to be a ‘first point of call’ for many migrants arriving in Glasgow and Scotland including Pakistani/South Asian people settling increasingly since the 1960s (Thomas, 1999), and in the last decade, following A8 and A2 EU state accession⁶, East European peoples and in particular Slovak and Romanian Roma, as well as more generally asylum seekers and refugees also settling (Bynner, 2010). There are high levels of deprivation on many different health, income and educational indicators (Glasgow Centre for Population Health, 2008; Scottish Public Health Observatory, 2010) and in many parts of the community, including; to the north-east and the social housing there; and the south-west and the private rental tenement housing there. There are localities, too, of higher owner-occupation, in particular to the southern end of the community that merges into the more affluent Crosshill and Queens Park areas.

In recent years, poor management of the private tenement housing allied to exploitative practices by significant numbers of private landlords, and alongside lack of access to employment opportunities and (until recently) benefits for many Eastern European EU migrants, has left many experiencing very significant levels of poverty and inequality (Berry, 2008; GHHA: 2008, 2012; Scottish Parliament Public Petitions Committee, 2008; Bynner, 2010; Govanhill Regeneration Taskforce, 2012). For the Roma communities in particular, this has included struggling to find employment and decent housing – and so leaving them open to exploitation by landlords and gang-masters – and

⁶ Note: in 2004, eight Central and Eastern European countries – Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia – known collectively as the ‘A8 states’, joined the EU; Romania and Bulgaria, known as the ‘A2 states’, acceded in 2007. However A8 state citizens only gained full access in May 2011 to UK welfare and employment benefits; and A2 citizens didn’t have this access until the end of December 2013 (GHHA, 2012).

facing discrimination from state welfare agencies (Roma-Net, 2011; GHHA, 2012; Paterson et al. 2012); and all this in the context of a European-wide discrimination, both current and historical (Poole & Adamson, n.d.; Davies, 1997). Within this thesis the terminology of a ‘multi-faceted private rental sector “slum housing” crisis’ is used to indicate both the scale and complex consequences of this economic and social crisis *and* its particular manifestation through the appalling housing conditions provided in significant parts of the private rental sector in Govanhill – and in neighbouring communities⁷.

Within such a context, given the levels of poverty and distress experienced, there have been significant social tensions too. Nevertheless the community and local community sector continue to demonstrate social strength, with a multitude of community organisations and groups from across the community’s diversity working to sustain social cohesion and to partner with the public sector to provide relevant services (Bynner, 2010; Lynch, 2010; Roma-Net, 2011; GHHA, 2012; Harkins & Egan, 2012a). Further, members of the community and supporters have also mounted a decade long campaign of protest against GCC’s closure of the public swimming pool and have established the Govanhill Baths Community Trust that now provides a community centre in the building and is working to re-open the pool facilities (Mooney & Fyfe, 2006; Lynch, 2010).

Govanhill Housing Association (GHHA) was formed in 1974, one of the earliest of the community housing associations in Glasgow (GWSFHA, 1999), as an Industrial and Provident Society with a management committee of local tenants and residents; and has grown since to own 1284 properties in 1994 (Thomas, 1999) and currently, following a second stage transfer from Glasgow Housing Association in 2011 of former GCC housing stock in the area, owns approx. 2350 properties, about 2200 in Govanhill⁸.

⁷ Note: the terms ‘slum housing’ and ‘slum landlords’ were used by GHHA, Govanhill Law Centre and community partners, in relation to the crisis faced by Govanhill residents, in their petitioning (PE1189) of the Scottish Parliament in 2008 (GHHA, 2008; Scottish Parliament Public Petitions Committee, 2008). Govanhill Law Centre (n.d.) also provided photographic evidence of the conditions residents, view at: <http://www.govanlc.com/privateflatsgovanhill.htm>. In 2008, initial estimates were of 750 being ‘below tolerable standard’ (GHHA, 2008) and of almost 2000 homes needing essential repairs (Perry, 2008).

⁸ Note: the 2nd stage transfer also resulted in 125 GHA/GCC properties in Merrylee, as part of the Merrylee Local Housing Organisation, and one and half miles south of Govanhill, being transferred to GHHA too. Scottish Housing Regulator figures for GHHA at March 2013 indicate total stock of self-contained units of 2357 self-contained and 8 non self-contained bed-spaces, and this can be viewed via: http://www.esystems.scottishhousingregulator.gov.uk/register/reg_pub_dsp.show_rsl_info?pi_reg_no=117.

Maps: Govanhill

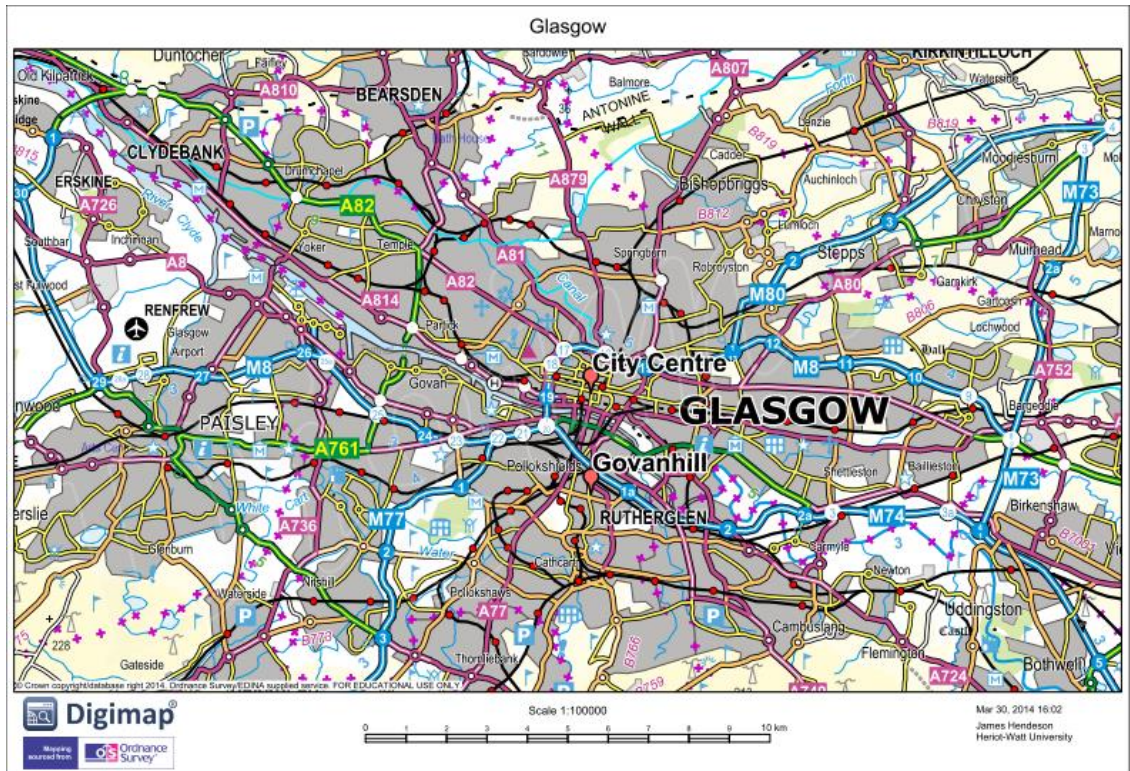


Figure 2: Map giving Govanhill's position in the City of Glasgow

Govanhill is just over a mile to the south of Glasgow City Centre across the River Clyde, with the M74 running between Govanhill and northerly neighbour the Gorbals.

© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.

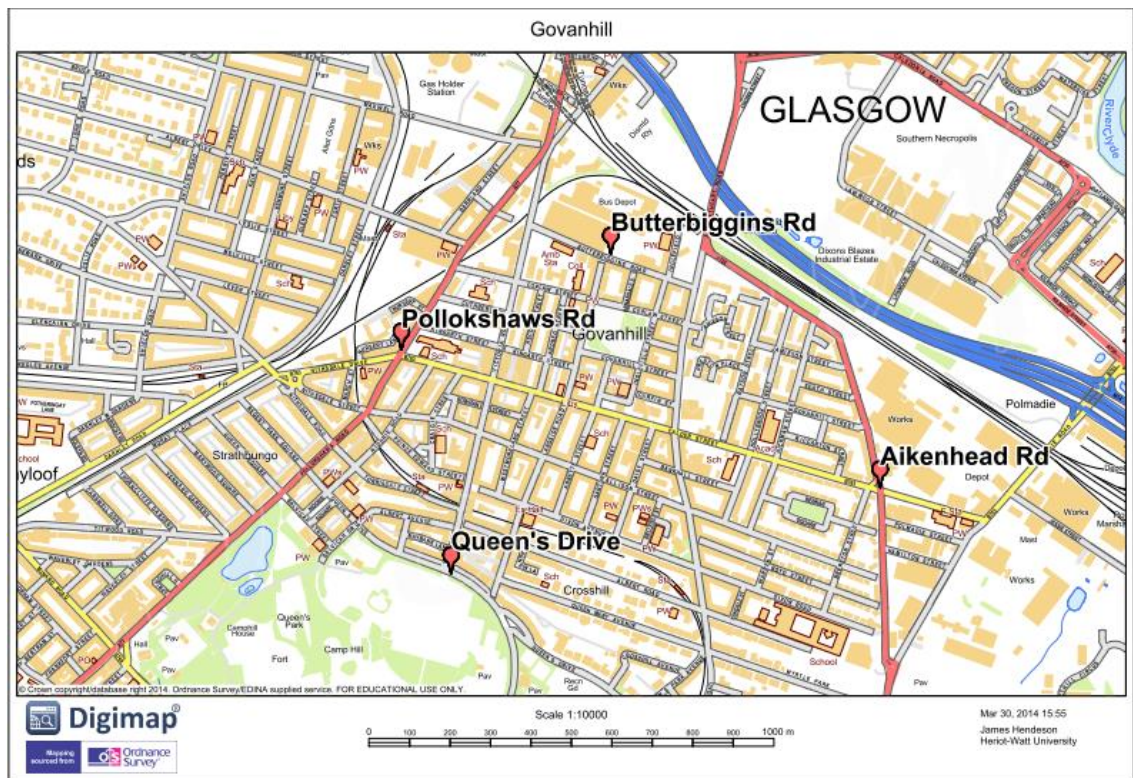


Figure 3: Map of Govanhill and neighbouring communities

The exact area considered as ‘Govanhill’ can vary, at least in regard to state-generated boundaries, Claire Bynner (2010: 5) in her report for the Govanhill Neighbourhood Management Steering Group outlines the broadest area likely to be considered as Govanhill as follows:

The neighbourhood referred to in this report as ‘Govanhill’ stretches from Butterbiggin's Road in the north to Queen's Drive at the edge of the Queens Park in the South taking in the area of Crosshill. To the west Govanhill is bordered by Pollokshaws Road and to the east by Aikenhead Road.

© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.

Alongside this, and through its work as part of the Govanhill Service Hub, GHHA now plays a ‘local agent’ role on behalf of GCC in respect of private rental and owner-occupier housing in the area and their maintenance; and provides factoring services to approx. 1000 properties locally too.

Given GHHA’s long-standing role in the regeneration of the area, it has developed its community social and economic development capacity such that it leads on or supports community building and tenant/resident participation, community enterprise development, employment training and community sector development, including through its two subsidiaries, Govanhill Community Development Trust (GCDT) and Great Gardens. It also provides a range of welfare services, including GOSIP (Govanhill Social Inclusion Project) concerned for BME (Black and minority ethnics) tenants and residents, as well as office space for other community organisations providing advocacy and support, including Govanhill Law Centre, Crossroads Youth and Community Association and South Seeds. The organisation now employs 55.5 FTE (full-time equivalent) staff.⁹

1.4.2: Creetown Initiative in Creetown and Kirkmabreck, Dumfries and Galloway

Creetown is a village of approximately 680 people (General Register Office for Scotland¹⁰, 2011 census data) within the rural Parish of Kirkmabreck, population 955 (Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics [SNS]¹¹, 2011 data), which also includes the neighbouring small village of Carsluith and other outlying minor settlements. Creetown is situated by the Solway Firth in Dumfries & Galloway (DG), just off the A75 trunk road, and five miles to the south-east of the small town of Newton Stewart. It is almost mid-way between the ‘regional capital’ and larger town of Dumfries to the east, with connections to the M74, and the town of Stranraer and ferry services (in nearby Cairnryan) to Northern Ireland. It is part of the Dumfries & Galloway Council (DGC) local authority area, a mostly rural region in which many places are considered

⁹ Note: at March 2013, source is Scottish Housing Regulator (2010/11), view: http://www.esystems.scottishhousingregulator.gov.uk/publicdocuments/CS_028908.pdf

¹⁰ Note: view via: <http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk/census/index.html> but data material directly provided by Dumfries & Galloway Council to the researcher.

¹¹ Note: the parish of Kirkmabreck approximately matches data-zone S01000928 on the Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics website, view at: <http://www.sns.gov.uk/>

economically fragile; and with a predicted future population decline, although increasing housing demand, and increasingly ‘ageing’ population (Skerratt et al., 2012).

The parish was known for its granite quarries which dominated the local economy from the second half of the 19th century into the 20th (Cutland, 2007). These quarries are now long closed, and types of employment are varied and dispersed (DGC, n.d., 2001 census; General Register for Scotland, 2011 data) within Creetown village. The recent closure of small pre-cast concrete/steel works with a loss of approx. 40 jobs (Galloway Gazette, 2011) points to yet further pressures on provision of local employment. Census data (DGC, n.d., 2001 census; General Register for Scotland, 2011 data) points to an ongoing above (Scottish) average levels of unemployment, part-time employment and self-employment, and lower than average levels of full-time employment, currently and over the last decade. This also generates a coherent picture with wider perspectives on the regional economy in DG: below national average levels of GVA (Gross Value Added) and higher levels of unemployment than the Scottish average (DGC, 2011; Skerratt et al., 2012); but with by far the highest levels in Scotland of those with earnings below a ‘living wage’ (£7.45 per hour currently, 2013/14, and set to rise to £7.65 in 2014/15) in Scotland (Markit: 2012, 2013; Third Force News, 2013)¹². Despite pressures on local services and businesses, with Creetown’s high street as witness to decreasing numbers over the decades, the research – see for instance discussion in 7.3 and 8.2.2 – characterises the community as ‘close-knit’ and many committed to generating initiatives that aim to sustain a future for the village and area.

The populations of Creetown village and of Kirkmabreck Parish have been in a relative decline over the last century (Cutland, 2007: 44; DGC, n.d.)¹³ and are also ‘ageing’ relative to the Scottish average, with high numbers of older people and lower numbers of working age adults (SNS, 2011 data). However there are still sufficient children, just

¹² Note: the figure given for Dumfries & Galloway region is that 36% of those employed are paid below ‘the Living Wage’ (Markit, 2013: 15) compared to a Scottish average of 20% and UK average of 21%. This is by far the highest figure for a local authority in Scotland with ‘second placed’ Clackmannanshire with 29%; and likewise Dumfries & Galloway shows a related and significant lower median average wage than the Scottish median average, £8.57 per hour compared to £11.13 per hour (UK median average, £11.26 per hour). The Markit 2013 report notes these figures as estimated by drawing from Office of National Statistics data and its own national household survey data.

¹³ Note: although 2001 census data for Creetown gives its population as 685 people (DGC, n.d.) and thus in comparison to the 2011 census data given earlier there is a suggestion that the population may have currently ‘stabilised’.

above the Scottish average in fact (SNS, 2011 data) – and their families – to maintain a local primary school in the village¹⁴.

The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD 2012)¹⁵ records significant numbers of people considered ‘income deprived’¹⁶ in Kirkmabreck Parish, 3% above the Scottish average; while there is some older evidence of spatial concentration of poverty (DGC, 1999), potentially related to social housing in the village, which is recorded as a fifth of housing in the parish and so likely higher in the village itself (SNS, using 2001 data¹⁷). SIMD 2012 notes, however, positive scores, as in moving towards ‘least deprived’, for the ‘health deprivation’ and ‘crime deprivation’ indices¹⁸. The SIMD 2012 highlights a particularly significant problem in accessing geographical services, where it is ranked in the bottom 20% of deprived of communities. Given the recent Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE) report (Hirsch et al., n.d.¹⁹) that argues that between 10% to 40% higher incomes are needed in rural Scotland to reach a ‘minimum income standard’, in comparison to urban areas, there is an evidence base of some substance for claiming broadly that sizeable numbers of people living in Creetown/Kirkmabreck will be living on low or very low incomes, and for many insufficient to sustain such a minimum income standard.

The Creetown Initiative (CI) began in the early 2000s as a community group taking on joint management of local woodland with the Forestry Commission Scotland. In 2006, it employed its first development worker to take forward a mix of community development projects, including a series of increasingly complex community arts and community regeneration work, and the development of a community hall; and more

¹⁴ Note: SNS (2011 data) records Kirkmabreck as: children, 18.39%; working age, 51.56%; pensionable age, 30.05%; whilst, respectively, Dumfries & Galloway region as 16.41%, 57.49%, 26.1%; and the Scottish average as 17.38%, 62.79%, 19.83%.

¹⁵ Note: SIMD data can be accessed via the Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics website, view <http://www.sns.gov.uk/>, or the SIMD website, view: <http://simd.scotland.gov.uk/publication-2012/>.

¹⁶ Note: SIMD 2012 identifies the ‘income domain’ or income deprivation index as being calculated relative to adults receiving certain benefits income support, income-based Employment and Support Allowance, Guaranteed Pension Credit, Job Seekers Allowance, or Tax Credits for families on low incomes; and for children being cared for by a recipients of one of these; view at: <http://simd.scotland.gov.uk/publication-2012/technical-notes/domains-and-indicators/income-domain/>.

¹⁷ Note: remains consistent with Census 2011 data from the General Register of Scotland.

¹⁸ Note: given in the 7th decile for health deprivation and 9th decile for crime deprivation – where 1 is ‘most deprived’ and 10 ‘least deprived’.

¹⁹ Note: although the report itself is undated, the HIE website indicates it as published in 2013, view: <http://www.hie.co.uk/regional-information/economic-reports-and-research/>.

Maps: Creetown

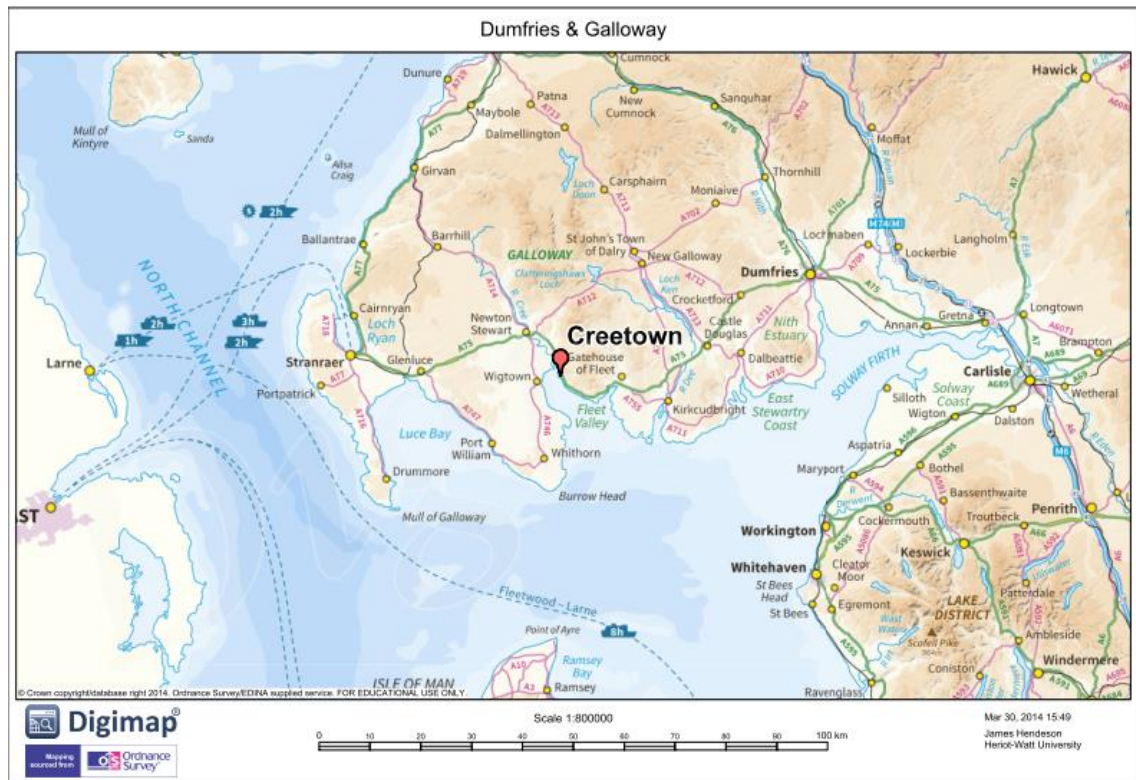


Figure 4: Map giving Creetown's position within Dumfries & Galloway

Creetown is approximately mid-way along the A75 between the towns of Dumfries, to the east, and Stranraer, to the west in Dumfries & Galloway. Significant communication links are also apparent: the ferry links between Cairnryan and Northern Ireland in the west, and the M74 and mainline railway running north from Carlisle to Glasgow and Scotland's central belt, in the east.

© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.

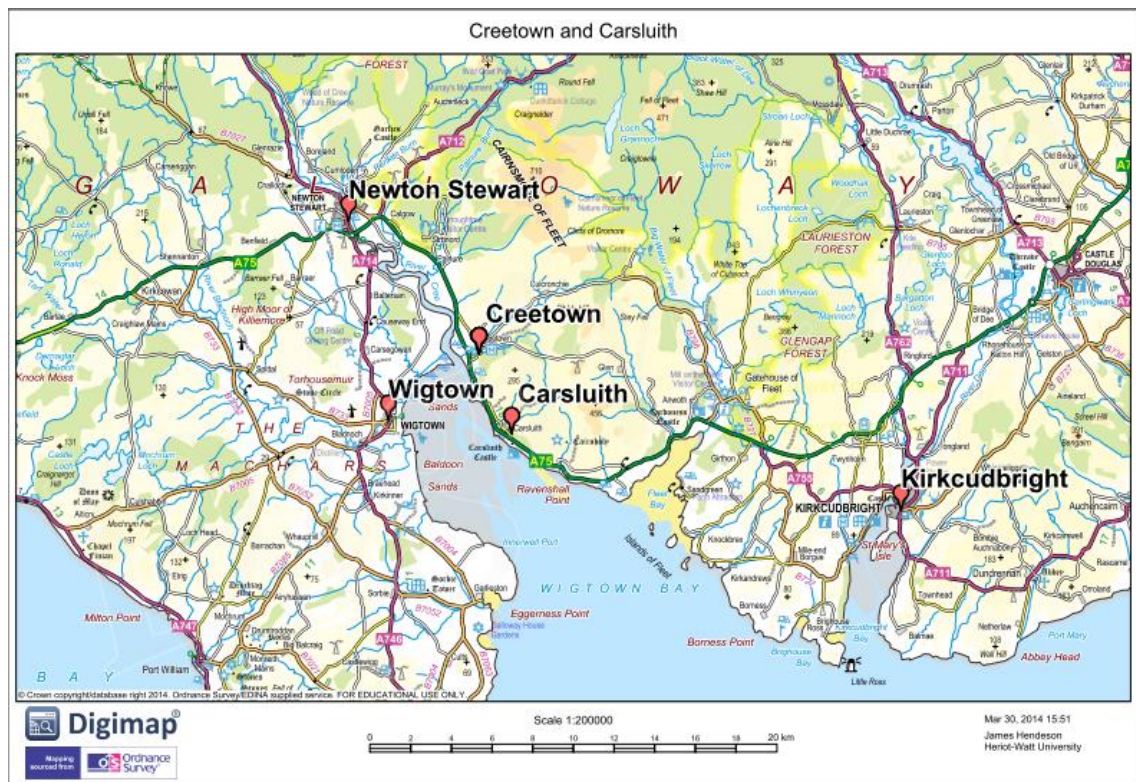


Figure 5: Map of Creetown, Carsluith and neighbouring towns – with notes on the Parish of Kirkmabreck

Creetown, and the smaller village of Carsluith, are on the edge of Wigtown Bay in Dumfries & Galloway. They are the largest settlement areas within the Parish of Kirkmabreck on the south west coast of Scotland. The Parish boundary extends approximately 9 miles (north and south of the two villages) and, somewhat variably, 5 miles inland, and covers an area of 25,000 acres (CI, 2014b). The Parish remains listed on civil parishes by the General Register for Scotland, view <http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk/famrec/list-of-parishes-registration-districts.html>; an old map of the original Parish can be viewed on a Stewartry of Kirkcudbright historical website via: <http://www.kirkcudbright.co/kirkmabreck.asp>. The larger local towns of Newton Stewart, Wigtown and Kirkcudbright are also marked, with Castle Douglas further to the east.

© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.

recently CI has developed environmental and income-saving initiatives including a community transport and cycling project and energy efficiency audits. As well as undertaking a growing number of consultancy projects to generate earned income, CI is working towards other income streams through developing a micro-hydro community renewables project and a community enterprise centre: with the micro-hydro potentially able to generate sufficient income to cover CI's core costs in the longer term²⁰. It has also brought into the organisation, and community, significant levels of state and philanthropic funding in recent years: estimated as approx. £800,000 (Creetown Initiative, n.d.) between 2008/9 – 2012/13²¹. It currently employs a mix of full-time and part-time staff, eight people in total.

Note: most of the time within this thesis, and for the sake of convenience, the term 'Creetown' is used to describe *both* Creetown, the village, and the wider parish of Kirkmabreck; although at times, and to remind readers of the wider community, the term 'Creetown/Kirkmabreck' is also used. Where only the village itself is being considered the term 'Creetown village' is used.

1.4.3: Northmavine Community Development Company and Northmavine, Shetland

Northmavine is the most northerly peninsula on the 'Shetland Mainland'; approximately 15 miles north to south in length, and almost 25 miles from Shetland's main town, Lerwick. Just to the south of Northmavine, but distinct from it, lies the small town of Brae: round to the north-east from Brae is the Sullom Voe oil terminal. There are five main settlements within the parish – Eshaness, Hillswick and neighbouring Urafirth, North Roe, Ollaberry and Sullom – each with their own sense of identity, as well as many other smaller settlements. Northmavine's (Parish) population is estimated at just less than 800 people, and this has been in decline over the last two decades, by perhaps 15% in the last decade (Shetland Islands Council [SIC], 2011a); but Northmavine does not currently show signs of becoming an 'ageing' population, at least not any faster than

²⁰ Note: CI estimates the micro-hydro will generate net income of approx. £190k by year 15 once the loan has been paid off; with net profit of £19k in year 1 (CI: 2014a)

²¹ Note: a more recent (September 2013) informal estimate from CI indicated that a total of over £1million of such state and philanthropic funding had been established for community projects since 2006.

Scotland as a whole, although numbers of children are slightly below the Scottish average.²²

Locally-based employment has seemingly significantly declined too over the last decade²³, particularly in the early 2000s with the closure of a fish processing plant (SIC, n.d. [1]) and of the local hotel (Laurenson, 2007): however the hotel has since re-opened in 2008 and the fish processing plant is to re-open (Shetland Times, 2013)²⁴. Fishing, agriculture and public sector/social care make up almost 70% of this local employment, with tourism and wholesale/retail much of the rest (Westbrook, 2011). Unemployment remains low, however, with many commuting further afield to work; significant numbers are both employed and sustain a working croft. More generally, Shetland's economy remains buoyant and grew by 27% between 2003 and 2013, and with employment levels increasing and unemployment remaining low for the last decade, though with the suggestion that wages were not increasing at the same rate as output – a decreasing share of overall output in fact, whilst profits seemingly increased as a share of output (Dyer, Roberts & Blackadder, n.d.). Yet SIC has continued to make cuts to its own public expenditure from 2011/12, as the more general trend in Scotland and the UK; and despite significant transfers from SIC's substantial reserve, which continued in 2013/14 (SIC: 2011a, 2011b; Riddell, 2013; Griffiths, 2013; Hastings et al., 2013).

Public services within Northmavine are therefore under pressure, with two of the three local primary schools to be under review by SIC given its programme of public spending cuts, and with only Hillswick and Ollaberry now having local general stores – both community-owned. There is seemingly a shifting local authority focus of services to Brae, as a particular focus for economic and service development for the whole 'North Mainland' within the proposed Local Development Plan (SIC, 2012).

Nevertheless, the community as a whole remains close-knit, showing considerable

²² Note: within the Northmavine data-zone (S01005519), which covers most of the parish – but not quite all, with those living in and around Sullom (100+ people) in the Brae data-zone – the SNS (2011 data) records 16.05% children, 64.51% working age, 19.49 pensionable age; compared, respectively, to Shetland average as 18.87%, 61.18%, 19.95%; and the Scottish average as 17.38%, 62.79%, 19.83%.

²³ Note: the Economic Development Unit of Shetland Islands Council provided statistical information in an unpublished format – although published or used as a source in other documents – from their Shetland Employment surveys 2003 and 2007 – that indicated in 2003 there were 108 FTE jobs to be found in Northmavine itself, but that this had fallen to 76 FTE by 2007.

²⁴ Note: it is unclear how quickly the re-opening of the fish processing plant – now to process crab – would generate new employment opportunities for those living locally in Northmavine given the company is transferring from elsewhere in Shetland and bringing at least some existing staff.

community commitment and sense of community identity, although lower levels of optimism as to the community's future (Sneddon Economics Ltd, 2010)²⁵.

Northmavine generally, as do communities as a whole in Shetland, scores relatively well on the SIMD 2012 indices; but as with Creetown this hides significant levels of deprivation and low incomes. Whilst SIMD 2012 records 'income deprived' numbers as 8%, and so well below the Scottish average of 13%, this generates a misleading perspective. In part, simply because 8% is a very significant number of people, in itself, and does not include the many others who are at vulnerable to becoming 'income deprived'; particularly if unemployment levels were to increase due to economic downturn and/or wage levels were to fall., Yet also because the measure of 'income deprivation' doesn't fully take into account the wider context. For, as noted with Creetown, the HIE report (Hirsch et al., n.d.) on the minimum income standard needed for rural and remote communities argues that very significantly higher income levels are required in rural areas, particularly very remote ones like Northmavine, than in urban areas to meet this standard. The very low rating Northmavine receives through SIMD 2012 for accessing geographical services – 85th lowest out of 6505 communities in Scotland – further illustrates the vulnerability of those on low incomes, and the fit with the HIE report. And this is coherent with a SIC (2006) report on Deprivation and Social Exclusion in Shetland²⁶ that describes a picture of Northmavine that includes: low pay and low security employment within the area; transport problems, particularly for women, in accessing services; lack of services/opportunities for younger people, older people and disabled people; many in poor housing without adequate heating (in a cold damp climate); and a shortage of housing for young people.

Westbrook²⁷ (2011) draws on data to show Northmavine as having significantly lower household incomes than almost any other area of Shetland, whilst North Roe, Northmavine's most northerly settlement, is significantly lower still. Looking beyond the more encouraging SIMD 2012 indices, a picture emerges of economic and social

²⁵ Note: a community survey undertaken for Highlands and Islands Enterprise.

²⁶ Note: A copy of the Executive Summary of this SIC report is still available via the internet, but not the full report. The material on Northmavine is listed however on two separate occasions in other reports: (1) Westbrook, 2011; and (2) in SIC, n.d.[2]).

²⁷ Note: the source of data is given as: SIC Housing Department 2009, and itself derived from CACI Paycheck data. Northmavine was then recorded as having median household income levels of £27,227, with the Shetland median average given as £30,180; the North Roe area was particularly low with a £22,691 median income and a mean average income of £25,298.

Maps: Northmavine

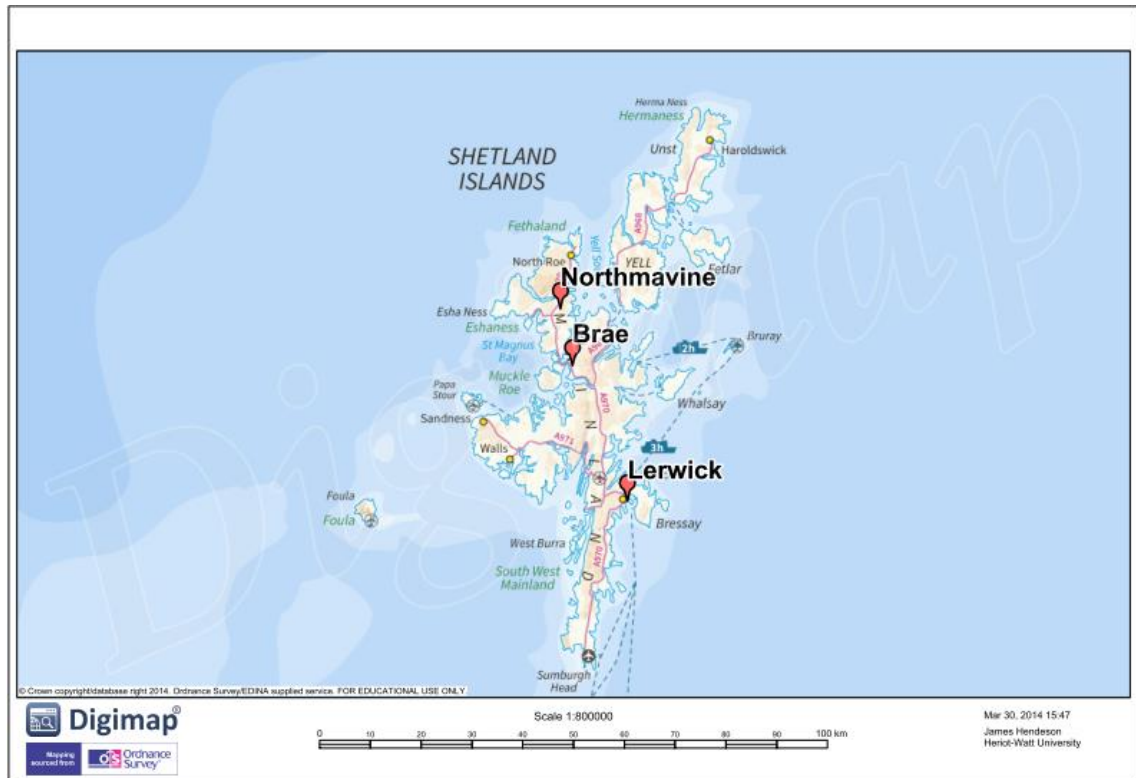


Figure 6: Map giving Northmavine's position within the Shetland Islands

The Shetland mainland runs from Sumburgh Head (and airport) in the far south, up to the most northerly peninsula of Northmavine. Lerwick is the main town and provides the ferry services (passenger and freight) to the Scottish mainland (Aberdeen).

© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.

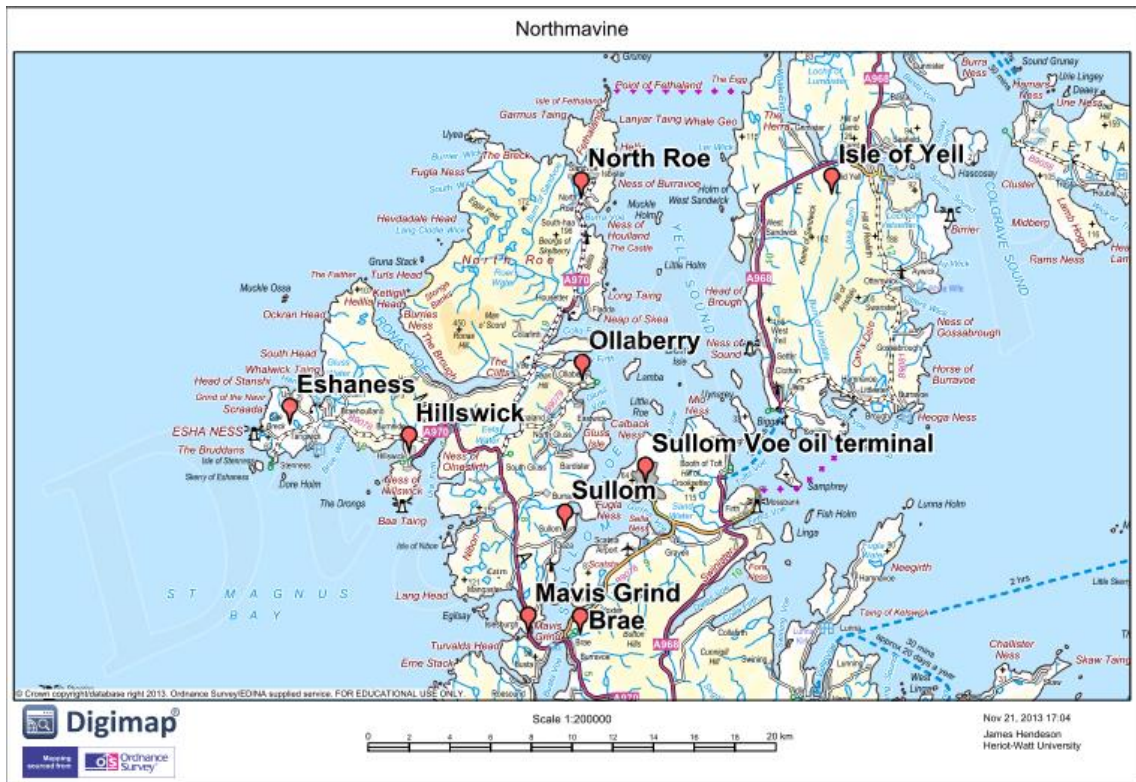


Figure 7: Map of Northmavine

Northmavine is the peninsula to the north of Mavis Grind, a narrow isthmus. The five main settlements of Eshaness, Hillswick, North Roe, Ollaberry and Sullom are marked. The small town of Brae is just to the south of Northmavine, with the rest of the Shetland ‘mainland’ to the south, east and north-east of Brae including the Sullom Voe oil terminal. The Parish of Northmavine remains listed on civil parishes by the General Register for Scotland, view <http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk/famrec/list-of-parishes-registration-districts.html>.

© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.

inequalities at work here too, with significant numbers in the area experiencing or at risk of incomes below a minimum standard income (Hirsch et al. n.d.; see also NCDC, 2008; SIC 2011c [2009]).

Northmavine Community Development Company (NCDC) began in 2004 as part of the Scottish Executive's 'Initiative at the Edge', which was aimed at supporting Highlands and Islands communities at risk of social and economic decline. Its early work was focused on agreeing, community-wide, a Northmavine Development Plan – across social and economic matters – and which resulted in initiatives on housing, tourism, the environment, youth work and childcare. More recently, with funding from SIC and HIE tapering, the focus has been on integrating income generation and community development, which has resulted in the following projects: the development with the local community of Hillswick Shop – local store with fuel pumps and cash machine; management and ownership of local property and proposals to further develop other property including a community business hub; and project management roles and business support, including at the local pier/marina.

1.5: Looking across the thesis as a whole: chapter outlines

In 1.2.2 above a very brief outline was given of which chapters emphasise which elements of the RAOs. The chapter outline here aims to give the reader a sense of the flow of discussion across the thesis.

Chapter 2: broadly considers the research methodology, and in the first instance, through outlining a qualitative case-study research methodology and its relevance to the RAOs; and then a positioning of this within a theoretical research perspective drawing from social constructionism, structuration theory and critical inquiry. The methodology and its working out in actual practice are then considered through a series of key issues: participation within the process; case-study and interviewee selection; interpretation and analysis; and some of the dynamics of power within the research process. Finally, consideration is given to the 'robustness' of the research process and the constraints placed upon it.

Chapter 3: provides both theoretical background and a certain element of theoretical development that give further substance to a CSTP. The discussion initially considers a

contemporary understanding of community and local community and likewise of the community sector and related informal community networks. Such discussion is then positioned within wider debates of public and urban policy and of political economy, over recent decades and relative to current trends in England and Scotland. Finally, by considering key debates relevant to theorising on community development, social capital and structural inequalities, and the social economy, further key theoretical discussions and issues are raised for a CSTP.

Chapter 4: considers the development of the community anchor model in the UK, providing theoretical background from which a CACE can be understood and then further considered in Chapter 5. The model's antecedents in both the UK and US are recognised and developments in England and in Scotland in relation to both policy and practice outlined. Three key areas of practice are further explored in readiness for interpretation and analysis relative to the empirical inquiry: community-led practice; 'sustainable independence' – the necessary organisational and financial strength to develop a 'local mission' independent of government policy; and the multi-purpose role of community anchors. Whilst focusing on practice, there is recognition that policy inevitably shapes and constrains much of practice too, and that there will likely therefore be tensions between the community sector and state.

Chapter 5: provides theoretical background and theoretical development as it seeks to build a more particular understanding of a CACE positioned with political economic concerns, which are of relevance to a CSTP too. The thinking of the SCA on community empowerment and community anchors provides the initial focus, and the thinking of John Pearce (2003) in imagining a developing social economy furthers this discussion. Pearce's thinking on a modern mixed economy then provides a political economic model which is augmented by theorising on forms of economic coordination (Harvey, 2009 [1973]). Tensions between a CACE and neo-liberal political economy are then explored through discussion of rival narratives of 'community management' and 'community ownership', and there is recognition of the critical role of the state here in support of local economic development and welfare through brief considerations of (some of) the work of Phillip Blond (2010) and of the Jimmy Reid Foundation (2013).

Chapter 6: begins a mutually-reinforcing discussion of the developing theory and the case-study material in relation to community-led practice and 'sustainable

independence'. A community-led practice is considered and illustrated as a developing local democratic practice through a series of inter-relating themes of community grounded-ness, community diversity, community sector development, leadership and representativeness; whilst considering too constraints on local control through the wider social systems of the nation state. Sustainable independence is considered and illustrated through discussion of approaches to working towards an increasing financial sustainability, organisational strength, malleable organisational culture. Again, such a 'sustainable independence' is considered relative to working relationships with the state.

Chapter 7: considers further the developing theory and the empirical inquiry in relation to the multi-purpose role of community anchors and the thinking of research participants on community empowerment. The multi-purpose role of community anchors is considered initially through dimensions of community development: community economic and social development; partnership-working with the state; advocacy, campaigning and policy/political changes. And further discussion is developed of the complexity that such a role inevitably generates including relationships with the state and 'the grassroots'. Discussion of the thinking of those working within the community sector as to their understanding, expectations and aspirations of 'community empowerment' likewise further adds to a diverse picture of practice and potential relations with the state.

Chapter 8: builds from the political economic concerns of both the theoretical chapters (3-5) and the discussions within Chapter 6 and 7, as to the relationship between community anchors/community sector and the state, to further explore the complexity of relations between the community sector and the state through the case-study material. The concentrating of economic development by the state and the market, within particular places, is explored as a conflict and challenge to community anchor practices. Similarly, the state's concern for 'community management' is explored as a conflict and challenge to community sector aspirations to 'community ownership'. A final discussion considers the foci for discussions within the community sector as to strategies that seek to cope with the dilemmas of working with the state, whilst seeking to sustain a distinctive social and political economic vision(s) distinct from the state.

(Concluding) Chapter 9: this chapter firstly returns to the RAOs to summarise the findings as to what has been learnt about a CACE/CSTP in relation to practice and

political economy; and to consider what has been learnt about the relationship between community anchors and community empowerment and how this might be further investigated. It then discusses what has been learnt about the research process and its constraints, and the potential for working to establish a ‘community-led’ community sector research agenda, before concluding briefly with thoughts on disseminating learning from the project to various audiences.

1.6: Concluding thoughts

This chapter has provided the necessary introduction and overview to the thesis as a whole, initially, in 1.2, through articulating to the reader both ‘the why’ and ‘the what’ in relation to the direction of the research and its more particular foci through the RAOs – the Research Aims and Objectives.

Section 1.3 has then outlined the key theoretical concepts, constructions and frameworks in relation to:

- a community sector theory and practice (CSTP) and a community anchor/community empowerment narrative (CACE);
- the social economy and its positioning within the wider socio-economic systems of the nation state and global economy;
- structuration theory and more generally ‘social theory’ as a seeking to understand the dynamics of power within society; and
- current ‘active’ varieties of political economy – as neo-liberalism, post-Keynesian and an aspirational ‘steady-state’ economy as one articulation of ‘post-capitalism’.

The outlines of the case-study community organisations and respective communities in section 1.4 have supplied the reader with an initial understanding of organisations, communities and their socio-economic context that can then inform their understanding of the developing theory, interpretation and analysis that follow. While section 1.5 aims to give the reader an overview of the trajectory of the discussions and arguments across the thesis as it works towards its conclusions.

This chapter, then, provides an initial intellectual grounding from which further theoretical background can be established, and the necessary ‘scaffolding’ completed, as per Michael Crotty’s (1998) metaphor (see 2.2). This process continues in Chapter 2,

where the research methodology and related theoretical perspective are outlined, and in Chapter 3, where in-depth theoretical background in relation to relevant policy and practice are considered. The three chapters together complete a theoretical-base from which further literature review and theoretical development, and the interpretation and analysis of empirical inquiry, follow in the later chapters (4-9).

Chapter 2: A developing qualitative and critical case-study research methodology

2.1: Introduction

This chapter seeks to articulate the researcher's adopted and developing research methodology through considerations of both key elements of relevant theory and the actual unfolding research process or practice. Two key sections of discussion are thus generated: that relating to theoretical considerations of research methodology and theoretical perspective, and the relevance of a qualitative and critical case-study research methodology to the RAOs; and that relating to the implementation and development of the actual and unfolding research process. The concluding section considers how the research process might be evaluated as to its 'robustness' in terms of what can be said to have been achieved thus far; and how it could be understood as part of a developing and wider body of research into the community sector and its role.

The chapter, therefore, generates the following broad discussions:

- (2.2) Constructing a qualitative and critical case-study research methodology
- (2.3) A developing research methodology within an unfolding research process
- (2.4) Concluding thoughts: understanding the research process as robust

2.2: Constructing a qualitative and critical case-study research methodology

Michael Crotty (1998) provides a framework or 'scaffolding' for construction of the theoretical background to a social research project, through emphasis on consideration of four key elements: epistemology, and its related ontology²⁸; theoretical perspective; research methodology; and research methods. Each element is understood as informing of the others, and so to be integrated and open to development; rather than as in some hierarchical relationship. This section then seeks to build such scaffolding, initially through consideration of the relevance of a qualitative case-study research methodology to the RAOs. The focus then shifts to developing further understanding of such a methodology and its relationship with wider theoretical perspectives of structuration theory, social constructionism, and critical inquiry. In the process, a key central 'constraint' on any research process is recognised, that of the researcher's own

²⁸ Note: Crotty (1998: 8, citing Hamlyn, 1995) describes *epistemology* as "deals with 'the nature of knowledge, its possibility, scope and general basis'."; whilst *ontology* (1998: 10) engages "with 'what is', the nature of existence, with the structure of reality as such." The two, Crotty concludes (1998: 10), "emerge together".

interpretational perspective – the ‘researcher bias’ – and questions of power raised within the research process itself; in particular the researcher’s key role in contextualising learning from the empirical inquiry through consideration of the workings of the socio-economic systems of the nation state and beyond.

In terms of terminology, the term ‘qualitative’ is used here despite some ambiguity as to the meanings it carries. Both Giddens (1984) and Crotty (1998) argue that understanding ‘qualitative’ and ‘quantitative’ as the ‘great divide’ in social research is misleading, with the data collection methods relating to each being potentially relevant to many research methodologies and their related theoretical perspectives, including across the epistemological/ontological perspectives of objectivism, social constructionism, and subjectivism. However, Robert Stake (1995) in his discussion of a qualitative case-study methodology generates useful distinctions around ‘qualitative’ and ‘quantitative’ *research practice* in relation to: (i) *qualitative* as relating to aspirations to understand and interpret widely, for instance through an increasing breadth and depth of issues; and (ii) *quantitative* as relating to aspirations to define, investigate and analyse tightly in relation to particular issues or variables in order to develop and test causal explanations. Stake does recognise such differences as lying at each end of a continuum, with all social researchers likely to use elements of qualitative and quantitative approaches, but finds the two as useful shorthand for illustrating different trends in social research. This researcher finds the terms ‘interpretative’ and ‘analytical’ more useful as description of these same broad trends in research practice, but within this thesis stays with the more traditional terminology of ‘qualitative’ and ‘quantitative’ to save further layers of complexity and potential confusion.

The section takes the following course:

- (2.2.1) The Research Aims and Objectives and a case-study research methodology
- (2.2.2) Further exploration of a qualitative case-study research methodology
- (2.2.3) Structuration theory and a developing ‘critical’ research perspective
- (2.2.4) Towards a qualitative and critical case-study research methodology

2.2.1: The Research Aims and Objectives and a case-study research methodology

The Research Aims (RAs) work with broader conceptual narratives of a CACE and a CSTP rather than tightly-defined concepts: although RA3 and RO4, as an exploration of the relationship between community anchors and community empowerment, could potentially support the ‘testing’ of a particular hypothesis or generalisation of a ‘community anchor as a necessary step for greater community empowerment’. As is discussed in the concluding Chapter 9, in 9.3.2, such a complex research project would need considerable conceptual development in order to generate the tightly-defined concepts within a CACE to support intensive qualitative and quantitative data collection, interpretation and analysis. This then is beyond the scope of this particular project, yet could be built through it.

The Research Objectives (ROs) are focused on two key areas of working: theoretical construction in relation to theory and practice *and* empirical investigation through a case-study methodology, and relative to this theoretical construction. However, whilst the theoretical construction crucially draws from the existing literature, it should not be understood as completely independent of the empirical investigations and related interpretation and analysis that follow in later chapters. The two have inevitably impacted on the development of each other and, further so, as the thesis has been drafted and redrafted.

The researcher’s previous social research experience within the third sector (for instance, Henderson 1996, 2004a, 2004b, 2006a, 2006b; Henderson & Weston, 2004) has employed several different research methodologies: participatory action research, oral testimony and community history, and qualitative case-study research. This experience provided a starting point for considering a research methodology relevant to engaging with the RAs. However, the potential for other methodologies was recognised too, including: an ethnographic type immersion in a particular context (or case) to understand a collective culture (Bryman, 2008); the use of a mixed methods approach combining elements of ‘qualitative’ and ‘quantitative’ data collection and analysis (Bryman, 2008); and a hypothesis-testing and analytical case-study research approach (Yin, 2009). Each has its own strengths and doubtless each would have provided valuable learning. However, the researcher selected a qualitative case-study methodology for the following key reasons:

Emphasis on practices and context: The two theorists who particularly informed the researcher's construction of a relevant qualitative case-study research methodology, Robert Stake (1995) and Sharan Merriam (2009), have both developed their own thinking through research practice within educational institutions. Both recognise the potential for case-studies to develop complex understandings of particular cases in relation to both practice and activity, *and* context; the latter certainly as local context, and most likely as wider context too. Thus such a case-study methodology fits with the focus of the RAs on understanding a CSTP through matters of practice, the work undertaken by community anchor organisations within local contexts, and matters of political economy, as the wider context through which their work should be considered too.

A flexible research methodology: there is an emphasis within qualitative case-study research on a developing research process in which the development of relevant research questions, data collection methods and interpretation and analysis are not static but potentially dynamic and evolving across the research process (Stake, 1995), from initial scoping and design through to writing-up and even dissemination. Given the breadth of the RAOs, such flexibility has proven crucial, as illustrated in the breadth of discussion across Chapters 6, 7 and 8 in relation to the empirical inquiry.

Emphasis on multiple sources of data-collection: both quantitative and qualitative case-study research methodologies emphasise multiple sources of data, in particular understood broadly as observation, interviewing and documentation²⁹, whilst recognising the diversity within each category. Part of the rationale is the use of the interpretative and analytical technique of triangulation, see 2.2.2 below, across these different data sources, and potentially different investigators; such that it supports the development of a more robust quantitative or more complex qualitative interpretation and analysis.

Presenting 'the whole' as 'real life': finally as already indicated above a qualitative case-study methodology aims to develop complex understandings of practice and

²⁹ Note: each is being used here in a broad sense, for instance: observations might include presence at particular 'events' through to complex participant observation; interviews of various types, focus groups as well as more informal conversations and discussions – in this context surveys might also be considered a form of interviewing depending on format; and documentation – as well as the many publications, reports and communications, there are other research materials that carry meaning – artefacts, photos, pictures and so on.

context. The methodology allows an interpretation and analysis of the whole case to be generated, and depending on the form of case-study research report generated, this can be done through use of ‘thick description’ to present the case as ‘real life’ experiences, such that the reader’s imagination and interpretative and analytical abilities are actively engaged. While such thick description is largely absent in this thesis in respect of each case-study organisation and community, the potential remains to develop it within further reporting – see 9.4.1 and 9.5.

As a whole, such thinking illustrates the case for qualitative case-study research as a suitable methodology for exploring, and seeking to understand, the complexity of community anchor practice whilst working in complex local and wider socio-economic contexts; and thus usefully informing a wider CSTP in relation to both practice and political economy. As indicated above, other methodologies would doubtless be productive too, but it is the potential for engaging with the complexity of community anchor practice and context through a case-study methodology that, the researcher is arguing, makes it best placed to meet the challenges of the RAs.

Crucially too, although distinct from the initial RAs, there is significant theoretical common ground between the researcher’s theoretical perspective – drawing from structuration theory, social constructionism and critical inquiry, as discussed in 2.2.3 below – and a qualitative case-study methodology: in particular their common focus on the socially-constructed nature of human knowledge.

2.2.2: Further exploration of a qualitative case-study research methodology

Above, in 2.2.1, the arguments were made for the strengths of such a methodology relative to the RAs. Here, the discussion of this methodology is extended in order to further explain the approach and its thinking relative to interpretation and analysis, and to illustrate a key area of constraint or concern, that of ‘researcher bias’.

Merriam (2009) provides a useful overview as to the nature of a ‘case’ and case-study research, and draws on the work of Stake, Yin and others, to conclude that that the concept of a ‘*bounded system*’ best describes a particular case or focus for the study; although the nature of that bounded-ness and its relations with wider social systems are very likely to be explored further too. Stake (1995) recognises various forms of case-

study research; an in-depth holistic study of a particular and likely ‘obvious’ case as an intrinsic case-study; instrumental case-study where there is also significant focus on certain key issues as well as ‘the whole’; and collective case-study where several or multiple cases are studied and comparisons drawn.

As outlined above, qualitative case-study research is focused on understanding the complexity and contextuality of the case. The evidencing of generalisations can also be part of the process; sometimes as *petite generalisations*, on a small scale in relation to the case; and sometimes as *grand generalisations* with a potentially wider focus (Stake, 1995). However, as indicated in 1.3.1, it is engagement with the ‘issues’ that supports an on-going and active development of research questions and related research process within qualitative case-study research, rather than the likely more static nature of formal hypotheses and tightly-defined concepts that tend to fit with a focus on confirming generalisations. Stake (1995) emphasises qualitative research as working across episodes of (human) time and experience and in seeking understanding and seeing the world differently; this latter presented potentially as social critique. Issues are pursued and then the research shifts to further issues as they arise and become relevant; whereas quantitative research (tends to) pursue particular concepts and further refine and define them.

Stake (1995) also points to qualitative researchers as being likely to take a relativist understanding of knowledge; although relative to its credibility and utility, recognising that not all views, perspectives or theoretical understandings need to be understood as of equal value. Stake also argues for a ‘constructivist’ position in which human knowledge is constructed, either as a day-to-day knowledge – Stake calls this ‘an experiential reality’ – or a more complex theorised knowledge, which Stake calls this ‘rational reality’; but in both cases constructed in relation to an ‘external reality’. Broadly speaking, he works to position qualitative research within a social constructionist theoretical framework³⁰, whilst his discussion of quantitative research approaches

³⁰ Note: Crotty (1998) points to a distinction between an individualist *constructivist* perspective – concerned for individual construction of interpretation – and a social *constructionist* perspective – concerned for the social construction of interpretation: but addresses them both as part of his discussion of a more general constructionism. Stake (1995) does not discuss such a distinction but his sense of a relativism in which not all individual perspectives can be given the same ‘weight’ – relative to credibility and utility – suggests he understands knowledge as a social construction rather than solely an individual one.

suggests he understands this is likely to be set within a post-positivist and objectivist theoretical framework.

A qualitative case-study research methodology lays emphasis on on-going data collection through multiple sources, and an on-going interpretation and analysis that emphasises triangulation in particular through those multiple data sources; although other modes of triangulation such as ‘investigator’, ‘methods’, and ‘theory’ are also potentially useful. Although multiple levels of reality are recognised, as noted above, not all can be given equal weight, and there is a sense that ‘ultimately’ the researcher’s understanding will be given a particular weight or privileged status. For instance, Stake (1995:12) concludes:

We try hard to understand how the actors, the people being studied, see things. Ultimately, the interpretations of the researcher are likely to be emphasized more than the interpretations of those people studied, but the qualitative case researcher tries to preserve the multiple realities, the different and even contradictory views of what is happening.

There is also concern within the case-study tradition for the consequences of the research relative to the research participants – Stake (1995: 108) calls this a ‘consequential validity’ – in that the research process must be careful not to unwittingly or mistakenly harm the reputations of the research participants: this theme is developed further in 2.2.4 below.

The strengths of such a qualitative methodology thus become *further* apparent as its in-depth and broad or holistic approach offers an explicit interpretation of the case and its context through a particular researcher. Yet these can also seem frustrating and limiting, in that ‘the facts’ or the evidence are recognised as contestable and open to re-interpretation; rather than objective statements from which a firm, logical and ‘un-contestable analysis’ can emerge. A key constraint would then seem to be the limitations of a researcher’s own perspective given they develop the research methodology and theoretical perspective, likewise select relevant theory relating to the subject matter, and then work through the actual research process to generate a particular interpretation and analysis. In fact, this could be called ‘researcher bias’, and Merriam (2009: 52; citing Guba & Lincoln, 1981) notes the potential for an ‘unethical

case writer' to intentionally offer a distorted interpretation of a particular case; concluding that a certain wariness is needed when reading any case-study.

Yet such researcher perspective or 'bias' is inevitable within any piece of social research: for it is only to the extent that the researcher constructs a perspective that the research can be actively pursued. It is the accumulation of research on a particular field of study, over time and through various research bodies and researchers with their distinctive perspectives, that offers the potential for more complex, nuanced and critical discussion and understandings to emerge. Similarly, through such an accumulating body of research, the consequences of approaching a subject from different theoretical research perspectives should also become revealed and opened-up for discussion – both in terms of credibility and utility.

2.2.3: Structuration theory and developing a critical theoretical perspective

As indicated in 1.3.3, this research project uses structuration theory as a key theoretical perspective, a social theory, from which to understand the workings of society and the dynamics of power expressed through them. Structuration theory can be positioned within the social constructionist tradition of social research (Crotty, 1998) given Giddens' (1984) recognition that social research is itself part of the process of constructing and understanding social reality.³¹ The researcher gave the briefest introduction earlier to structuration theory through the concepts of 'duality of structure' and a 'contemporary capitalist world economy and a world nation-state system'. Recognition was made too as to its concerns for power and social critique, and this will be developed below. Before doing so, however, some of the key elements of Giddens thinking through structuration theory on the role and undertaking of social research are outlined, as follows.

³¹ Note: whilst Giddens (1984) understands social research as constructing a knowledge-base in which universal laws are not possible, he remains uncertain as to whether this may be possible for those working within the natural sciences. Crotty (1998) acknowledges Giddens' thinking within his discussion of constructionism but argues that from within a social constructionist perspective human knowledge of both social reality and natural reality will be constructed through human social processes and thus that both are relative. Giddens' reflection as to the potentially different qualities of human knowledge derived from natural science as to those from social science seems insightful too, at least to this researcher given the predictive capacity of some of natural science, yet then leaves a certain question mark over whether structuration theory can be fully appreciated from within a social constructionist perspective of epistemology and ontology.

Firstly, Giddens (1984: xvii-xxi; 347) argues for an understanding of social research as fulfilling two general functions:

- understanding ‘frames of meaning’, and related generalisations, that the actors (‘us’) currently hold (“in some guise”) as to their actions and purposes; and this includes where social research offers further development of these current frames of meaning.
- developing (new) generalisations of which the actors are (currently) unaware and so mark a significant departure from existing frames of meaning; these generalisations however should be understood as constrained temporally and spatially i.e. they should not be assumed to hold for all (human) times and places.

Giddens also points through the duality of structure to the particular value of a social research that seeks to explore agency and social systems, and their relations to social structure, and thus hold the potential for a certain transformational role within society.

In built into such theorising, is a second key element, that of ‘the double hermeneutic’. This he describes as the need for social research to understand what the actors (‘us’ as lay-people) already know, frames of meaning, and need to know in order to participate; terming these ‘first order concepts’. Researchers (‘us’ as social researchers) may then generate ‘second order concepts’ through research study and analysis, which *may* in turn become ‘first order concepts’. Thus, he concludes: “*all social research has a necessarily cultural, ethnographic or ‘anthropological’ aspect to it*” (1984: 284), and whilst structuration theory doesn’t argue for particular research methods, accepting the potential value of both qualitative and quantitative methods, this double hermeneutic does constrain how research data can be understood. In particular, quantitative social data is collected *not* simply as independent phenomena, as assumed with “*the movement of mercury within a thermometer*” (1984: 334), but as very much part of social life and the dynamics of meaning within it.

Finally, Giddens (1984: 327) argues for four ‘points of entry’ into a social research study: frames of meaning; the practical consciousness of the actor – doing rather than self-conscious thinking and reflection; the self-consciousness of actors; and the workings of social systems and institutions (institutional orders). A social research project may have more than one point of entry, or may seek to focus on social systems,

as institutional analysis, or individual agency, as strategic conduct, although in both cases potentially seeking to address social structure. This he (1984: 288) terms a “methodological bracketing”; in effect a temporary ‘putting on hold’ of one part of the duality of structure.

The duality of structure offers an interpretative narrative from which to consider the dynamics of power within a society, and Giddens points to two key elements of social structure in relation to ‘domination’ as mobilisation of ‘allocative resources’, a command over objects; *and* as ‘authoritative resources’, command over people. Thus, the concept of power becomes central to understanding society within structuration theory, and is understood broadly as “*the means of getting things done*” (1984: 283). He points to certain characteristics of power as follows:

- power as not necessarily divisive, nor related solely to sectional interests, yet often a focus for ‘power struggles’;
- recognising “asymmetries of distribution” (1984: 31), inequalities between social groups, within social systems and in relation to individual interactions;
- as not only action, but non-action, and encompassing the role of ‘mobilisation of bias’ within institutions (citing Bachrach & Baratz, 1962), sometimes called ‘non-decision-making’ (Atkinson & Moon, 1984) or covert power (Lukes, 1974).

Whilst Giddens is sceptical of the value of Steven Lukes’ (1974) ‘third dimension’³², the power to shape beliefs and values through the content of dialogue, this researcher however will hold this as generating valuable questions about the roles of human agency and social systems in ‘getting things done’, including as a strategy that actively seeks to control and limit human social imagination and dialogue. Structuration theory can then be used alongside other theory to generate an understanding of the workings of

³² Note: Steven Lukes (1974) writes of three dimensions of power: through explicit decision-making behaviours (overt power); through a non-decision-making in which the decision-making agenda and only certain decisions are made explicit (covert power); and through a wider control of social processes that suppresses potential conflict (the power to shape beliefs and values). However, Giddens seemingly rejects the third dimension, without specifying why, at least within his 1984 publication. This may be because of Giddens’ sense that human agents recognise and reflect upon, ‘in some guise’, their social circumstance and thus cannot be fully malleable in this sense. The researcher holds, however, that even if a particular social system, and the dominant social groups working within, cannot be understood to have a ‘complete power’ to shape the beliefs and values of others – particularly with other social groups offering alternative perspectives – nevertheless such dominant social groups are likely to pursue strategies that *aim* to shape beliefs, values and expectations, and with potentially significant impacts.

power within society, in which human agents are not understood as “*docile bodies*” (Giddens, 1984: 16), nor power considered as inherently ‘bad’ in itself, *and yet* crucially its asymmetric distribution within society, understood in particular as oppression, can be recognised within the duality of structure.

Structuration theory, therefore, offers the potential for social critique and advocacy for change, *but* is described in such abstract terms that it offers no immediate sense of direction for a social critique. Crotty, however, describes a research tradition, or theoretical perspective, of ‘critical inquiry’ or ‘criticalist research’ (1998: 157-9; citing Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994) which is concerned both for the social construction of reality and a recognition of the dynamics of power within society as central to that construction, particularly as ‘oppression’ by privileged social groups over other social groups. Here, the concept of a ‘just society’ or social justice is central, carrying with it a concern for inequalities within society, including global society.

Structuration theory would, however, seek to understand how such a conceptual narrative of social justice has been generated through the workings of society, and the duality of structure. David Harvey (2009 [1973]: 14-16) offers one explanation that ethical concerns are bound within human social practices, in our case as a modern capitalist society, rather than as ‘eternal values’, and thus contribute to sustaining the dominant mode of production, capitalism. However, ethical practices could also be said to be similarly bound to currently ‘subservient’ modes of production, such as the state and community/reciprocity (see 5.3.2), and which in turn offer alternative forms of, or space for, ethical practices. It is perhaps via such alternative practices, when viewed in the light of the social and ecological damage generated by capitalism, that narratives of ‘social justice’ arise as social critique to mainstream ethical narratives.

Whilst, the researcher is not seeking to reduce the workings of society, social systems and human agency, solely to matters of political economy of any persuasion, nevertheless Harvey’s focus on human practices and political economy seems valuable, as a working assumption for understanding ethical concerns. That is, in seeking to understand ethical concerns within a society, whether as social justice, or as other ethical narratives that may not stress egalitarian concerns, then the workings within and between socio-economic systems of the nation state will generate rival political economic narratives in which different ethical practices will be articulated.

The researcher, therefore, seeks to position this research project within the critical inquiry tradition, with an emphasis on social justice as concerned for tackling economic and social inequalities, and looking to understand this and rival ethical thinking in particular through conflicting political economic narratives and interests. Further, in 5.3, one particular mutualist and egalitarian articulation of a political economic narrative, and a related sense of social justice, are initially explored. Crucially, this latter mutualist and egalitarian narrative is one that broadly resonates with the researcher's own current political economic thinking and commitments, and thus forms a key element of the researcher's process of interpretation and analysis.

In recognising this, certain potential dilemmas must also be appreciated. Firstly, given the theory-laden nature of all social research, as claimed within a social constructionist epistemology, then social research in general will be informed by one or more political economic narratives, as well as a wider body of social theorising, and at least some of this will be at odds with the researcher's own perspective. Secondly, a CACE may be constructed such that it has a relatively coherent, if not unchanging, sense of social justice, yet a broader CSTP will of necessity draw from and be informed by a broad body of social theorising, including various potentially conflicting political economic narratives. And further, as per 1.3.1, the dialogues of the community sector, and those of wider communities, will likewise – whether explicitly, implicitly or unwittingly – draw from such wider theorising.

Such discussion also links back to considerations of researcher's perspective/bias discussed in 2.2.2 above, and the necessity to think further on and work over time with potential contradictions and dilemmas; in accordance with *both* the critical inquiry social research tradition and more broadly what Clive Seale (1999) terms “the research community” and its commonly-held “craft skills”. The project can work to build an ‘increasingly’ transparent and accountable research process, acknowledging theoretical, ethical and political economic influences and concerns, as well as recognising the constraints of theory, methodology and data. By recognising the researcher perspective/bias inherent within this project, as well as more generally across all social research, there is potential over time for further development of informed and accountable research in relation to community anchors and a CSTP.

2.2.4: A critical research perspective and a case-study research methodology

By seeking to position the research process within a theoretical perspective that draws from: (i) structuration theory and social research as social construction and social critique; (ii) critical inquiry and its concerns for social justice and inequality³³; and (iii) matters of political economy and the dynamics of power within the workings of the socio-economic systems of the nation state and beyond, then some of the implications of this positioning are now considered in relation to a qualitative case-study research methodology.

One key question would be as to whether the array of theory mobilised in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 in order to give substance to a CACE/CSTP can successfully be considered through a case-study methodology. However, the ability of this form of research to work with complexity is its strength, and this, this researcher argues, has been found to be the case as will be illustrated in Chapters 6, 7 and 8; although, it should be acknowledged that this will have been achieved through prioritising certain issues over others within the interpretation and analysis.

More particularly though, within this sub-section, two central issues relating to power are highlighted: the dynamics of power within the research process; and the responsibilities of the researcher towards the communities and organisations under study – to be understood as an extension of the consequential validity outlined in 2.2.2.

Community activist and academic John McKnight³⁴ notes the power and control that professionals, working within the state and private sector, exercise over knowledge:

In universities, people know through studies. In business and bureaucracies, people know by reports. In communities, people know by stories. ... Whenever

³³ Note: this concern for inequality is assumed to be a broad concern for both (i) economic inequalities relating to income and accessing resources, and (ii) social inequalities relating to discrimination and oppression around social identities such as class, gender, race, disability, age, sexuality, culture, language, religion/faith/belief. Within the workings of the social systems of the nation state, these two elements are likely to be closely related, with many who are experiencing economic discrimination also facing social discrimination, and vice versa. Thus it seems valuable to recognise the socio-economic nature of inequality, without necessarily explaining the economic and the social elements solely through one particular socio-economic or class-related analysis.

³⁴ Note: for details of John McKnight's role as founder and professor emeritus at the Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) Institute at Northwestern University, Illinois, USA, view: <http://www.abcdinstitute.org/faculty/McKnight/> and <http://www.abcdinstitute.org/about/founders/>

communities come to believe that their common knowledge is illegitimate, they lose their power and professionals and systems rapidly invade their social place.
(John McKnight, 1995: 171)

McKnight (1995), working in the USA, is concerned in particular for urban working-class communities following de-industrialisation since the 1960s; although he clearly recognises wider community diversity too – for instance, generating key discussions around disability and race. Here, he clearly presents a very significant challenge to professionalised research and researchers, including this researcher, with our technical and ‘power-laden’ thinking, and access or potential access to resources and networks of people and institutions. And this seems equally true for qualitative case-study research for, as indicated in 2.2.2 above, despite its commitment to multiple understandings of reality, ‘ultimately’ it is the researcher’s concerns and interpretation that are likely to carry most weight.

This is not a challenge easily resolved, given the key anticipated role of social research in developing ‘second order concepts’ as outlined in 2.2.3 above; and indeed if this wasn’t ‘allowed’ what would social researchers be employed to do? The distinctions and potential discussion established in 1.3.2 as to the relations between an abstract CSTP, a community sector dialogue(s), and wider local community dialogue(s), however, presents an opportunity to at least ‘monitor’, reflect on and widen discussion as to the relations between professional research and ‘community’.

The concluding Chapter 9 considers a certain potential for a ‘community-led’ community sector research agenda, and points to participatory action research as one tool in working to achieve this, given its focus on working with communities through ‘collaboration’ (Kendon, Pain & Kesby, 2007; Reason & Bradbury, 2006), ‘co-inquiry’ (Heron & Reason, 2006), and oral testimony and community history (Slim & Thompson, 1994; McCabe, 2010; O’Donnell, 2010). Certainly, some elements of ‘participation’ have been integrated into this case-study research process, although with limited results as discussed in 2.3.2. Further, there has been a seeking to emphasise an ethos of ‘appreciative inquiry’ (Ludema, Cooperrider & Barrett, 2006), if not the actual carrying out of an appreciative inquiry, in which the material provide by the community sector is understood as the key and positive starting point for understanding a community and its context, rather than as being viewed as ‘fundamentally’ limited or

flawed. Although in searching to develop further understanding and second order concepts, inevitably the researcher has sought to develop thinking that is also distinctive from that presented by the interviewees.

David Donnison³⁵ (2013), in discussing the development of policy, argues for researchers to engage widely outside of their own circles, “*researchers always have more to learn than to teach*”, and with the people who will be affected by their proposals, keeping “*the voices of real people ... in their heads*”. The researcher has also been able to draw on his own previous research in Craigmillar in Edinburgh as to the ‘pool of community knowledge’ held by local activists, volunteers and staff within the community (Henderson: 2006a, 2006b). Relative to a case-study research methodology, it would seem important to continue to seek the ‘voice’ of the community sector and wider community within the process; whilst also continuing to recognise that this is to be understood as a limited version of ‘power-sharing’ with communities.

This links to the second and likely more fundamental issue, that of the longer-term impact of research on the ‘interests’ of those being studied. Janet Finch (1993), a feminist sociologist, points to the power of an interviewer’s skills in persuading people to talk, despite the apparent relative protection offered by informed consent (Kimmel, 1988), and from this the potential for research to undermine, even if unwittingly, the collective rights and interests of the groups and organisations under study³⁶. Finch positions social research as working within a political environment in which the collective interests of social groups are understood to be at stake, and hence argues that social researchers must recognise the political nature of their work and seek to give account of their impact.

In relation to a case-study research methodology, Stake’s (1995) concept of a ‘consequential validity’ would seem to share a related concern, in stressing the need not to unwittingly or misleadingly harm the reputations of those participating. From within a critical inquiry perspective, it therefore seems reasonable to extend consequential

³⁵ Note: David Donnison is Emeritus Professor and Honorary Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Urban Studies at Glasgow University, view:

<http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH1907&type=P>

³⁶ Note: Janet Finch (1993) also makes the distinction here between ‘powerless groups’ and ‘powerful groups’, with the latter’s collective interests understood already to be deeply protected by their powerful positions in society and thus not at risk of being undermined through research but rather needing to be openly and carefully explored, considered and most likely challenged.

validity to include Finch's (1993) wider sense of responsibility, and in designing and implementing the research process to be concerned for the potential impacts on and representation of communities; in relation, for instance, to community diversity, poverty and inequality.

This extends, as well, into the representation and reputation of local community sectors and community anchor organisations. Many community organisations are small and with limited resources, such as CI (Creetown Initiative) and NCDC (Northmavine Community Development Company), and so can easily tip into being financially vulnerable. Larger community housing associations such as GHHA (Govanhill Housing Association) are, as illustrated in 6.3.1, significantly more financially resilient, and yet can't be assumed to be immune to shifting policy and investment environments. For instance, the UK Coalition Government's current welfare reforms through the Welfare Reform Act 2012 (Her Majesty's Government, 2012) that further threaten the incomes, living standards, and tenancies of many financially vulnerable tenants, and in the process will likely put community housing organisations under greater financial and organisational stress, whilst limiting their resources for wider work such as community-led regeneration.³⁷

There is then an onus on the researcher to work with a degree of caution and sophistication within the research process, so, as not to unwittingly undermine collective interests. For instance, the researcher must strive to build a depth of suitable theory that contextualises local communities in relation to structural processes, recognises and promotes the interests of those individuals and communities burdened with the impacts of structural inequality (social justice), and likewise recognises the interests of the community sector in sustaining itself; and through seeking to build

³⁷ Note: for instance, community housing associations now face loss of income and potentially more complex relationships with their tenants via various aspects of the UK Government's Welfare Reform Act 2012 as follows: with housing benefit paid directly to tenants, there will be a likely increase in rent arrears given many tenants are on low incomes and facing competing demands in 'managing the unmanageable'; the 'bedroom tax' (UK Government term is 'spare room subsidy') will surely too increase rent arrears with tenants on low incomes and with a 'spare room' receiving lower levels of housing benefit than previously; whilst 'the benefit cap' on welfare benefits to individuals and households adds yet a further layer of financial loss and related stress/distress for tenants as it is implemented. The Scottish Government (2013a) provides a fuller analysis of the range of measures, likely impacts and Scottish Government responses, and notes the likely broader economic impact with £1.3bn in welfare benefit payments being removed (annually) from the economy in Scotland/Scottish economy; this being in line with the average loss across the UK. The Scottish Housing Regulator's (2013) report on the early impacts of welfare reform from April 2013 notes a rise in the levels of rent arrears for social landlords at 30 June 2013 to 3.97% of rental income compared to 3.51% a year earlier.

community sector knowledge on the implications of participation in social research such that those within the sector are better positioned to make judgements as to future participation.

2.3: A developing research methodology within an unfolding research process

Having established an understanding of a qualitative and critical case-study research methodology, this section considers how the research methodology has guided the actual and unfolding research process. It generates four distinctive discussions: the process of selecting case-studies and interviewees; elements of participatory research that were explored within the research process; the approach taken to interpretation and analysis, and the related issue of triangulation; and, finally, of the social dynamics within the research process, particularly as a creative tension between gate-keeping and gate-opening. However, before generating these discussions, it is worth providing a brief overview of the research process as a whole, with the following phases of work developing, although noting that once a phase had started it was always, in some sense, on-going:

(1) Literature review and theoretical development: initial literature review to support theoretical development and generation of the Developed ROAs – see Appendix 1, A1.2(1); and then on-going literature review on key topics, including use of a theory workbook. Within the literature review work undertaken, Chris Hart's (1998) explanation of the process, with its focus on both the use of imagination and creativity *and* analytical dissection of concepts and arguments, proved influential in the 'mapping out' of a number of key conceptual narratives, as per Chapter 3's consideration of 'community', public and urban policy, community development and the social economy, as well as a focused review of the community anchor model, as per Chapter 4; whilst Booth, Colomb & Williams (2008) informed the researcher's refining of the ROAs.

(2) Individual instrumental case-study development: through field work, and on-going desk research; transcription and then initial interpretation and analysis to develop individual case-study workbooks and related case-study summaries.

(3) *Collective case-study development*: drawing from the individual case-study material and the theoretical development to generate a wider interpretation and analysis, initially through a collective case-study work book.

(4) *Writing-up the thesis*: this necessarily including further working on theoretical development and of interpretation and analysis of the case-study material.

A fifth and final element of the research is not related above, namely the wider dissemination of the findings, as this is only just developing, but this is considered in the concluding Chapter 9.

This section therefore is structured as follows:

- (2.3.1) Seeking complexity through ‘participant’ selection: case-studies and interviewees
- (2.3.2) Seeking participatory approaches
- (2.3.3) Interpretation, analysis and triangulation
- (2.3.4) Exploring the social dynamics of the research process

2.3.1: Seeking complexity through ‘participant’ selection: case-studies and interviewees

The process of selecting a sample, in effect a collection of individual cases, or selecting individual cases is a crucial area of consideration within any social research, given its impact on the meanings given to the findings. Those concerned for analytical/quantitative approaches will often be concerned to generate a sample aiming to be representative of the population in question; although the range of sampling techniques and rationales is manifold (Robson, 1993). Within qualitative and case-study research, too, the rationale can vary significantly, with Stake (1995), for instance, arguing for the value of atypical cases in generating research questions and issues of relevance to (likely more) typical cases: again the focus is on being able to account for and justify the selection process, whatever its form.

Here, the case-study selection process focused initially on generating a ‘long-list’ of approximately 40 community organisations in Scotland, both community development trusts and community housing associations, on which brief case-study material already

existed and illustrated a certain fit with the community anchor model. Some material had already been researched and written by this researcher, some by other researchers, and the case-studies had been published by the SCA (n.d.[a]³⁸); Development Trust Association Scotland (DTAS) (2009, 2010 and Walker et. al. 2010); and Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations (GWSFHA) (McKee, 2011). The aim was to generate a pool of potentially relevant community anchor case-studies that could then be further considered, rather than a ‘full’ list from which to draw a potentially representative sample³⁹. Such a pool provided a variety of organisations in different circumstances – as urban, rural and island – that stimulated discussion with the SCA as to which might provide examples of good or creative practice, and which might be most open to taking part; with gaining access to organisations inevitably a crucial issue.

Initially, the researcher was expecting to undertake five case-studies to support a breadth of discussion on a CSTP, and the SCA suggested seven candidates – three urban, three rural and one island, including both community housing associations and development trusts. However, once the researcher began field work and then transcription and initial data interpretation and analysis, it became increasingly clear that in-depth case-studies of five organisations and communities would be over-ambitious. The three selected, as per 1.4, illustrated significant variety, including:

- *Urban/rural/island*: one urban inner-city; one a rural village and parish; one a series of remote island settlements holding a wider community (parish) identity.
- *Regional position*: one within a large urban city and region; one within a statutory unit and largely rural region but with local people often identifying more strongly with smaller historical and still ‘semi-statutory’ units⁴⁰; one

³⁸ Note: a series of approx. 35 short case-studies estimated to have been undertaken between 2007 and 2012.

³⁹ Note: in considering DTAS and GWSFHA members alone – that is community development trusts and community housing associations – this would have likely included approximately 250 organisations, although there is some overlap and not all would necessarily seek to play a community anchor role nor would all community development trusts and community housing associations necessarily be members of these representative bodies. Many other community organisations exist, including credit unions, residents/tenants organisations and community-led health organisations – for instance the Community Health Exchange database currently lists 93 community-led health organisations, view at:

http://www.chex.org.uk/project-search/results/?keywords=&local_authority=&health_board=&chp_area=&activity=&target_group=

– some of which can be assumed to play or aspire to play a community anchor role. There is then a potentially wider pool of relevant community organisations numbering in the lower-to-mid hundreds, and perhaps more.

⁴⁰ Note: Creetown is within the local authority of Dumfries & Galloway Council – and Dumfries & Galloway Health Board covers the same area – but the local authority’s region can also be sub-divided into smaller units for various purposes: four smaller area committees with historical roots for certain

within an archipelago of remote islands with a very strong Island or regional identity.

- *Age and size of organisation:* one is a relatively long-standing, of 40 years, community housing association with 50+ (FTE) staff and a growing income of between £5-10m; the other two are both about decade in age with staffing below ten in number and core budgets variable but in the low £100,000s.

Although not apparent before starting field work, a further key dimension of such diversity has been shown to be their respective roles in relation to policy development: two arising from particular policy initiatives, GHHA as part of an on-going (if ‘on and off’) support for the development of community housing associations within Glasgow since 1970s, and NCDC being generated via a particular Scottish Executive policy initiative in the 2000s – ‘the Initiative at the Edge’; CI is without such immediately focused local state support, although it has clearly benefitted from the range of funding options becoming available to community organisations through the central state and other public bodies over the last decade.

Both Creetown and Northmavine could be described as having a certain similarity relative to age of organisation and in being a ‘remote rural community’, yet the differences can be as striking as the similarities; with Creetown next to a key trunk road (A75) giving a certain access to the M74 and the central belt of Scotland and North-west England – and to Northern Ireland/Republic of Ireland via the ferry at Cairnryan – yet working from within a ‘sluggish’ regional economy with very significant numbers of low paid workers; while Northmavine is very remote from mainland Scotland and the UK, yet part of a currently buoyant Shetland economy with low levels of unemployment.

The three case-study organisations and communities thus can be seen to generate significant and valuable levels of diversity and potential contrast; whilst the organisations themselves are held to be likely to show certain commonalities of practice

consultative and operational functions, view <http://www.dumgal.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=1555>; and six ‘housing market areas’, view <http://www.dumgal.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=3736>. Creetown is, for instance, usually positioned within documents relating to the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright area committee, although in the recent past seems also to have been a part of Wigtownshire area committee, with Newton Stewart, see for instance Dumfries & Galloway Council (2006); and is a part of the Mid-Galloway Housing Market Area, again with Newton Stewart, see for instance Dumfries & Galloway Council (2013b).

through a community anchor role. The potential for a rich and complex interpretation and analysis that could support understanding of a CSTP was therefore plausibly established.

The other key element of ‘selection’ was that of interviewees. Here the researcher worked with local knowledge, in particular that of each community organisation’s ‘key manager’⁴¹; although an element of ‘snow-balling’ (Robson, 1993) was also generated with early interviews leading to suggestions for other interviewees. It should also be noted that not all those suggested for interview, or from whom the researcher requested an interview, chose to take part: with three people not responding to or deflecting a request, and potentially others also declining a key manager’s request.

29 interviews were carried out with activists, volunteers and staff working within the community sector within the three communities – GHHA (11), CI (7), NCDC (11) – with a further four formal interviews carried out with those with knowledge of these community organisation and communities, but not working in the community sector. Additionally, seven informal but extensive interviews or discussions were undertaken, five prior to starting the formal field work process, and two following its completion, with people working within policy, practice and research with experience relevant to understanding the community sector and its development in order to support the researcher in building his knowledge⁴². The researcher did not actively pursue a breakdown of the social identities and circumstances of the contributors; keeping the focus of the interviews on informality and as a ‘conversation with a purpose’ – see 2.3.2 below. Working with perceptions is notoriously risky, and the researcher has limited information bar physical traits and appearance, and the discussions with people: this can be misleading, for instance, in relation to race and ethnicity where people can be of

⁴¹ Note: GHHA has a Director and Senior Management Team; CI has a Senior Project Officer; NCDC has a Project Development Officer.

⁴² Note: The 33 interviews relating to the formal case-study research process were recorded, save in three cases where the interviewee indicated otherwise and which were then noted in a summary form, and then the interviews transcribed; whilst the seven informal interviews were all noted as to key themes only. The interviewees were assured of anonymity at the beginning of the interview process – see Appendix 2.A1 for participant information – given the researcher was seeking to keep the names of the particular organisations as public within the thesis to support transparency, but wasn’t clear what issues would be raised by the interviews. Previous community research experience had indicated that sensitive issues could arise (Henderson: 2006a, 2006b). Thus, no listing of participants is given, but the recordings and transcripts are available to the Research Supervisors and PhD assessors, as members of the ‘research team’ who would protect the agreed anonymity and maintain confidentiality, in order to consider the data collected and its interpretation.

mixed race and/or mixed ethnicity whatever is assumed from appearance or accent. The following (raw) assessment is then offered cautiously in relation to the 29 community sector interviewees:

Race/ethnicity: at least two interviewees from Govanhill were from an ethnic background other than 'White British'; Creetown interviewees included those of both Scottish and English ethnicity; those from Northmavine were seemingly 'White British', but not all were 'native Shetlanders'.

Gender: there were eighteen female and eleven male interviewees – in each community organisation more women were interviewed than men.

Age: ages varied, with the researcher's perceptions suggesting approximately 40% of interviewees in 20-39s age range; 40% in 40-59s age range; and 20% in 60+ age range.

These perceptions are offered simply as illustrations of a certain level of diversity engaged with, but not in any sense as evidence of a representative sampling process that sought to fit with levels of diversity within the organisations and their communities. The researcher was also able to make some wider contacts and observations, particularly in Govanhill through attending and observing meetings, and in smaller ways in Creetown and Northmavine through informal conversations, as well as by touring each community, that supported further understanding of community and community sector diversity, although again not in a systematic manner seeking to be representative.

The researcher is not, then, seeking to make claims as to the 'representativeness', in any sense, of the interviewees or the views and issues they raise, but to claim that they did generate through their discussions a complex range of themes; raising issues and giving views that both complemented and in small ways contrasted with those of others in the same community, as well as across the different communities. There was a clear sense within each of the three case-studies of the common ground across interviewees as to the work of each organisation and the nature of their community, and yet a willingness to talk as to their particular and nuanced views. The researcher was able to establish wide-ranging discussions, as would be expected within qualitative case-study research, and to explore the themes raised further through documentary material in particular – see 2.3.3. These cannot be assumed to be representative, or even comprehensive,

Scotland-wide, but they have generated material capable of supporting a complex interpretation and analysis, and which is capable of deepening understanding of issues relevant to a CSTP.

2.3.2: Exploring participatory approaches

As indicated in 2.2.4, the actual research process is not ‘deeply participatory’ in nature, despite a certain aspiration to be so in future research as is relevant, but has sought to explore the potential relevance of participatory processes, including that of an ethos of appreciative inquiry, to community sector research and these are discussed here.

Firstly, an informal advisory group was established with the SCA, with nine meetings undertaken across the course of the three years of the research project, and which supported the researcher in thinking not only about theoretical matters but also the concerns of the community sector in relation to both developing policy and practice; in effect contributing a community sector-focused perspective on the developing research process and findings, and as an complement to that of the theoretical and research practice perspectives provided by the research supervisors. One seeming consequence of this has been the continued emphasis on a CACE/CSTP across the three years of study, in order to sustain a more immediate relevance to practice, rather than perhaps a potential ‘drift’ towards a particular theoretical issue, perspective or concern. Thus the research concludes, in 9.4, with consideration of future working towards a more ‘applied’ community sector research agenda, rather than a concentration on particular theoretical or policy issues.

Secondly, the interviews themselves provided an opportunity to sustain a focus on the researcher’s more immediate concerns, whilst also providing an informality that could support the interviewees in raising other issues or quizzing the researcher further about the process. Initially, the researcher had established a semi-structured interview guide to support the interview process, keeping the focus on certain characteristics of community anchors. However, early interviewing with GHHA quickly convinced the researcher that the questioning in relation to community anchors was less fruitful than encouraging the participants to talk about what they were doing, their specialisms, and were confident and enthusiastic to talk about. To this end, Jennifer Mason’s (2010) ‘creative

interviewing’ process of ‘conversations with a purpose’ (citing Burgess⁴³) proved a valuable framework. Mason points to keeping a general focus across the interview on ‘big questions’, and in this case the researcher was broadly-speaking concerned for:

- what is this community like?
- what are your roles within this community organisation and this community?
- what is your community organisation doing?
- can you tell me more about the activities and projects you have worked on?
- in what ways is this community being empowered?⁴⁴

By encouraging people to talk from their day-to-day experiences and indicating the relevance of these experiences, a common thread with appreciative inquiry, and by using these big questions flexibly across the interview process, opportunities for a range of other particular questions, Mason calls these ‘mini-questions’, were inevitably generated as relevant to the particular interviewee and what they were able and open to talking about; these latter could draw more directly from the community anchor model, pre-interview desk research and earlier interviewees. The informality of creative interviewing proved productive in generating relevant information, also supported some limited discussion of the research project and its direction, and brought in new areas of information or themes that the researcher had not previously considered.

Although such informal interviewing could solely be understood as a tactic by the researcher to generate more productive interviews, it can also be understood as part of a process of developing a ‘climate of participation’. The researcher not only provided each interviewee with an information sheet that gave them more context as to the research and process, but also emphasised the need for informed consent – see Appendix 2, A2.1. The sheet also gave contact details for the researcher and indicated that if they wanted to adjust or add to their contribution, or withdraw from the process, they should contact him; although none have done so. This was taken a stage further towards the end of the research period when an ‘update’, as per Appendix 2, A2.2, was sent out to almost all of the 29 interviewees from the community sector, indicating the

⁴³ Note: Mason does not specify which particular text(s) from Burgess she is referring to, but see for instance: Burgess, R. (2005) ‘Conversations with a purpose: The ethnographic interview in educational research’, in C. Pole (Ed.), *SAGE Benchmarks in Social Research Methods: Fieldwork*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 1181-1199.

⁴⁴ Note: depending on the nature of the particular interview and interviewee, this broad area of questioning and reflection could be engaged with in a variety of other ways including ‘in what ways is this organisation community-led?’ and ‘in what ways is this organisation empowering the community?’

general focus of the researcher's findings, providing contact details if any wanted to find out more or check how their own contribution had been used, and indicating that once a method of disseminating the findings had been agreed with the SCA, they would be contacted one final time to alert them to this. While two replies were generated, these were really acknowledgements: however, one did lead to the researcher gaining some further relevant information via a brief phone conversation. Stake (1995) observes wryly that whilst researchers continue to be focused on their work and its 'importance', participants quickly move on to other, more important, things in their working and daily lives.

Alan Kimmel (1998) points to the interviewee as 'research participant', and to the significance of an active informed consent, rather than as 'research subject', whilst also acknowledging that the dynamics of power in the relationship very much favour the researcher. Such an active informed consent is a strong theme too within the Economic and Social Research Council's (2012) *ESRC Framework for Research Ethics*⁴⁵, whilst the Social Research Association's (SRA, 2003) Ethical Guidelines emphasise obligations to 'subjects/participants'. Sarah Banks & Paul Manners (2012)⁴⁶, in their guide to the ethics of community-based participatory research, point to a more complex approach via seven ethical principles: mutual respect; equality and inclusion; democratic participation; active learning; make a difference; collective action; personal integrity. Whilst no expectation was generated in this field work with the community organisations or the interviewees of any sustained involvement in the research process, the ethical issues that any future participatory research project would need to consider have been acknowledged.

A final element of a participatory working was explored with the 'key managers' of each community organisation in returning to them a case-study summary, see 2.4.3, for them to read and later discuss with the researcher informally. And here the researcher received valuable feedback on perceptions and accuracy of the summary, generally positive but with minor refinements of the information, in particular as further developments within the organisation and community since the field work had been undertaken. Within a qualitative case-study research methodology, this is termed

⁴⁵ Note: the researcher drew from the earlier ESRC Framework for Research Ethics 2010 version in the research planning but in writing-up this thesis has referred to the current 2012 version.

⁴⁶ Note: the researcher had access to an earlier consultative draft of this document from 2011.

‘member checking’ (Stake, 1995; Merriam, 2009). Whilst the focus within the case-study summaries was limited to ‘base-line’ interpretative material as to community, context and organisational activities, rather than the more complex themes discussed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, this begins to illustrate the potential for a more multi-layered and participatory analysis.

2.3.3: *Interpretation, analysis and triangulation*

Stake (1995) provides valuable insight into the broad process of interpretation and analysis – *within this sub-section only the abbreviation IA will be used* – as involving both wider processes of interpreting and the more focused process of analysing in detail. Key elements of this include: searching for patterns across different episodes (categorical aggregation); direct interpretation and inference through being present; naturalistic generalisation by drawing from previous experiences; as well as what Stake calls ‘explicated’ or propositional generalisations that have been developed through a more formal or abstract process of theorising – although all of the above rest upon theorising in some way. Such IA is seen, too, as on-going rather than discrete, and involving openness, reflectivity and a certain scepticism, the rational and the creative/intuitive, and crucially being a process that is time-sensitive and so involves selection or prioritisation of key issues.

Stake (1995), and Merriam (2009) too, points to the role of triangulation – through data source, investigators, theory, and methodology – as a crucial tool within the IA in strengthening the complex understanding generated and the claims asserted. Although various constraints should be recognised: Stake points to triangulation being time-consuming and so again its use must be prioritised; David Silverman (2005: 121-2) notes a key concern, that data from different contexts and projects, in which they may be collected for different purposes and via different theoretical tools and assumptions, are not *necessarily* comparing ‘like with like’ despite similar language and terminology; Merriam makes a related point that depending on whether the underlying epistemology is objectivist, social constructionist or post-modernist (subjectivist), then expectations as to what can be achieved via the data will be very different. However, Clive Seale (1999) at least points to triangulation as at least a common ‘craft skill’ within ‘the research community’; contested doubtless, but a common experience or in some sense practice.

The researcher's IA has been on-going since the beginning of the field work but can be understood as being pursued through the following key phases:

Initial IA: reading through data and documentation and use of NVivo⁴⁷ to establish an early analysis. A Govanhill case-study workbook was then used for drafting IA material and further reflection; resulting in the establishment of a broad and draft case-study interpretative framework, as per instrumental case-study, and which is summarised in a 'final' form in Appendix 3 (A3.1).⁴⁸

Case-study IA development: the workbook approach was then extended to IA for the Creetown and Northmavine case-studies – largely instrumental case-study in nature but allowing for more particular or intrinsic case-study work too. A comparative or collective case-study workbook was used to consider issues for a CSTP across the three. Finally case-study summaries, themselves extensive, and focused on two broad elements – the nature of the community and its socio-economic context, and the organisation's structures and activities – were developed to provide further clarity as to the 'basics' or a base-line IA for each. And these were used in the member-checking described in 2.3.2 above. The workbooks and case-study summaries act, then, as a springboard to yet further exploration and IA (Merriam, 2009).

The writing-up: the writing of the thesis itself thus extends and fine tunes the IA still further. The discipline of writing across the process as a whole – ROAs, methodology, theoretical background/development, empirical investigations, and summarising of findings – supports clarity of thought and creative thinking; whilst the potential for further reporting of findings beyond the thesis, as discussed in 2.4 and 9.4, can add to this too. Laurel Richardson (1998) emphasises the value of writing as a method of inquiry within qualitative research, and although she is strongly influenced by post-modernist thinking, the suggestion here is that the process of writing is a powerful tool for IA more generally, certainly within qualitative social research.

⁴⁷ Note: NVivo was used initially for all three case-studies, in particular for the Govanhill case-study data, to support transcription and then to provide an initial exploration of the data through coding (nodes) such that a wide range of potential key themes could be explored and an initial interpretation and analysis framework generated. Through on-going exploration within the case-study workbooks, using the writing process itself as an interpretation and analysis tool, this framework was refined, resulting in a final framework summarised in Appendix 3 (A3.1).

⁴⁸ Note: the draft, 'full' framework was annotated and gave a wider potential range of issues relating to the key themes in this summary, in order to support the researcher's reflective interpretation and analysis process.

The resulting workbooks and case summaries provide an ‘evidence trail’ from the research material to the thesis – linking the interview material, informal conversations, observational notes from meetings and documentation to the discussion and findings. In a general sense, this can be considered triangulation via data source and methodology and an on-going accumulation of evidence that seeks to evidence frames of reference and related generalisations and working assumptions. A significant level of complexity of evidence is achieved across the three individual case-studies in particular via the accumulating level of background and supporting documentation: a rough count of documents, reports, articles and web-material read thus far (January 2014) for one of the case-studies is in excess of 250. Through this a developing understanding of context and a range of issues can be achieved, but without such an accumulation necessarily leading to ‘steady’ and cumulative progress in establishing findings; it may, for instance, establish more questions.

As an example of part of the workbook process in action, Appendix 3 (A3.2) provides an illustration of the on-going development of one element of the IA in relation to levels of poverty, deprivation and low incomes within Creetown. The account given follows the IA process from initial use of interview data, supported by informal conversations and observational work, to building an initial outline and understanding of both issues and context; on to the active use of documentation to further explore the issues raised through the interview data, within the workbook; and then to the on-going monitoring of relevant documentation to support further IA within the case-studies, and across their collective comparison. In the process, the researcher poses a question as to *the extent* to which the views of interviewees, the different statistical sources and the various policy sources on poverty and low incomes can be said to inter-link rather than be fully independent of each other; whether interviewees indirectly or directly are being influenced in their views by policy reports and statistics, for instance; and vice versa, whether researchers and policy-makers are being influenced from consultations and discussions with local people as to the direction of their research processes. There is no immediate answer as to the levels of mutual influence between the different data sources, but triangulation would seem to be understood from this perspective as less analytical and more exploratory and reflective.

Rather than seeing triangulation as only seeking to work at the level of an accumulating evidence-base, it is likely more useful to see it as both an accumulation of likely relevant material and as an on-going (critical) reflection on the material, or elements of it, over time. Reflection, indeed impacts on the accumulation, as it prioritises the search for further relevant material and clarifies the weight given to elements of existing material. Ridley-Duff & Bull (2011, citing Smith 2001a) describe this as a ‘double-loop argument’ that reflects on the framing of discussion as well as the material being discussed.

2.3.4: Gatekeepers, gate-openers and the dynamics of power within the research process

In 2.2.2, 2.2.4 and 2.3.2, the emphasis of the discussion of the dynamics of power within the research process has been in regard to the researcher’s privileged position as skilled and experienced, and as being the ‘final’ interpreter or arbiter of events. Yet structuration theory would suggest that such a narrow understanding of the dynamics of power, both in relation to agency and social systems, is unlikely to capture its full complexity.

The term ‘gatekeeper’ is often used to highlight, within social research, those with a certain power within one or more social systems, perhaps through leadership or knowledge, to support, direct or even block the research process – at least as understood by the researcher and/or research organisation – in relation to accessing relevant research participants. The SRA’s (2003: 29) ethical guidelines recognise the gatekeeper role and the importance of being careful not to inadvertently disturb relationships between gatekeepers and potential research participants, whilst seeking to sustain the right of such participants to maintain a full and informed consent. There is recognition here then of complex dynamics of power and responsibility, and Stake’s (1995) concept of consequential validity and the need to minimise misrepresentation and misunderstanding, similarly point to an on-going responsibility for the researcher in relation to the impact of their project.

Relative to this project, those seemingly in a gatekeeper role, and who’ve *supported* the researcher accessing research opportunities, include:

- the SCA through its links across the community sector;

- the key managers in each organisation; and
- interviewees who have contributed to a certain degree of ‘snow-balling’

Yet the term ‘gatekeeper’ is suggestive of a restrictive rather than supportive process. Mark Johnson and Paula McGee’s (2009: 75) consideration of the role of some people who’ve migrated to the UK, and who are employed to act as bridges between health services and their own minority ethnic community, leads the authors to seek a new language of possibilities:

Similarly, the use of terms to describe roles as ‘gateopeners’ and ‘bridge-builders’ moves us usefully on from concentrating on Ray Pahl’s ‘gate-keepers’ ([citing] Pahl, 1975) to see a more proactive possibility, ... Finally, however, we need to note their observation that empowerment may also marginalise the bridge-builders from their own communities and put them in jeopardy if they are not given continuing support and value.

In this light, even though those involved in gate-opening and gate-keeping within this research project are unlikely to face the same potential levels of vulnerability as the bridge-builders noted in the quote above, the understanding of the issues arising from such a role has become more complex, and has to recognise the potential for both gate-opening and gate-keeping to be active ‘simultaneously’. Further, by highlighting the influence of Ray Pahl’s thinking of ‘social gatekeepers’, in his case in relation to an ‘urban managerialism’ concerned for the allocation of ‘scarce’ urban resources, this now positions such human agency clearly within the context of a particular social system(s); whilst Andy Merrifield’s (2013) critique of Pahl’s thinking points further to wider political economic dynamics still, as “who decides who decides”.

In recognising such potentially complex dynamics of human agency and social systems, there is the potential to look beyond the researcher’s own thinking, intentions and actions in the shaping of the research process. Certainly, those in the gate-opening/gate-keeping role(s), through their connectedness and credibility, have been *invaluable*, allowing the researcher to undertake relatively focused study visits and meeting some of the key people and local ‘players’, who have provided considerable insight into both organisations and communities. In the process, certain constraints should also be acknowledged given that the gate-openers naturally have stronger connections with

some rather than other people and organisations in their communities; and ‘community politics’ and related tensions will have roles in communities as discussed in 6.2.4. Further, the political economic dynamics that any organisation and their respective gate-openers have to work with, in order to sustain their on-going resourcing and credibility relative to funders, investors, and decision- and policy-makers, will very likely have influence, too, as to the directions they might encourage.

Through the range of interviewing, and more particularly documentation, accessed in each case-study, the researcher has sought to engage with an ‘ever-widening’ number of contextual issues within each case-study, and of potential relevance to a CSTP. And these provide other ‘forces’ that continue to shape the research process and the developing interpretation and analysis. But, as is argued in 2.4 below, the process of recognising the constraints and limitations on any one particular research project is in fact on-going and requires the input of other researchers and stakeholders. There is, then, a certain ‘creative tension’ around the dynamics of power within any particular research project, with both positive and productive *and* constraining impacts that can support further reflection.

2.4: Concluding thoughts: towards a robust research process

Within quantitative research from a post-positivist perspective, research is often appraised by a researcher, and later the research community, through consideration of the validity, reliability and generalisability of the findings, and the extent to which the model can be considered to be predictive in future cases through its understanding of cause and effect. However, the qualitative and critical case-study research methodology, from within a social constructionist epistemology, that was generated in 2.2 is not necessarily anticipating such an outcome. Here, it is more likely the richness of the material and the complex and contextualised understandings and issues it generates, in particular relative to the dynamics of power within society, which are understood to be the project’s chief concern. The ‘validity’ of the research rests in large part on the extent to which a plausible, complex and seemingly useful account is developed, through the researcher’s interpretative work, and one in which certain dynamics of power and related inequality are actively recognised. Yet this plausibility will be understood to be of a provisional nature, with other researchers likely to offer, at least in part, alternative

interpretations, and therefore usefully and crucially challenging the researcher's perspective/bias, as per 2.2.2.

Frames of meaning and provisional generalisations are both developed and recognised within this research, yet it is only over time that their relative plausibility and utility can be actively judged through wider use within researcher, practitioner (and participant), and policy-making communities. As this is likely to be relative to a wider social context, for instance, as the political economic 'climate' and the intentions of policy-making, then alternative narratives relative to plausibility and utility are also likely to be active.

The 'reliability' of the research, and the extent to which patterns captured in the findings are found to be repeated in future research, will be of crucial interest, as will the extent to which they aren't repeated; in both cases the resulting and growing interpretations can increase plausibility and an aimed for utility. Complexity is to be expected, and embraced, for it provides opportunities for a further and deepening interpretation and analysis.

The interpretation and analysis the researcher offers here, across Chapters 3 to 9, are complex and contextualised theoretical and empirically-related discussions that work to explore the community anchor model through the theoretical narratives and theoretical constructions of a CACE/CSTP. The relative plausibility and utility of the research will likely vary according to audience, whether as community sector, policy-makers or researchers. For some, either a CACE and/or a CSTP may be productive areas of discussion of crucial issues: for others, they will be an idealised form of little relevance to day-to-day practice, policymaking or research. As and if others engage with the discussions, and new research material adds to the debate, then (various) researcher perspectives or 'bias' can become further revealed and acknowledged.

Stake (1995) also raises an alternative perspective on generalisability as to the power of the case-study to engage with readers and support them in making links to their existing experiences, practices and thinking, and to make developments from them; an active generalising from a single case to wider experience and reflection. From within this understanding, 'reliability' can be understood as the ability of this and future research on community anchors to continue to engage productively with issues of relevance and

concern to those within the community sector, policy-making and research, and generate crucial questions and imaginative responses. And here discussion of a consequential validity and more generally the various impacts of the research on those being studied, and more widely, are recognised crucial elements of such dialogue.

For a qualitative and critical case-study research methodology, a robust research process is then focused initially on being able to offer a plausible, contextualised, complex and nuanced discussion of the ‘case’; one concerned for socio-economic context and the dynamics of power in society. And to provide an accountability, in the sense of supporting further consideration of its process, as for instance the material discussed across 2.3 above. Such accountability should include an on-going consideration of a consequential validity as its impacts on participants, their organisations and their communities, but also in a much wider sense as to its usefulness or utility relative to the wider workings of society. This accountability will be judged in the longer-term through its on-going plausibility and range of utility or usefulness, or otherwise lack of the same; in particular as the responses to it from the research community and other relevant communities, in this case the community sector and policy-makers. In respect of this research project, these matters are revisited in the concluding Chapter 9 (9.4.1) as part of a consideration of the project as a whole, and its potential developments.

Chapter 3: Developing theoretical background for a community sector theory and practice

3.1: Introduction

This chapter works to develop a depth of understanding of a range of theoretical material of relevance to a CSTP that will then support critical discussion across the thesis of matters of both practice and political economy. This should not be considered, however, a comprehensive examination of *all* theoretical areas, issues and themes that will be relevant to a CSTP, which would be a very significant undertaking. For instance, discussion of communitarian thinking, which includes a considerable philosophical and political diversity of thought (see, for example, Smith, 2001b), is largely left unexplored; likewise the role of ‘community’ and community action in relation to the work and theorising of town planners (see, for example, Hague et al., 2006) which has had a long history over the last century. Initially, there is a focus on developing a more contemporary conceptual discussion as to the nature of community and the community sector. The focus then shifts to an exploration of the role of ‘community’ within UK and Scottish policy-making in particular in relation to political economic trends; and where ‘community’ points to the breadth of potentially relevant local economic and social activity, both informal and more formalised, and within networks and structures large and small. Finally, introductory theoretical discussions of relevance to a CSTP are developed from theorising on community development, and in particular ‘community ownership’, from theorising on social capital and structural inequality, and from theorising on the social economy.

Relative to the Research Aims and Objectives (RAOs), the chapter should be understood as chiefly responding to RA1 and RO1, in that it works to generate and scope an initial understanding of some of the significant elements of a CSTP, and in the process to provide crucial background to a CACE. In achieving this, the chapter also provides crucial background that supports discussion across the RAs and ROs as a whole.

The sections within this chapter are then as follows:

- (3.2) ‘Community’, the community sector and informal community networks
- (3.3) ‘Community’, public policy and political economy
- (3.4) Other theoretical perspectives and concerns

- (3.5) Concluding thoughts

3.2: ‘Community’, the community sector and informal community networks

This section seeks to give greater substance and context to the researcher’s initial working narrative outlined in 1.2.1 and 1.3.2 of the community sector as understood to be third sector, not-for-profit community organisations, community groups and related networks that have a commitment to a particular ‘local community’, whether local community of place, of interest or of identity.

In order to achieve this three brief discussions are constructed below that relate to the use of the terms ‘community’, the community sector and informal community networks, in order to establish a set of conceptual narratives from which to further explore a CSTP.

The term ‘community’ has proven difficult historically for social scientists to ‘pin down’ comprehensively as an empirically-justifiable concept, see for instance: Hillery’s (1955) review of common characteristics of the use of the concept within social science; McMillan and Chavis’ (1986) complex workings to generate a ‘clear and comprehensive’ understanding of the term ‘sense of community’ that might inform their social psychological empiricist investigations; and Crow’s (1997) discussion of the changing roles and expectations of neighbours in urban communities over the 20th century and thus of ‘community’ itself. Paul Hoggett (1997) and Kathryn Jones (1998) both point to a sense of crisis that developed in social science during the 1960s⁴⁹ as to the lack of a clear and agreed definition, and related theorising, that can be attached to the term ‘community’; whilst also noting its on-going and continued usage and thus relevance within popular debate and discussion. Hoggett therefore argues for a pursuance of theoretical discussion through the concept of ‘imagined community’ (citing Anderson, 1991) in which community is understood to be actively constructed through our social (collective) imaginings and identification – ‘imaginary dimensions’ (Hoggett, 1997: 6) – although within the context of structural determinants.

⁴⁹ Note: both citing, Margaret Stacey’s (1969) article, ‘The myth of community studies’.

From such a perspective, Hoggett illustrates the active use of ‘community’ within UK policy-making from the mid-1960s, for instance: in relation to community consultation, as argued for within the 1969 Skeffington Report (citing Skeffington Report, 1969) as public participation in the planning system; the UK state’s Urban Programme including the British community development (CDPs) during the 1970s; as a metaphor for the withdrawal of the state by the mid-1980s and where ‘community’ is expected to step in following public sector reform; and by the 1990s in the rise of communitarian thinking, Amitai Etzioni’s (citing Etzioni, 1995) socially conservative communitarian thinking, for instance, which influences the ‘New Labour’ policy development. The influence of ‘community’ and communitarianism on the ‘Blair’ New Labour UK Government thinking and policy, and then as ‘The Big Society’ on the Coalition UK Government, is considered further in 3.3 and later 4.2.3.

Hoggett also illustrates the role of ‘community’ in relation to a growing activism of many forms including ‘identity politics’ and social movements in relation to class, race, gender and sexuality; although he notes a falling away of working class activism since the late 1980s in the face of (neo-liberal focused) economic change towards an insecure service-based economy and with it growing social inequalities⁵⁰. There is then an on-going tension between ‘community’ as a political and social construction to serve the interests of the state and policy-makers, and as a rallying point of oppositional forces in many different guises (both ‘left’ and ‘right’) who are offering dissent, and potentially the development of alternative approaches (Cochrane, 2007; Mooney, 2010a).

Philip Alperson’s (2002) discussion of community and diversity generates a complex debate of political philosophy – liberalism, communitarianism, and ‘anti-oppressive’⁵¹ – and of experience of urban, technological and global change, in which individuals hold multiple social identities and can learn to move between them according to context: although, as Hoggett (1997) notes, there may be a polarisation between the experiences of those living in affluent cosmopolitan communities and those in less mobile working class communities.

⁵⁰ Note: indeed this can be understood as an active strategy of the Thatcher Conservative UK Government of the 1980s to undermine the power of trade unions and related working class community action through economic policy, legislation and use of state services such as the police; for example each had its place during the 1984-85 Miners’ Strike (Harvey, 2005)

⁵¹ Note: rather than using the general term ‘anti-oppressive’, Alperson describes four broad political philosophies concerned with the challenging of dominant power structures within society/global society, namely: feminist, post-colonial, anti-racist, ‘queer’.

Pearce (1993) however, in seeking a suitable spatial size with which to understand a community economy, argues for a sense of ‘local community’ which is large enough to support a community organisation of some substance⁵², but where:

- a genuine sense of community is held by local people;
- local communities of interest/identity as well as of place are relevant; and
- others living outside of the community, linked through their work, for instance, have a sense of commitment to the community as well.

Whilst relations between a sense of local community and the spatial boundaries of the workings of the state can be difficult to reconcile (Ball & Stobbart, 1997), there is potential for a contemporary understanding of local community in complex rather than uniform ways, and for seeing local community as involving intersecting local communities of place, interest and identity. Thus, rather than there being one clearly defined type of local community of place, local community might be better understood as a matrix of local community diversity, with spatial, social and temporal dimensions (Giddens, 1984); and from which certain articulations of local community will have a particular prominence at any one time, although this can shift over time.

One element of such a matrix of local community diversity will be the range of community organisations and groups active within a local community – a local community sector. Stephen Thake (2006), whose work on community anchors initiates discussions in Chapter 4, notes that the majority of the UK’s estimated 500,000 not-for-profit organisations are community-based organisations (citing National Council for Voluntary Organisations, 2006). Thake argues that what they hold in common is a particular focus on a self-help, bottom-up approach within a particular community; although this can include ‘borough-wide’ or ‘sub-regional’ communities where a community of interest is dispersed. He describes a variety of community sector organisations and groups as follows:

- neighbourhood groups and networks – the vast majority of the sector, and likewise the voluntary sector;
- small community organisations – perhaps one staff member, but mainly

⁵² Note: Pearce is thinking here of a ‘core community enterprise’, which needs to be able to generate a certain level of earned income for its activities, but this could also be used more broadly in thinking what size of local community would be best suited as the focus of particular activities or support for particular functions; smaller (a neighbourhood) or larger (a district), for instance.

- volunteers;
- multi-purpose community organisations – of different sizes, many of which will be *community anchors*; and
- ‘wealth-creating’ community-based/regeneration organisations with significant income⁵³ – these are likely to be *community anchors*.

Thake’s thinking can be understood as ‘matter of fact’, and a statement of what ‘is’, but it will be argued in Chapter 4 that it is better understood as a narrative constructed to suit both a particular policy-making context and the needs of community organisations to assert an identity. Similarly, as noted in 1.3.1, Pearce’s (2003) third-sector friendly model of a ‘modern, mixed economy’ has political purposes too, and also strengthens discussion of the community sector. Here, ‘local community’ can be identified with spatial layers of ‘neighbourhoods’ and ‘districts’ – depending on the particular sense of local community being used – and three types of organisation or network are illustrated:

- community enterprises and ‘the community economy’ (trading);
- local voluntary organisations and groups (non-trading); and
- the self-help economy – community and neighbourhood groups, families and informal networks.⁵⁴

Andri Soteri-Proctor’s⁵⁵ (2011) research illustrates just how extensive informal and self-help community networks are likely to be, through identifying 58 community groups

⁵³ Note: there are now examples of community organisations, particularly those involved in housing, property and development that now have incomes of £1m-£10 million, and others of tens of millions. Community-based housing associations in Scotland would be one example, as well as development trusts such as Coin St Builders (London), Giroscope (Hull) and Goodwin Development Trust (Hull) in England – see, for instance, Walker et al. 2010.

⁵⁴ Note: Pearce also points to the ‘grey economy’, small-scale trading activity that is not declared to the state for tax purposes, as part of the local self-help economy; although this also has the potential in-part to be understood as an element of the local private sector and market-based rather than community sector and self-help focused. A recent report on the ‘informal economy’ by Barbour & Llanes (2013), sometimes also called the shadow economy, suggests that this ‘sector’ makes up 12.3% of the UK’s GDP (£270bn) and involving two million people in ‘moonlighting’ and ‘ghost-working’, thus highlighting too their vulnerability to exploitation through such activity as well as the value of bringing such employment under state regulation. This understanding of the informal economy would, however, seem to go significantly beyond solely the realms of the self-help economy and into the workings of the market itself. Although Barbour and Llanes explicitly exclude illegal and deeply exploitative economic activity through the ‘black market’ and criminal gangs and syndicates – relating to drugs and prostitution – it is crucial to recognise this as yet another facet of hidden economic activity within the nation state, and another deeper potential peril for many working class people and migrants, asylum seekers and refugees. More generally, Pearce recognises too that the self-help economy can operate at other spatial layers, including globally as a diaspora of extended families and ethnic communal ties, for instance.

⁵⁵Note: undertaken for the Third Sector Research Centre with the mapping undertaken in two discrete largely urban local areas – one in the West Midlands and one in the North-West of England.

and networks in and around just 11 streets in two urban areas. None of these was likely to appear in regulatory listings, nor to be included in statistical analysis of the third sector: and they are described as ‘below-the-radar’. His typology lists these groups as follows: arts and music; multi-cultural – two or more ethnic identities; self-help/mutual support; single identity cultural, faith or ethnic groups; and social clubs.

One ‘divide’ then is between organisations and groups that are increasingly formalised and regulated, and those groups and networks that are informal and more immediately understood as ‘self-help’. Within this research project such a divide is deemed useful and is understood as follows:

the community sector – or in a particular local community, the local community sector: of not-for-profit community-based organisations and groups of all sizes, many with one or more paid staff members, but many run solely by activist/volunteers⁵⁶, and which can be understood as formalised or partly formalised; many will be registered with a regulatory body and have a clear legal status, for instance as company limited by guarantee, an industrial and provident society, voluntary association, charitable trust, Scottish charitable incorporated organisation, community interest company.

informal community networks of care, support and common purpose: the networks of local groups, neighbours and neighbourhoods, families/extended families and other carers, work-mates, and mutual interest groups that operate in particular within local communities, as well as further afield, and for which there are no formalised structures. Pearce’s model notes such networks are not solely local but even work globally, as in a diaspora.

In constructing such a divide, the researcher is not indicating that informal community networks are unimportant, far from it. Edgar Cahn (2000) conceptualises them as part of the ‘core economy’, and argues that the economy and workings of the nation state as a whole are dependent on them. Similarly, Hazel Henderson (Henderson, Lintott & Sparrow, 1986) provides a model of the economy in which the bottom layer is ‘mother

⁵⁶ Note: the researcher (Henderson, 2006a) found through discussions with those working in the community in Craigmillar in Edinburgh that some preferred the term ‘activist’, others ‘volunteer’, and others still simply ‘someone helping out’. ‘Activist/volunteer’ is most used within this thesis to suggest the range. Whilst suggestive of the more formal community roles, and many of the interviewees the researcher met with took more formal roles such as Board members, the more informal roles should be recognised as crucial as well.

nature' and the next layer up sweat equity/self-help, with the market economy resting *dependently* at the very top. Given the power of the market economy within the nation state currently there is then more than a strong suggestion within such imagery of the potential for exploitation by those representing the interests of the market economy of these other layers – both 'community' and the eco-system.

Indeed, Martha Nussbaum (2002) illustrates the vulnerability of those working within 'community' to wider social forces when she argues, in her discussion of the rights of women⁵⁷ (internationally), that the family is a social institution that is capable of 'supporting' *both* human love and care *and* brutal exploitation and abuse. Cynthia Cockburn (1977), writing from a Marxist perspective, argues for the position of women as care-providers in the family and thus exploited by capital and the state in order to sustain the reproduction of the capitalist mode of production.⁵⁸ Beatrix Campbell (1993) actively illustrates this in her critique of the Thatcher Conservative UK Government's 'new right' economic and social policy-making that generated the socio-economic conditions in which young working class men in several estates in 1991 in England rioted, and leaving the women from the same estates to rebuild and hold together the social life of the community.

This common recognition, if theorised and articulated in distinctive ways, of the crucial role of 'community' indicates then a fundamental problem for informal community networks, and for the many, very often women, who sustain and work within such networks: the socio-economic systems of our society may rest on their backs but they lack the political and economic organisation and power with which to promote their interests, save on occasion through protest. The more formalised community sector may itself have limited powers, but its development of structures indicates its potential to be more powerful, and this suggests it *can* have a key role in advocating for the interests of such informal community networks, where it actively pursues this. Given the mutually-dependent relationship between the two that becomes further apparent within the

⁵⁷ Note: Martha Nussbaum writes from a 'human capabilities' perspective, initially developed by economist Amartya Sen (see, for instance, Jackson, 2009), and she gives ten types of capability or right for each family member including ownership of their body and mind, affiliation within social bodies, and political rights for resources and participation.

⁵⁸ Note: recent analysis of the 2011 census data in England and Wales (analysis not yet available for Scotland) points to approximately 10% of the population working as unpaid carers – with some working full-time and undertaking over 50 hours of caring activity each week. Of all unpaid carers, 58% of are women, and with a particular emphasis on those aged from 50-64 (Office for National Statistics, 2013a).

discussions of the case-study material, particularly in 6.2 and 7.3, there would be good reasons for the community sector to pursue this.

Finally, it should be noted that there is common theoretical ground between the concept of informal community networks and that of social capital, with the latter being further discussed below in 3.4.3 and often being used more broadly across and within human social systems than solely within ‘community’.

3.3: ‘Community’, policy-making and political economy

With some interweaving of theoretical narratives relating to community, local community, the community sector and informal community networks now to hand, this section shifts perspective to a consideration of what is, very generally, entitled ‘community’ in relation to policy-making and political economic trends and strategies within the UK nation state since the 1970s. ‘Community’ is used here, rather than, say, ‘community sector’, so as to emphasise the breadth of potentially relevant material relating to community actions – from community development initiatives and alternative economic developments, through to community campaigns and other oppositional activities including social unrest. There is a focus to on current policy development in both England and Scotland of likely relevance to the community sector; with England providing both elements of commonality and contrast to Scotland. The aim is to position considerations of ‘community’ and the community sector within a wider historical and political economic context, thus deepening the theoretical background held within a CSTP.

The discussions take the following course:

- (3.3.1) Post-1945 trends in UK political economy
- (3.3.2) Exploring ‘community’ in relation to UK political economic trends
- (3.3.3) The community sector and current policy development in England
- (3.3.4) The community sector and current policy development in Scotland

3.3.1: *Post-1945 trends in UK political economy*

This section aims to provide a brief introductory overview of political economic trends since 1945 in the UK, in particular in relation to urban policy, in the process recognising

commonalities between the urban and the rural, and the shift from the dominance of Keynesian/neo-Keynesian political economic thinking to that of neo-liberalism. Rob Atkinson & Graham Moon (1994) present an extensive overview of UK post-1945 urban policy, up until 1994, and in the process outline three distinctive periods:

1940s to early 1960s: a Keynesian welfare state was the dominant political economic model, and there is an emphasis within urban and economic policy on the ‘physical model’, in particular housing and infrastructure; and on regional economic policy, including that of new towns, but from which follows significant urban decline in the inner cities. Investment in social provision was focused on the welfare state and public sector. There was an emphasis on a ‘mixed economy’ of public and private sectors, although in fact, as Pete Alcock (2012) notes, a growing state funding of the third sector too. (Atkinson & Moon, 1994; Cullingworth & Nadin, 2006; Cochrane, 2007)

mid-1960s to late 1970s: the Keynesian welfare state moved into a certain sense of crisis: poverty was found still to ‘exist’ despite the welfare state; there were racial tensions in urban areas stoking UK Government fears of social disorder as in US cities; and economic growth could no longer be assumed. Indeed, the 1970s was marked by crisis, with the 1973 oil crisis and increases internationally in the price of oil, two periods of economic recession and related restrictions on state spending, and industrial disputes between unions and the state. Social development now became a focus of urban policy, in particular through funding via the Urban Programme for community development approaches including the CDPs. (Atkinson & Moon, 1994; Giddens & Hutton, 2000; Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Harvey, 2005; Cullingworth & Nadin, 2006; Cochrane, 2007; Peck, 2008)

1980s to mid-1990s: the arrival of the ‘Thatcher’ Conservative UK Government marked a shift in economic policy towards ‘New Right’ thinking, in particular neo-liberal but also neo-conservative, and promotion of the market and the private sector. There was a shifting of the Urban Programme towards economic development, designed to support the national economy, while attempting to limit public spending on welfare and local government. There was also on-going economic crisis in the early 1980s with Government monetarist economic policies exacerbating unemployment and generating a profound economic shift from manufacturing to the service sector. Social tensions were strongly evident within such a policy context; through industrial disputes, in particular

the 1984-85 Miners' Strike; and urban race-related riots in 1980, 1981 and 1985.

Following the property-related economic boom of the later 1980s and then recession of early 1990s – and with further urban riots⁵⁹ – the Conservative Government began to adopt a more conciliatory approach to local government. Longer-term partnerships for regeneration were established through the Single Regeneration Budget, replacing the Urban Programme, introduced in 1994 and with funding until 2007, and supporting programmes such as Housing Action Trusts. (Donaldson, 1984; Campbell, 1993; Atkinson & Moon, 1994; Thake, 2001; Harvey, 2005; Cullingworth & Nadin, 2006; Hull, 2006; Cochrane, 2007; Peck, 2008)

More recently, further phases of neo-liberal policy development have continued through the New Labour UK Government from 1997-2010 and now as the Coalition UK Government from 2010 to the current day. Patrick Diamond (2013) argues for a general ascendancy, and second phase post-1945, of 'progressive parties' in Europe during the early 2000s; once transition to a service-based economy (Danson & Whittam, 2010) had been achieved and thus generating conditions where a New Labour UK Government could be elected. Here, then the market-focused economic policies of the New Right remained in place but a certain renewed re-distribution of wealth via the welfare state could be undertaken. Mark Shucksmith (2012) is one of many to suggest a plateauing of the growing inequalities of the 1980s and 1990s during the early 2000s as the economy continued to grow – see also Institute for Fiscal Studies report (Cribb, Joyce & Phillips, 2012)⁶⁰. A New Deal for Communities (NDC) regeneration strategy was adopted, prioritising 39 communities through approximately £2bn of funding (Hull, 2006, Batty et al., 2010)⁶¹, and there was a particular focus on tackling social exclusion by

⁵⁹ Note: in the summer of 1991 on some working class estates in Cardiff, Oxford and Tyneside (Campbell, 1993)

⁶⁰ Note: see, for instance, Cribb, Joyce & Phillips (2012: 2-3, 36) reporting for the Institute for Fiscal Studies on inequality in the UK: "The most widely used measure of income inequality is the Gini coefficient, which ranges from 0 to 1 with higher levels indicating higher levels of inequality. During the 1960s and 1970s, the Gini fluctuated around 0.26. During the 1980s, it increased substantially, reaching 0.34 by 1990. This was the largest increase in income inequality seen in recent British history and was larger than the rise that took place in other countries at the same time. During the 1990s, inequality stabilised around this historically high level, creeping up slightly during the late 1990s before falling back again during the early 2000s. It then began to increase again from 2004–05 onwards. Indeed, it was at its highest level since 1961 between 2007–08 and 2009–10 (0.36) ... income inequality in the UK fell sharply in 2010–11. The widely-used Gini coefficient fell from 0.36 to 0.34. This is the largest one-year fall since at least 1962 ...". The significant fall in 2010-11 was in part related to the impact of taxation on top earners, and was not seen as necessarily predictive of trends across this decade.

⁶¹ Note: Batty et al. (2010), in their evaluation of the NDC programme, record that £1.71bn was spent between 1999-2000 and 2007-08 by the 39 NDC partnerships, and a further £730m levered in from other public, private and voluntary sector sources.

supporting people into employment through welfare reform as ‘welfare-into-work’ (Cochrane, 2007) and emphasis on communitarian thinking (Hoggett, 1997; Thake, 2001, 2006).

The devolution policy agenda pursued by the New Labour UK Government shifted key elements of policy making to a Scottish Parliament (Keating, 2004; McLean, Gallagher and Lodge, 2012)⁶² and Welsh Assembly. In relation to urban policy, Charlie Johnstone & Chris McWilliams (2004) recognise common policy agendas between the UK New Labour Government and Scottish Labour-led coalition Scottish Executive of economic competitiveness, social cohesion, welfare-into-work and partnership-working; whilst Chik Collins (2013) argues for a yet further significant shift in Scottish Executive policy-making relative to regeneration, under the growing influence of a then dominant Royal Bank of Scotland, to further economic competitiveness within its 2006 regeneration statement, *People and Place* (Scottish Executive, 2006).

The global financial crisis of 2007/2008, then the European sovereign debt crisis and the fluctuations in the global economy as a whole, have generated yet another phase in neo-liberal thinking and practice in the UK, and globally (Jackson, 2009; Harvey, 2011). The UK Coalition Government adopting a financial programme that includes ‘austerity’ – a reduction in real terms in public expenditure – as well as quantitative easing (Hutton, 2011); whilst the SNP administration that has formed the Scottish Government in Scotland since 2007 has been likewise constrained in spending and investment, in particular via the UK Government ‘block grant’.

The Institute for Fiscal Studies (Emmerson, Johnson and Miller, 2014), a mainstream economic commentator, now argues for a picture of the UK economy in 2014 as experiencing a current recovery in economic growth rates (by GDP), which it predicts will continue until 2018, in the context of a global growth trend (2014: 3). It notes that the Coalition UK Government currently plans to continue to seek further public

⁶² Note: Michael Keating (2005: 20) notes the Scottish Parliament, through the Scotland Act 1998, has a general competency over all matters not reserved to the UK Westminster Parliament. Three general areas remain reserved: (i) defence, national security and foreign affairs; (ii) economic matters in relation to a UK single market; and (iii) national provision of welfare. McLean, Gallagher and Lodge (2013) discuss the increasing powers under the Scotland Act 2012, coming into effect in 2016 if the Scottish Independence Referendum results in a vote to stay within the Union (the United Kingdom), for a Scottish Government and Parliament, in particular significant increases in its ability to raise taxes, including income tax, and to borrow.

spending cuts until 2018-19 as it seeks to achieve an annual budget surplus rather than deficit and related borrowing (2014: 1). The report therefore considers that there is little prospect of a strong recovery in standards of living for those on low or average incomes over “*the next few years*” (2014:5). Indications then that a continuing pattern of neo-liberal policy-making seems likely to at least maintain current levels of UK inequality – see Institute for Fiscal Studies (Cribb, Joyce & Phillips 2012) – and current policy development in England and Scotland through both administrations is considered further in 3.3.3 and 3.3.4 respectively within this light.

Such a summary of post-1945 political economic trends in the UK cannot, of course, do justice to the full range of debates, contradictions and ambiguities that is generated across these decades, but give a broad brush picture of a key theoretical conceptual narrative of a shift from the Keynesian welfare state to the market-focused neo-liberal state. Cochrane (2007; see, too, Brenner & Theodore, 2002) presents the neo-liberal state, or a Schumpeterian competition state⁶³, and the Keynesian welfare state, as rival versions of capitalism that are seeking distinctive ‘resolutions’ of the conflict between capital and labour, or different socio-economic class interests; and an on-going, even cyclical, conflict as previously noted in 1.3.5 through the work of David Harvey (Burtenshaw & Robinson, 2013). Atkinson & Moon’s (1994) discussion of the Thatcher Conservative UK Government similarly points to the dynamic nature of events within which neo-liberalism attempts to assert itself; in this case with tension in the Government between neo-liberal and neo-conservative interest groups as well as the wider dynamics of parliamentary and electoral politics – and indeed the social unrest noted earlier. The complexity of such theoretical debates cannot be considered here, but this key narrative works to inform the political economic backdrop to the changing policy context within the UK nation state, as well as globally, within this thesis.

The emphasis above has been largely on urban policy, and whilst a similar account of rural policy will not be attempted, there is a working assumption that this theoretical narrative of a shifting political economic context will be relevant to both urban and rural, although not as a simple template. Giddens (1984) within structuration theory develops a picture of a ‘contemporary capitalist world economy and world nation-state

⁶³ Note: Cochrane (2007) uses the term ‘Schumpeterian competition state’ in relation to thinking on economic competitiveness developed by Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter in the first half of the 20th century.

system’ in which the nation state is the key ‘power container’ which seeks to work with the market, in a conflicted relationship, and thus to integrate the roles of state and market within its boundaries, such that the ‘traditional’ divide between urban and rural has become less marked.

This is reflected in recent literature on rural policy in Scotland. Thus, Scott, Gilbert & Gelan (2007) and Shucksmith (2012) offer common analyses of rural development in which similarities between urban and rural economies are highlighted: both having an increasing emphasis on services and manufacturing, with the rural becoming less dominated by primary production; and both illustrating the impacts of ‘uneven economic development’. In the case of rural communities, a broad economic trend is that of faster economic growth in ‘accessible rural’ areas, and slower economic growth in ‘remote rural’ areas; with a related sign of such uneven development as a general trend of population growth in accessible rural areas and population decline in remote(r) rural areas; with the population decline in remote rural and urban areas ‘fuelling’ the population growth in the accessible rural areas – termed ‘counter-urbanisation’ in relation to the urban areas.

Sarah Skerratt et al. (2012) recognise the trend in both ‘predominantly rural’ areas and ‘predominantly urban’ areas of falling economic growth between 2007 and 2010 in Scotland; with the predominantly rural south of Scotland, for instance, having seen increasing unemployment comparable to urban areas. Those considered ‘intermediate’, with elements of urban and rural, and more likely to include accessible rural areas, have had a continued economic growth; while unemployment has increased more slowly in rural areas as a whole than in urban areas. Thus, there is a complex relationship between the diversity of rural areas and poverty and inequality, as with urban areas; Scott, Gilbert & Gelan (2007), for instance, point towards smaller, in effect ‘low visibility’, pockets of spatial deprivation in rural areas. Spatial inequality or deprivation is not simply broad brush or solely an urban phenomenon, but widespread, subtle and complex.

3.3.2: Understanding ‘community’ in the context of political economic change

The shifting political economic ‘plates’, outlined above, from the 1960s as dilemmas for the Keynesian welfare state and then as the rise of the neo-liberal state from the 1980s,

until its current crisis since 2008, has, Cochrane (2007) argues, given rise to an ‘urban social policy’ as an alternative to the then existing Keynesian welfare-ism. One result has been the increasing prominence of ‘community’, community development, the third sector, and more recently social enterprise within policy narratives and initiatives. Within this sub-section, some of the expressions of this focus on ‘community’ and the third sector will be recognised; firstly relative to UK urban policy, and then in relation to Scotland and a variety of urban, rural and public sector policy initiatives.

Atkinson & Moon (1994) argue that fears of inner-city racial tensions generating social disorder and unrest in the 1960s led the Wilson Labour Government funding the Urban Programme (UP) – see too, Cochrane, 2007. Actual urban race-related riots in 1980 and 1981 delayed the Thatcher Conservative Government’s re-focusing of the UP from social development to economic development; although they note too that with new policing strategies in place, this was no longer considered necessary following the 1985 riots. They also assert the significant, if short-lived, policy impact of the CDP, funded through UP during the 1970s, in relation to then thinking on the causes of urban decline and a related poverty and inequality (see Hoggett, 1997; Cochrane, 2007; Craig et al. 2011). Those involved with the CDP generated a (Marxist) structural analysis of the causes of poverty through uneven economic development; thus providing an alternative to a mainstream analysis as one of ‘social pathology’ that blamed ‘dysfunctional’ individuals, families and communities’. As illustrated in 1.2.1, such a structural, if not Marxist, understanding has been sustained within many strands of community development and community education thinking since, but Atkinson & Moon argue too for a certain structural influence on the Callaghan UK Labour Government policy development within its 1977 White Paper *Policy for the Inner Cities* (HMSO, 1977) and the resulting Inner Urban Areas Act 1978; in particular as an economic strategy that aimed to re-focus state structures, resources and private sector activity – and indeed voluntary sector activity (Raison, 1977) – through partnerships focused on deprived urban areas. Most certainly a significant achievement for those working within the CDPs, yet Craig et al. (2011: 6) also observe (sadly) that no government since has supported the development of such an *autonomous*, well-funded and national community development initiative.

During the 1980s, Atkinson & Moon (also Cochrane, 2007; Ridley-Duff & Bull, 2011), note the rise of a ‘local socialism’ with a focus on alternative local economic

development, and so potentially to be understood as a form of social enterprise, through the ‘new urban left’ working within the Greater London Council and Sheffield in particular; before the central state intervened to abolish metropolitan authorities and rate-cap local government. They discuss how the initial strategy of the London Docklands Urban Development Corporation of ignoring community opposition to its plans proved problematic (see also Cullingworth & Nadin, 2006) and ultimately led onto the adoption of a less confrontational strategy from development corporations and national initiatives such as City Challenge. Likewise they point to some successes for ‘popular planning’ and various local community campaigns in relation to opposing economic development; for instance leading to the Coin Street Community Builders on London’s South Bank, an oft-quoted example of a successful community development trust (Cochrane, 2007; Walker et al. 2010), and one fitting with a community anchor model. However, the more general conclusion, across Atkinson & Moon’s discussions, is that of the limited impact of such oppositional and alternative local activity on the longer-term direction of state policy.

Cochrane (2007) observes an increasing focus on the third sector in relation to area regeneration during the 1990s, under both Conservative and then New Labour UK Governments; and Hoggett (1997) similarly identifies an increasing third sector role in the provision of ‘community care’ since the late 1980s and via the National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990 (Her Majesty’s Government, 1990). Cochrane explores this as part of a New Labour policy focus, across the late 1990s and into the 2000s, on welfare reform and a welfare-into-work strategy with a stated aim of tackling social exclusion; here, the language of ‘community’ and social capital is actively used within policy too (see also Thake, 2001, 2006). Although noting the use of arguments advocating for such ‘community’ as drawing from an older, egalitarian, community ownership ethos, Cochrane remains unconvinced particularly given the still small scale of community development, community enterprise and community ownership activity in the UK – and this is discussed further in 4.2.1.

Experiences in Scotland, via the Scottish Office up to 1999 and, since devolution, through the Scottish Executive and now Scottish Government provide a distinctive history in themselves of a developing public-private sector partnership approach, in which community engagement is a third, if somewhat limited, strand. Atkinson & Moon (1994) briefly discuss the Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal (GEAR) project established

in 1976 as an early example of public partnership-working within urban policy with local government as an official partner of the central state⁶⁴; concurrent with the UK Government's 1977 White Paper which also emphasised partnership. They argue for the GEAR as potentially influential on the Scottish Office's later development of the New Life for Urban Scotland (NLUS) programme with its emphasis on public-private partnership; given the lack of conflict between the partners, central and local government, within the GEAR, and which contrasted strongly with experiences in England.

The NLUS itself ran over ten years from 1988 in four working class communities – one in each of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Paisley – and placed emphasis on partnership with the private sector and the community (community participation). Atkinson & Moon (1994) conclude that the NLUS' emphasis on property-led regeneration, as with other private sector and market-orientated approaches, was unlikely to meet the needs of people/communities coping with the UK's shift from a manufacturing to a service-based economy, and so on the margins of the labour market. Cochrane (2007, p.50) argues for the NLUS as a precursor to New Labour's and Scottish Labour's policy focus on area regeneration, partnership-working and welfare reform, as do Johnstone & McWilliams (2004).

The evaluation of NLUS by Roger Tarling et al. (1999) indicates successful outcomes in relation to house building and refurbishment, and in part in relation to resident satisfaction, employment levels of residents too⁶⁵ and community participation; whilst acknowledging difficulties in relation to population mobility and a wider holistic regeneration. However, it is difficult not to be drawn to the £301m of *additional* public sector investment, £485m of public expenditure in total directly on the initiative (1998 prices), and through this the 'leveraging' in of a related £75m of private sector finance, as the crucial element(s) here. Without a wider shift in the direction and priorities of economic policy across the nation state, such one-off investments in four particular communities would seemingly be at the expense of other areas of public spending and

⁶⁴ Note: the then Glasgow District Council and the Scottish Development Agency, and more broadly the Scottish Office (Atkinson & Moon, 1994).

⁶⁵ Note: Tarling et al. (1999) conclude their main findings in a generally positive tone but are also mixed in their conclusions on the impact on the employment prospects for local residents: "During the life of the initiative the proportion of the working age population in employment rose significantly in Ferguslie Park (28% to 41%) and Whitfield (42% to 62%), remained constant in Castlemilk (38% to 36%) and fell in Wester Hailes (57% to 48%)".

not necessarily ‘sustainable’ in the longer-term given the lack of change in the economic policy context . Others are highly critical of the impacts of community engagement and partnership-working processes within the NLUS: Chik Collins (1997) points to exclusion of key community activists in Ferguslie Park in Paisley who opposed the existing partnership plans; Laurence Demarco (2009) pointing to the longer-term impact in Wester Hailes, relative to the then existing community leadership and representative structures, as one of its effective side-lining and slow decline.

Charlie Johnstone and Chris McWilliams (2004) argue for the influence of such public-private partnership-working and area-based approaches within regeneration in Scotland in the following decade (from the late 1990s), with the Scottish Executive’s⁶⁶ policy-making initially focused on social inclusion partnerships (SIPs), mainly area-based, providing partnerships between public sector, private sector and community; and then replaced, following the Local Government in Scotland Act 2003 (Her Majesty’s Government, 2003), by community planning and community planning partnerships (CPPs), aimed at working on wider spatial scales. Their critique of both SIPs and CPPs is political economic in nature and the limiting of ‘the problem’ to particular areas rather than to the operations of wider socio-economic systems, and hence the generation of a ‘dual society’ policy; on the one hand, focusing on an economic and city competitiveness such as glamorous city centre regeneration; and on the other, offering “*the participation of the excluded*” (2004: 172) to working class residents and communities.

Recognition should also be given to other ‘community’-related initiatives in Scotland, in particular: (i) the support of the Highlands and Islands Development Board, later Highland and Islands Enterprise (HIE) for the development of rural community cooperatives (Pearce, 1993); (ii) more generally the development of the Scottish Community Business model through the Scottish Urban Programme (Pearce, 1993; Hayton,1997); and, (iii) the development in Glasgow from the early 1970s through local and central state initiatives – Glasgow Corporation, Glasgow District Council and the Housing Corporation – in regeneration areas, and in partnership with ASSIST⁶⁷ and

⁶⁶ Note: both Scottish Executives – 1999-2003 and 2003-2007 – were Scottish Labour/Scottish Liberal Democrat coalition administrations.

⁶⁷ Note: ASSIST was an organisation established in Govan by architect Raymond Young and the Department of Architecture at the University of Strathclyde and which developed/piloted a community

local community committees/participation, of a growing number of community housing associations (GWSFHA, 1999; Clapham & Kintrea, 2000), and understood as distinctive from the later ‘large-scale stock housing transfer’ policy initiative from 1997 onwards of the Scottish Executive and New Labour UK Government (Daly et al., 2005).

More recently, two other ‘community-related’ initiatives, begun under the previous Scottish Executive, have gained a certain policy footing, and continue to be relevant within SNP Scottish Government policy development: the Community-led Supporting and Developing Healthy Communities Task Group report (Taylor, 2006) argued for community development approaches to health provision and which continues to be taken forward through the current Equally Well initiative – see 3.3.4; and in relation to community ownership, funding through the Scottish Land Fund⁶⁸, and legislation through the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2003 which established a ‘community right to buy’ for communities of less than 10,000 population, so essentially rural areas and smaller towns – see 3.3.4.

However, whether as community development or as community-right-to-buy, whilst concrete individual achievements are to be recognised, Scotland-wide there is not a sense of significant political economic change afoot. In terms of community ownership, by 2011 only seven communities had acquired land through the community-right-to-buy, not a dramatic change in patterns of rural landownership (Wightman, 2011). And in relation to community development and health inequalities, Gerry McCartney et al. (2013: 35-37) argue that health inequalities in Scotland are not being measured as falling between 1981 and 2011⁶⁹; although any likely impacts of community development would likely take a significant period of time to become apparent, assuming that their influence could be disentangled from other interventions and processes within the workings of the nation state.

approach to housing regeneration, and that led to the forming of the first community housing association in Govan – with Govanhill Housing Association formed soon after in 1974.

⁶⁸ Note: The Scottish Land Fund initially ran from 2001-2006, and has now been re-instated for the period 2012-15, and is to be managed by BIG (the Big Lottery Fund). BIG’s Growing Community Assets programme has also supported community buy-outs/community ownership of assets in Scotland (from 2006 to the present).

⁶⁹ Note: McCartney et al. (2013: 35) refer to several general statistical indices aiming to show the general trends on health inequalities (both absolute and relative comparisons) in Scotland, and also note “a suggestion in recent years of decline” for absolute, but not relative, measures.

There is, then, a significant echoing of earlier themes within the urban policy discussion of the essentially limited impacts across the nation state. Angela Hull (2006), for instance, argues for the positive impacts of Housing Action Trusts in the regeneration of six deprived estates in England, funded through longer-term funding (1994-2007) within the Single Regeneration Budget and thus similar in nature to the NLUS and a precursor to New Labour's NDC initiative⁷⁰. However, she concludes that the local state would be unable to provide resources on the necessary scale to support such initiatives; while so far this is a political challenge that central governments have failed to take-up on a wider scale.

Atkinson & Moon (1994: 265) too are concerned to consider the resource and political implications for the central state, and conclude that urban initiatives are symbolic and ameliorative, a tokenism, given the scale of redistribution of resources needed to tackle urban decline. In political terms, they argue that the economic costs of intervention, *and* the social costs of non-intervention, have been higher than governments (post-war to 1994) had been prepared to risk. Cochrane (2007), meanwhile, understands such inequality and uneven development as an inevitable consequence, and in effect a deliberate consequence⁷¹, of the competitive and market-focused approach of the neo-liberal state.

For a CSTP, what would seemingly be useful to recognise, thus far, is that whilst certain concrete outcomes or outputs can be made possible via particular state policy initiatives in particular times and focused places, neither the tackling of social and economic inequalities – whether as understood through urban decline, uneven development, a two-speed rural economy, a 'dual society', health inequalities or poverty – nor for that matter a related significant development of the community sector and social economy as a whole, has been seriously attempted by the nation state in recent decades; certainly not since the arrival of the neo-liberal state in the 1980s.⁷²

⁷⁰ Note: Hull notes 'lifetime' budgets measured in £100 millions, although subject later to significant reduction, and thus significantly larger than NDC budgets of £50m per community. The overall budget and scale of public expenditure through the NDC was larger than the HATs as it worked across 39 rather than six communities.

⁷¹ Note: see, for instance, Michael Fry's (2013) article in defence of neo-liberalism which recognises inevitable shortcomings in relation to inequality, but argues that its superiority in terms of general wealth creation and adaptability make it a necessity.

⁷² Note: given the scale of investment in the welfare state, housing, other state provision and nationalisation of industry by the post-war (1945-1951) Labour Government, a case could likely be made for such a significant policy endeavour being undertaken and in the name of a significant re-distribution

3.3.3: The community sector and current policy development in England

As indicated in 1.3.5, there is a working assumption within this thesis that neo-liberalism is the current political economic orthodoxy. It is assumed, then, that both the current UK and Scottish Governments can largely and best be understood through theorising on the neo-liberal state; whilst recognising that there are variants of the neo-liberal state, and tensions with persisting elements of neo-Keynesian welfare-ism, even if only as popular aspiration (Cochrane, 2007). This sub-section outlines some of the key current developments in England through UK Coalition Government policy in relation to ‘community’; seeking to generate a wider understanding of the dominant political economic trend within the UK nation state, given the size of England, as well as providing a certain contrast to the Scottish context. It is recognised that distinctive and informative contexts will exist in the other UK nations, Wales and Northern Ireland, but such wider discussion is beyond the scope of this thesis; likewise contexts further afield in Europe and beyond.

The arrival of the Conservative-led Coalition UK Government in 2010 has seen a shifting of policy language, away from New Labour’s concentration on ‘community’ and the third sector as partners to the state, to talk of ‘The Big Society’ (TBS) as an alternative to the state. Pete Alcock⁷³ (2012) positions initially his discussion of TBS in relation to that of New Labour’s increasing support through state funding for the third sector; with funding increasing from £8bn to £12.8bn over a decade, making-up 36% of third sector income but, in the process, raising questions over the sector’s independence from the state⁷⁴. Alcock points to TBS as an idea coming from the Conservative Party, and championed by Prime Minister David Cameron, and to be seen as an alternative to ‘Big Government’ or ‘Big State’ and fitting with their ‘broken Britain’ or ‘broken society’ rhetoric (Blond, 2010; Mooney, 2009, 2010b). In practical terms, it has led (so far) to an Office for Civil Society and an agenda that includes:

- a social investment bank – Big Society Capital, with a £600m (total) budget;
- a National Citizens Service;
- a Community Organisers programme;

of resources towards greater equality through the welfare state, ‘full employment’ and an interventionist approach (see Atkinson & Moon, 1994).

⁷³ Note: a Third Sector Research Centre report.

⁷⁴ Note: see, for instance, the Panel on the Independence of the Voluntary Sector (2011), established in July 2011 to consider a range of concerns as to charities and the wider third sector in England, but with relevance to the wider UK in relation to independence and accountability.

- a Community First budget of £80m;
- a vanguard communities programme; and
- legislation, in particular the Localism Act 2011⁷⁵.

TBS is being integrated into the UK Coalition Government policy agenda in particular: as ‘localism’, through the Localism Act that provides various opportunities for community groups and organisations including a community-right-to-buy and the extension of opportunities for Town and Parish Councils to put forward proposals to support local sustainability through the Sustainable Communities Act 2007 (amendment) Act 2010 (National Association of Local Councils 2013)⁷⁶; and as public service reform, for instance, through the Public Services (Social Value) Act 2012, where public service procurement activity is being linked to social, economic and environmental well-being/improvements in an area (Social Enterprise UK [SEUK], 2012), and through the policy initiative to promote public service mutuals (Mutual Taskforce, n.d.).

Alcock (2012) also notes that TBS tends to emphasise the language of civil society rather than the third sector, and he points out that the anti-state rhetoric of TBS has not appealed to those outside of England – in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Rob MacMillan (2013)⁷⁷ notes that TBS’ narrative has not excited those in third sector itself in England, with many treating the initiative with scepticism given the context of public sector spending cuts; and some within the sector such as the National Coalition for Independent Action actively campaigning against it (see, for instance, Waterhouse & Scott, 2013).

This theme is taken up by Anna Coote (2011) of the New Economics Foundation, who has signalled deep concern for TBS as a form of ‘cover’ for the Coalition Government’s

⁷⁵ Note: the Localism Act 2011 includes provision for: (1) a community ‘right to challenge’ current arrangements for the delivery of local services; (2) a community ‘right to bid’, a community-right-to-buy in effect, local authority assets such as unused buildings; (3) a community ‘right-to-build’ avoiding certain elements of the planning process; (4) a community right to develop a Neighbourhood Plan. More generally, the Act gives local authorities a General Power of Competency that enables them to extend their range of approaches to services and development (see Local Government Association, 2013).

⁷⁶ Note: National Association for Local Councils is the representative body for town and parish councils in England. The new powers for these bodies under the Sustainable Communities Act 2007 became effective as 13 October 2013.

⁷⁷ Note: Rob Macmillan also works within the Third Sector Research Centre.

‘austerity agenda’, with very significant cuts to public sector expenditure in real terms proposed between 2010-11 and 2017-18; and, likewise, for a public sector reform aimed at allowing the corporate private sector to deliver yet more public services – further privatisation in effect. Coote notes that whilst billions of pounds are being cut in public sector and welfare spending, funding for the TBS is to be measured in the millions of pounds. Further, that it is the corporate private sector who are significantly better resourced than the third sector and public service mutuals to compete for contracts on the scale conceived: indeed the Social Enterprise UK (SEUK) report (Williams, 2012) *Shadow State* highlights just such a trend with a few very large private sector corporates continuing to benefit from a new wave of outsourcing via ‘public service markets’⁷⁸.

Peter Matthews and Annette Hastings (2013) argue, too, that the localism agenda seeks both to shift power for overseeing to the central state but the responsibilities for action, yet on declining funding, to the local state and civil society; further that its expected inbuilt bias towards middle class activism will increase inequalities between middle class and working class communities.

Yet the position of the community sector, third sector and social economy remains highly ambiguous. Steve Wyler (2011a), of a community sector representative body Locality⁷⁹, and who promotes a community ownership ethos (Wyler, 2009) – see 3.4.2, initially wrote in a generally supportive manner of TBS as an opportunity for the community sector to make a ‘step-change’ in its role within society. For instance, Wyler has co-authored a report with one of the architects of TBS, Phillip Blond (Wyler & Blond, 2010⁸⁰). More recently, a note of distance towards TBS has crept into Wyler’s analysis and commentaries (see for instance Wyler, 2012), including: scepticism as to the role of Big Society Capital too and its development of a social investment market

⁷⁸ Note: the SEUK report is strongly critical too of some of the practices of such corporate private sector bodies, for instance, noting the placing of vulnerable children and adults taken into care at the most ‘cost effective’ places of care/support, potentially far from their homes, rather than those local to where they live.

⁷⁹ Note: Locality is the product of a merger between the Development Trust Association (in England) and the British Association of Settlement and Social Action Centres (bassac). Both were part of the Community Alliance (in England), along with a third organisation with particular concern for rural development, Community Matters. The Alliance however would seem to be no longer active, rather than formally dis-banded. Locality was awarded the contract for the TBS’ community organising programme.

⁸⁰ Note: this joint publication by Wyler and Blond, and their respective organisations (then) Development Trust Association (now Locality) and think-tank ResPublica, has sought to generate a joint agenda integrating both community and individual asset ownership within a strategy aiming to tackle poverty and inequality.

that aims to derive profits from the third sector; concern as to Big Society Capital's attempts to blur the distinction between for-profit and non-for-profit organisations through talk of a 'social sector' of both forms of 'social business' (Wyler 2013a); and work by Locality with the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) researching into the impacts of the Government's austerity programmes on communities and community organisations (JRF, 2013).

In fact, even Phillip Blond (2012) himself has begun to have doubts as to the direction TBS is taking in the hands of the Conservative Party and Coalition UK Government, and this is discussed further in 5.4.2. Ed Mayo (2013) of Cooperatives UK, and a member of the Mutuels Taskforce charged with extending the roles of public service mutuels, raises the vexed question of such mutuels acting as a (further) vehicle for privatisation; particularly given the Coalition UK Government definition allows for only 25% ownership by staff and no representation of service users⁸¹. Whilst Cooperatives UK and the Trade Union Congress (n.d.)⁸² have issued guidelines in relation to public service mutualisation, the Coalition Government's 'mixed ownership' approach is far from encouraging, and illustrates again the very complex 'waters' that the social economy and the trade unions find themselves negotiating.

Such a brief introduction to policy-making in England cannot be said to be comprehensive, yet, at almost every turn, a diverse range of organisations and commentators would seem to be pointing towards fears of an expansion of privatisation of public services and a constraining of the public sector and, more generally, the welfare state: Raymond Tallis' (2013), for instance, points towards the further opening-up of NHS contracts to private sector companies through the Health and Social Care Act 2012. There would seem to be consistent evidence for a further expansion of a neo-liberal, market-focused, agenda in England through UK Coalition Government leadership and policy-making; as indicated as a working assumption at the beginning of this sub-section. In the process, this then places the community sector, and those in leadership roles within it, in a highly ambiguous and likely compromising policy

⁸¹ Note: one example being a 'public sector mutual' with 25% employee ownership, 35% public sector ownership and 40% private sector corporate investment company ownership; and where staff have had no vote on the transfer into this 'mixed ownership' (Cooperatives UK, n.d.).

⁸² Note: the document notes however that: "The TUC believes that the public sector is best placed to provide public services that meet these criteria and will continue to campaign for publicly owned and democratically accountable public services." (Cooperatives UK & TUC, n.d.: 3).

landscape through which they must seek somehow to ‘steer’ and maintain some form of social vision.

3.3.4: *The community sector and current policy development in Scotland*

‘Current’, in this case, will be taken as the arrival of the SNP (Scottish National Party) as a minority Scottish Government in 2007, later to be a majority administration following the 2011 Scottish Parliament elections. Hopes were raised within the community sector by the SNP manifesto (SNP, 2007) having trailed relatively concrete proposals for: reviewing an increasing role for community councils; supporting community ownership; ‘empowered status’ for co-management with the public sector for some deprived communities; community energy plans and companies; as well as a host of the usual themes of community safety and community health and well-being. But progress has been slow, and likewise the scale of action disappointing; with some commenting, see for instance Stephen Maxwell (2008), that the new Scottish Government’s strategy to work closely with local authorities through a joint concordat with COSLA (the Confederation of Scottish Local Authorities) (Scottish Government & COSLA, 2007) and focused on community planning partnerships, had taken priority over such manifesto commitments.

Key policy themes and developments in relation to ‘community’ since 2007 include:

Community regeneration, community empowerment and land reform: a Scottish Community Empowerment Action Plan (Scottish Government & COSLA, 2009) emerged with broad commitments to community anchors, illustrative of the lobbying and active involvement in consultation by the Scottish Community Alliance and the community sector. Little in the way of new funding initiatives was being offered, although one particular initiative that followed was funding for a Community Ownership Support Service to be managed by Development Trust Association Scotland (DTAS). During 2011, a commitment, to both a community-led regeneration strategy and community anchors, was flagged up in a consultation document (Scottish Government, 2011a) and then given policy status in the final strategy, *Achieving a Sustainable Future: Regeneration Strategy* (Scottish Government, 2011b). Such explicit use of language, potentially then strengthens the policy ‘leverage’ of the community sector.

Currently, two key initiatives are under development. Firstly, an initial exploratory consultation on a Community Empowerment and Renewal Bill (CERB) (Scottish Government, 2012), and then November 2013 to January 2014 as a more focused consultation on the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Bill (CESB) (Scottish Government, 2013b). The latter is currently focused on⁸³:

- a proactive role for community organisations in relation to asset transfer of public sector land and property into community ownership;
- a proactive role for communities in engaging with the public sector on improving public services;
- transparency and community involvement in the management of ‘common good’ assets held by local authorities;
- extending and improving community-right-to-buy (CRTB) measures to all communities and consideration of a compulsory CRTB mechanism; and
- extending access to allotments through additional local authority duties.

Secondly, a Scottish Land Reform Review Group has been established and recently published an interim report (Elliott & Skerratt, 2013), confirming a commitment to considering the expansion of a CRTB including in urban areas; there has, however, been controversy in omitting consideration of the rights of tenant farmers from the Group’s work following the interim report (Hunter et al., 2013).

Health inequalities and (anti-)poverty related matters: another key focus for ‘community’ within policy has been that relating to poverty and health inequalities. The Healthy Inequalities Task Group and related Equally Well initiative (2008a, 2008b, 2010a), for instance, have developed a series of policy, practice and evidence-related reports, and piloted eight test sites to support understanding of integrated and preventative approaches – public service reform in effect – aiming to tackling poverty and inequality. Emphasis has been given to the roles of the third sector/social enterprise; community empowerment, community asset ownership and participatory budgeting; and ‘community-led health’ (community development) approaches. More generally, the

⁸³ Note: the Bill also includes measures relating to: local authority powers to tackle defective buildings; community planning and extending statutory duties to a wider range of public sector bodies; local council determination of relief on non-domestic/business rates; and further discussion of statutory status for national targets and the independence of local government.

third sector has been earmarked by the Scottish Government as having a particular role in relation to supporting people back into the labour market: see for instance the Scottish Government Economic Strategy 2007 and 2011 (Scottish Government: 2007, 2011); the Enterprising Third Sector Action Plan 2008-2011 (Scottish Government, 2008c)⁸⁴; Equally Well and the Health Inequalities Task Group as above; and Achieving Our Potential: a framework to tackle poverty and income inequality in Scotland (Scottish Government 2008d). More recently, the Scottish Government's Child Poverty Strategy for Scotland (2011c) draws on an 'asset-based approach', focusing on 'community assets' rather than 'community deficits' and pointing to 'co-production' and 'co-designing' between services, communities and families, although not as community ownership – see 3.4.1 and 3.4.2 for discussion of the different approaches here. More generally, the structural constraints on all community development approaches are considered in 3.4.1 and 3.4.3.

Public sector reform: more generally, 'community' has been highlighted in relation to public sector reform through the Commission on the Future Delivery of Public Services' (2011) report – also known as the 'Christie Commission' – to consider public sector reform at a time of austerity, in the light of the report of the Independent Budget Review Panel (2010) which highlighted the need for urgent action potentially both through spending and taxation. The Christie report argues for the need for 'systemic change' in public service management and a 'preventative approach' in the face of on-going inequalities⁸⁵; and one key emphasis is that of working with communities, and building community resilience – including through the CERB (Scottish Government, 2012) – with a particular mention for community developments trusts.

⁸⁴ Note: The Action Plan included three funds aiming to support third and social enterprise development: the Scottish Investment Fund, the Third Sector Enterprise Fund, and the Social Entrepreneurs Fund. The Scottish Government has also called for, and sought to provide, investment for Scotland as an 'international hub' for social enterprise (Scottish Government, n.d.[a]).

⁸⁵ Note: the Christie Commission report notes that inequalities have persisted or even worsened since the Scottish Parliament's establishment. The recent Joseph Rowntree Foundation monitoring report on Poverty and Social Exclusion 2013 (Hannah Aldridge et al., 2013) generates a more mixed picture with falling child poverty (by a third) and pensioner poverty (halved) over the last decade to 2010/11; but unemployment for under 25s rising in last five years, similarly those in part-time work wanting a full-time position; and with health inequalities described as 'not only stark but growing'. Suffice to say both poverty and inequality remain deeply embedded within society in Scotland and the UK nation state. See too commentary in section 3.3.1 on levels of income inequality in UK and in section 3.3.2 on levels of health inequality in Scotland.

One area of engagement between the public sector and communities that the Commission recommended as needing attention is that of the community planning partnerships (CPPs). The Scottish Government and COSLA established a Community Planning Review Group (2012) to review CPPs and related single outcome agreements (SOAs) in order to place them at the centre of the process of public service reform and a shift to a preventative approach; whilst the CESB (Scottish Government 2013b) is now proposing that CPPs should be given a statutory basis – rather than the more general concept of ‘community planning’ which appears in the Local Government in Scotland Act 2003 – and that likewise that public sector partners working within the CPPs should have statutory duties.

However, DTAS (2012) sounds a more sceptical note, describing CPPs as ‘public service strategic planning partnerships’ and pointing to community anchors as the route to a community plan which could be integrated within state/public sector (town and country) planning frameworks for instance as supplementary guidance within a local planning authority’s Local Development Plan⁸⁶. DTAS recognises too that community anchors can take responsibility for some public service delivery, and even manage some budgets, yet it also calls for caution here to avoid related dangers of opening-up public service provision more widely to privatisation.

A Procurement Reform (Scotland) Bill is now under discussion in the Scottish Parliament – as of October 2013 – and this includes commitments to: a ‘sustainable procurement duty’ for contracting authorities that can support economic, social and environmental improvements and involve small business and third sector organisations in the process; and includes community benefit clauses⁸⁷, particularly for contracts over £4m (Campbell, 2013). A Public Bodies (Joint Working) (Scotland) Bill is also under consideration and aims to support integration of health and social care services; whilst seen as a response to the Christie Commission, some have questioned its lack of explicit commitment to elements such as co-production and asset-based working (Robson, 2013).

⁸⁶ Note: as is the case with Neilston Community Development Trust and its work with partners to establish a Town Charter which is recognised within the existing (2010) East Renfrewshire Local Plan (McKendry, 2010).

⁸⁷ Note: in relation to training, recruitment and sub-contracting, or to wider commitments to holistic – social, economic and environmental – activities that are the primary focus of the contract.

Despite all the encouraging policy ‘noises’, the extent of the Scottish Government’s willingness to invest in the community sector is less clear. Scottish Urban Regeneration Forum (SURF, 2012) for instance, comments that the £6m⁸⁸ per annum People and Communities Fund attached to the Scottish Government’s regeneration policy 2011 (Scottish Government, 2011b), and apparently aimed at community anchors but also allowing larger housing associations to bid, is of minor significance compared to the £9bn Scottish Government procurement budget and the Scottish Futures Trust’s investment programme, measured in billions of pounds too. SURF (2013) also notes the absorption of the previously ring-fenced Scottish Government’s £148m Community Regeneration Fund into the general fund of hard-pressed local authorities. The SCA (2013a) argues too that the central state’s commitment to community-led regeneration seems to be losing focus, with the new Regeneration Capital Grant Fund, £25m of funding launched in 2013, loosely focused on ‘community involvement’, rather than community-led regeneration, and aimed at local authorities in the lead role.⁸⁹

The full scale of funding for the community sector via the state is currently unclear; the SCA (2013b) recently located just over £100m per year of funding from various Scottish Government and Big Lottery Fund sources, although this was not considered a final, comprehensive tally: given the community sector’s ability to locate/generate income through philanthropic sources, trading, and community sources too, a final total would be difficult to establish. Research reports by Sencot (Social Entrepreneurs Network Scotland, 2013) in Scotland and by the Community Development Finance Association (Henry & Craig, 2013) across the UK, would suggest that there is considerable unmet need within community enterprise, social enterprise and more generally smaller third sector organisations for suitable finance and investment; and that these are likely to be requiring smaller and often unsecured loans below £50,000, alongside a knowledgeable, supportive and ‘time-rich’ financial institution.

⁸⁸ Note: originally stated as £7.9m per annum within the Scottish Government’s Regeneration Strategy (2011b).

⁸⁹ Note: the Regeneration Capital Grant Fund (RCGF) replaced the former Capital Grant Fund, which was aimed only at Urban Regeneration Companies, and is aimed at local authorities rather than third sector organisations, who cannot apply directly; although the projects so far funded include at least one example of the local authority and a community development trust working together. The Fund’s guidance gives four examples of potential projects that could be funded with two demonstrating how the community sector could be supported but none being positively community-led, in particular by a community anchor. The RCGF is one of three ring-fenced capital investment funds held by the Scottish Government – with ‘Spruce’ and the ‘Vacant and Derelict Lands Fund’ being the others – but none would seem to be actively promoting themselves as a ‘community-led regeneration’ (Scottish Government, n.d.[b]).

Within section 1.3.5., the researcher has briefly outlined a working assumption as to the current dominance of neo-liberal orthodoxy in political economic thinking and practices in the UK and internationally, and illustrated how this can be understood as highly active within UK Coalition Government policy in England relative to public service reform in 3.3.3. In this sub-section, on current policy-making in Scotland, such neo-liberal thinking and practice is assumed to be active too. There isn't scope within this thesis for a comprehensive interpretation and analysis of neo-liberal thinking within Scottish Government, yet the following examples are used to illustrate a neo-liberalism in action in Scotland currently:

Economic Development: The proposed National Planning Framework 3 (NPF3) (Scottish Government, 2014a) and the consultation draft revised Scottish Planning Policy (SPP) (Scottish Government, 2013c) both assert, as their starting point, the Scottish Government's central purpose as increasing 'sustainable economic growth' for the benefit of all in society. This is strongly suggestive of an ongoing 'market-fundamentalism' in which the commitment to the development of a market-focused, 'competitive' economy holds centre stage; despite the wider social and environmental concerns recognised within both documents.⁹⁰

Similarly, the SNP Government in arguing the economic case for independence (Scottish Government, 2013d: 39), and considering the fiscal and non-fiscal levers that an independent Scotland would have in order to "*boost growth, address inequality and stabilise the economy*" includes the option of reducing corporation tax relative to the existing UK rate – and other developed countries in Europe and globally – to seek economic competitive advantage and attract corporations to be based or register for tax

⁹⁰ Note: The commitment to a transition to a low-carbon economy within both documents is likely to be tempered by the SPP's extensive outline (items 15-23) of 'sustainable economic growth' from a business development perspective that fails, for instance, to assert the need to tackle uneven economic and social development, to consider the rights and roles of workers/employees, and to work within ecological constraints. A more limited outline of 'sustainable development' (items 24-27) is given and understood as five principles agreed across the four UK Government bodies as follows: living within environmental limits; ensuring a strong, healthy and just society; achieving a sustainable economy; promoting good governance; and using sound science responsibly (Her Majesty's Government et al., 2005). However, in response to consultation the Scottish Government is currently (2013/14) considering through further consultation: "... replacing the Draft SPP principal policies on SEG and SD with a principal policy on sustainability and planning therefore showing the concepts as compatible; (and) introducing a presumption in favour of development that contributes to sustainable development" (Scottish Government, 2014b:4). At this point then it is unclear how the differences between the two concepts will (or will not) be resolved within the final version of the SPP.

purposes in Scotland. Again, this is suggestive of a neo-liberal economic strategy, although ‘rolled out’ (Cochrane, 2007) within the wider context of a particular state and its particular circumstances – in this case to support the case for an independent Scotland.

However, it should also be recognised that such thinking on economic growth is part of a broader orthodoxy within mainstream Scottish policy-making and the political mainstream, with the preceding Scottish Executive also arguing for a ‘sustainable economic growth’ too; see for instance the Scottish Labour Party Manifesto (Scottish Labour, 2007) and its focus on a language of economic growth, sustainable economic growth and a ‘world class economy’.

The welfare state and public service reform: Asenova, Bailey and McCann (2013: 9-10), in their discussions of the potential of local councils to protect disadvantaged groups during a period of spending cuts note, for instance, that the SNP Scottish Government’s on-going and centrally-initiated freeze on council tax levels since 2008 and continued (selective) commitment to certain universal welfare benefits/services – social care for the elderly, university tuition fees, free bus travel for pensioners – is of greater benefit to more affluent groups, with disadvantaged groups already likely to receive services and/or council tax benefit; similarly, see Matthews & Hastings (2013). Again, this seems likely to be part of a wider Scottish policy orthodoxy, given that the preceding Scottish Executive had implemented the selective universal welfare commitments, thus disproportionately favouring ‘the middle classes’ – professional and skilled perhaps – over the working class(es); a ‘dual society’, as per Johnstone & McWilliams (2004) in 3.3.2.

Mike Danson & Geoff Whittam (2011), in their discussion of the role of the third sector, within public service reform in the UK note a significant divergence between England and Scotland, with the former, through the UK Coalition Government, concerned for an individualistic TBS and various forms of privatisation and outsourcing of public services; whilst the latter, through the SNP Government, follows a community empowerment that is firmly positioned within a corporate, collective and consensual approach to public service provision, which Danson & Whittam describe as tending to a ‘European Public Service model; see as well Moore & McKee (2013) who emphasise the collective nature of Scottish localism and public service delivery.

There is debate too as to whether commitment to the welfare state and tackling inequality is stronger in Scotland than in England (McLean, Gallagher & Lodge, 2012), and John Curtice & Rachel Ormston (2011) note a slightly higher concern for inequality in Scotland than England but with levels of concern falling in both countries since Scottish devolution in 1999. Maria Gannon & Nick Bailey (2013) present evidence that argues that people in both countries share generally common views of ‘minimum standards of living’, although they suggest tentatively that Scotland might be more likely to elect a government prepared to enact a stronger commitment to the welfare state, given the Scottish electorate’s on-going preference for ‘centre-left’ parties. This would also suggest that neo-liberal thinking and expectations are impacting significantly on social attitudes to welfare in both countries; at least within certain social groups/classes.⁹¹

Through these brief discussions of current Scottish Government policy-making – and seemingly as a longer-term trend since devolution in 1999 – the working assumption of active neo-liberal thinking at work within economic and social policy development has been illustrated as a prioritisation of private sector orientated economic development – a ‘market fundamentalism’; and likewise a concern to constrain welfare universalism and support for working class, low income households. In so doing, similar, if less immediately antagonistic, dilemmas for the community sector are revealed as to those in England; and therefore the associated challenges of how to handle the sector’s working relations with such a state and the related opportunities and threats to local community interests that are therein again generated.

3.4: Other theoretical perspectives and concerns

This third section now works to deepen understandings of a CSTP through four distinctive but related discussions. Theorising from community development is used to explore the theoretical complexities of the three dimensions of community development highlighted in 1.2.1 and 1.3.2. From this, there is consideration too of a distinctive

⁹¹ Note: however, this should not be taken to mean that such changes in social attitudes are either irreversible or more generally unchangeable. Social attitude change can, for instance, be understood through Lukes’ (1974) third dimension of power – as recognised in 2.2.3 – and that points to the power of dominant groups to generate narratives that prove invasive and pervasive across society; and yet implying too that challenges, in whatever guise, to dominant groups will then open-up opportunities to challenge their narratives too.

‘tradition’ of community ownership, from within a broader practice of community development, which has particular relevance to a CACE. A discussion of community development, and more particularly social capital in relation to structural thinking on economic and social inequalities, is then generated to illustrate further the importance of political economic thinking to a CSTP. An introductory discussion of some of the key issues and concerns relevant to the social economy is then developed.

The section is therefore structured as follows:

- (3.4.1) Dimensions of community development and related theorising
- (3.4.2) A community ownership ‘tradition’
- (3.4.3) Social capital and structural inequality
- (3.4.4) A contested social economic theory and practice

3.4.1: Dimensions of community development and related theorising

Through 1.2.1 and 1.3.1, and drawing from the work of Pearce (2003), the researcher has pointed to three dimensions of community development – advocacy, campaigning and policy/political changes; partnership-working with the state and others; and local community economic and social development – as highlighting the range of potential activity relevant to a CSTP. Here, these broad, and necessarily simplified, categories, will be consider further in relation to *some* of the theory influential within the practice of community development, in the process recognising that there will be considerable diversity within each category, and common ground across the three categories.

In relation to advocacy, campaigning and policy/political concerns, arguably the most well-known starting point is Saul Alinsky’s approach to community organising (Diers, 2007; Seal, 2008; Eversley, 2009), fashioned within the USA, with its central focus on strategies for gaining and using political power to access resources and represent the interests of working class communities and minority ethnic communities of interest; in the process Alinsky also places emphasis on the development of effective community organisations. His thinking has been influential in England on the work of Citizens UK.

Also influential, in relation to political theorising, has been the thinking of Paulo Freire (see Crotty, 1998) and his focus on a political process of ‘conscientisation’, a development of a critical consciousness; developed through the practice of adult literacy

with people in poverty in Latin America (a ‘pedagogy of the oppressed’). Freire’s thinking has been influential within community development approaches such as ‘training for transformations’, see for instance Centre for Human Ecology (2012), and within the Christian Church via a Latin American-developed liberation theology (Jenkins, 1976). Jane Thomson’s (2001) discussion of adult lifelong learning in the UK, within the context of a ‘committed dialogue’ with communities that anticipates a more egalitarian future, would seemingly resonate with this Freireian tradition too.

Cynthia Cockburn (1977) provides a critique of community development itself as a management tool of the local capitalist state, as it shifts, more generally, towards corporate management strategies. She, therefore, argues against ‘community action’ but rather for a ‘collective action’ in relation to both matters of production (employment) and reproduction (services and ‘community’). Echoes of Cockburn can be found in the current thinking of Chik Collins (2010) and his articulation of the need for a movement of working class tenants’ organisations, community councils and local trade councils in support of the welfare state and extension of local public sector services and housing. It cannot, then, be simply assumed that there will be common ground between all of those concerned for community development as local campaigning and political action, either in relation to goals or strategy.

Sherry Arnstein’s (1969) thinking on ‘citizen power’ and the ‘ladder of citizen participation’, written at a time of social change in the USA through the Black Civil Rights movement and student-worker oppositional campaigns in Europe and the US in 1968, aspires to both citizen control of local organisations and services *and* a wider social reform as equality and a sharing of the benefits of the affluent society. There are, then, potentially elements of all three categorisations of community development activity here, and from within a political emphasis on democracy and egalitarianism, and with clear aspirations for political change. However, Zakariah el Salahi’s (2010) discussion of the role of community development for Black and Minority Ethnic communities as funded and supported by the UK State, but in the context of its anti-terrorism strategy, illustrates again that opportunities for local control are likely to be fraught with political ambiguities that can contradict aspirations for political change.

From the Scottish Community Development Centre, Jane Dailly & Alan Barr (2008) provide a model of a community-led approach to health improvement focused on the

working relations between community and the public sector in the designing, development and monitoring of suitable services and interventions as relevant to the local context; whilst also acknowledging the wider social, political and structural context within which such a ‘co-production’ is taking place. Here, the emphasis is seemingly on service provision and partnership with the state, although there are elements too of local community development activity and recognition of the importance of political processes, and a working from ‘the inside’ to impact on them.

Relative to local community economic and social development, John Kretzmann & John McKnight⁹² (1993) advocate for an ‘asset-based community development’ in urban communities which focuses on the recognition and development of local assets including people, organisations, networks and ownership. Yet their work is explicitly influenced by Alinsky’s community organising strategies (see Diers, 2007), and the need for both political and economic activity (McKnight & Kretzmann, 1984); and by that of Ivan Illich’s (Smith⁹³, 2011) concern for a ‘de-schooling of society’ and focus on the informal and ‘community’ (McKnight: 1995, 2009). Illich, writing in the 1970s, argued that the professionalisation and institutionalisation within industrial society – of services such as education, health and employment – has become counter-productive and even harmful to people’s well-being. He therefore advocates for ‘convivial institutions’ in which our inter-dependence is recognised through informality rather than the controlling formality of professionalised institutions. Kretzmann and McKnight (1993; McKnight: 1995, 2009) can then be seen to be integrating the informality of community and a locally-led community development with both political campaigning and a political economic analysis that seeks to re-define relations between ‘community’ and both the state and the market. Their thinking has common ground with the tradition of community ownership or community asset ownership that will be discussed in 3.4.2 below.

Tara O’Leary, Ingrid Burkett and Kate Braithwaite’s (2011) review of ‘asset-based approaches’, and which acknowledges the asset-based community development

⁹² Note: Kretzmann, as earlier noted for McKnight, is/was active in the Asset-Based Community Development Institute at Northwestern University, Illinois, USA.

⁹³ Note: Mark K. Smith is the Rank Research Fellow and Tutor at the YMCA George Williams College, London (a college linked to Canterbury Christ Church University). The College established the ‘Infed.org encyclopedia’ website in 1995, and it provides articles on a range of learning and community development topics and associated thinkers; view at: <http://infed.org/mobi/category/about-us/>.

thinking of Kretzmann & McKnight (1993) as one articulation of such a body of approaches, also gives emphasis to community ownership and control, and political activity too: see Wilding (2011) too as part of Carnegie UK Trust's thinking on rural community development. Yet they set their discussion within a broader framework of 'Community Capitals' or a 'Seven Capitals framework' (citing Flora et al. 2004) as follows: financial, built, social, human, natural, cultural and political. However, there is potential too for a slipping in focus from the economic and the political to solely 'the social'. Thus, the Glasgow Centre for Public Health's briefing (GCPH, 2011) on an asset-based approach to health improvement suggests a concern for social development, as part of partnership-working and a local community social development, and clearly acknowledges wider structural inequalities and the need for public services, yet offers only very limited indication of the role of economic and political actions through such an asset-based approach.

Discussion of theories and practices, in relation to three dimensions of community development, suggests a web of common theoretical themes and concerns *and*, yet crucially, of conflicts, contradictions and ambiguities, too. In similar vein, Joe Painter, Lena Dominelli et al. (2011) offer a literature review of both community empowerment and localism, from within the context of current policy developments in England and Scotland (as 3.3.3 and 3.3.4) that recognises, too, the richness of practical possibilities, and theoretical discussions, that decentralisation of the state and local community-based actions can generate: they position their review within concerns for power and structure, broadly as a top-down 'revisionist neo-liberalism' – as New Labour UK Government policy-making – and a bottom-up 'post-Marxism'. Community development, then, whilst not the only theoretical base of relevance to a CSTP, does illustrate that theorising within such a CSTP, in contrast to some communitarian thinking (Smith, 2001b), should recognise the crucial place of a structural analysis of inequality and society. Yet, there are surely questions raised by this tendency for community development to adopt such a structural analysis, for instance, through Cockburn's (1977) thinking above, and her understanding of community development as a capitalist state tool for community management: namely, to what extent does any community development thinking and practice in its broadest sense, Cockburn included, *actually* offer a likely challenge to economic and social inequality? This question is revisited in 3.4.3 below.

3.4.2: *A community ownership 'tradition'*

Drawing from Pearce's (1993, 2003, 2009) thinking on community development and the social economy, and others who give particular emphasis to the development of community-based economic alternatives or local community economic and social development, the researcher will now briefly outline this perspective under the heading of a 'tradition' of community ownership. Those who articulate such a position often relate it to earlier historical trends of cooperation, local ownership and local oppositional activity; in particular, but not only, as the developing cooperative and friendly society movements of the 18th and 19th centuries in the UK. Thus, John Pearce (1993) and Steve Wyler (2009) both position their discussions of contemporary community sector development, and its rebirth from the 1970s (Power, 2011), relative to such a historical narrative. It is worth noting a certain caution, however, as to the extent of common experience between these two eras, 'then' and 'now', given, for instance, the differences in political economy, in part relative to the extent of the global economy. Nevertheless, it is the contemporary inspiration and aspiration that is significant here, and in Wyler's (2009, 2011b) work there is a particularly explicit sense of community ownership having economic and democratic, egalitarian political dimensions as an emerging 'local socialism'.

In the last decade, such an interest in contemporary community ownership and its historical roots has led to the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) funding a tranche of research examining community ownership – and likewise on community anchors and community-led regeneration as discussed in Chapter 4. Mike Aiken, Ben Cairns & Stephen Thake (2008) provide a history of community ownership over the last 400 years and consider its contemporary relevance to regeneration in the UK, as well as drawing on wider international perspectives including links to the land rights of first peoples and 'asset-based community development' (O'Leary, Burkett & Braithwaite, 2011). Tom Woodin, David Crook & Vincent Carpentier (2010) provide a not dissimilar history of community ownership and recognise five models of such ownership, namely: customary/common ownership; community ownership; cooperative and mutual ownership; charitable ownership; municipal/local state ownership – so making links to local public ownership. They also recognise that organisations will need time and support to develop democratic functioning, a membership base and a sense of belonging/identity, and that therefore this will include relevant support from the state.

Mike Aiken et al. (2011) point to three types of approach to community ownership: stewards – small single asset organisations; community developers – medium-sized with several assets and staff; entrepreneurs – larger social enterprises with a range of social and commercial assets. They recognise clear benefits to such ownership, including community identity, local employment and organisational viability, but point to definite financial risks and the danger that deprived/working class communities will miss out on such social and economic investment, *where* they currently lack effective community organisations. Julian Dobson (2011) raises similar concerns, noting the need for a patient longer-term perspective given the difficulties of finding suitable funding/investment, the risks of assets becoming liabilities, and a wider context of inequality.

A growing community ownership has been particularly evident in rural Scotland, particularly the north-west highlands and the Western Isles of Scotland, since the 1990s. Sarah Skerratt⁹⁴ (2011) records 13 community land trusts, with another four under development, now managing over 200,000 hectares, and a Scottish Government aspiration to double this by 2020 (Satsangi, 2013). George Callaghan, Mike Danson & Geoff Whittam (2011), in their consideration of Scottish community land trusts relative to a sustainable economic development, argue for a generally positive picture of growing community confidence and population growth alongside development of economic and social capital; although they note also risks of community conflicts, conflicts with agencies, activist/volunteer burn-out, and dependency on grants.

Ian Cooke (2013) of DTAS, and drawing from DTAS' own baseline study (Black, 2012), points to an estimated 75,891 assets owned by some 2,718 community-controlled organisations in Scotland; with an estimated combined value of just over £1.45 billion and including 17 large estates and over 70,000 homes⁹⁵. Whilst explicitly recognising

⁹⁴ Note: from the Rural Policy Centre based at the Scottish Agricultural College.

⁹⁵ Note: a breakdown is given as (Cooke, 2013:5): "Collectively these assets comprise 463,006 acres in area, equivalent to 2.38% of Scotland's land area. The vast majority of this land (95%) comprises 17 large rural estates which are now under community ownership. 73,151 assets in community ownership are units of housing owned by 84 community-controlled housing associations, housing co-operatives and rural development trusts. The remaining 2,740 assets are what might be termed 'community assets': those that bring benefit to, or can be accessed by, the whole community they are intended to serve; the study estimates that the combined value of these 'other' assets as just over £0.65 billion."

the structural constraints in which community ownership is operating, Cooke argues that the fusion of community asset ownership with community enterprise is:

a dynamic and creative basis for communities to reclaim some control and initiate their own regeneration processes. (2013:4)

In working to generate economic alternatives, there would seemingly be an aspiration not to be dominated by market concerns, or a ‘market fundamentalism’ perhaps (Cumbers & McMaster, 2012). Thus Mark Shucksmith (2012, citing Mackenzie, 2006) argues that Scottish community land trusts are removing land from active involvement in the market; and indeed Callaghan, Danson & Whittam (2011) note one practical reason for this as being that the community ownership of land limits the potential for commercial banks to use it as security for loans. Although, given the aspiration of many community organisations to be involved in earning significant income through trading, there is surely a more complex relationship here between ‘community’, market and state. A related discussion hinted at in both 3.4.1 and here, is the relationship between community and common ownership on the one hand, and public and collective ownership on the other, and the extent to which their respective advocates can find common ground as they seek to promote their own cause(s) (Ridley-Duff & Bull, 2011).

3.4.3: *Structural inequalities and social capital*

One of the central themes across seemingly all of the community development theorising discussed above is a recognition of unequal distribution of power and related economic and social inequalities, ‘structural inequalities’, generated through the workings of the socio-economic systems of the nation state; although there will be scope for different structural interpretations and the extent to which ‘solutions’ or ‘initial solutions’ are sought through structural change. It should be recognised, too, that not all theorising related to ‘community’ is seeking to generate structural thinking or a structural narrative for change. Socially conservative communitarian thinking as being generated by the political right – see for instance the Centre for Social Justice’s (2013) ‘five pathways to poverty’ – is currently focused in the UK on a rhetoric of a ‘broken Britain’ and a narrative of stressing individual responsibility/blame and seeking individual change; rather than of recognising the fundamental role(s) of social systems

in generating and sustaining inequality; this is further considered in relation to the work of Phillip Blond in 5.4.2.

Gerry Mooney's (2010b) discussion of the misrepresentation of working-class communities argues for the dangers of such a 'broken Britain' narrative impacting across the political spectrum and wider political debate, and bringing the focus on to individualised explanations of social problems, individualised solutions to those problems, whilst attacking collective solutions, in particular the welfare state. Similarly, Jane Thomson (2001) argues that the New Labour articulation of social exclusion, despite apparently pointing to structural causes, generates individually-focused 'supply-side' solutions, such as welfare-to-work. Lynne Friedli's (2012) discussion of 'asset-based approaches', as discussed in 3.4.1, recognises a value in its understanding of the strengths, abilities and rights of people and communities, yet argues: firstly, that it easily becomes linked to a critique of the welfare state as focused on creating deficits and a culture of dependency; and, secondly, that there is the risk that in practice policy-makers are using it to focus on individual and collective psychological improvements and an associated building of social capital, rather than the wider range of 'community capitals' and, crucially, seeking wider structural changes.

Robert Putnam's (2000) influential – although not uncontested, see Diers⁹⁶ (2007) for instance – theorising and researching of the (seeming) decline of social capital in the USA, focuses on social capital as a 'generalised reciprocity', such that people recognise that helping others will have a more general benefit and 'pay-back' to themselves and others. Whilst within this thesis, social capital and a general reciprocity are to be understood as valuable aspects of 'community', and this is considered further in 5.3.3 in particular, crucially there is the assumption that 'community' cannot be understood by itself but rather should be recognised as one aspect of a wider range of social systems (structure) operating within society/the nation state.

Ridley-Duff & Bull (2011) point to the distinctive uses of the term social capital within various political economic analyses, for instance:

⁹⁶ Note: Jim Diers (2007) argues, firstly, that people in the USA are seeking to connect through community in different ways. And, secondly, that any decline in levels of participation should be understood relative to corporate power, globalisation and inequality as eroding of democratic participation and social capital, rather than as a crisis in the motivation of individual citizens.

- ‘the political left’ who tend to emphasise its use relative to solidarity and ‘collectives’ *and* ‘the political right’ who tend to emphasise its use relative to ethical values, community and family values (citing Law & Mooney, 2006);
- the work of Pierre Bourdieu, who generates a discussion of social, economic and cultural capital in relation to social justice, *and* that of Putnam, who is concerned to strengthen family and community/civil society (citing White, 2002).

Mooney (2009: 447) in his discussion of the misrepresentation of working class people and communities in Glasgow’s East End by the media during the 2008 Westminster Parliamentary by-election there, identifies a *class hatred* from within the media, and concludes:

There are lessons here for all of us, while seeking to highlight material poverty and disadvantage, of the danger of replicating regressive ways of thinking. Listing negatives outside a framework which foregrounds structural arguments, inequality and the need for redistribution, leaves us vulnerable to such.

Whether as a listing of negatives (deficits) and/or positives (assets) relative to a particular local community, there is a concern here as to how these ‘characteristics’ are understood in relation to the workings of the socio-economic systems of the nation state, and how to challenge these same structures and aspire to ‘shift’ such inequality. By implication, local community development actions, whether related to advocacy/campaigning, partnerships/services, or local community development, can be understood simply as a further variant on the ameliorative area-based approaches considered in 3.3.2, unless they are able to position themselves within some wider strategy for (‘realistic’) structural change. The challenge for a CACE/CSTP is, then, to consider how to sustain ‘constructive’ local practices and organisations, whilst also working for and within strategies for structural/social change.

3.4.4: A contested social economic theory and practice

Finally, and briefly, the community sector needs to be considered too relative to theoretical discussions and debates of the social economy. Some historical and conceptual positioning of the community sector, social economy and third sector was

undertaken in 1.3.2, in particular through Pearce's model of a modern mixed economy, and this will be further developed in Chapter 5: whilst discussions of TBS, urban policy in recent decades and more generally current policy initiatives within this chapter have added further to the theoretical and policy backgrounds. Given the emphasis placed on earned income or (market) trading by the community sector, at least as, in part, a key source of income – and this becomes further apparent in Chapter 4 – then recognition of some of the key debates relative to the social economy, social enterprises and cooperatives will usefully frame the theoretical and interpretative discussions that follow.

Robin Murray⁹⁷ (2012) notes the extent of the cooperative sector in the UK at the beginning of the 'First World War' in 1914; cooperatives were responsible for 40% of food distribution and owned factories, shipping lines and banks. Yet he argues that the increasing use of mass production methods ('Fordism') by the private sector was a turning point, given its uneasy fit with a cooperative approach to management and the experience of work. International Centre of Research and Information on the Public, Social and Cooperative Economy (CIRIEC, 2012), in considering the social economy from a European perspective, argues that whilst the first third of the 20th century saw continued growth in cooperatives, the post-1945, Keynesian period, in Western Europe saw economic growth and increasing dominance of both private and public sectors – including the role of state, employers and unions in a capital-labour consensus – and was, therefore, limiting of the further development of the social economy⁹⁸. In recent decades, since the 1980s, however, a shifting economic (and neo-liberal) focus to the market and a service-based economy has also seen a growth in cooperatives and social enterprises; particularly in roles relating to 'tackling' (structural) unemployment and welfare provision. By 2009, the European Union (then EU-27) was recorded as having 207,000 social enterprise companies; which employed 8.6m people (2010), accounted for 4% of GDP, and had 50% of EU citizens as members (of at least one such organisation).

⁹⁷ Note: Robin Murray is a researcher and economist at the London School of Economics and an associate of Cooperatives UK.

⁹⁸ Note: in post-1945 Soviet Bloc Eastern Europe there was growth in cooperatives but these were 'aligned with the state', without the same 'independent democratic' functioning 'distinct of the state' that was possible in Western Europe.

Debates, however, as to how to define social enterprise are notorious and on-going; with statistical information therefore needing transparency as to which definitions are being used and when. Jacques Defourny & Marthe Nyssens (2010) discuss three trends as to the nature and role of social enterprise, one from Europe and two from the USA; whilst noting developments in East Asia and Latin America too. Both in the EU and the US usage of the term social enterprise arises in the early 1990s⁹⁹, but they've followed parallel paths. In Europe, the growth of the not-for-profit sector from the 1980s, and through a policy context of growing structural unemployment and limitations on the welfare state, has generated a 'European model'; in particular that developed by the EMES European Research Network, with an emphasis on democratic decision-making and multiple stakeholders rather than concerns for capital ownership. In the USA, two models have developed. Firstly, through the US Federal state initiatives of the 1960s, as 'the Great Society', which saw increasing opportunities via state funding for 'nonprofits': as such funding was later withdrawn these non-profits turned to 'earned income' (trading) approaches. The second model came through a focus on entrepreneurship and social innovation supported via funding from US philanthropic foundations.

Each of these three models, argue Defourny & Nyssens (2010), takes a distinctive perspective on key issues of social mission, income generation, governance and social innovation. Ridley-Duff & Bull (2011: 79) discuss these issues, presenting further definitions and illustrating the depth of theoretical considerations; and this is beyond the scope of what can be considered here. However, they conclude that it is the way these issues are used in practice by organisations identifying as social enterprises as they "*self-consciously pursue sustainable ways of creating social, environmental and economic value*" that is crucial to the conflicted process of arriving at some agreed definition of social enterprise; although their discussions would suggest that they recognise too that such developing social enterprise practices are not taking place in a vacuum but within a social context in which many – as practitioners, activists, researchers or policy-makers – will be actively seeking to frame and direct discussion and practice.

⁹⁹ Note: Defourny & Nyssens (2010) argue for the earliest use of the term 'social enterprise', or similar, that they have located, presumably meaning in print, as 'social cooperative' by the Italian Parliament in 1991; while noting too that, in the USA, Harvard Business School used the term 'social enterprise initiatives' in 1993.

Ridley-Duff & Bull (2011) also argue that types of ownership – worker, consumer, multi-stakeholder, for instance – are fundamental to the decision-making processes active within any social enterprise. They use as an illustration the contrast between the low prices of adult season tickets at football club, Barcelona, member-owned and in effect a ‘consumer cooperative’ with an elected president, with the high prices for season tickets at Arsenal, effectively owned by four major shareholders: whilst the two clubs have much in common as high-flyers in finance-rich European football leagues, different ownership patterns have generated at least one distinctive difference over time. However, Murray’s (2012) discussion of the strategies of survival for cooperatives within capitalist markets, constructed to serve corporate private sector interests, makes it clear that survival for social economic institutions in such ‘competitive markets’ is no easy matter. More optimistically, he notes the potential for increasing opportunities within a ‘post-Fordist’ knowledge-based economy with the potential to work on smaller scales for local and ‘customised’ production.

The social economy must then face continual challenges if it is to wrestle with both its aspirations and the demands of survival within a market system constructed to serve private sector interests. The couching of the language of social enterprise increasingly, and uncritically, through that of business is worrying trend for many taking a democratic and egalitarian perspective; see for instance Pearce (2009) and Emejulu & Bassel’s (2013). The relationships between the social economy, for-profit ‘social’ business and the corporate private sector are sensitive areas; and as noted in 3.3.3, SEUK’s (Williams, 2012) report on ‘the shadow state’ is critical of the increasing role given to large private corporates in public sector reform and related privatisation. The connections between (some) leaders from business, government and the third sector in relation to TBS, Big Society Capital and the developing social investment market in England are explored by Michael Barker (n.d.) to illustrate how they are becoming bound together (social capital)¹⁰⁰. This is suggestive then of an emphasis on a USA-type social mission, social innovation and social entrepreneurship model; see too McHugh et al.’s (2013) critique of a model of social investment focused on social impact bonds, ‘payment-by-results’ and financial marketisation that is being promoted by Big Society

¹⁰⁰ Note: although SEUK is not specifically highlighted in Barker’s article, its websites indicates some connections between its leadership and that of Big Society Capital, although a wider body of representatives on its Board too.

Capital and the UK Coalition Government in England.

Such thinking is not necessarily true for the third sector as a whole, for instance, Senscot (Social Entrepreneurs Network Scotland) has argued actively *against* a for-profit social investment market and the broadening of ‘the social sector’ to include for-profit businesses with ‘a social purpose’; and rather *for* an explicit sustaining of asset locks that ‘hold’ or ‘recycle’ the benefits of the surplus gained from trading for use by organisations, communities or the wider third sector. Its efforts are focused on the development of not-for-profit social enterprises and third sector (mutual) financial institutions such as a Scottish Community Banking Trust (Senscot 2012a, 2012b, 2013); strongly suggestive of an emphasis on a European, democratic-type social economic model.

This is a brief introduction to the diversity of issues raised by a developing social economy, in a neo-liberal era, and it requires further more complex, nuanced discussion to suitably inform a CSTP. Nevertheless it has highlighted in particular one of the central and contested discussion: that of the social economy as either concerned primarily for democratic, egalitarian and socially-committed (not-for-profit) organisations or for a variety of organisations (not-for-profit and for-profit) concerned in particular for social mission, social innovation, social impact and social entrepreneurship. Given the focus of the community sector on community enterprise, such matters are clearly relevant to its debates as to the development of practice and of a supportive policy landscape.

3.5: Concluding thoughts

In seeking to scope out a fuller understanding of a CSTP and related issues, a relatively complex set of interweaving conceptual narratives has been considered, taking in: ‘community’, the community sector and informal community networks, and their position within the workings of the economy; understandings of the role of ‘community’ within policy development and political economic trends within the UK nation state and a developing Scottish state in particular; and wider theorising on community development and community ownership, social capital and structural inequalities, and the social economy.

Not all of those concerned for ‘community’, or for the social economy, would be primarily focused on the structural workings of the UK nation state and wider global dynamics, and thus on economic and social inequalities as deriving primarily from such structural workings; for instance, socially-conservative forms of communitarian thinking from the political right and those who see the social economy as primarily to be led by social entrepreneurs and a commercially-orientated social investment market would likely see different. Yet theorising from many within community development and the social economy would recognise and prioritise such structural concerns and, as will be further explored in 5.3, developments from Pearce’s (2003) model of three economic systems within a modern mixed economy offers a valuable tool from which a CSTP can consider the role of the community sector within the workings of such socio-economic systems.

The tensions for a community sector, certainly within a CSTP, thus relate to the realities of local practice as it is worked out in relation to the wider context of the structures of the nation state. Existing state policies, particularly within an era of neo-liberal dominance of political economic practice, are credibly explained as ameliorative in relation to uneven economic development and economic and social inequalities, and therefore seemingly very unlikely to support significant social or political economic change; although economic and political crises, as currently since the financial crisis of 2008, nevertheless point to the potential for political economic and social change(s).

One conundrum, then, for a CSTP and the community sector to continue to wrestle with is that of how to generate thinking and practice that is relevant to *both* current local practice *and* to aspirations of social, structural change; and this tension remains active throughout the chapters that follow.

Chapter 4: Understanding a developing community anchor narrative

4.1: Introduction

This Chapter aims to develop a theoretical background to support an understanding of a community anchor model as it has been developing across the UK over the last decade and more, and in the process to illustrate it as a developing narrative or set of related narratives. Two broad discussions are established: the first seeks to establish the basic conceptual model and narrative, as generated by those involved in research, policy and practice, and in particular from within community sector representative bodies; while the second builds from these ‘basics’ to consider three particular and current areas of community anchor practice, namely, a community-led practice, ‘sustainable independence’ and their multi-purpose role. These can then inform the discussions in Chapter 5 that seek to generate a more particular community anchor/community empowerment narrative, or CACE, relative to matters of political economy.

In relation to the RAOs, this chapter has particular relevance to both RA1 and RA2 in supporting further a developing understanding of a CACE/CSTP, both in relation to matters of practice and political economy. This chapter fits with RO1, in particular, given its theoretical focus on community anchors, and is crucial to RO2 given its focus on these three key elements of practice; yet there are clear matters of political economy of relevance to RO3 that emerge from the policy contexts articulated. It continues as well to build a theoretical base from which the focus of RA3/RO4 on the relationship between community anchors and community empowerment can be further considered.

The sections are then as follows:

- (4.2) The community anchor model and narrative
- (4.3) Community anchor practice
- (4.4) Concluding thoughts

4.2: The community anchor model and narrative

As indicated above, this section seeks to establish some of the ‘basics’ in relation to a community anchor narrative and model, by firstly considering its precursors in the UK and parallel developments in the US, before then considering the broad definitions developed by both activist/practitioner networks and policymakers. Emphasis is put on

both a community anchor model and a narrative, given that there is relative agreement or prescription as to a range of core functions of a community anchor, and yet also a narrative or range of narratives being constructed around this core thinking.

To this end, the discussion follows this course:

- (4.2.1) Community anchors: precursors and parallel developments
- (4.2.2) A developing community anchor model and narrative(s)
- (4.2.3) Community anchors and policy developments

4.2.1: *Community anchors: precursors and parallel developments*

Stephen Thake¹⁰¹ seems to have been the first in the UK to use the term ‘anchor’ as both concept and metaphor for a multi-purpose, local community-based organisation concerned for local economic and social development and regeneration; first as ‘local anchor’ (Thake, 2001) and then as ‘community anchor’ (Thake, 2003). However, in a more general sense the ‘notion’ of such a leading local community organisation is likely long-standing, certainly since the 1970s and perhaps well before through the local cooperative movement of the 18th and 19th centuries¹⁰². Since the late 1960s, and definitely during the 1970s, community organisations of some significant size have developed, and sometimes fallen away, particularly in some working class communities experiencing high levels of poverty and inequality in urban areas. To give a few examples:

- in Edinburgh: Wester Hailes Representative Council (Laurence Demarco, 2009); Craigmillar Festival Society (Helen Crummy, 1992); and in North Edinburgh – various smaller community organisations across Pilton, Muirhouse and Granton (Jane Jones, n.d.; Lynn McCabe, 2010; North East Edinburgh Social History Group, 2011)

¹⁰¹ Note: Stephen Thake was then working at the University of North London, which later merges with the London Guildhall University to form the London Metropolitan University in 2002. He had previously been Chief Executive of a housing association, view: http://www.londonmet.ac.uk/depts/fssh/applied-social-sciences/research/cser/crime_community/staff/stephenthake/stephenthake_home.cfm.

¹⁰² Note: there is potential here for the histories of other types of community organisations to usefully inform an understanding of the developing community anchor concept too: for example the roles of local trades union/labour movement organisations, of churches of all denominations and other faith groups, and of other local organisations representing communities of interest in relation to class, ethnicity and gender, for instance.

- in Glasgow and Clyde Valley: the community housing associations since the early 1970s, as per 3.3.2; and the Clydebank Independent Resource Centre with its roots back to the 1970s (Chik Collins, 2008).

The Highlands and Islands of Scotland also illustrate a growing variety of community-based organisations as community cooperatives from 1970s/1980s, and community land trusts from 1990s, as per 3.3.2. Pearce (1993) describes a growing range of community organisation since the 1970s – community enterprises, community businesses, development trusts, community cooperatives – any of which may have shown the characteristics of what is now termed a community anchor. In fact, Pearce himself (1993: 37) develops the concept of a ‘core community enterprise’, as a locally-controlled community development agency, which shares considerable common ground with the community anchor concept, as per discussion in 4.3.1 and 5.2.2: although the term seems not to have gained popularity, presumably not fitting with the aspirations of policy-making in the early 1990s. Similarly, the long-standing community development trust model, with its focus on local community control and independent governance, earned income and reinvestment of surplus, and community-led and holistic development, is almost synonymous with the community anchor model (Development Trust Association Scotland [DTAS], 2011), with many such trusts playing an anchor role.

In the USA, the community or social anchor metaphor has been a term in active use since the early 2000s, within policy-making related to regeneration and local economic and social development, and in relation to a variety of roles:

Public sector and civic institutions: museums, libraries, parks and schools in supporting place-making (Project for Public Spaces, n.d.), community-building and wider educational activity (Chicago Public Schools: Chicago Community Schools Initiative, 2013);

Private sector organisations: local retail stores, for instance, that support other functions such as a location for a banking or credit union facility in a low income neighbourhood (Maher, 2013);

Anchors institutions: as both public and non-profit universities and hospitals that provide significant local employment and whose resources are used strategically to draw in further investment or ‘provide leverage’ (Dubb, 2013).

US researchers Aaron Clopton & Bryan Finch (2011) in fact describe a ‘social anchor theory’ in which social anchors provide a network that aims to: maintain and develop social capital, in particular bridging capital across race and gender; and support the development of a collective identity. Here, public, private and non-profit organisations, and even regular events, including schools, professional sports teams and corporations, can all be considered social anchors

There is doubtless common ground between the developing US and UK usages of ‘the anchor’ metaphor given both are focused on regeneration, community-building and local economic and social development. Yet, therefore, they also should be understood relative to the respective aspirations of US and UK policy-making, and where UK usage has pointed more significantly to anchors in the shape of local community-based third sector organisations¹⁰³. Closer to the UK usage, would therefore likely be the long-standing development of Community Development Corporations (CDC) in the USA and Canada. Pearce (1993: 32, 46) argued that whilst community development in the UK has often been restricted to social development and single issue approaches, in North America community development has taken on a wider, more holistic, meaning involving housing, infrastructure, business, social and welfare, education and training; as an integrated social and economic model. Pearce notes in this context both the Community Futures Programme in Canada (Community Futures Network of Canada, n.d.), as Community Futures Development Corporations, and the US CDC model where community organisations of some size can be built from social housing, property-rental and other environmental development. Thake (2001: 73) also makes the link between community anchors and both CDCs and NeighborWorks Organisations (NeighborWorks, n.d.) initiative in the USA, noting them as non-profits that are locally-accountable and draw funding and investment from both state and private corporations.

¹⁰³ Note: Stephen Thake’s (2001) first usage included the potential for public sector bodies such as schools to act as local anchors – and therefore possibly larger public and third sector bodies more generally – but as the researcher will illustrate in 4.2.2, it is community anchors as locally-based and community-led community organisations that have predominated subsequently in terms of UK policy-making and practice-led thinking.

Allan Cochrane (2007) makes reference to CDCs too, but from within a critique of neo-liberalism, and he understands them as developing in the USA out of increasing third sector involvement in regeneration. He describes nearly 4000 CDCs by the 1990s, offering a model of community entrepreneurialism, a ‘grassroots capitalism’, by providing low income housing, and a range of economic and social development: and by having some direct community representation, although employing professional staff. He notes, too, similarities to community development trusts – and therefore to a community anchor model and narrative given the central role of such development trusts within this narrative – in the UK, including through the arguments put forward to promote their value, and which include:

- working at a point of intersection between private and public sectors;
- respond sensitively to the needs of local communities;
- returning to an older collectivist welfare tradition – mutual and not-for-profit; and
- building a ‘social economy’ – local people as active assets not passive targets.

His discussion is, however, sceptical in relation to such arguments, noting in both the USA and the UK:

- the risks of community enterprises failing financially or needing local authority subsidy to survive;
- the tendency for community enterprise to follow the employment patterns of small firms – low pay, casualization and job insecurity; and
- the potential for corrupt relations/practices between community business and wider agencies.

He remains unconvinced, too, of the likely scale of their impact in the UK in comparison to the rhetoric, given the size of most development trusts. Yet, as already indicated, Cochrane’s scepticism runs deeper than a lack of scale, but rather to the wider role of the third sector and ‘community’ in a developing neo-liberal policy agenda in the UK (and USA), and this is returned to in 5.4.1.

Others, nevertheless, present a more optimistic interpretation of community organisations in the USA. For instance, Uwe Engelsman, Mike Rowe and Alan Southern (2013) provide case-studies of two inner urban community land trusts in New

York and Boston, born out of community activism and which have continued to develop over a numbers of decades; while Julie Graham & Janelle Cornwall (2009) present accounts of the development of two community organisations in ‘semi-rural’ Massachusetts, and from the perspective of these being part of a developing social economy.

Although beyond the scope of this thesis, there is then a rich seam of research material, both as advocacy and critique, that can be drawn from when seeking to understand the history of the development of the community anchor narrative, and to further inform its current development; both from sources in the UK and North America, and likely too from Europe and internationally – see for instance Aiken, Cairns and Thake (2008); O’Leary, Burkett and Braithwaite (2011).

4.2.2: A developing community anchor model and narrative(s)

Stephen Thake provides two works of substance (2001, 2006) on which to build an initial understanding of a community anchor model and related narratives. His 2001 report, building from an earlier 1995 report on ‘community-based regeneration organisations’, summarises a local anchor role as follows:

- a substantial and stable ‘local player’;
- having organisational structures in place including management and financial systems;
- an intermediary between agencies and grassroots, acting as a ‘gear-change mechanism’, external to state bureaucracy, when needed;
- forming horizontal and vertical partnerships to access funding;
- providing a range of local services and activities;
- having a local strategic and leadership role, and an ‘ambassadorial role’ including influencing policy-making; and
- supporting the local community sector through: information provision, advocacy, neighbourhood forums, mediation, expertise and mentoring, a community fund.

Thake (2001) presents three types of ‘neighbourhood regeneration organisations’ (NROs) that can play a local anchor role as follows:

- those taking a holistic approach: development trusts; partnership organisations; rural community councils; and ‘settlements’¹⁰⁴
- those starting from a more focused or single-stranded approach: schools, health centres, housing providers, faith-based organisations
- organisations focused on minority ethnic communities – either holistic or single-stranded

So communities of identity and interest, such as minority ethnic communities, are also seen as the potential focus for a community anchor; whilst Thake’s later reports include examples of environmental organisations (Thake, 2003) and those representing people with disabilities (Thake, 2006); and so establishing the potential for more than one community anchor to be active in any single locality.

Thake’s 2006 report, funded by the UK Government¹⁰⁵, on community ownership and management can be said to complete a shift from a focus solely on regeneration-related development trusts, partnerships and activity, to that of community sector organisations and groups, and a community sector. Community anchors and other multi-purpose community organisations outside of low-income regeneration areas are now integrated within the thinking; although there remains an emphasis too on “*wealth creating, multi-purpose organisations*” working within deprived or working class communities (2006: 20).

Thake is, thus, building related narratives around the community anchor model, drawing on community ownership, community enterprise and the community sector as a whole, rather than only those working on regeneration of deprived and working class communities. He also begins to draw from elements of a ‘community capitals analysis’ in relation to working class communities and neighbourhoods, as 3.4.1, highlighting the value of five forms of such capital: financial, human, social, intellectual and physical.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Note: settlements were often established by universities to pursue charitable aims, within the philanthropic tradition, and were key members of *bassac*, the British Association of Settlements and Social Action Centres, now merged with the Development Trust Association to form the representative organisation Locality since April 2011.

¹⁰⁵ Note: through the Department of Communities and Local Government

¹⁰⁶ Note: Thake (2006) cites two influences in relation to community capital from the USA: the work of John McKnight and John Kretzmann of the Asset-Based Community Development Institute, Northwest University in Illinois as discussed in 3.4.1; and of Michael Sherradan, of the Center for Social Development, Washington University at St Louis, and author of *Assets and the Poor: A New American Welfare Policy (1991)*

Crucially, Thake (2001) positions his discussion of the community anchor role explicitly in relation to New Labour UK Government policy, as becomes clearer in 4.2.3, and so suggestive of significant links and discussions with policy-makers at that time. However, his 2001 research was also undertaken with the active involvement of key community sector and third sector organisations in England and Wales¹⁰⁷, and under the banner of the Community Alliance¹⁰⁸ (in England) three community sector representative bodies ‘now’ make community anchors central to their thinking, generating a working definition in the mid-2000s¹⁰⁹ as follows:

Characteristics of a community anchor organisation

The term 'community anchor' refers to a certain kind of independent community-run and led organisation, rooted in a sense of place (whether an inner city neighbourhood or a rural district), and with a mission to improve things for the whole community, not simply a part of it.

- *A building: physical space which is community led, owned or controlled.*
- *A focus for services and activities meeting local need*
- *A vehicle for local voices to be heard, needs to be identified and for local leaders and community groups to be supported*
- *A platform for community development, promoting cohesion while respecting diversity*

¹⁰⁷ Note: Thake’s 2001 and 2006 reports list a wide range of community sector organisations and their representatives, and the wider third sector and its supporters, in England and Wales including: the Development Trust Association, British Association of Settlements and Social Action Centres, Community Matters, the National Council for Voluntary Organisations, and the New Economics Foundation.

¹⁰⁸ Note: The Community Alliance in England now seems to have quietly ‘slipped away’, and no longer has an active website, but was an Alliance active during the 2000s of three community sector representative bodies in England and in-part the UK, namely: DTA - Development Trust Association – a network of about 400 trusts in England, with sister organisations in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland; bassac – the British Association of Settlements and Social Action Centres; Community Matters – a network of 1000+ community associations and others in the UK. These three organisations are/were largely English in operation and membership; the DTA has sister organisations in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales. They cannot be understood to comprehensively represent the whole of the community sector in England by any means; for instance there are other representative bodies, such as NAVCA (the National Association for Voluntary and Community Action), a network representing Community Volunteer Services. DTA and bassac have now merged, in April 2011, to form Locality, whilst Community Matters was considering a merger with NAVCA, the National Association for Voluntary and Community Action in 2012/13, although this wasn’t ultimately taken forward.

¹⁰⁹ Note: the original source of this definition was the Community Alliance website, but this is no longer active or accessible. The researcher holds a paper copy of the listing, accessed by him in 2009, and the same material can still be seen on the website of the Development Trust Association Wales (n.d.).

- *A home for the community sector which is supportive of the growth and development of community groups*
- *A means of promoting community led enterprise, generating independent income while having a social, economic and environmental impact*
- *A forum for dialogue within communities, creating community led solutions*
- *A bridge between communities and the state which promotes and brings about social change.*

Whilst recognisable in relation to Thake’s model and narrative, there is arguably a shift in emphasis from an orientation towards community anchors as more of an intermediary sitting between communities and the state and its agencies, as in Thake’s 2001 report, and towards a much stronger sense of a community sector practice-on-the-ground, and of a community anchor as being ‘community-led’, with emerging elements of community representation and community dialogue. In relation to the three dimensions of community development discussed in 1.3.1, certainly a community-led social and economic development is indicated through community enterprise; likewise the provision of local services, by implication with the state; and an advocacy or supporting role, with an implication of campaigning and political presence, and explicit role of social change relative to the state. There is also a brief recognition of the opportunity for ‘generating independent income’, as a forerunner of the ‘sustainable independence’ also to be considered in 4.3.2 below.

The formation in 2007 of the SCA, the Scottish Community Alliance, although at that time called Local People Leading (LPL), led to the promoting of the community anchor model and narrative in Scotland too.¹¹⁰ LPL published three documents that established the community anchor model, community empowerment and the community sector as key to its initial core narrative(s). In a web-briefing note, they (LPL, 2008b) identified six ‘indicative characteristics’ of a community anchor organisation (CAO) as follows:

- *Under community control – accountable to the communities they serve*

¹¹⁰ Note: given, as already indicated in 3.4.2 and 4.2.1, the previous developments of community business, community cooperatives, community housing associations, community-led trusts and community (regeneration-related) organisations in Scotland from the 1970s onwards, no implication is intended here that developments in Scotland are following on behind England; in fact, the reverse could just as easily be argued.

- *Multi-purpose functions – holistic range of activities*
- *Provide a physical hub – as a focal point for the community, and an engine house for local community sector development*
- *Providing leadership – through support for community groups including marginalised groups and representing the views of the community more widely.*
- *Focal point for community services – supporting communities in assessing and planning services, providing services through community enterprises and acting as a gateway*
- *Own and manage local assets – in order to achieve economic stability*

A proviso was added that pointed towards a flexible use of the model and also indicating that it wasn't as such a term in common use within the community sector in Scotland at that time (LPL, 2008b):

It's worth remembering that the notion of a CAO is an abstraction. In the real world no one sets up a CAO as such. The community sets up an organisation to deliver one or more services it needs; housing, childcare, a building, whatever... The CAO concept is a way of recognizing and labelling some common practices and functions among community organisations which have been successful.

The LPL also produced a case-study template¹¹¹ to support development of base-line case-studies of community anchors, and placed the community anchor model within a wider understanding of community empowerment (LPL, 2008a), to be considered in 4.4 below. Again the multi-purpose and facilitative roles of community anchors are recognised, and can be related to the dimensions of community development given the emphasis on local economic and social development, service design and provision and advocacy and representation through community leadership. There is *potentially*, although the differences with the Community Alliance in England are very subtle, further emphasis on: local democratic control and accountability of the organisation through the use of the 'community-control', with the SCA continuing to assert this as

¹¹¹ Note: this focused on: (i) local context: social and economic; (ii) organisational form: history, legal form, governance, staffing, activist/volunteers; (iii) financial: income, assets, enterprise(s); (iv) community connections and wider partnerships; (v) activities: community hub, capacity-building, services, enterprises; and, (vi) dialogue: achievements, aspirations, lessons learnt. Examples of LPL/SCA case-studies and template can be viewed, some researched and written by this researcher, via: <http://www.localpeopleleading.co.uk/on-the-ground/anchor-orgs/>

central in 2012 (SCA, 2012a)¹¹²; and an organisational self-sufficiency through community asset ownership for ‘economic stability’. Commitment to ‘social change’ is not explicitly stated, as it is within the Community Alliance’s (in England) definition, yet this is more clearly identified in the LPL’s (2008a) briefing on community empowerment which generates a clear objective of a significant shift to greater local democracy.

Nevertheless, there is clearly considerable common ground here between the two articulations of the Community Alliance and LPL/SCA, and a sense of building from Thake’s initial thinking in 2001 (Thake: 2001, 2006), to claim a common model and related narrative as follows:

- a community-led or community-controlled organisation – usually as a community of place;
- multi-purpose and facilitative, and concerned for community dialogue;
- concerned for community-led economic and social development – including community enterprise, community ownership and community-building;
- concerned too for local service provision and design, and an implied partnership-working with the state;
- concerned for advocacy, political representation and community leadership; and
- aspiring to an independence from the state, including that of a financial independence through an independent income stream(s).

This might be used to indicate a static debate of the community anchor role, yet it is more usefully seen as dynamic, with priorities shifting and different organisations seeing opportunities in different elements according to policy and socio-economic contexts. In Scotland, for instance, SCA member DTAS (2012) has pointed to community anchors as playing a central role in a holistic community-led regeneration, and a role seen as clearly distinct from the work of community planning partnerships. Community anchors can support the development of a community plan as supplementary guidance within the planning system; and a facilitation of community ownership, potentially through community rights proposed in the consultations on a

¹¹² Note: given in a response to a People and Communities Fund consultation undertaken by the Scottish Government with the third sector in 2012.

Community Empowerment (Scotland) Bill (Scottish Government, 2012; 2013)¹¹³, as discussed in 3.3.4). Fellow SCA member GWSFHA (Glasgow and the West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations) (2011) has placed particular emphasis on an community anchor role in relation to capacity building with community groups and organisations, and a physical, social and economic regeneration, but with potential to work in partnership with the state including through community planning partnerships. SURF (Scottish Urban Regeneration Forum) (2011b) sees commitment to community anchors as potentially a very different long-term regeneration strategy; the Community Development Alliance Scotland (2011) supports community-controlled organisations, but notes community anchors as not the only effective model of community development; and Oxfam Scotland (Sayers & Follan, 2010) notes the potential role of community anchors in facilitating community ownership and regeneration in vulnerable communities in Scotland.

Kim McKee (2012) adds to an understanding of the role of community controlled housing associations (CCHAs), or community housing associations, as community anchors, through discussion of community governance and of being ‘embedded in the local community’. She notes, too, the potential to use their housing stock and services to support local business, training, establish social enterprises, and partnerships with the state, e.g. through service hubs. She concludes that the role provides one strategy for diversification in times of economic austerity, whilst recognising too that as a form of area-based intervention/regeneration there will be constraints relative to the wider structural changes needed to significantly address poverty and inequality.

4.2.3: Community anchors and policy development

Stephen Thake’s 2001 report was funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF), and thus can be understood as relevant to the JRF’s concern for tackling poverty, community deprivation and inequality¹¹⁴; and, as already indicated, it can be understood as supportive of community sector interests and views in England and Wales too, and yet is likewise carefully positioned relative to New Labour UK Government policy development and political economic strategies.

¹¹³ Note: for instance, in relation to facilitating a right-to-buy process within the local community and/or supporting the establishment of a compulsory-right-to-buy relative to particular local land/property.

¹¹⁴ Note: JRF’s current priorities are articulated as poverty, place and the ageing society (JRF, 2012).

Thake (2001) positions NROs and community anchors within a political economic context, seeing them as a development from the Conservative UK Government's City Challenge, and then the Single Regeneration Challenge Fund (SRB), policy and funding initiatives of the 1990s, as per 3.3.1/3.3.2, and from there to New Labour's policy concern of tackling social exclusion through welfare reform, neighbourhood regeneration and social capital/community. He argues for an NRO role in tackling such social exclusion, with the latter understood as "*the current reformulation of what hitherto has been referred to as poverty*" (Thake, 2001:11), and positioned in relation to complex global economic change and the erosion of social capital within disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Strategies to tackle social exclusion, he therefore sees, are complex (2001:21):

Social exclusion comprises a layering of interrelated processes. Unless strategies to counter exclusion encompass the lack of long-term, well-paid jobs; alternatives to the formal labour market; discrimination; the collapse of social networks; distrust; powerlessness and alienation, they will fail to engage with many of the real issues experienced by those whom they are meant to support.

The state cannot achieve this alone, nor the private sector and markets, hence the need for NROs/community anchors and sustainable area-based regeneration strategies to play active roles in supporting those at risk of social exclusion through welfare-into-work, and in strengthening the fabric of civil society. However, communities and the community sector are understood to be too weakened in disadvantaged areas for them to be effective *initially* in such work. Local authorities, rather than the community and voluntary sectors, are likely to need to take the lead, at first, in establishing local infrastructure:

The willingness of external power structures to allow such organisations (independent anchor organisations) to become substantial and sustainable partners in the process of neighbourhood transformation will be the test of the quality of the new social contract that is currently being negotiated. (2001:78)

The new social contract alluded to is set in the context of considerable political economic change: a changing global economy; public sector reform; concerns for social

cohesion and social breakdown; and a focus on health and well-being – and drawing from an eclectic range of theorists and researchers¹¹⁵. This perspective is further developed in his 2006 report where the consequences of global and UK economic restructuring are recognised:

- sustained unemployment, poverty and further urban decline;
- polarisation into high-skilled and low skilled labour markets and associated socio-economic classes; and
- a ‘hollowing out’ of civil society, through labour market reform and consumerism, as well as a decline in trade union and political participation.

Thake argues, therefore, for a private sector that provide economic success; a state that seeks to support such success and compensates those outside of it; and a ‘social sector’ that can improve delivery of ‘public financed services’, the health and wellbeing of the nation, and reach sections of society beyond the scope of the public and private sectors. Thake advocates too for a 10-20 year programme, needing cross-party support, to build the infrastructure to support the community sector, including funding, support for asset transfer, and risk management tools.

Across the 2000s, community anchors and a related community ownership increasingly become integrated into New Labour UK Government policy. Community anchors first appeared within a community development policy document in 2004, *Firm Foundations: The Government’s Framework for Community Capacity Building* (Home Office, UK Government 2004). The policy followed a seeming wide consultation across the community and third sectors¹¹⁶, and draws from the values and language of a ‘community development approach’, see 3.4.1, seeking to support community organisations working at neighbourhood, parish and community levels. The development of community anchors is given as one of four priorities for action:

The targeting of efforts to build strong, sustainable community anchor

¹¹⁵ Note: Thake cites in his 2001 report a number of prominent theorists and related perspectives: (i) Manuel Castells (1997) and social exclusion as a systemic consequence of a growing global economy; (ii) Francis Fukuyama (1995) arguing that public sector delivering services is expensive, inhibits innovation and indicates lack of trust deeper in society; (iii) Robert Putnam (1995) on the relation between social capital, trust and economic success; and (iv) Richard Wilkinson (1996), later to write *The Spirit Level* with Kate Pickett (2009), but here making links between good health and strong social networks.

¹¹⁶ Note: the report draws on consultation work during 2003 with 158 voluntary and community organisations.

organisations which can provide a crucial focus and support for community development and change in their neighbourhood or community, and for the building up of the community sector (Home Office, UK Government, 2004: 4)

Organisations taking a community anchor role are described as taking many forms but hold “four common features” (Home Office, UK Government, 2004:19):

- *controlled by local residents and/or representatives of local groups*
- *working a multi-purpose, holistic way to meet local needs*
- *involving all sections of their community, including marginalised groups*
- *work(ing) to facilitate the development of the communities in their area.*

Community organisations, for example, development trusts, settlements, tenant organisation and community bodies, and ‘partnership bodies’, such as those relating to New Deal for Communities (NDC) partnerships and successor bodies to some Single Regeneration Budget programme boards are both considered particularly relevant as community anchors.

The growing policy agenda on community ownership provides the next stimulus through a range of reports concerned to develop and evidence the New Labour UK Government’s policy strategy:

- ‘Communities Taking Control’ (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister and Home Office, 2006);
- Thake’s (2006) own report on community asset ownership; and
- ‘The Quirk Review’ (Making Assets Work, 2007)¹¹⁷ which seeks assess levels of risk and reassure local authorities.

This culminates in consultation on, and then commitment to, community ownership and community anchors from within third sector policy sections of the UK Government’s Comprehensive Spending Review – HM Treasury/Cabinet Office (2007) and HM Treasury (2007). In parallel the 2008 Community Empowerment White Paper (Department of Communities and Local Government, 2008) commits to greater local

¹¹⁷ Note: although the author(s) is not specified on the title pages, the report later makes clear that the review was undertaken by Barry Quirk, Chief Executive of Lewisham Council, with the support of Stephen Thake and Andrew Robinson.

democracy, community ownership and mutualism/social enterprise, although without a specific mention of community anchors.

Thus, Thake (2009) in a presentation to the community sector in June 2009, and with the 2010 UK Westminster Parliament elections likely in his sights, notes the New Labour UK Government's expenditure directed at the sector over the previous decade as of the order of £1.3bn. And he points to the potential for yet further commitment through, for instance, increasing commissioning of third sector service provision by £500m per year; a social investment bank (now Big Society Capital); and range of other state-related mechanisms such as local taxation and 'planning gain'.

However, the 2010 elections and the arrival of the Conservative/Liberal Democrat UK Coalition Government seems to have ended talk of community anchors, if not community ownership, with the focus of The Big Society (TBS), as per 3.3.3, shifting to an apolitical 'civil society' rather than of a strengthening of the existing third sector; see Wyler (2011a) for instance and TBS focus on citizen participation and volunteering rather than the community and third sector. More recently, two pieces of research supported and published by ResPublica, the think-tank headed by Phillip Blond, see 3.3.3 and 5.4.2, have recognised a role for community anchors: Pete Duncan's & Sally Thomas' (2012) report on localism and the role of housing associations, sees the latter working with community anchors for community investment and benefit; while Julian Dobson¹¹⁸ (2013) develops a strategy for an economic localism that draws on the roles of housing associations and community anchors too.

Dobson (2013) generates a complex narrative, drawing on 'one nation' and 'social contract' themes, thus echoing Thake's (2001) earlier call, and recognising as well the role of the state in seeking to tackle "market failure, inequality and deprivation" (Dobson, 2013: 8). He too calls on local authorities, social landlords and community-based organisations to support community anchors and a community development agenda: recognising that community anchors – or locally-accountable community-led organisations (Dobson, 2013: 32) – will include large organisations undertaking a wide

¹¹⁸ Note: Julian Dobson is well-known within community regeneration circles in the UK having been founding editor of regeneration magazine *New Start*, and having published material with the Joseph Rowntree Foundation on community ownership (2011), as per 3.4.2

variety of economic and social activity¹¹⁹ as well as those smaller community organisations taking a ‘connecting role’. He points to community anchors, housing providers and public services as ‘embedded intermediaries’ that can provide ‘social infrastructure’ for a local, social contract.¹²⁰ This is suddenly a familiar territory of local community economic and social development, with Dobson’s thinking certainly not within a socially-conservative fold, although fitting with other elements of Blond’s thinking, see 5.4.2, but as yet seemingly not ‘surfacing’ within UK Coalition Government policy dialogue.

In Scotland, the LPL had initial success in policy terms with the SNP Government’s and COSLA’s (2009) *Community: the Scottish Government Community Empowerment Action Plan* (CEAP) published in March 2009; for although the document speaks of no one particular model of community empowerment providing all the answers, it concludes that community anchors are particularly crucial and draws almost word-for-word from LPL’s (2008b) statement of community anchor ‘indicative characteristics’. Its discussion of the potential scope of a ‘community empowerment’ is limited and vague, recognising three key purposes:

- supporting community planning partnerships and their associated shared outcome agreements;
- invigorating local democracy; and
- improving the quality of life.

An LPL (2009a, 2009b) response argued that although a step forward the CEAP lacked ambition, for instance, noting its lack of commitment to: developing a national strategy for the community sector, and more generally suitable policy and resourcing; and its lack of commitment to democratic renewal and sustainable development. Indeed, as noted in 3.3.4, the proposed funding of £180m from the Scottish Government (2008-11) identified in the document was from existing funding streams and shared with others across the third sector as a whole¹²¹. Thus, it provided a baseline analysis of the then

¹¹⁹ Note: he gives as examples three community development trusts of significant size in England: Coin St Builders in London (as per 3.3.2), and Giroscope and the Goodwin Development Trust in Hull.

¹²⁰ Note: Dobson also recognises use of the term ‘anchor institutions’ relative to the role of universities and hospitals from the US as per 3.2.1 above.

¹²¹ Note: one outcome that followed from the CEAP, although is not directly specified within it, was the funding by the Scottish Government of the Community Ownership Support Service, which was and is managed by DTAS.

current circumstance, provision of guidance, and adjustment to policy; but without being the hoped for community sector national strategy.

As also noted in 3.3.4, there had been a switch in the focus of the SNP Scottish Government's (2011a, 2011b) regeneration policy from that of being property-led and/or public sector-led to a rhetoric, at least, of community-led regeneration; with the final regeneration policy document (Scottish Government, 2011b) drawing heavily too on a community anchor narrative. Yet, as the Scottish Government recognised (2011a) the context of this switch was one in which neither property-led regeneration, through private sector borrowing – although inevitably requiring public sector spending/ borrowing too, see 3.3.2 – nor a public sector-led regeneration through public sector borrowing, could currently be central given the (then in 2011) very limited economic growth (2010-11) following an earlier deep economic (2008-9 and 2009-10) (Cribb, Joyce & Phillips, 2012), and UK Government policies of 'austerity' as cuts to public expenditure in real terms (Coote, 2011).

Within the final Scottish Government policy document (Scottish Government, 2011b), community-led regeneration is described as:

... about local people identifying for themselves the issues and opportunities in their areas, deciding what to do about them, and being responsible for delivering the economic, social and environmental action that will make a difference. It is dependent on the energy and commitment of local people themselves and has a wide range of benefits. (2011b: 20)

The policy recognises, too, that where neighbourhood deprivation is severe the public sector and its budgets have crucial responsibilities (Scottish Government, 2011b: 15), but that this should in partnership with communities. The role of community anchor has lost the earlier specificity of its 2009 definition within the CEAP (Scottish Government & COSLA, 2009) and is now given more generally as:

- 'locally controlled, and enterprising community organisations';
- 'taking a long-term role in disadvantaged communities'; and
- working across a broad spectrum of issues – environmental, economic, social and cultural ... and challenging health inequalities.

Community housing associations and community development trusts are named as the most obvious candidates for the community anchor role; although other community organisations are recognised as being able to play that role, namely, community councils, social enterprises, the community food movement and community health projects. Curiously, ‘the door is left ajar’ for Registered Social Landlords (RSLs) in general to play a community anchor role (Scottish Government, 2011b: 46) and so potentially allowing larger housing associations to be understood to be playing the role; although neither community-led regeneration or community anchors had been mentioned in the 2011 Housing Strategy and Action Plan document (Scottish Government, 2011d), despite recognition there of the role of housing associations in community work, community development, community engagement and community empowerment. As indicated in 3.3.4, a very limited ‘People and Communities Fund’ (PCF) has been established to support and promote community-led regeneration, taking over from the previous, and more generously funded, ‘Wider Role Fund’ aimed at RSLs. The PCF, however, allows larger RSLs to continue to access this, thus not only community anchors, and unusually focuses only on the two themes of ‘employability’ and ‘preventative’ action rather than recognising the multi-purpose nature of community anchors (Scottish Government, n.d.[c]¹²²); leaving one commentator to note wryly that it should be renamed the ‘Housing Association Employability and Prevention Fund’ (Spittal, 2012).

More recently, and in relation to a community-led regeneration policy agenda, the Community Empowerment and Renewal Bill (CERB) consultation document (Scottish Government, 2012), focuses on three central foci of the community design and development of services, the development of community asset ownership, and supporting productive use of vacant and derelict land. Yet, the community anchor model is not discussed, or even referred to, within the document; nor in the follow-up consultation on the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Bill (CESB) (Scottish Government, 2013). Further, a wider national policy strategy for community sector development continues to remain elusive, and thus there continues to be a strong sense of limited, or unpredictable and ‘patchy’, levels of interest in community anchors and the community sector from within Scottish Government policy-making currently.

¹²² Note: the People and Communities Fund guidelines note that if the organisation isn’t ‘community controlled’, the Fund will still be relevant if the organisation involves local people and community representatives in its decision-making structures (Scottish Government, n.d.[c])

4.3: Developing community anchor practices

Drawing from the introductory discussion in 4.2.2 above, the model and narratives generated by the community representative bodies could support a variety of more detailed further discussions. Here, the researcher considers three of these in greater depth, given their particular centrality to the community anchor narrative. These are:

- community anchors as community-led or community-controlled;
- community anchors as independent and ‘economically stable’ organisations; and
- community anchors as multi-purpose and facilitative.

They can be thought of as key or central narratives in relation to the working of community anchors, at least currently, although other discussions and narratives then develop from them. Drawing in particular from the theorising of Max Weaver (2009), community anchors as independent and economically-stable will be considered through a conceptual narrative of ‘sustainable independence’. Thus the flow of discussion is as follow:

- (4.3.1) A developing community-led practice
- (4.3.2) Towards ‘sustainable independence’
- (4.3.3) Multi-purpose community anchors

4.3.1: A *developing community-led practice*

The terms ‘community-led’ and ‘community-controlled’, in relation to community organisations, are often used synonymously, and potentially loosely, but there is by implication a claim here that they represent more than ‘simple’ community engagement or consultation; instead there is the sense of a claim to a developing and much broader local and community-based democratic practice. Clive Barnett’s (2009) critical discussion of democratic practice notes, firstly, that democracy is a far from straightforward concept that can be articulated simply as ‘rule by the people’, but rather highly-contested in both theory and practice. And, secondly, that he sees debates as to the nature of democracy now going far beyond considerations of representative democratic structures within the nation state that seek to legitimise centralised bureaucracy, and the state itself, but rather to include consideration of: participatory democracy, radical democracy and citizenship and a diversity of practices;

decentralisation of decision-making to sub-national levels; the role of ‘mute interests’ – as future generations and non-humans without their own voice in current proceedings; and wider global dimensions of democratic practice and the context of its practice.

Barnett (2009) points towards a shift to models of deliberative democracy (see, also, Diers, 2007; Painter et al. 2011), which seek an active role for citizens and an extension of democratic norms across the activities of society, as being currently in the ascendant. A complex discussion of democratic theory and practice cannot be attempted here relative to a community-led practice, but the discussion, as becomes apparent, recognises many of these broader themes, and illustrates a pluralist or deliberative set of practices, whilst acknowledging inevitable constraints in relation to the dynamics of power within the nation state and beyond.

Pearce (1993) sets his understanding of core community enterprises within one of local democratic governance and being accountable to a diverse local membership, but also more widely to the community sector and community as a whole through wider stakeholder participation. Laurence Demarco’s (2009) account of developing community structures in Wester Hailes in Edinburgh, during the 1970s and 1980s, describes the building of a representative council for the whole estate of some 12,000 residents, through a network of related neighbourhood councils, some 20-odd in number; and points to both participatory/ grassroots and representative democratic processes at work through such structure. Alex Walker et al. (2010) from DTAS point to the importance of the Board or management committee of a community enterprise in sustaining a community-led approach and community vision, particularly as the organisation grows in size and complexity and/or when it has a ‘charismatic’ social entrepreneur at the helm; while the importance of sustaining a positive local reputation, or trust, has been highlighted as valuable in order to work successfully within a community (Brook Lyndhurst and Ecometrica, 2011).

There are, then, potentially, three significant strands to thinking on democratic community-led practices, those of:

- local participatory processes;
- local organisational governance; and
- wider local community representative structures.

The SCA's Angus Hardie (2012: 20-22) provides a framework for understanding a community-led approach to regeneration as follows:

- *one or more local organisations playing a leadership role and capacity-building role (a community anchor);*
- *significant assets under community ownership or control;*
- *community owned enterprises generating an independent income stream;*
- *a locally conceived community plan or 'charter' which identifies the short, medium and long term priorities for action as determined by local people;*
- *a level of engagement with external stakeholders which reflects a sense of genuine partnership and mutual respect; and*
- *an absence of top down initiatives driven unilaterally by public agencies.*

The emphasis is on developing local structures that facilitate community-led practice and so an increasing local or community-control, yet there is recognition too of the role of wider socio-economic systems, particularly as the state. Indeed, Hardie (2012) argues that the response of the local and central state is crucial, in that it can either actively support or act as a significant block to a community-led regeneration. This suggests that if the development of a community-led practice is to be seen within a democratic tradition, then it will also need to consider the wider political and economic context.

Jane Thomson (2001: 38), as considered in 3.4.1, writes somewhat sceptically of the then developing New Labour UK Government policy in relation to neighbourhood regeneration and 'community',¹²³ and argues for 'committed dialogue' with communities which is "*anticipating a more egalitarian society*"; similarly, Gerry Mooney (2009, 2010b), as discussed in 3.4.3, argues for the primacy of economic and social structural inequalities in understanding the experiences of working class communities. This suggests that the development of local democratic practices, as per all three strands outlined above, needs also to recognise and explore the wider socio-economic and political economic contexts, if such a local democratic practice is going to be able to make decisions that can 'make a difference' or 'have impact' relative to resourcing local people and the community.

¹²³ Note: Jane Thomson points to a level of recognition of structural and policy-related causes of poverty within New Labour UK Government policy and analysis, but also to a strategic preference for individually-focused solutions rather than structural (socio-economic systems) changes.

David Clapham & Keith Kintrea (2000) present an insightful discussion of the community governance and local accountability of four community housing associations in Glasgow, and describe them in a favourable light relative to other social housing providers such as local authorities and larger housing associations. They recognised both the local and the wider dimensions and, in particular, at a local level they noted:

- opportunities for direct local participation by residents/tenants – with almost 50% having attended a meeting in the last 12 months;
- the nature of committee members who, whilst showing some differences in terms of education and income, had “*much the same social and economic characteristics as those receiving the service*” (Clapham & Kintrea, 2000: 554); and
- committee members were not specifically ‘representatives’ of local tenants and residents, but provided accountability through visibility and day-to-day contact.

The picture they generate is of a very practical local democracy, with elements of participation and representation, rather than as a technical and comprehensive structure. And with community housing associations using a range of ‘mechanisms’ that increase local accountability, connectivity and responsive-ness to tenants and residents and their concerns; and more likely and able to do so than larger, more widely-spread housing providers.

However, they also put this in the context of the dynamics of power: noting locally that in terms of strategic decision-making, committee members could be at a disadvantage relative to the knowledge and networking of the management/staff; and, in a wider context, that community-based housing providers were at a significant disadvantage in relation to partnership-working and funding with the central state agencies (then Scottish Homes), local authorities and other regeneration bodies. However, the developing role of GWSFHA in recent years, across Glasgow and the west of Scotland, may have increasingly changed this dynamic, giving community housing associations a stronger collective voice regionally and nationally.¹²⁴ Kim McKee (2008) argues too

¹²⁴ Note: GWSFHA, for instance, produces policy responses and initiatives at both a Glasgow-wide level, e.g. a manifesto for Glasgow City Council 2012 elections (GWSFHA, 2012); and at a national level, e.g. responding to the Scottish Parliament’s Local Government and Regeneration inquiry in 2013 (GWSFHA, 2013a); and can attract a politician of the stature of Glasgow MSP and Scottish Government Deputy First Minister Nicola Sturgeon as a key speaker to its conferences (see, for instance, GWSFHA, 2013b).

that whilst a focus on community control of housing can be interpreted solely as a decentralisation of power from the local state to ‘community’, at the same time the central state will continue to be active in policy-making, regulation and funding, and thus there is a co-existing centralisation of power too, with related tensions within this dynamic.

Given this potential disadvantage for community-based organisations in relation to the dynamics of power, then it is important to recognise that the discussion of what constitutes ‘local control’ and what levels of control might be achieved will itself be contested and changing. Danny MacKinnon (2002), in his discussion of community development in the Scottish Highlands and Islands, argues that those working locally, both locally-based agencies such as Highlands & Islands Enterprise (HIE) and community groups/ organisations, must do this within the context of ‘wider circuits of power’, in particular those of the neo-liberal state, and hence he notes HIE’s emphasis on business language and strategies within its community development work.

MacKinnon, therefore, argues that for significant constraints on democratic practice and local power or control:

While it is clear that the relationship is far from equal, there is a sense in which development agencies in the Scottish Highlands have become more responsive to local agendas and aspirations. Crucially, however, this stops well short of ‘local control’ ... LECs¹²⁵ have not offered local ‘empowerment’ but a limited ‘empowerment’ of selected actors.

This provides a useful tension with other commentary from within the community and social enterprise sectors, which has generally interpreted the role of HIE and its predecessor as constructive and forward-looking: see, for instance, Pearce (1993, 2003) and Senscot (2012c)¹²⁶. This tension between the two commentaries here may then rest on the expectations held: with the community sector recognising what has been

¹²⁵ Note: Local Enterprise Companies (LECs) formed the local presence of Highlands & Islands Enterprise (HIE) during the 1990s. Currently, HIE has a series of ten Area Offices across the region which provide a mix of business and community development support.

¹²⁶ Note: for instance, the Senscot bulletin (13.04.12) provides an appreciation of the role of John Watt at the HIE over a number of decades in relation to the support of community and social enterprise (Social Entrepreneurs Network Scotland, 2012c); and SCA’s (2013c) response to the Scottish Parliament’s Local Government and Regeneration Committee 2013 inquiry similarly values HIE’s approach and investment.

achieved when a regional state agency provides active, even if inevitably constrained support; whilst MacKinnon identifies the potential for considerable more ‘local control’ given a different approach from the central state.

Further, MacKinnon (2002) indirectly raises another key challenge, that a democratic community-led practice cannot simply be arrived at through the development of community initiatives led by a few relatively empowered ‘local actors’; but rather that a more active strategy of developing ‘good practices’ across all three local democratic strands will be required, if a genuine sense of community representative-ness and commitment is to be built and sustained. Yet, this is precisely what a developing local community sector is strongly and likely uniquely positioned to do. It is its potential focus on ‘the practical’, as community economic and social development, that creates myriad ways to work actively across a diversity of local people and their informal community networks, and support and inform local community dialogues (Cooke, 2010, 2013; McKee, 2010); and in so doing generate discussion of wider socio-economic and political economic context.

MacKinnon’s articulation of a limited empowerment of certain local actors also brings into focus the crucial issue of a democratic and accountable community leadership. For such a leadership is a necessity for any organisation and/or community, and points to the need for ‘good practices’ and informed dialogue within communities that sustain accountability, representativeness and strong leadership skills.

The discussion generated here thus suggests that a developing and democratic community-led practice is in itself a significant challenge, particularly for community-based organisations with limited means, but that this is a challenge worthy of investment in. And one which both community sector dialogue and a CSTP can support by sustaining discussion of the development of a democratic ethos informed by recognition of a wider structural context, and likewise the interweaving of the local community sector and informal community networks, such that it can fully recognise and represent the matrix of local community diversity, as per 3.2.

4.3.2: Towards ‘sustainable independence’

The SCA has continued to highlight the importance of ‘economic stability’ (Local People Leading [LPL], 2008b) to community anchors and a local community sector through inclusion of the term ‘independent local income streams’ within its narratives on community empowerment and community-led regeneration (LPL, 2008a; SCA, 2011b; Hardie, 2012). Max Weaver¹²⁷ (2009) manages to capture this focus on a financial independence and stability, and a related aspiration for a political independence outside of immediate state control, and the related tensions, through his discussion of ‘sustainable independence’. He seeks under this term to bring together concerns for financial sustainability, relations with and independence from the state, and a sense of a local mission.

Weaver draws from a general understanding of community anchors as: locally-rooted; multi-purpose; there-for-the-long-term (see Wyler, 2011a too); and a more bottom-up than top-down approach. And, he argues that anchors should *not* be:

merely instruments of government policy or in business to deliver public services, save where to do so furthers their own mission. (2009: 2)

To achieve such local mission requires a sufficient independence from state, public sector and other funders/investors, so that an organisation is able to show a ‘local responsiveness’. This local responsiveness is understood as decisively distinct from the ‘top-down’ control (vertical associations) of the central and/or local state, or “the more insidious co-optation of unequal partnership” (2009: 3): but is rather to be developed through the horizontal associations of social capital. Weaver seeks solutions that see opportunity in a positive working relationship with the state, recognising its potential to support a community anchor in achieving its local mission; not, then, an overbearing relationship with the local state, but as partners working on an equal footing. He also seeks to constrain the power of the market and commodification through these horizontal associations; citing Michael Sandel’s (2009)¹²⁸ critique of the move from a

¹²⁷ Note: Max Weaver is a Visiting Professor at London South Bank University, and is formerly Chief Executive of Community Links, a community anchor organisation in Newham in London; view details at: <http://www.lsbu.ac.uk/about-us/people-finder/prof-max-weaver>

¹²⁸ Note: philosopher Michael Sandel (2011) argues that such a marketization of society increases inequality, with those on lower incomes losing out on resources, and that it corrupts our value system(s) by replacing our morality, as the social bonds, duties and commitments between us, with relationships in which money and price are to be the final arbiters of what happens.

market economy to a ‘market society’, in which everything is given a price or financial value.

Community anchors are, then, crucial elements in relation to the development of relevant social capital that supports such a social change, and provide an alternative to the approaches of the state and the market. Yet an organisation that is in *financial survival mode* will not be able to commit to local responsiveness; financial sustainability, and the confidence that it generates, alongside suitable governance structures, are a necessary condition for such a commitment concludes Weaver (2009).

Weaver argues *against* various potential solutions to achieving such a sustainable independence, including:

- charismatic leadership: as it is focused on an individual’s vision and appeal rather than an organisation’s strength;
- ‘full cost recovery’¹²⁹: as it does not achieve the necessary ‘surplus’ that an organisation needs to invest in its future and to provide community finance/funds;
- market-based competition: for anchors are committed to place (community), ‘effectiveness’ and local responsiveness, rather than achieving the lowest price for any one project or particular service;
- use of impact measuring such as SROI¹³⁰: this gives competitive advantage to single service (and ‘market-focused’) ‘silo’ organisations, not to multi-purpose, long-term focused community anchor/community sector organisations; and
- ‘personalisation’¹³¹ and markets of service-users as consumers: which cannot support a necessary focus on long-term relationship building.

¹²⁹ Note: full cost recovery, also called ‘full economic recovery’, is where the ‘full’ financial costs of any particular project, relative to the time it is considered to take, are charged by the provider, including suitable proportions of management time, central administration costs and other overheads. An organisation thus depends on sufficient projects being developed/contracted for to cover all staff time all of the time, and this is unlikely in itself to generate a surplus or profit for re-investment in the organisation and/or to cover ‘shallow’ periods.

¹³⁰ Note: SROI or Social Return on Investment, which attempts to provide financial proxies for each aspect of an activity or project, in particular its social and environmental outputs/consequences and as both costs and benefits, in order to achieve a nominal ratio of financial investment to ‘financial’ outcomes (see Social Return on Investment Network, 2009).

¹³¹ Note: within ‘personalisation’ individually-tailored services are often related to personal budgets and independent living payments. Service users can then control/shape their social care support. However, this individualisation of services also raises concerns about increasing bureaucracy in the public sector, reductions in the use of qualified staff and now as part of the UK Coalition Government’s agenda for reforming public services and welfare within the context of public spending cuts (see Dunning, n.d.).

More generally, various funding routes are seen as unhelpful: for instance corporate social responsibility (CSR) and trusts are unlikely to allow for the generation of a surplus, whilst social impact bonds¹³² and the like are generally focused on single outcomes and likely short-term, so suiting single-focus organisations, rather than multi-purpose and longer-term community anchors.

Ben Cairns, Margaret Harris and Romaine Hutchison (2006), from the Institute of Voluntary Action Research (IVAR), in considering the financial outlook for community anchors in England recognise many of the complexities Weaver raises of a market-focused perspective and of a public service contracts culture: a move away from grants towards contracts or service level agreements, with the potential for this to be increasingly competitive; towards more prescriptive funding with externally-set targets; coping administratively with many different sources of funding, whilst needing to meet the core costs of an organisation's activities from across these manifold sources. They also, crucially, reflect on the increasing shift from an organisation's own mission and aspirations towards that of meeting government policy objectives.

Likewise, the Centre for Local Economic Strategies (CLES, 2009) in considering community anchors in the north-west of England, and explicitly drawing on the Community Alliance's community anchor model, raise similar challenges: dilemmas of sustaining a financial model in the face of local and national funding changes, whilst maintaining a complex organisation of staff/volunteers, community governance and management and infrastructure; and the difficulties of sustaining a community focus, given the state's directing of actions through policy and funding. Additionally, CLES argues that the growth of 'supra-charities', large third sector organisations, is generating a very competitive public sector contract environment, within which smaller community sector organisations must seek to survive. Although not mentioned, presumably corporate and SME private sector organisations will be influencing this too, for instance through the Work Programme.¹³³

¹³² Note: depending on the nature of the social investment bond, this likely aims to deliver significant profits for investors, rather than as surplus to the organisation for re-investment (see, for instance, McHugh et al., 2013).

¹³³ Note: The Work Programme is a UK-wide state funded employment training for people who are unemployed, replacing previous welfare-to-work programmes, and initiated by the UK Coalition Government's Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) in 2011. All of the prime contractors are from the corporate private sector, although then sub-contracting to smaller third sector organisations and

Weaver, therefore, points to five inter-relating strategies for community anchors, focused on the longer-term, as follows:

- community asset ownership and asset transfer: developing an organisation's asset base, to be used for income generating projects and, as relevant, borrowing capital;
- 'relational contracting': building a long-term, mutually supportive working relationship with the local state – Weaver uses the relationship (supply chain) between vehicle manufacturers and their suppliers as a metaphor for this;¹³⁴
- social enterprises: as long as they remain both relevant and subservient to the anchor's local mission – although all social enterprise entails some degree of risk;
- security through capital: whether that be endowments and/or assets, that can then be used to support borrowing; and
- evidencing the holistic role of community anchors: to justify this local mission-based, longer-term approach, through the unique position of community anchors, to funders/investors.

Weaver, therefore, argues for an 'anchor paradigm' in which relational contracting with the state, and associated support such as social or community benefit clauses and intelligent commissioning, are the norm; where anchors can evidence their 'whole impact', as multi-purpose organisations; and where the generation of a surplus ('profit') is considered legitimate, as would be the case for profit with private sector businesses.

In partnership with Alice Sampson¹³⁵, Weaver (Sampson & Weaver, 2010) has developed an evaluation tool that aims to do justice to the holistic impact of a community anchor organisation, and seeks to highlight the differences between its impact and that of 'silo-centric' organisations that focus on one particular service or

others. It has been criticised on a variety of grounds: see, for instance, the National Audit Office's (2012) report that indicated that it thought the predicted levels of success from both the DWP and its contractors were clearly unrealistic.

¹³⁴ Note: Weaver suggests that such a working relationship between community anchors and the local state/public sector should be akin to the relationship between the car industry and its suppliers (supply chain) as in the West Midlands of England: that is mutually supportive and long-term. This should not be confused with the Japanese car manufacturers operating in England which likely provide their own supply structures.

¹³⁵ Note: Alice Sampson is head of the regeneration research team at the Centre for Institutional Studies at the University of East London, view: <http://www.uel.ac.uk/research/profiles/lss/alicesampson/>

field of service. Sampson & Weaver identify two broad concepts that help an anchor achieve its local mission (means to an end):

- an attractor: with the ability to attract and communicate with the diversity of local people; and
- a connector: with strong internal connectedness across the anchor organisation and strong external connected across a range of other organisations and agencies.

Sampson & Weaver (2010) point to the challenges faced in competing for ‘project-led services’, with local authorities tending to commission single (silo-centric) services; and ‘coordinated service delivery’ with local authorities seeking a joined-up ‘seamless’ service provision. But they also identify the strengths of community anchors that can give them an advantage in service provision in partnership with local authorities and the public sector, in particular:

- providing different services in the same place – as a community hub;
- having knowledge of local sensitivities; and
- being well placed to provide community advocacy and local leadership.

Sampson & Weaver (2010) identify 15 criteria or indicators, which they describe in terms of these two key characteristics of ‘attractor’ and ‘connector’¹³⁶, and against which quantitative and qualitative data can be collected, such that hypotheses can be tested as to the effectiveness of a community anchor. In the longer-term, this can support comparison between the community anchor model and other organisational types and structures and, so, potentially evidence to local authorities and other funders their effectiveness and range of impacts. Sampson & Weaver thus provide a model that can explore the complex workings of community anchors, and ‘demonstrate’ this model as a way of ‘getting things done’.

Although Sampson & Weaver’s articulation of a community anchor *may* have a stronger focus on local service delivery in order to win public service contracts than other articulations, which may put particular emphasis on local economic and social development and/or advocacy/campaigning – as per the three dimensions of community

¹³⁶ Note: for instance, that people know others who have been helped by the community anchor – an attractor characteristic; that the community anchor has good communications with relevant policy-makers – a connector characteristic.

development in 1.3.2, this would not prevent their model of evidencing and evaluating the community anchor role (and practices) being adapted to suit such alternative articulations.

In generating such discussions around sustainable independence, Weaver is highlighting not only the need for the creativity in the community sector but also the necessity for a different type of relationship with the state. The emphasis is on independent-minded community anchors and a supportive local state building a long-term working relationship, as a relational contracting rather than limited and unequal partnership-working, and on constraining the role of market-related thinking and practices that interfere with an anchor's local mission. Yet in doing so, a new set of questions opens up as to how such a long-term working relationship itself will impact on the independence of community anchors: for how can both state and community sector cope with the necessary conflict implied within their relationship by the term 'local mission'? Similarly, how would rivals for service and project provision from 'silo-centric' third and private sectors, both large and small, respond to such a challenge from this alternative holistic approach? A changing policy context would itself create new responses and so new challenges.

Whilst there are unlikely to be any easy answers to such issues of practice, either currently or in changing policy contexts, Weaver's focus on a narrative of sustainable independence opens up valuable questions as to the role and the survival of the community sector, and its relations with the state, the market and the rest of the third sector.

4.3.3: *Multi-purpose community anchors*

In sections 1.3.1 and 3.4.1 use was made of three dimensions or categories of community development – advocacy/political, partnership-working, community economic and social development – to provide an initial framework for discussion, whilst recognising that such categorisation is, in part, artificial. Here, this framework is used, again, in relation to the multi-purpose character of community anchors and their work across these dimensions, and in relation to existing research material on community anchors.

The researcher's own previous research work with the SCA, producing community anchor (short) case-studies (LPL, n.d.[a]) and with DTAS (2009, 2010), confirms a general picture of community anchors in Scotland undertaking a multi-purpose role including:

- the development of community enterprises and community asset-ownership, for instance, community hubs, community housing, wind turbines¹³⁷, property, and cultural assets;
- partnership-working with the state on, for instance, employment training, training and volunteering, housing development, support for education, welfare and health services programmes, and joint working with the planning department on a community vision; and
- advocacy for 'local community interests' and related resources, for instance as lobbying for local housing needs, community representation on local authority structures, campaigning to save a local facility or property and then developing it, and in-depth community dialogue to generate an agreed position of strength from which to negotiate.

Further examples of community anchor (short) case-studies that cover similar ground include: Stephen Thake (2006) provides examples of community anchors of place and of interest/identity, with emphasis on community ownership and enterprise; the Community Alliance (2007) give a range of case-studies emphasising different elements of their community anchor definition; Kim McKee (2011) working with GWSFHA provides examples of community housing associations as community anchors.

The Community Alliance in England (2009) published an aspirational document, *Anchors of Tomorrow: a vision for community organisations of the future*, from a range of contributors from across the Alliance that consider areas of future community sector development, including:

- extending community ownership into sports/leisure clubs, management of school buildings, community renewables and seeking long-term investments in assets to support long-term commitments;

¹³⁷ Note: community-owned turbines are usually, but not always, undertaken as part of a development with a specialist private sector company: for example, Fintry Development Trust, near Stirling, owns one of fifteen wind turbines within a privately-owned windfarm, and so this can also be thought of as a form of partnership-working with the private sector.

- the development and delivery of public services, and the provision of affordable housing; and
- infrastructure development: including the role of community anchors in the planning and development of new towns, and rural anchors in the development of local networks, suitable finance, and broadband.

Others have focused on developments in practice within the community sector, and with the third sector and state. Chris Wadhams, Mary Carter & John Coburn (2011) produced a study, for the Housing Associations Charitable Trust (HACT), on joint and complementary working between housing providers/associations and community anchors, here as community groups and projects, social enterprises and development trusts. Whilst the IVAR (Leila Baker, 2011), in a collaborative research project, note a shift in focus for larger community organisations from the term ‘community anchor’, alone, to a looser terminology of ‘multi-purpose community organisations’ (MPOs)¹³⁸ that allows for a greater diversity of practice and organisational vision and structure.

The complications of the advocacy role for community anchors have become apparent too. The IVAR (Aiken, Cairns & Hutchison, 2008) studied 19 community organisations/anchors, noting:

- the multi-dimensional nature of such advocacy work – individual and collective;
- the lack of direct funding for such work and yet the need to build further knowledge and expertise; and
- the key relationship with, and focus on, the local authority.

The potential for tensions with local authorities was apparent, with many authority officers recognising the value of such an advocacy role, but some others questioning the legitimacy of community organisations to act as community advocates.

¹³⁸ Note: ‘multi-purpose community organisations’ or MPOs was preferred to the term ‘community anchor organisation’ by the participating community organisations in this research project (Baker, 2011) as not all felt able to take up a full community anchor role, and there was a sense of it being too closely tied to the (then) UK Government policy – presumably referring to the New Labour Government in power at the start of the research project.

More recently, Sarah Cotterill & Liz Richardson¹³⁹ (2011) in a report for the (then) British Association of Settlements and Social Action Centres (bassac) have explored in depth the working relationship between community anchors and local councillors. They generate an interpretation and analysis that sees value for both parties but recognises that community anchors need to develop this specialism, for example in recognising and finding ways to work with the (usually) party political nature of local politics. They recognise, too, significant tensions or ambiguities:

Councillors can value anchors that are independent and not overly reliant on the council, but there is a fine line between taking an independent stance and making a direct challenge, and where that line is set will vary from different viewpoints. (2011:5)

Community anchors are often long-standing organisations and want to ensure that they maintain a good public reputation: for some this means it is important to put significant effort into working with councillors to ensure that their reputation is widely known. But for others, there is a need to ensure that a hard-won reputation is not tarnished by getting embroiled in local political wrangling involving councillors. (2011:6)

In the process of its early development a community organisation may well be solely in campaigning-mode, for instance, in relation to the local authority or a large private landowner (LPL, 2008a): Gerry Mooney & Neil Fyfe's (2006) discussion of the local community campaign and occupation (Save our Pool¹⁴⁰/ Southside against Closures) to save the publicly-owned Govanhill Pool (Govanhill Baths), for instance, points to a very different understanding of the term 'active communities' to that offered by the then New Labour UK Government. Once an organisation becomes established, with a longer-term vision for itself, and has become built into the local 'infrastructure', then campaigning, community organising and political activity, even in the broadest sense, is now one part of a more complex 'workload', and corresponding working relationships.

¹³⁹ Note: the researchers are from the Institute for Political and Economic Governance at the University of Manchester.

¹⁴⁰ Note: the campaign led on to the formation of the Govanhill Baths Community Trust (GBCT), who now manage the building and are looking to own it on behalf of the community outright (GBCT, 2013)

A short case-study (Community Health Exchange, 2011¹⁴¹) of Kingsway Court Health and Well-being Centre in Scotstoun in Glasgow illustrates the need to, and the potential for, find(ing) ways to work with such tensions. The Centre, financed largely through health service funding, provided background support for a grassroots campaign by local people, including Board members, in campaigning against the early morning raids by the immigration service police on asylum seekers and refugees living at Kingsway Court. The lead staff member at the Centre was courageous and able to sustain a justification of use of its facilities as ‘community-capacity building’, without explicitly supporting the campaign, and despite certain pressure from public sector officials. This then is a complex and, at times, risky area of practice, and illustrates the dilemmas of working closely with the state – either as short-term partnership-working or as relational contracting – and the need for the community sector to aspire to a ‘sustainable independence’.

Weaver’s (2009) discussion, in 4.3.2 above, of a community anchor’s role, and in relation to its local mission, as working to strengthen social capital rather than a market society, and of the holistic multi-purpose nature of the role, leads him to argue that community anchors are ‘inherently complex’ and, in turn, ‘inherently inefficient’; the latter, given that they are not focused on single-purpose activity (silo) in ways that would support them in driving down costs as per a competitive market model. They are concerned with effectiveness, as a being able ‘to get things done’ relative to their local mission, rather than achieving cost efficiencies relative to provision of one particular service. This puts them in difficult waters in relation to bidding within a competitive tendering process, as noted in 4.3.2, given that they are up against the economies of scale of larger third sector and private sector organisations.

However, two organisations, Locality & Vanguard Consultancy (n.d.)¹⁴², are considering the concept of ‘economies of scope’ relative to local community organisations – in the mould of a post-Fordism and flexible production – as a challenge to such economies of scale. They argue that the spreading of costs, core costs for instance, across a range of activities and services can generate financial efficiencies,

¹⁴¹ Note: this researcher undertook the interviewing and field visit and drafted the Kingsway Court Health and Wellbeing Centre case-study material for inclusive in this publication.

¹⁴² Note: the project would seem to be linked also to ResPublica’s agenda through the work of one of the contributors, Professor John Seddon, a fellow of ResPublica – view: <http://www.respublica.org.uk/author/Professor-John-Seddon>.

alongside the greater effectiveness of a community anchor; and they are now seeking to undertake further research to examine their initial thinking. However, whilst the core argument that the effectiveness of community anchors relates to their multi-dimensional nature still holds here, and there are likely ways for a community anchor to gain in terms of effectiveness and cost efficiency from the range of its activities, there is a danger of simply re-entering a ‘bidding war’ with other organisations and returning to reducing all to considerations of price and financial value – in other words to a market society.

An alternative is to argue that investment in a community sector ‘infrastructure’ is in itself ‘good social value’ and productive for society in myriad and unpredictable ways. Indeed, IVAR (Baker et al., 2011) argue for such an emphasis, through consideration of ‘contribution’ rather than ‘attribution’ stories, and the role MPOs play in more complex social and economic processes, rather than following a simplistic model of causation. So, for instance, they draw on a range of evidence to argue that MPOs are valuable in: highlighting poverty and deprivation that is in danger of being over-looked; bringing programmes and services to work together; working to sustain funding between programmes and integrating services; and sustaining confidence (morale) and programmes over the longer-term. They cannot solve everything by themselves, but they have crucial local roles, including that of coordination.

There is then, for some at least, a claim that community anchors offer an alternative to mainstream market thinking: not one necessarily focused on finding cost efficiencies, building economies of scale and/or other competitive market ‘solutions’, but rather offering an opportunity to explore effectiveness, coordination and solidarity (social capital); a valuing of people, community and society in very different ways. This would seem to be part of a wider pattern discussed in Chapter 3 of, at least, questioning mainstream, orthodox neo-liberal thinking, including: the ‘core economy’ and its health as crucial to society and wider economic activity – 3.2.2; community ownership and community land trusts as limiting or constraining the role of the market economy in the use of land and property – 3.4.2; and social ownership of organisations and finance as potentially generating distinctive outcomes in the longer-term – 3.4.4. The constraints on community anchors and the community sector need to be recognised here: they work within a nation state in which the market economy and its values continue to dominate and, indeed, they seek to be involved in trading activity, and depend on the market and

the state for services. They face the challenge of working within the same socio-economic systems as all other organisations yet, on occasion, can be understood to be findings ways, small ways often, to explore economic and social alternatives, as they pursue a multi-purpose role.

4.4: Concluding thoughts

This chapter has sought to introduce ‘the basics’ of a community anchor model and narrative, in particular as understood by the community sectors in Scotland and England. In the process, it has been further positioned relative to policy development in the UK, England and Scotland, building from 3.3.3 and 3.3.4, and particularly from within a variant of neo-liberal political economy where the ‘centre-left’ has been or is in government. Three particular areas of community anchor practice have then been considered and, in so doing, have highlighted:

‘community-led practices’ as central to a community anchor model, and the community sector more generally, but that these activities/practices should be understood through the various layers of local democratic practice – local grassroots and participatory, organisational, and community-wide structures – and within wider socio-economic and political economic contexts.

‘sustainable independence’ and the need for active, long-term working relationships (or relational contracting) between both community anchors and the state to generate the conditions in which anchors, and the wider local community sector, have the financial strength, organisational structures, and suitable working culture to pursue a genuine local mission.

‘a multi-purpose and facilitative role’ in which anchors seek to build a combination of community economic and social development, partnership working with the state (and others), and advocacy/political actions; and which in the process can be understood to develop synergies across the dimensions of community development and to provide a certain ‘space’ to explore economic and social alternatives.

In generating this theoretical background, and a degree of theoretical development, the potential relationship between community anchors and community empowerment, or

the intended community empowerment, begins to clarify – as RA3/RO4 – and the building blocks for further developing an understanding of a CACE have been laid in readiness for the theoretical discussions in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5: Constructing a community anchor/community empowerment narrative

5.1: Introduction

This chapter builds from the theoretical discussions in the last chapter, on a community anchor model, narrative(s) and related practices, to generate one more particular construction of a CACE narrative. In order to do so, the researcher uses the thinking of the SCA on community empowerment and community-led regeneration as a conceptual starting point, and this is then developed further to support the task-in-hand, a deepening of the consideration of a CACE/CSTP relative to matters of practice and political economy. To achieve this other narratives are considered and integrated, in particular those generated by John Pearce (1993, 2003, 2009) in relation to the social economy and a mutualist social vision and political economy; yet also drawing more widely, including particular elements of thinking from David Harvey and Allan Cochrane. Finally, the thinking of Philip Blond and The Jimmy Reid Foundation are used to provide comparisons and contrasts from which to deepen an understanding of this particular CACE and in particular the relationship between the community sector and the state. By drawing on this theoretical background, and providing elements of theoretical development, the resulting CACE narrative thus grows to provide a greater complexity from which it can support the interpretation and analysis of the case-study organisations, the empirical inquiry, that follow in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

This is, however, *a CACE*, and perhaps a mutualist CACE, rather than *the CACE*. It would be quite possible for others to construct an alternative version, drawing from different expectations of community empowerment and difference sources of political economy; a neo-liberal CACE would doubtless be possible. Furthermore, a meaningful CACE is, ‘ultimately’, one that the community sector itself, or a significant part thereof, actively develops and seeks to use in its practices-on-the-ground and advocacy with respect to policy-making. What is ventured here, as one aspect of a CSTP, is an abstract working out of a plausible CACE that others can then consider drawing from, and doubtless adapt.

Given the distinctive policy and practice environments in Scotland, and the drawing initially from the thinking of the SCA, then this CACE can be thought of as distinctive, relative to developments in Scotland. Yet, it would be hard to conclude that it wasn’t potentially relevant to the rest of the UK, given the common ground across the UK

nation state, in particular as a shared ‘domestic market’¹⁴³, nor more generally in many developed countries: certainly the mutualism that is influential within this particular articulation of a CACE would seemingly be, at least in part, relevant to much of Western Europe, as discussed in relation to social enterprise in 3.4.4.

Relative to the RAOs, this chapter has a particular relevance to RA1 and its focus on understanding a CACE/CSTP; and to RA2 and its focus on both understanding such a CACE in relation to matters of political economy. It, therefore, continues to build understandings of a CACE/CSTP relevant to RO1 and its focus on providing a suitable set of theoretical narratives. Yet, it is in RO3, and its focus on matters of political economy that this chapter is most relevant, as it generates the necessary complexity of discussion of political economy to usefully inform such a CACE/CSTP. Nevertheless, elements of the discussion are also relevant to RO2, and its focus on the three particular areas of practice established in 4.3, and likewise the on-going consideration of the relationship between community anchors and community empowerment, RA3/RO4.

The flow of discussion across the chapter is therefore:

- (5.2) Establishing a community anchor/community empowerment narrative
- (5.3) Understanding a mutualist social vision and political economic narrative
- (5.4) Recognising the neo-liberal challenge
- (5.5) Concluding thoughts

5.2: Establishing a community anchor/community empowerment narrative

This section seeks to build from an understanding of an emerging community anchor model (4.2), and the key elements of related practice (4.3), to generate a more particular CACE narrative. It draws, initially, from the SCA’s own thinking on the theory and practice of community empowerment, community-led regeneration and community anchors, and then seeks to expand this to build a stronger sense of what can be meant by ‘community empowerment’, in particular as a ‘community empowerment (2)’ and a growing community sector role – see 1.3.2 for a discussion of a general ‘community empowerment (1)’ and a more particular ‘community empowerment (2)’. John Pearce’s (2003) vision of an increasingly sizeable and complex social economy in one particular

¹⁴³ Note: as in a (largely) single market of common economic practices and market regulations across the UK as a whole.

and imagined place, is then used to deepen an abstract understanding of what a future community sector development could involve. The sub-sections are as follows:

- (5.2.1) A community empowerment and community anchor narrative
- (5.2.2) ‘Anytown’: a vision of a developing social economy in one place

5.2.1: A community anchor/community empowerment narrative

Local People Leading’s (LPL, 2008a), the fore-runner of the SCA, *Summary Position Statement on Community Empowerment in Scotland* develops a more explicit articulation of community empowerment from which, in turn, a more explicit CACE can be constructed and certain political economic implications construed. Within this briefing, a community anchor is understood to be the key for making progress towards increased community empowerment:

The most common characteristic of communities which empower themselves is that they have been able to unite under the leadership of one locally owned organisation which acts as an ‘anchor’ for future progress. (LPL, 2008a: 7)

And it provides an initial and broad ‘working’ definition of community empowerment:

An empowered community is a community which possesses the capacity to make its own decisions about the changes it would like to see in its local conditions of living, along with control of sufficient resources to implement its decisions. An empowered community is likely to have the following characteristics – strong local leadership; financially self-sufficient in respect of core costs; assets under community ownership; capable of dissenting from local council’s position; a high degree of resilience and resourcefulness in the face of adversity. (LPL, 2008a: 8)

The briefing also places community empowerment in a wider narrative/set of narratives that include(s):

empowerment as a continuum: from powerlessness, through community engagement and onto a ‘full’ community empowerment – seemingly influenced by Arnstein’s (1969) ladder of citizen participation, as discussed in 3.4.1.

local leadership: moving away from leadership provided by external agencies and the public sector, or indeed private sector/property-led regeneration, to a community-led approach – and which will develop if the circumstance and resourcing are right.

locally-controlled income stream: the need for a community enterprise and community asset ownership that generates the income to support a genuine community empowerment:

there are few examples of sustainable community empowerment which are not underwritten by an independent, locally-controlled income stream. (LPL, 2008a: 5)

communities are currently disempowered: they have been excluded from national life by municipalism and the centralisation of power.

tackling poverty and deprivation: community empowerment can play a major role in overcoming poverty and disadvantage in communities that have experienced long-term ‘cycles of poverty’¹⁴⁴.

value to the state: community empowerment is of value to the state, in part because of its role in overcoming poverty and disadvantage, but also because it improves public services and revitalises democracy.

¹⁴⁴ Note: the term ‘cycles of poverty’ can be used to point towards individuals, families and communities that are described as being trapped across generations in poverty, and thus is suggestive of a seeking of an explanation in terms of ‘social dysfunction’ or ‘social pathology’ of individuals, families and/or particular communities (Campbell, 1993); rather than through primarily structural theorising focused on economic and social inequalities, and which are understood as characteristics generated through the workings of wider socio-economic systems – the political economy. Thus, such a term is likely to be used by many within the neo-liberal and neo-conservative ‘New Right’ either for theoretical analysis or purposes of political campaigning; and with the potential to become more widely into accepted political and public debate and electoral campaigning, and generate dangerously discriminatory views of, and policies towards, working class communities (as Mooney: 2009, 2010a, 2010b). There is, however, no immediate or intentional sense of it being used in this way within this SCA (2008a) document so as to form such a social dysfunctional/ individualised analysis from which to draw wider strategic conclusion. Perhaps, then more as an observation or metaphor as to the long-term and on-going impact of economic decline and disempowerment on many work class communities since the 1970s, with the focus of the SCA’s analysis within the document being upon disempowerment of communities by the municipal state and private landowners. It is not, in fact, a term that has re-surfaced in later SCA thinking and reports, and so is not further explored directly here.

the role of the state: this is recognised, and includes the need for a national development strategy for the community sector with the necessary budgets and action plan; and a policy focus on ‘double-devolution’ from the central and local state to community structures.

Opportunities for increasing community empowerment are also discussed, and include:

- local democratic renewal with the community sector undertaking leading roles within community planning partnerships, statutory bodies and participatory budgeting, as well as community action and campaigning; and
- community ownership and enterprise such as ownership of housing, property, land and community renewables.

Despite the influence of such thinking on the SNP Government and COSLA’s (2009) *Community: the Scottish Government Community Empowerment Action Plan* (CEAP), LPL’s (2009d, 2009e) responses argued that, although a step forward, the CEAP lacked ambition including the lack of: a national strategy, relevant policy development and resources, and commitment to democratic renewal and sustainable development.

LPL/SCA’s thinking on community empowerment has then been considerably more ambitious than that of the Scottish Government, and as the focus of discussion has shifted to community-led regeneration, the SCA (2011a, 2011b) continues to advocate for a national development strategy; and adding land reform to calls for asset transfer and community enterprise development (see also Wightman¹⁴⁵, 2011). The SCA’s (2011b) focus now includes further opportunities for community sector development through: for asset transfer via the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Bill (Scottish Government: 2012, 2013b); for community renewables through the Scottish Government’s (2011e) renewable energy roadmap¹⁴⁶; public service delivery and local government procurement – including recycling and refurbishment¹⁴⁷, community horticulture, greenspace, community health¹⁴⁸, and community woodlands. More

¹⁴⁵ Note: the SCA published a report written by Andy Wightman (2011) on land reform.

¹⁴⁶ Note: this includes a target for community-owned and locally-owned renewables, but which is shared with local private landowners such as farmers.

¹⁴⁷ Note: for instance, the Scottish Government’s (2010b) Zero Waste Plan recognises the role of the community sector in refurbishment and community recycling schemes, as well as more generally that of community groups and communities in supporting such work.

¹⁴⁸ Note: ‘community health’, in the sense that the SCA is using it here, points to the potential for community organisations and community groups to improve health directly through health-related activity, to improve health indirectly through other activities that also improve health and well-being, or to improve health through improving the design, provision and/or accessing of public sector health

generally, the theme of ‘community resilience’ is highlighted; with the SCA noting the ‘Christie Commission’s’ (Commission on the Future Delivery of Public Services, 2011) focus on community resilience and ‘preventative spend’.

SCA Director Angus Hardie (2012) discusses the role of the state in such a process, arguing that current Scottish Government (2011a, 2011b) interest in community-led regeneration, as discussed in 4.2.3, has to be seen in the context of: the failures of regeneration over the last 30 years to improve the position of the poorest communities and tackle inequality; and the economic climate since 2008, and the inability of either the public sector, given the UK Government programme of ‘austerity’ through public spending cuts, or the private sector, given the subdued property markets working against a property-led regeneration, to lead on regeneration, currently. Crucially, Hardie positions a community sector understanding of community-led regeneration as concerned for genuine partnership with the state and its agencies, rather than as top-down initiatives driven unilaterally by the state. He argues that the state is not always in position to ‘fix’ all problems; and, rather, that it may be the source of a ‘state sponsored resistance’ to community proposals and actions. Further, the size of the public sector and the degree of centralisation of local government, these themselves are understood as barriers to community-led approaches; and that the latter should not be understood as either low-cost or ‘easy’ solutions, they demand commitments too. However, he also points to the effective role of the state in the highlands and islands through HIE (Highlands & Islands Enterprise) as an illustration of good practice by the state in support of community-led economic and social development.

The SCA has sought, then, to assert the community sector’s key role within any community-led regeneration, and an increasing role in public service development/provision, whilst recognising the state’s crucial role here through policy and transparent policy development (SCA, 2012b), and development of suitable support and financial investment/funding. It continues to promote community anchors, too, as a necessary element to such empowerment, arguing that community anchors: should be formally recognised by local authorities (SCA 2012b, Hardie, 2012); should be under ‘community-controlled’ – locally-based democratic organisations working for a

services: much of this might be termed ‘preventative’ work and also ‘community-led health development’. Community health can also point to the provision of public sector health services and health improvement activities through locally-based public sector health services.

particular local community, rather than, say, third sector organisations with a wider remit (SCA, 2012a); and should have their own research agenda (SCA, 2011a). The SCA (2012c) has also provided further clarity on its thinking on community empowerment through asserting five key principles of: subsidiarity; self-determination; local people leading; community rights; and local control of land and income-streams.

Drawing from the above discussion, key themes from within the SCA's thinking, and of relevance to a CACE narrative, can be summarised as:

- the political – local democratic and community-led practices or a 'community control', including the decentralisation of decision-making on local economic and social development;
- the social – community sector involvement in the design and provision of public services, and likewise of community services; and the importance of community-building activity and the strengthening of social capital;
- the economic – decentralisation of economic activity and increasing social/community ownership of, and decision-making within, local economic organisations; and
- the ecological – community responsibilities for the local environment and a local sustainable development.

The roles of the local and central state are recognised as crucial in their support of this, whilst at the same time there is a certain tension, recognising that relations with the state are on an unequal footing and that the state is not necessarily supportive of community sector development. The sector must seek, then, also greater independence and empowerment, and so in effect build an ambiguous relationship with the state: at times, cooperative, and at other times, conflicted. The community sector is also recognised as having a particular role and responsibility in relation to tackling poverty, disadvantage and inequality. However, beyond the central importance of community-led regeneration, there is less clarity as to how the structural dimensions of such economic and social inequality might be tackled across the nation state.

Such discussion, then, provides the initial context for a CACE although, as noted within 4.2.2, there is a certain diversity within Scotland and, likely more so across the UK, as to discussions of the community anchor role and a related understanding of community empowerment. Thus, the SCA's thinking cannot be understood as uncontested; nor can

it be seen as static, but is developing in relation to the changing policy context and opportunities and challenges relating to practice.

5.2.2: ‘Anytown’: a vision of a developing social economy in one place

From within an initial narrative as to community anchors and community empowerment, John Pearce’s (2003: 8-23) narrative on developments of an ‘Anytown’ can be used to provide further substance as to what types of development and wider social vision are being aspired to; although it should be noted that his thinking on Anytown cannot be assumed to match the thinking of the SCA or its member bodies. Pearce imagines a developing social economy in one place over the course of two decades, and whilst he does not actively use the term ‘community empowerment’, given the range of local community sector organisations and groups that are developed within Anytown, this would surely fit within the focus of discussion of ‘community empowerment (2)’, as per 1.3.2. Crucially, although this is an exercise of the imagination, Pearce argues, writing a decade ago, that all the types of organisation and activity envisaged in Anytown were based on existing community enterprises from a range of different places; whilst Anytown might not yet exist in such a complex and extended form, it is not beyond the bounds of current knowledge, practice and experience.

Anytown is “*a modern town hit by industrial decline, recession and high levels of unemployment*” (Pearce, 2003: 8): although Pearce is explicit that the social economy is relevant to and active across society (within a nation state) – urban and rural, working and middle class, for instance. Within the Anytown narrative or story, a group of local activists concerned at local levels of unemployment, establish a community development group which grows into a ‘core community enterprise’ and over time comes to own workspaces, a business park and enterprise centre, as part of a wider range of community social and economic development within the town. The range of locally-controlled social and economic activity includes:

- *community economic development organisations*: a self-employment trust to support unemployed people, often working in the ‘grey economy’ already, to set-up in official business; a women’s business network; an intermediate labour market programme; and a community enterprise centre.
- *community services/organisations*: a community care cooperative; childcare

services; a cooperative of music teachers.

- *neighbourhood enterprises and organisations*: neighbourhood centres for older people including a ‘pensioners’ pub’ – with emphasis on use of volunteers; a ‘LETS’ (local exchange trading scheme) that supports, in particular, a ‘grey pound’ aimed at older people.
- *community services/organisations*: a neighbourhood concierge and community safety service; landscaping and environment service; recycling centre and kerbside collection.
- *social firms*: for those who have experienced episodes of mental ill-health and/or have a disability or long-term health condition, for example: a laundry service, a gardening service, and a guesthouse.
- *housing*: a youth housing cooperative and a community-based housing association – through a local stock transfer of the town’s council housing.
- *community finance*: credit unions, a community fund for community group development, and a community development finance initiative (CDFI) that begins to work with the Cooperative Bank to extend the availability of community finance.

Other developments understood to be forthcoming include: community-owned and run sports and leisure facilities, such as a golf club, a swimming pool, and a football club; tourism and heritage-related developments; a garden centre; a farmer’s market; further allotments; and a housing development, as a joint venture with a private developer.

Pearce generates a complex vision of what community empowerment can be ‘like’ – or at least another step, or several steps, on from current levels of community empowerment – as a ‘community empowerment (2)’ focused on community sector development, outlined in 1.3.2. It cannot be taken as the only possible vision for community empowerment, either ‘community empowerment (1)’ or ‘community empowerment (2)’, but it can act as a focus for further development of a CACE narrative: given that it is coherent with SCA thinking and gives further substance to four key political economic considerations: the community anchor role; relations with the state; relations with the private sector and market; and commitment to developing local economy. These are considered below:

The community anchor as core community enterprise: as recognised in 4.2.1, at a

theoretical level, core enterprises and community anchors can be taken as close ‘cousins’, ‘siblings’ even: both involve a community governance; both are multi-purpose; and both are concerned for community economic and social development and related community enterprise and asset ownership. However, in Anytown, the core community enterprise works across a town of ‘some size’ with a number of neighbourhoods and estates, as well as a council and at least one, presumably more, active community (or parish) council(s). Pearce focuses on the development of community and neighbourhood enterprises, rather than the more general sense of community and third sectors of trading (social enterprise) and non-trading (voluntary) organisation, and their related informal community networks; yet it seems unlikely, given his emphasis on the third sector as a sector distinct from public and private sectors (Pearce: 2003, 2009), that the wider third sector is to be excluded. The suggestion is there are two spatial levels of local community active here, the town and local neighbourhoods; but no particular barrier to other local communities of interest and identity (or place) being relevant – as class, ethnicity, disability/health-related, and cultural and faith-based groups – is given and, as indicated in 3.2, Pearce (1993) is open to such wider senses of local community.

The core community enterprise/anchor needs a sufficient scale to become financially self-sustaining and to play a coordinating role across the town, but one possible implication here is that smaller ‘community anchors’ with less ambitious, but equally important roles, could operate in neighbourhoods and local communities of interest/identity. Further, the imagined close working between the core community enterprise/anchor, the community housing association and the local cooperative retail society suggests the potential for a shared responsibility or sharing of elements of the community anchor role, as relevant to circumstance. Potentially, in practice different locally-controlled community organisations could play a community anchor role at different scales of organising, according to local community needs, aspirations and resourcing. This is suggestive, too, of the potential for networks of community anchors, with a focus on community economic and social development, working within the town, and further afield in neighbouring towns and areas. Certainly, in understanding a community anchor, where sufficient scale of operation is reached, as a core community enterprise, then in seeking to advocate its role with the state it might be described as a local community (economic and social) development agency.

Relations with the state: Pearce doesn't give an account of interactions with or the role of the central state, but the local council/authority occupies a crucial role within his narrative. In particular locally elected officials are shown to be eclectic and open to new approaches, rather than dominated by one particular political brand, and local authority officers, likewise, receptive and flexible. The council provides crucial early developmental support and remains a long-term partner across the range of community initiatives; including acting as a joint partner on a local training and development initiative, and having a representative on the core community enterprise's board. The local authority also seeks to support social economic development through recognising the fuller potential meaning of 'best value' when considering contracts. Pearce stresses the distinctiveness of the community sector and its organisations and governance from the local state, yet points to the receptiveness of the local council/local authority as a significant and seemingly necessary element in this vision; for instance, he describes local state finance – contracts, grants/subsidy and asset transfer – as playing an invaluable role in the development of this community sector.

Relations with the private sector and market: Pearce also generates some useful examples of working relationships with the private sector, and more generally the market. Firstly, there are significant 'joint ventures' drawing on private sector investment, including with:

- a private developer to build a new business park, and the agreeing of the core community enterprise as having the right of first option to buy if the developer seeks to sell at a later date;
- a large local private employer, and a government agency, to develop community-run childcare facilities; and
- an international corporation, with support from their corporate social responsibility programme, to establish a food processing plant in the area – but this fails to find a sufficiently productive market.

Further joint ventures are on the horizon, but Pearce (2003:15) also recognises a crucial ambivalence for the community sector in engaging with the market in that, often, the employment developed by community and social enterprises is within low wage/ low skill labour markets and, further, low profit margin markets; for instance environmental work and management, cleaning, and caring. Likewise, in working as part of an intermediate labour market (ILMs) programme to provide employment and training

projects, and/or drawing on activist/volunteer supported schemes to provide local community services and projects, again community anchors and community enterprises will find themselves providing opportunities for people and developing community services which cannot always commit to providing or supporting people in gaining a 'living wage', let alone a 'minimum income standard' (Hirsch et al., n.d.). Cochrane (2007) argues, as noted in 4.2.1, for the community sector being like the small private business sector and often characterised by low-wages; and Senscot (2012a) recognises this ambiguity too for social enterprises in relation to paying a living wage, given the types of socially valuable but low-profitability economic, environmental and social activities they often undertake.

Pearce argues for the significant benefits of the community sector role in relation to employment, employment training and service provision: positive work experiences (paid and unpaid) and good quality training, with people finding 'purposeful work'¹⁴⁹; and responsive community services and projects, valued by local people, and with wider community benefits in relation to community cohesion. Yet, nevertheless, this leaves a very significant tension in relation to achieving, at least, a minimum living income for those working as paid employees and trainees on low wages and experiencing in-work poverty; and further for those activist/volunteers who are undertaking crucial work yet subsisting on benefit payments only; see for instance, discussion of in-work poverty and scales of poverty and economic inequality in Scotland more generally in Danson & Trebeck, 2011; Aldridge, Kenway & MacInnes, 2013; Trebeck & Stuart, 2013. Some community organisations and enterprises may run some highly-profitable economic activities with which they can subsidise less profitable activities, but it would seem, currently, that state intervention and/or subsidy is needed, as Pearce recognises, in one

¹⁴⁹ Note: the crucial value of purposeful work and roles to all of us is stressed by many writing from a community/local economic and social development perspective, for instance Ernst ('Fritz') Schumacher (1973), Paul Ekins (1986) and John McKnight (1995). There would seem, as well, to be a conceptual link here to the importance of social status within society – how we value ourselves and are valued by others in society – that we derive via work and more generally socio-economic activity, with its potential to be beneficial or harmful to our health and well-being as individuals and social groups/classes. Richard Wilkinson & Kate Pickett (2009) – Tim Jackson (2009) too – argue for, and evidence strongly, the case for more economically equal societies amongst the industrially developed states showing higher levels of individual and social well-being than more unequal developed societies. They argue that the construction of greater economic equality – as socio-economic processes – is more likely to enhance the social status for *all* in those societies; whereas prioritisation of socio-economic processes that generate greater inequality result in both levels of income and social status being more significantly stratified, and therefore reducing both individual and wider social well-being as a whole.

form or other here¹⁵⁰.

Developing a local economy: Pearce's imagining also helps to generate a picture of strategies that support local economic development more generally:

- emphasis on using local companies and cooperatives for supplies and projects;
- use of community enterprise facilities by local third sector organisations;
- strategies and planning across the local community sector; and
- developing of community-controlled finance, in particular a locally-based CDFI.

As per the discussion in 3.4.4 of the history and development of the social economy, Robin Murray (2012) highlights the challenges for cooperatives in surviving and developing within a capitalist market; one constructed for the benefit of private sector and more particularly corporate private sector interests and purposes rather than of social economic organisations. He suggests strategies that cooperatives have used for survival as follows: visionary leadership and locating of niche markets; related to this, development of networks e.g. membership that generates loyalty and competitive advantage; a centralisation and weakening of democratic structures in order to match the private sector; and state intervention to construct alternative market conditions, noting in Western European countries greater levels of success, for instance in banking, manufacturing, farming, renewables and social care. The implication, then, for the community sector, and its concerns for local economic and social development, is that it, too, will have to work in a very intentional and strategic manner in order both to survive and develop over the longer-term, unless or until it becomes a higher priority for the state and the latter's construction of more suitable market conditions.

In summary, then, by drawing from and developing Pearce's thinking on a developing social economy in one particular place, an understanding of a CACE narrative can be generated that recognises the potential for:

- community anchors, and networks of community anchors, in working as local

¹⁵⁰ Note: there are many ways that the state, the social economy and the private sector could work to tackle poverty, as a minimum or baseline requirement relative to genuine, early steps towards greater economic and social inequality: through investment in (and regulation of) economic development, employment and training; housing, welfare provision, and extension of public and community services; and local economic development and community building. Yet, currently, it would seem that it is the state's ability to manage, direct and re-distribute the flows of finance through the economic workings of the nation state that plays a fundamental role here in creating the necessary conditions from which others can build; see, for instance, Cumbers and McMaster's (2012) indication of the role of the state in developing an 'employer as last resort' programme.

community-led economic and social development ‘agencies’ – across the matrix of local community diversity;

- partnership-working with both the public and private sectors but, which, if it is to impact on economic and social inequalities and uneven development, must recognise the crucial role for the state as well as that of the community sector; and
- local economic development – as a prioritising of local community-owned enterprise, networks and finance, in particular, as well as more generally locally-owned business and self-employment.

In generating these themes, a CACE is drawn further into political economic concerns as relations between the state, the market and the community, and related models of local economic development, as well as into the everyday realities of local economic development for people on-the-ground in communities, who are making it happen and living with its ‘outcomes’.

5.3: Understanding a mutualist social vision and political economic narrative

This section seeks to deepen discussions of the initial CACE narrative generated through consideration of further political economic thought and analysis. Again, the thinking of John Pearce on the social economy, mutualism and a modern mixed economy provide a crucial starting point, but this is added to and developed through use of David Harvey’s (2009 [1973]) discussion of ‘modes of economic integration’. In the process, further substance and form are given to a CACE, in particular in relation to constructions of the state and the market in readiness for broader political economic debate. The section thus takes in the following discussions:

- (5.3.1) A social economy with a democratic and egalitarian ethos
- (5.3.2) Forms of ownership and means of economic coordination within a modern mixed economy
- (5.3.3) Towards a mutualist political economic narrative

5.3.1: A social economy with a democratic and egalitarian ethos

Pearce (2003, 2009), in outlining the three economic systems of a modern mixed economy, as discussed in 1.3.2 and 3.4.4, articulates a particular understanding of the

social economy within a third sector with a focus on, or at least in part on, trading activity. In his most recent thinking (Pearce, 2009), he seeks to explore the ethos of such a social economy and, by implication, his aspirations for a wider third sector. Fundamental is the over-arching principle of ‘working for the common good’; this he defines in relation to a ‘triple-bottom-line’ of being beneficial to: ‘people’, ‘planet’ and ‘local economy’. Five more particular principles are then developed in relation to this, to support further thinking as to the workings of human social systems/institutions and mutualist organisations:

- caring for human resources – for the people working within them and for whom it aims to benefit;
- good governance and accountability – through democratic control and social auditing;
- asset lock and use of profits (surplus) – in which the organisation’s assets and profits are held for the common good, rather than for the reward of individual shareholders;
- cooperation – between third system organisations to support a common purpose; and
- subsidiarity – decisions and actions which are undertaken at the ‘lowest’ possible level.

In relation to a CACE, as initially articulated through the SCA’s thinking, there is significant resonance here: the emphases on asset ownership, subsidiarity, governance and accountability as a ‘community-led practice’, local economy and community are all familiar; whilst cooperation and caring for human resources are easily implied. Ecological concerns for the planet are less overtly stated in the SCA’s thinking on community empowerment (LPL, 2008a), yet there is a significant focus on local sustainable development activity through community renewables, recycling and local environmental management/activity (SCA: 2011a, 2011b). There are, then, clear and strong reasons to hold that Pearce’s thinking on ethos can also usefully inform a CACE narrative; whilst recognising that this is not the only option available.

Pearce (2003), whilst working within the community development tradition, tends not to draw explicitly on a ‘technical’ language of equality and inequality. However, the researcher makes what is held to be a reasonable working assumption that such thinking is nevertheless fundamental to Pearce’s understanding, in part because of his

recognition of the role of socio-economic systems or a structural analysis, as per 1.2.1, and as recognisable too from his model of a modern mixed economy, a precursor to developing a 'structural analysis'. It is therefore no surprise to find Pearce writing (2003: 54):

Mutualisation should not just be about delivering services but about developing a genuinely different way of organising the wider economy, indeed a different 'mode of production' (his inverted commas).

Secondly, the working assumption is made, in part, because on occasion he is explicit about the importance of class and other dimensions of equality/inequality: Pearce, for instance, seeks to root the social economy in a practice of economic democracy, but one he now fears is under threat as the thinking of business schools on social enterprise is seemingly taking over from that of community activism and political engagement (2009:30) In his vision, he points to a social economy drawing from the development of cooperatives in the second half of the nineteenth century:

The roots of community enterprise were traced back at least to the Rochdale Pioneers and to the aspirations that ordinary working people should have greater control over their lives and be able to challenge successfully the power both of the state and of the private sector. (2009: 30-31)

In talking of 'ordinary working people', Pearce suggests a strong concern for the rights of working class people and communities by putting their concerns, interests and active participation at the heart of his social vision. Further, and although not a theme he considers in depth in his discussion of the values of the social economy, he argues explicitly for the recognising and valuing of human diversity by actively supporting an 'inclusivity':

Organisations within the social economy will ensure that all persons in their constituency have an equal right and equal opportunity to participate without discrimination as to race, gender, sexual orientation, ability, religion, political belief and/or social and economic disadvantage. Social economy organisations should be concerned also to respect and safeguard human diversity and recognise the fundamental basic rights to adequate food, shelter, health,

Pearce, thus, presents a narrative on the social economy which has a decisively ‘political edge’ to it; hence his generation of a manifesto for social enterprise (Pearce, 2003) and concern for a ‘social economy party’ to advocate for the interests of the social economy (Pearce, 2009). This researcher, therefore, argues for a positioning of such a central narrative of a ‘working for the common good’ as lying within a democratic and egalitarian tradition: egalitarian in that all people are held to be of equal moral or social worth; whilst noting that there is potential for significant variation within egalitarian thinking too, for instance, in relation to opportunities and outcomes (Painter, 2009)¹⁵¹. Further, democratic and egalitarian practices cannot simply be assumed to be an aspiration for all third sector, not-for-profit organisations, but must be shown to be through and within their practices; some will doubtless lack such a commitment¹⁵².

Pearce’s wider social vision of a democratic and egalitarian social economy provides, then, a valuable narrative to interweave within a CACE, of a mutualist variety, in order to provide further substance for discussion, interpretation and analysis within this thesis. A CSTP cannot, however, be solely focused on one particular theoretical perspective but must draw more widely both to understand broader political economic discussions and to provide further theoretical context for particular discussion of a CACE. Ridley-Duff & Bull (2011: 91), for instance, develop a discussion of a range of ethical theorising that may be relevant to the activities of social enterprises; with the principle of ‘working for the common good’ suggested as a utilitarian-type ethical theory of ‘greatest good for the greatest number’. There is substantial scope for deepening understanding of a CACE within a range of wider debates and alternatives across theory and practice. This is beyond the scope of this thesis, but in recognising a CACE narrative as working within such a wider CSTP, the aspiration is being recognised; while the articulation of such a CACE is understood as a starting point rather than the

¹⁵¹ Note: Painter (2009) describes the diversity of egalitarian thinking as it takes different forms in relation to different types of potential equality: for instance, outcome-related, opportunity-related, before the law, before God, and so on.

¹⁵² Note: for instance, many organisations gain charitable status and so *might* be understood as third sector organisations but would be hard pressed to justify themselves in egalitarian terms; fee-charging private schools for instance. Similarly, many private membership societies – elite, (some) professional, or ‘male only’ for instance – might be understood as representing a community of interest but not from within an egalitarian or democratic ethos or tradition.

‘finished article’.

5.3.2: Forms of ownership and means of coordination within a modern mixed economy

Whilst a weaving together of a CACE narrative and a social economic vision and ethos provides further substance and direction to the former, it is Pearce’s three systems of a modern mixed economy (1.3.3), that is the public, private and third sectors, that begins to support a theoretical engagement with the political economic theorising outlined in 1.3.5. It is important to recognise that each of the three sectors has considerable diversity of organisation and most likely ethos, for instance as: a large multinational charity or NGO, as opposed to a community organisation; a local micro-business/family business, as opposed to a global multinational corporate; the central state, transnational public institutions and town councils. Yet, there is a working assumption that the type of ownership and related decision-making process – whether public, private or social/community forms of ownership – will generate organisations representing distinctive interest groups and generating distinctive longer-term strategies. Here too, however, there is scope for different types of ownership and decision-making within these three broad sectors: Ridley-Duff & Bull (2011) identify different types of cooperative organisations – worker cooperatives, consumer cooperatives and multi-stakeholder cooperatives; whilst different third sector and community organisations will seek to represent different communities of interest – with potential for both cooperation *and* conflict between such different communities of interest.

Whilst Pearce’s modern mixed economy does not immediately engage with the dynamics of power within the nation state, and there is no initial attempt to articulate the relative power of each of these three broad sector, for instance as share of GDP or relative to Giddens’ discussion of allocative and authoritative resources (1.3.3/2.2.3), it does lay the ground for such discussion. There is an implication that the three sectors are inter-dependent, but Pearce’s model also implies a concern for a wider range of forms ownership than the focus of a neo-liberal market economy on the private sector, and in particular the corporate private sector. Here David Harvey’s (1973 [2009]) discussion of the development of ‘modes of economic integration’, or means of economic coordination, helps to focus on considerations as to why such an inter-

dependence has not led to a more equitable sharing of power and resources across society.

Harvey, by providing a historical account of the development of industrial and then financial capitalism from medieval western European feudal societies, illustrates the development of a capitalist market as the dominant mode of production¹⁵³, with the state and ‘community’ as other modes of production that are generally subservient to capitalism, but also potentially in conflict with it. To achieve this, he draws, in particular, from the work of economic historian¹⁵⁴ Karl *Polanyi* (citing Polanyi, 1968), who outlines three basic modes of economic integration, each relating to a particular mode of production, as follows:

(1) Reciprocity (community/social capital) – and an ‘egalitarian’¹⁵⁵ social structure: transferring of good, services and favours through social bond – originally as kinship – social custom and mutual exchange resulting in some ‘fair’ distribution and ‘egalitarian’ social structure; as found in early human communities and still existing today in modern capitalist economies in attenuated forms: for instance, in working class communities where the income from employment is insufficient, and people ‘get by’ via a mix of social bonds – such as through family, local community and wider social solidarity.

(2) Redistribution (the state) – and rank society: a centralised authority or state for redistributing resources, with a power based on status and maintained by ideology and/or threatened or actual coercion; and which results in either a rank and/or stratified society where a likely small elite in authority gain and sustain control over significant levels of resources. Societies where an early form of the state has developed are held to

¹⁵³ Note: Harvey (2009 [1973]: 199-200) argues that the dominant mode of production of *any* society can be understood through attention to: “*those elements, activities and social relationships which are necessary to produce and reproduce real (material) life.*” Broadly, any mode of production is understood to have three elements relating to the control of resources, fixed capital and labour.

¹⁵⁴ Note: it may be hard to categorise the nature of Polanyi’s thinking simply under one label: economic, historical, political, socialist and so on. The Karl Polanyi Institute’s introduction to his life and work emphasises the economic and economic historical nature of his work and various other links to the labour movement, anti-fascism, Christian Left and a democratic socialism (Karl Polanyi Institute, 2002; see too, Peck, 2008).

¹⁵⁵ Note: some caution is needed in relation to how ‘egalitarian’ is being interpreted here, as it would seem to signify that the mode of socio-economic exchange is one of a ‘general reciprocity’ which all can participate in and benefit from, and in the process sustain a certain social position of ‘equal-ness’. It should not be assumed, however, that it is being used in either the more culturally specific way it was noted in relation to ‘working for the common good’ in 5.2.2 above, or more generally in contemporary societies.

show such a pattern, although it continues as a mode of production in modern capitalist (and modern statist¹⁵⁶) societies as the modern state or nation state. Redistribution can be used to suggest a redistribution of resources and/or power in some moral, ethical or ‘progressive’ sense, perhaps as social justice or tackling inequality, but this cannot be assumed to be the case; certainly not historically, but even within a modern state the uses of public spending are many and, of course, not necessarily aimed at re-distributing to those on low-incomes.¹⁵⁷

(3) *Market exchange (the market) – and class stratified society*: arising initially in Britain from the early 1700s, here a price-fixing mechanism within ‘self-regulating’ markets/market – in the sense of not needing immediate control from the state or ‘external body’, rather than being without any regulation or control – coordinates economic activity and in the process and over time generates a society stratified by the effects of such activity, as the socio-economic classes within a capitalist society.

Harvey argues that these three modes of economic integration exist within capitalist society, but that capitalist market exchange is the dominant force. In effect, there is a capitalist mode of production which sustains/reproduces itself and in the process generating a super-structure of political, legal and social structures that are needed to sustain such a reproduction: society becomes structured into those who control the capital and those who provide labour – socio-economic stratification. The other two modes of production are dominated by and supportive of this capitalist mode of production; particularly in relation to its fundamental weakness, that the stratification produced generates a society of inequality, with many in poverty, and so the potential for conflict between the socio-economic classes. The on-going relationship between the three modes of economic integration can, therefore, be seen as necessarily involving either conflict or suppressed conflict, and with cooperation or complementarity necessarily being on an ‘unequal footing’.

¹⁵⁶ Note: Harvey points to state socialist societies/statist societies, which were considerably more in number at the time of original writing in 1970s, as using centralised and decentralised planning strategies to coordinate economic development, but doesn’t specifically discuss their relationship to a redistributive mode of economic integration and related rank social structure, although the link would *seem* to be clear.

¹⁵⁷ Note: as discussed in section 1.4.3 and 1.4.4, the middle class(es) would seem to benefit considerably more from the welfare state than the working class(es); likewise support for the business and private sector from the state, particularly within the neo-liberal state as public spending to pump-prime and carry the financial risks of economic development, will be considerable too.

Re-positioning such thinking within the more exploratory framework of structuration theory, the following will be recognised as working assumptions by the researcher:

Modes of economic integration or means of economic coordination: these three forms, as ‘market exchange’ or the market, ‘redistribution’ or the state, and reciprocity or community/reciprocity – or perhaps social capital – are potentially valuable narratives that provide a short-hand for the complexity of socio-economic systems at work within the nation state, and which can support further discussion of a modern mixed economy.

The dominance of capitalism: Giddens’ (1984) thinking on the conflicted nature of the relationship between the nation state and a capitalist market – or broader still, the world order of nation states and global capitalist markets – provides a narrative that supports discussion of conflicts between the state and the market. The recognition of neo-liberalism and neo-Keynesian thinking as two distinctive responses, if not necessarily the only responses, to the relations between state and market, as outlined in 1.3.5, suggests that the current dominance of a neo-liberal capitalism is one in which the interests of the market, private ownership, are being further enabled by the state, and also community/reciprocity.

The interweaving of the social and the economic: the researcher is not seeking simply to reduce ‘the social’ to the role of a super-structure in which conflicts between modes of production and economic class are played out. Nevertheless, the interweaving of the social and the economic is recognised, particularly as socio-economic class, and as one that impacts on life chances and social outcomes: for instance, Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett’s (2009) extensive evidence base on the social outcomes for society as a whole illustrates strongly the power of greater equality and related changes in social status in generating better social outcomes for the whole. Similarly, Tim Jackson’s (2009) discussion, of the increasing levels of anxiety/depression in developed countries, again seeks to link the economic and the social: this time through a consumerism that seeks to take advantage of our concerns for social status and yet, given economic inequality and the dynamic nature of such consumerism, cannot reassure ‘us’ for long, if at all. There is, then, a working assumption that the social systems of the nation state bring together the social and the economic, both as process and likely outcome, and so should be recognised as ‘socio-economic systems’; although this is not to assert a

completely prescriptive or deterministic understanding of such systems in advance of actual and on-going human social practices.

From within a modern mixed economy, the dynamics of power, and the entwined economic and social processes and outcomes – and in fact ecological processes and outcomes too, but which are not explored within this thesis – can then be further explored through ownership and related decision-making, understood as private, public and social/community; and also through means of economic coordination, broadly understood as market, state and community/reciprocity; whilst recognising the potential for a diversity in the social (and political) construction of these types of ownership and means of economic coordination.

5.3.3: Towards a mutualist political economic narrative

Too such thinking on the social economy (5.3.1) and modes of economic coordination (5.3.2) can now also be added Pearce's (2003, 2009) discussions of a mutualist political economy. Pearce, whilst recognising the third sector and social economy as currently playing a supporting or subservient role to the private and public sectors, asserts that they have the potential to play the leading role in society; in fact a "*making mutual dominant*" (2003:58). This, then, is social change, with an aspiration to shift from a capitalist society to a mutualist one and, as quoted in 5.3.1, "*a genuinely different way of organising the wider economy, indeed a different 'mode of production'*" (2003: 54).

In arguing for a different set of relationships between the three sectors, Pearce begins to outline the initial steps the state could take in order to support the development of the third sector and social economy:

- an extensive network of local, regional and national infrastructure to support development;
- policy and guidance within the nation state – including an appropriate definition of social enterprise and models of organisational development that bring together the business, and relevant and distinctive legislation;
- the right investment system(s) of recoverable grants, 'patient' capital, and mutual banks, run by the sector itself;
- a social enterprise regulator that would cover both social enterprises and mutuals, with those registered with the regulator accessing "*fiscal and other*

benefits” (Pearce, 2003: 119);¹⁵⁸ and

- a compulsory social accounting system – a triple bottom-line of social, environmental and financial auditing¹⁵⁹ – and for all sectors, private, public and third.

Pearce terms this a shift to a ‘mutual state’, drawing from the work of Ed Mayo & Henrietta Moore, 2001¹⁶⁰; although the latter’s work is focused more particularly on a public sector reform, whereas Pearce is concerned more broadly for the roles of the state and the third sector across the workings of the nation state as a whole. It would seem useful, then, to talk of Pearce’s aspirational mutualism as seeking a ‘mutualist state’¹⁶¹, and this also implies an aspiration for further mutualisation of the third sector itself – most likely in the broad sense of democratic governance and an egalitarian sense of purpose; and also, although he doesn’t explicitly write of this, a ‘mutualist market’, constructed around ‘mutualist’ interests and values, and supporting trading or market exchange on ‘mutualist’ terms of engagement.

Although highly aspirational, Pearce is not alone in asking such questions: for instance, Ridley-Duff & Bull (2011), although presenting a broad perspective on social enterprise theory and practice, clearly aspire to a growing social economy (2011: 247-251); while Dan Gregory (2012), too, ponders as to the nature, and likelihood, of a ‘cooperative market economy’; and Robin Murray (2012) considers the potential for a rejuvenated cooperative sector given a shift from mass production (‘Fordism’) to a more flexible, (‘post-Fordist’) knowledge-based economy. However, the current social reality is that despite mutual and cooperative organisations currently growing in the face of the economic depression since the financial crisis in 2008 – with Ed Mayo (2013) from Cooperatives UK arguing that the sector has grown by 19.5% since 2008 in contrast to

¹⁵⁸Note: for instance in relation to company taxation, national insurance, VAT, rates relief (local business taxes), flexible/generous welfare benefits (to support social enterprise start-ups), asset transfer, public procurement; and also benefits related to charitable status.

¹⁵⁹Note: and even a *quadruple* bottom line that considers cultural impacts too.

¹⁶⁰Note: Mayo and Moore were researching for the New Economics Foundation and focused on public sector reform, and an increasing role for mutualism and citizen participation – as ‘co-production’ – in partnership with the state. The report has a foreword by Patricia Hewitt MP, then Secretary of State for Trade and Industry within the New Labour UK Government, suggesting a certain relevance to and relative compatibility with then Government policy.

¹⁶¹Note: ‘mutualist’, and so ‘mutualist state’, may not yet appear within official usage and definitions of English, carry the meaning intended here, but in suggesting a contrast to the ‘capitalist state’ – and with an emphasis on sharing benefits and risks, inter-dependence, and a democratic and accountable practice – this would seem an appropriate usage within this thesis.

the 1.7% shrinkage of the UK economy as a whole¹⁶² – the scope of mutual and cooperative ownership relative to the size of UK GDP is very limited; given as 1% (Dobson, 2011) to 2% (Ownership Commission, 2012). Talk, then, of a ‘dominant mutualism’ would seem, currently, greatly optimistic.

Pearce’s mutualist political economic narrative should not be considered a fully-developed political economic theory, yet, it raises valuable questions for those concerned for the social economy and for a CACE. Pearce (2003), himself, is far from unaware of the ‘distance-to-travel’ towards a dominant mutualism, and seeks to challenge the third sector and social economy to discuss if they seek a ‘reformers’ path’, understood as seeing the role of the third sector as one that is to be merely supportive of the public and private sectors; or a ‘radicals’ path’, seeking social change towards a dominant mutualism, and willing to challenge the solely supportive role being presented to it by the state and the market. Whilst there is a danger of the preferred vision and the strategy to work towards vision becoming confused here, and likewise an over simplification by limiting discussion to two options only, such thinking does raise crucial questions about the role of the third sector relative to public and private sectors and, more generally, the state and the market. For instance, the third sector role relative to public sector reform, and its attitude to public service mutuals, and to partnership building with the corporate private sector at national and global levels in support of a social investment market, as outlined in 3.4.4.

Moreover, it suggests that a CACE, as a mutualist CACE, faces significant and challenging questions as it seeks to sustain a relevant social vision of a democratic and egalitarian ‘working for the common good’ through the tangled political economic ‘realities’ of the neo-liberal nation state. Further, there are global dimensions to such political economic context too, with Harvey (2011) – as outlined in 1.3.5 – describing a global capitalism that seeks a 3% global rate of growth sustained through exploitation of the workforce and more generally the working class; communities dispossessed (globally) of their assets and local resources in order to support a capitalist production; and the planet’s necessarily constrained eco-systems. The challenge that Harvey articulates is a global shift of economic production and control to one that benefits all

¹⁶² Note: similarly the Plunkett Foundation’s (2013) report on the growing numbers of community-owned village shops – from 23 in 1993 to 303 in 2013, and with 141 developed from 2007-12, and with 197 more shops in the pipeline – points to their resilience. None were closed during 2012 and only 13 have closed in the period since 1992 when records began.

people, rather than one or more particular socio-economic classes.

The impacts of globalisation can feel far distant from the day-to-day practices of the community sector yet, as becomes clearer through discussion of the case-study material in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, the impacts of the market are always close at hand. MacKinnon et al. (2013) argue for a range of impacts through globalisation on communities and within communities through: uneven developments within the nation state; the variability of the labour market conditions within and across communities; and the diverse responses of communities to such challenges. Sustaining a genuinely mutualist ethos would seem to require attention and commitment to the fate of others within the nation state and across the planet, and to that of future generations.

5.4: Recognising the neo-liberal challenge

Having established a CACE narrative in relation to various component narratives – community empowerment, community anchors, social economy, mutualism, forms of ownership and economic coordination – there is an opportunity to look in greater detail at the political economic challenges that such a CACE faces, and which are likely relevant, more generally, to a CSTP. This is undertaken, firstly, by drawing on the ambiguity that both John Pearce (2003, 2009) and Allan Cochrane (2007) highlight for a community sector, social economy and third sector when operating within a neo-liberal state. And secondly, by examining briefly how two others, Phillip Blond and The Jimmy Reid Foundation, are seeking a shift from the current neo-liberal dominance through a different distribution of social, private and public ownership, and relation between the state, the market and community/reciprocity.

The discussion takes the following course:

- (5.4.1) Compromise, ‘community management’ and alternative spaces
- (5.4.2) Seeking alternatives to neo-liberal dominance

5.4.1: *Compromise, ‘community management’ and alternative spaces*

The construction of a CACE, with a social vision of ‘working for the common good’ and a mutualist political economic narrative, generates a crucial tension as to how

'things' can be taken forward 'effectively', given the current political economic context and the constraints it generates. Pearce puts it more passionately, and more starkly:

Come and mop up the problems of society, deal with the disadvantaged, create employment in poor rundown areas, tackle social exclusion and everything else. The dilemma for social enterprise radicals is the age-old one of how to retain the ideals while working in compromising contexts; there can be no survival without compromise. (2003:10)

Allan Cochrane's (2007) discussion of urban social policy recognises too the tensions when 'community' and neo-liberal policy-making tangle. As already noted in 3.2, Cochrane points to the politically-constructed nature of community, particularly in relation to policy-making, and as noted in 4.2.1, he also argues that the focus on 'community' – as the third sector and community organisations such as development trusts – by the New Labour UK Government serves its neo-liberal policy intentions, in particular as welfare reform and urban regeneration, rather than the community sector's own aspirations. Yet, he also points to 'community' as a continuing source of oppositional activity and as a generator of alternatives. His discussion suggests two particular tensions for a CACE, being given a 'community management' role and being 'constrained by a neo-liberal dominance', and they are considered in turn below.

(1) *'Community management'*: Cochrane (2007) describes the development of a managerial approach taken to urban regeneration by the state in recent decades. Whilst the neo-liberal state will be focused on competitiveness and support for the private sector and the market (enabling the market), including out-sourcing of public sector roles, place-making and sustainability, it has involved policy narratives of reducing the size of the state, in effect the welfare state, including through a focus on welfare-into-work; and of the managing of (urban) communities struggling with the impacts of structural inequalities. The approaches Cochrane critiques include:

- *an urban managerialism and professionalism*: partnership-working and area-based approaches that draw on a professionalisation of roles, the use of targets and technical language.
- *'community' as a policy tool for promoting and implementing UK Government welfare reform*: focused on themes of: (i) the 're-moralising' of working class,

deprived communities that emphasises a ‘taking of responsibility’; (ii) the use of social capital to support welfare reform/welfare-into-work; (iii) and an emphasis on the role of the third sector.

- *the managing of ‘disorderly’ places*: through technology, e.g. CCTV, and policy and related managerial strategies, e.g. ASBOs¹⁶³ and ‘zero tolerance’ policing; and a focusing on the ‘defending’ of places/society from ‘dangerous people’ rather than on seeking structural change.

Broadly-speaking, Cochrane can be understood to be arguing that the neo-liberal state seeks to support market-driven strategies which inevitably enrich some communities of interest and place, but from which there is a consequential growing inequality across society/nation state; expressed as socio-economic deprivation in other communities of interest and place, particularly those relating to working class and BME (black and minority ethnic) identities. These latter communities must be managed, says neo-liberal based thinking, if they are not only to support market-focused economic growth, but not become ‘disorderly’ or ‘dangerous’ – through social unrest and/or community oppositional activity.

The researcher therefore adopts here the term ‘community management’ as a general term for this seeking to manage communities made vulnerable by socio-economic context, rather than to seek change to the socio-economic systems of the nation state. Such a community management, therefore, provides an alternative potential interpretation of the role of ‘community’ in current policy-making to that presented by what could be termed a naïve version of communitarianism; and in so doing raises challenging questions for a CACE and the community ownership tradition, see 3.4.2, in which it is positioned within this thesis.

(2) *Challenging neo-liberal dominance*: Cochrane (2007), in noting such a dominance within the UK nation and globally, points to the sheer extent to which funding, investment and policy development by the neo-liberal state provide the context within which practitioners, professional, activists and their organisations practice; all needing to re-work their thinking and practices, over time, to fit with the state’s priorities in order to survive and perhaps develop. Cochrane, however, sustains a certain optimism

¹⁶³ Note: Anti-Social Behaviour Orders.

that ‘community’ can be the site not only of co-option by the state but of oppositional activity and a certain level of development of collective alternatives:

The challenge remains, of course, how to bring together the small scale acts of contestation and more positive negotiation in ways than can bring more extensive change – mechanisms that might make it possible to enable a fuller vision of social justice to be achieved than the conditional and stunted form promised through the pursuit of social exclusion or ‘respect’ agendas.
(2007:147)

This theme is not developed further into a fuller sense of a theory and practice, so it is not possible to tell whether Cochrane sees the potential for community ownership, community anchors and mutualism to be one focus for such collective alternatives and perhaps social change; Ridley-Duff & Bull (2011), for instance, note at times a divide between those asserting a collective and public ownership and those a common and community ownership. But the researcher *will* adopt the term ‘alternative economic and social space’ to hold a *broad suggestion of opportunities* to explore and develop social/community and collective/public forms of ownership.

These two broad concerns/narratives, drawn from Cochrane’s thinking, can be used to ask useful questions of a CACE, and indeed more generally of a CSTP. They can deepen Pearce’s own narrative as to the dilemmas of compromise with the state, by illustrating just how dominating the neo-liberal narrative of the state has become; as per 2.2.3 and Lukes’ (1974) understanding of power as shaping dialogue and expectation. Compromise, in various and even many forms, as suggested by Pearce, seems inevitable – if provisionally so – and, in particular, as is likely with community anchors, where a community management role is the focus of state policy and funding. Yet, neither Pearce nor Cochrane are arguing that ‘all is lost’: both would indicate that ‘community’ does provide space for both oppositional activity and the development of alternatives; and both are arguing for the development of ‘alternative space’ to continue such work. Thus, a CSTP, and more generally community sector dialogues and community-wide dialogues, can and should be key elements in that process; and ‘community ownership’ can be understood as one narrative that can be used to seek to assert and define such an ‘alternative space’.

5.4.2: Seeking alternatives to neo-liberal dominance

Discussion of the severe constraints, obligations and compromises placed on the community sector by Scottish and UK variants of a neo-liberal state begs the question as to what alternatives to mainstream neo-liberal thinking are currently active within mainstream, or relatively mainstream policy dialogue, *and* within which the community sector can be said to have a certain prominence. Two such options are briefly considered here:

Firstly, the work of Phillip Blond, and that of the ResPublica think-tank of which he is the director, provide valuable contrast to that of Pearce, given Blond's similar emphasis on mutualism, civic association and co-ownership. Blond (2010a, 2010b) writes of a 'Red Toryism' that combines an economic equity and a social conservatism, through a shifting away from the dominance of both state and neo-liberal marketization, towards a re-moralising of the market, down-sizing of the state and civic renewal. He describes this as a 'post-liberalism', and a shift away from an individualism dominant since the 1960s from both the political right and left – the 'New Right' and 'New Left'.

Blond's thinking is broad, and he argues from a narrative of 'radical economic egalitarianism' (Blond & Milburn, 2010) that includes supporting the economic development or re-capitalisation of people on low-incomes (Wyler & Blond, 2010). For instance, and as discussed in 4.2.3., ResPublica has supported research that seeks to advocate for local economic development and the role of the community sector and community anchors (Duncan & Thomas, 2012; Dobson, 2013). Yet, he also positions his thinking within a narrative of social conservatism and concern for a 'breakdown Britain' (Blond, 2010a; 2010b), with the inherent dangers within such a policy narrative, as discussed in 3.4.3, of a failure to position social problems first and foremost within understandings of structural inequality; and thus allow for potential explanations and 'solutions' via an individualising and 'pathologising' (Mooney 2009, 2010a). Surprisingly, too, Blond is sceptical of ecological concerns, recognising the value to people of the environment but not the possibility of some greater ecological crisis (Blond, 2010a).

Although Blond and ResPublica work with an eclectic range of partners, and find political allies from centre-right and centre-left, Blond is closely networked – and openly so – with the Conservative Party and understood as one of the architects of The

Big Society (TBS) (2010a, 2010b, 2010c). It is important to recognise, then, that he is part of the Conservative 'one nation tradition' and sees TBS and Prime Minister David Cameron's leadership as a fundamental opportunity for not only social reform but reform of the Conservative Party (Blond, 2010d). He discusses his thinking in relation to the UK Coalition Government's policy focus on 'austerity' and cuts in real terms in state spending. He calls for a shift in state spending from the middle classes to the working classes, but not through increasing levels of welfare benefits but rather through shifting the focus of the benefit system – via universal credit – to make sure 'work always pays' more than being on benefits; and through an understanding of TBS where people are generating employment through their own local initiatives (Blond, 2010b). He has also argued that new approaches to welfare and provision of services are needed to reduce the relative levels of public expenditure, given an ageing population and similar approaches and concerns in other developed nations; here, the community and third sectors have key roles in the provision of public services and in making them more cost efficient roles (Blond, 2010c).

Given this closeness to current policy-makers, tracking the twists and turns of Blond's thinking in the face of the Coalition UK Government's own political and policy dynamics is complex: for instance, by the end of 2012 Blond (2012) is having grave doubts as to both the effectiveness of TBS and Coalition UK Government economic policy in relation to its strategy for deficit reduction, in particular public spending cuts aimed at drastic reductions in local government expenditure, and a perceived loss of a 'one nation' theme within Coalition thinking. Nevertheless, sufficient becomes clear to aid further reflection on the relationship between mutualism, the state and political economy and, in particular, to recognise that Blond's mutualist and social conservative thinking has both commonalities and contrasts to that of Pearce: commonalities in drawing from egalitarian thinking, at least in some form, and a commitment to local economic and social development and the role of the third sector within this; and contrasts in that his social conservatism that would seem ill-fitting with Pearce's structural explanations for economic and social inequality. Whilst Blond would seem to be actively concerned to constrain the role of the state and a certain reform of the workings of the capitalist market, Pearce is arguably more concerned for a wider reconstruction of the market, although he provides only a limited explanation of the size of the state and its functioning within a modern mixed economy. For those advocating generally for a mutualism, there are then still crucial debates and likely contested areas

in relation to the workings of the socio-economic systems of the nation state within a global economy, and in particular the role and nature of the state itself – differences of political economic aspiration and understanding.

The second example further highlights the potential for political economic differences when considering mutualism. As already noted in 1.3.5, the recent work of The Jimmy Reid Foundation (2013) on a developing political economic narrative of the ‘Common Weal’ generates a potential Scottish ‘Nordic Model’¹⁶⁴ that points towards a social democratic-type state, some say a ‘social democracy plus’, with:

- a fairer tax system¹⁶⁵ with which to develop public services and a universalist welfare state;
- a national investment bank, and use of state procurement, to support industrial development and diversification of domestic ownership of the economy; and
- participatory democratic approaches to government and the economy, with a key role for trade unions.

This developing of a *domestic ownership* includes medium-sized private sector companies¹⁶⁶, social enterprises and cooperatives, and public enterprises. There is an implied neo-Keynesianism approach, given the active role of the state in economic and industrial strategy, as well as public sector investment and a strong welfare state; seemingly not dissimilar to the stakeholder neo-Keynesian economic and social

¹⁶⁴ Note: the model is discussed specifically in terms of a Scottish state rather than a UK state; although there is recognition that this might be following further devolution within the UK state rather than as an independent Scottish state. Recognising that the experiences of the Nordic countries and other northern central European countries are varied, it presents a Scottish interpretation or re-interpretation of them. Some commentators have noted that the Nordic countries have moved significantly since their social democratic heyday in the 1970s to their own form of neo-liberalism. For instance, economist Kathleen Thelen (2013) argues that the Scandinavian states and the Netherlands have adopted a variant of economic liberalisation that she calls ‘socially embedded flexibalisation’. This involves a more flexible, market-focused economic approach – moving away from the coordinated German-style of capitalism – but held within a wider collective framework and social investment aimed at making the labour market work for a much wider range of people across society (Paxton, 2013).

¹⁶⁵ Note: in a discussion paper for the Jimmy Reid Foundation, Danson, McFarlane & Sullivan (2013) outline proposals on taxation for a Scottish state aiming to follow a Nordic model, with a medium-term aim of raising the earning levels of those currently in low paid employment or unemployed, and thus increasing the tax base and so the state’s spending power, whilst lowering the draw on some forms of benefit payment too, a ‘pre-distribution’ strategy. In the longer-term expectations would be that the lowering of levels of income inequality across society would bring benefits for health and well-being, as per Wilkinson & Pickett (2009), and the experience of a more effective welfare state would generate further support for increased levels of taxation, as per the Scandinavian states.

¹⁶⁶ Note: the German ‘Mittelstand’ of medium-sized, often family-run businesses in the south-west of the country with a focus on industrial and manufacturing production for export, is given as an example of such domestic, privately-owned business.

approaches proposed by Will Hutton (2011), as 1.3.5.; or what Tim Jackson (2009) terms the ‘coordinated market economies’ of continental Europe, giving Germany and Denmark as examples. The lack of emphasis on ecological constraints would seemingly limit common cause with a steady-state political economy, as per Tim Jackson’s (2009) consideration of a steady-state political economy; although there is common ground in relation to concerns for development of renewables, a leading macro-economic and welfare role for the state, and the development of the social economy.¹⁶⁷

The Jimmy Reid Foundation is also concerned for a democratic renewal of the local state (Bort, McAlpine & Morgan, 2012), in particular through a decentralisation of the state to local municipal decision-making bodies; although not necessarily accompanied by a similar decentralisation of the local authority/public sector organisational structures. As an extension to such thinking, Mike Danson & Geoff Whittam’s (2010) – Danson is noted as a contributor to the Common Weal project (Gordon, 2013) – discussions of social enterprise, and its relations to regeneration and tackling poverty, recognise its emergence over a time of change from a Keynesian social democratic model to that of a neo-liberal market focused model since the 1980s, as per 3.4.4. Yet they recognise too the *theoretical* potential of social enterprises, working with a ‘triple bottom line’ and of local democratic governance, to support the development of social capital and, further, a wider ‘embryonic local economic system’ and ‘inter-related system of neighbourhoods’. They note, too, tensions within current practice for social enterprises given the need to compete with each other and so likely a concentration of the sector into larger social enterprises, and the potential for low levels of wages within the sector.

The Common Weal project, seen in this light, carries definite shades of Pearce’s (2003) social economy and, similarly of Julian Dobson’s (2013) local economic development, as per 4.2.3. Yet, by positioning a commitment to the social economy, social and community ownership, and local economic and social development within a wider

¹⁶⁷ Note: potentially there are certain elements of neo-liberal thinking too given the emphasis on the development of a strong manufacturing/industrial sector with the potential to generate significant income from a highly-competitive and strategic approach to export trade – as with Germany and its Mittelstand. However, and crucially, it is how this is implemented and the terms of trade with other countries that would be of concern here. Both neo-Keynesian and steady-state political economic thinking needs to incorporate exporting/importing too, although the latter would likely seek less reliance on such trading given the high energy usage, and carbon generating costs, associated with transportation.

vision of political economy and change in the workings of socio-economic systems, a contrasting vision to that of Phillip Blond becomes apparent. Here the active role of the state in diversification of ownership, investment in economic development, ‘investment’ in people across the whole of society through welfare and a drive to tackle inequality is apparent; and it would seem to integrate the community sector and ‘community’ within its thinking. In so doing, it could offer an alternative vision of the relationship between state and third sector, perhaps as an activist state and a mutualist third sector. It should, of course, be recognised that such a ‘social democracy plus’ has yet to find its way into the mainstream political dialogue through Scotland’s four main political parties.¹⁶⁸

5.5: Concluding thoughts

This chapter has sought to build a narrative of a CACE, as a synthesis from various theorists, and drawn from thinking on community anchors and community empowerment as community sector development, naturally, but also from considerations of the social economy, mutualism, forms of ownership and economic coordination, and political economic theorising. In doing so, and in recognising that this must be held within a CSTP, which must seek to engage broadly with political economic matters, there has been recognition that there is a significant mismatch between the ethos of such a CACE and that of neo-liberal thinking and practice. This generates considerable tensions within CACE as to how to survive and develop within a neo-liberal state, given that it is handed the role of community management in the face of market failures and state withdrawal; whilst at the same seeking to develop a community ownership that can add to alternative economic and social spaces of democratic and egalitarian intent. The brief considerations of alternative political economic thinking, that are more receptive to community sector interests and concerns, illustrates the role of the state as crucial in supporting the community sector to make significant progress, but show such thinking as currently largely outwith mainstream political discussions.

The groundwork has then been laid for further discussions, particularly in Chapter 8 but also in Chapters 6 and 7, of a CACE/CSTP and matters of political economy.

¹⁶⁸ Note: however, a report in the Sunday Herald (20.10.13) (Herald Scotland, 2013) indicated discussion and a certain level of interest in the Common Weal project at the SNP Autumn 2013 conference.

Consideration of the relationship between community anchors and community empowerment, as per RO4, can now be seen in a political economic light too. What can be achieved by community anchors needs to be understood through the commitments and growing aspirations of the community sector, but equally must be understood from the working of the socio-economic systems of the nation state, and beyond, and from related political economic narratives and conflicts. There is, then, a clear implication that community anchors and the community sector must look beyond community empowerment in one place, an area-based regeneration, if they are to seek greater impact on poverty and inequality and further community sector development; a *wider* community empowerment as well as a *local* community empowerment.

Chapter 6: Informing a theory and practice: community anchors as community-led and seeking sustainable independence

6.1: Introduction

This chapter seeks to build from the discussions, in particular in Chapter 4, of a community anchor model and in relation to two of the three key elements of current practice established in 4.3, that of a developing community-led practice and of a developing sustainable independence. Here the researcher draws from the empirical inquiry into the three case-study organisations and their respective communities and from the collective case-study interpretation and analysis across the three, to deepen understanding of these particular practices in relation to a CACE/CSTP.

Relative to the Research Aims and Objectives (RAOs), the chapter seeks to deepen understanding of current practices relevant to a CACE/CSTP as per RO2 but also to position such practices within wider political economic dynamics in relation to state, market and community/reciprocity, as per RO3. In a broader sense, the chapter continues to build an illustration of how community anchors can be understood to be a crucial element in increasing community empowerment, as per RA3/RO4.

The quotes used in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 are not attributed to particular people or types of role in order to support the level of confidentiality and anonymity anticipated whilst the researcher was undertaking field work: see the information provided to research participants in Appendix 2. They are all, however, from activists, volunteers and staff working with/for the community anchor organisations and/or community sector organisations and groups within the three communities; rather than from any of those interviewed who were working outside of these particular local community sectors.

The discussion, interpretation and analysis develop across the sections as follows:

- (6.2) Developing a community-led practice
- (6.3) Developing sustainable independence
- (6.4) Concluding thoughts

6.2: Developing a community-led practice

In 4.3.1, the researcher provided theoretical background and development on a

community-led practice that recognised various layers of activity and context, including:

layers of relevant activity at a local community level: local participatory and grassroots processes; (local) governance of community organisation(s); representative and formal democratic structures for a community as a whole; and community leadership roles across these layers.

dynamics of power within the wider political economic context: in particular in relation to the state and the workings of wider socio-economic systems within the nation state, and which provide the context for understanding the relative power a community can be said to currently have, potentially be developing and/or aiming to develop.

The discussions across this section seek to draw from the case-study material to illustrate and support a developing understanding of the ‘terrain’ of such a community-led practice. However, the particular focus in this section is on deepening understanding of the elements of practice in relation to community anchors, although recognition is given to political economic context; and this is further revealed and considered in 6.3 below.

Abbreviations for the three community organisations were established in 1.4 and are as follows: Govanhill Housing Association (GHHA); Creetown Initiative (CI); and Northmavine Community Development Company (NCDC).

The discussion across this section therefore takes the following course:

- (6.2.1) Grounded in community (1): basic strategies
- (6.2.2) Grounded in community (2): working with community diversity
- (6.2.3) Grounded in community (3): a developing local community sector
- (6.2.4) Community representativeness and leadership
- (6.2.5) Further thinking on a developing community-led practice

6.2.1: Grounded in community (1): basic strategies

Alice Sampson & Max Weaver (2010) in describing the key roles of a community anchor as *attractor* and *connector*, as discussed in 3.3.3, also point to the importance of

the claim that such community organisations have ‘their finger on the community pulse’. This, they suggest, requires both local connections of quality and quantity. Metaphors abound relative to a community anchor narrative to describe such a connected-ness including *rooted*, *embedded* (McKee, 2012), *grounded* and indeed *anchored*.

Each of the case-study organisations serves to illustrate a range of activities or strategies to developing such a community grounded-ness, and this has the potential to be thought of as a precursor to a range of local democratic activity or the basic building blocks from which a community anchor can actively support such local democratic activity and, more broadly, community social and economic development.

The case-study material can be used to illustrate three broad types of such activity, which are explored below, and from which a community anchor can ground itself in its locality:

- a facilitative role (1)
- developing community dialogue (2)
- a leadership role – including through service provision (3)

(1) A facilitative role: enabling and/or relationship-building

The focus here is on actively supporting individuals, groups and other community organisations to take forward activities, for instance:

GHHA: in actively working with resident and tenant organisations (RTOs), community-wide groups and community organisations to: form local partnerships for activities; establish funding; establish suitable premises; and support a local community sector forum.

CI: in actively working with a range of local groups to establish a locally-managed multi-purpose playing surface; likewise in supporting the local bowling club with its refurbishment. It has also established a sub-committee for the Balloch Community Woodland Project that brings together a wide range of local people to manage this woodland.

NCDC: in its work with local settlements across Northmavine in establishing a network

of community poly-tunnels, known locally as ‘polycrubs’, and more generally in acting as a focus of support for community groups and local businesses. As one interviewee noted:

I feel the community, I don't know how we've managed without them, and now that they are here, I don't know what we'd do without them. If that makes sense, they're the backbone of Northmavine, that's what's they are.

However, there is also a more general, and patient, process of relationship building which may or may not lead to further action. So each organisation can be seen to be active in local key or community building activities, for instance: GHHA in organising an annual gala; CI in an on-going community arts programme that works with the local primary school, youth clubs and the community as a whole. NCDC previously has focused on community arts, youth work and working with a primary school, but more recently has needed to prioritise community economic development activity to boost its own income-generating capacity; although it continues to sustain relationship-building activity through staff and board members living in the settlements and through its community consultation work.

GHHA has also worked with Assist Social Capital to pilot such a relationship-building and ‘light-touch’ approach (Assist Social Capital, 2012), where the emphasis is on the informal rather than the formally planned, and from which small community projects can be initiated. CI and NCDC are smaller organisations, working in smaller communities, and with almost all staff living locally,¹⁶⁹ and so whilst not a formal part of their strategies, as it is with GHHA, nevertheless likely an active one.

All three organisations also use or support ‘hubs’ to provide focal points: GHHA has worked with the local public sector to establish a Govanhill Service Hub for public and community services, and this provides facilities for community groups, meetings and representative bodies; there are other hubs in the area¹⁷⁰. CI is leading development of a

¹⁶⁹ Note: with a couple of exceptions – and they had other local links – almost all CI and NCDC staff lived locally, whilst GHHA as a larger, professionalised organisation within a much larger urban city/region draws staff more broadly; although as discussed in 6.2.3 below its long-serving staff demonstrate an on-going ‘local commitment’.

¹⁷⁰ Note: there are other likely community hubs within Govanhill: for instance, the Govanhill Baths managed by Govanhill Baths Community Trust (Govanhill Baths Community Trust, 2013) as a well-being centre concerned for social, cultural and built regeneration for the Govanhill community; as well as

suitable community centre or hub via Creetown Building Preservation Trust. Each of the five main settlements in Northmavine has a community hall managed by its own committee, and NCDC is also working to develop a social enterprise/business hub.

(2) Developing and sustaining a community-wide dialogue

Each of the three community organisations also illustrated use of community participation and consultation tools, aimed at supporting community plans and decision-making:

GHHA has used consultation tools – for instance, a conversation café, a wishing tree, a world café – alongside its wider tenant and social surveys, and partnership working with other community organisations including the community council. Further, through its subsidiary Govanhill Community Development Trust (GCDT), it has worked with other local community organisations to establish Govanhill Community Action (GoCA), which brings together a range of organisations and groups from the local community sector for dialogue and actions.

CI has organised community-wide consultations and surveys on particular projects including the development of a community hall/hub (SCDC, n.d.), community surveys on transport needs and plans, and recently on its plans for a community-owned micro-hydro scheme (CI, 2014b: 10-14). One interviewee, commenting on the latter, noted:

... and one of them (criteria for Forestry Commission Scotland support) is like community engagement or something along those lines, as we have to do a formal ballot and we have to get over 50% of the community saying they will support it¹⁷¹. So at the end of all that we'll know if the community wants it or not; and if they don't want it then they don't want it. But you've got to do it to find out.

NCDC developed a community development plan across a range of key themes¹⁷² in

more generally a range of community centres for communities of interest and general use, managed by community organisations and the public sector.

¹⁷¹ Note: in this case 50% of the community are required to take part in the ballot, and a majority of these to vote in favour.

¹⁷² Note: 'development priorities' within the Plan (Northmavine Development Company, 2005) are given as: promotion (of the community); housing; business and industry; tourism; transport; environment; crofting and fishing; young people; arts and crafts; culture and heritage; health and care.

2005, which is adjusted through on-going consultations via a newsletter and local meetings, and which continues to form a backdrop to the organisation's business plan.

Each then illustrates how wider discussion can then be generated on key issues or a community plan; Neilston Development Trust, as part of partnership-working with East Renfrewshire Council, has established a Town Charter and 20 year development plan which is part of the supplementary guidance attached to the Local Development Plan (McKendry, 2010).

(3) Leading role in community development and service provision

All three organisations demonstrated taking leadership and project management-type roles in relation to particular community social and economic development projects, for example:

GHHA and its subsidiaries have supported a variety of community development work, including that related to community enterprise development, and a tenement backcourts development programme – with local residents, local trainees, and community groups – and taking the lead in delivering community project work (project management).

CI has acted through, for instance, its extensive regeneration of the George Vth playing field/park and related consultation projects, and a wide range of other development including a 'car and scooter club' to support local transport provision, and now a proposed community enterprise centre.

NCDC has/is leading in the development, with the Hillswick community, of a community-owned store and related services and, likewise, with the Northmavine Club and a local business in developing further facilities at the Collafirth Brig (pier).

In Govanhill, *GHHA* has also taken a key role in relation to public service provision. Given its role as a social housing provider, with approximately 2200 homes in Govanhill itself, this is perhaps no surprise. But in recent years, the community has faced a private rental sector 'slum-housing crisis' of very severe proportions, and *GHHA* is now undertaking the following roles:

- acting as a local housing agent for Glasgow City Council (GCC) more generally in relation to privately-owned and rented housing within the tenements in the

area;

- working within the Govanhill Service Hub, which coordinates a range of public sector and community sector services; and
- supporting access to welfare services and support for/involvement in employment training.

One interviewee illustrated the extent to which such a ‘town hall’-type approach is working its way into local ‘common knowledge’:

The feedback from the wider community, and even from outside the community, [is] 'I hear things are going on at Govanhill', you know. In fact a taxi driver said to me the other day 'I hear at Govanhill you've got your police force' ... People are getting the confidence to come in with their problems. Which is really quite something in this area; normally people are scared to be seen to be talking to anybody in authority in case they are clobbered. However, as I say, now they could be coming in [simply] about their housing.

CI and NCDC have not become involved with public sector service provision in the same visible ways, yet they have both taken up responsibility in key areas of a more general service delivery: CI in developing access to transport through its Car and Scooter Club; NCDC in re-establishing a community shop in Hillswick, which provides food, fuel and a cash machine.

The researcher is illustrating here that such a mix of approaches, alongside a long-term commitment to a specific local community, supports the community anchor in building up and sustaining its community knowledge and connections; a grounded-ness. There would seem to be both more formalised and more informal elements to such grounded-ness, and this could usefully be explored further.

6.2.2: Grounded in community (2): working with community diversity

A developing community-led practice also requires openness to and developing awareness of the matrix of intersecting local communities and community diversity, as discussed in 3.2, or as one interviewee observed:

I went out and met initial groups that were there. I asked them what they wanted and supported that – and focused on the positive. Next I started meeting different groups, seeing what else is happening and building up a matrix of relations, making introductions, but not becoming a gatekeeper, not everything [goes] through the housing association.

Within a community-led practice, and indeed a multi-purpose practice, a community anchor is seeking to respond to such diversity, and this can be seen most immediately in the work of GHHA, given the diversity of ethnicity and tenure within the area, including in the following ways:

Working across ethnic diversity: Govanhill is ethnically-diverse, in particular currently as White Scottish, White Irish, Pakistani and South Asian, Slovak and Romanian Roma, other Europeans and many others including asylum seekers and refugees; 50+ languages have been recorded in the area (Bynner, 2010). GHHA has responded by working to provide social housing accessible to all ethnic communities; to improve the quality of housing in the private rental tenements particularly for more recent arrivals from Eastern Europe; and to develop GOSIP (Govanhill Social Inclusion Project) to provide accessible advice services for BME (Black and Minority Ethnic) groups, including access to translation services, and has established a BME resident and tenant group. The organisation has supported actively the work of other community sector and public sector partners in relation to the Roma communities and asylum seekers through projects, advocacy and research.

Working across spatial diversity: GHHA and its subsidiaries work with RTOs and Govanhill Residents Group¹⁷³, and within tenement blocks/backcourts within smaller neighbourhoods within Govanhill. In so doing, it engages across the diversity of socio-economic class and ethnicity, as constructed by tenure and neighbourhood. It also works within partnerships with a wider remit, and who work in neighbouring communities, for instance South East Integration Network and Roma-Net.

Working across community sector diversity and community diversity: GHHA has played a lead role in establishing GoCA as a local community sector forum which brings

¹⁷³ Note: aimed at residents in the unimproved tenement areas – particularly private rental tenants and owner occupiers (GHHA, 2012).

together a core group of approximately 10 local community organisations, with links to significantly more (GHHA, 2012), and which works across community diversity: age, disability, ethnicity, socio-economic class and faith, for instance, as well as more generally in neighbouring parts of the ‘South Side’¹⁷⁴ of Glasgow. Such a broad local community sector is, therefore, well placed as a whole to respond to local complexity, and in doing so can be understood to further work to actively-construct a complex local community identity (GHHA, 2012); for example by supporting the current Govanhill People’s History Project which celebrates the community’s diversity, past and present (Ross, 2013).

Both CI and NCDC, although not working with the range of ethnic diversity present in Govanhill, still illustrate a concern for working with community diversity – across the matrix of local community diversity. Within Creetown/Kirkmabreck elements of such diversity include spatially the main village, the small village of Carsluith and the outlying settlement; the mixed socio-economic make-up of the village and strong representation of children and older people within the local population; and significant numbers of ‘incomers’ including those from England. CI has particularly committed to working with children and young people through community arts and regeneration projects, including through the youth clubs and primary school; and, more generally, across the parish for instance through the community woodlands project.

NCDC actively seeks to work across Northmavine’s five main settlements, and smaller outlying settlements, each with its own strong identity; whilst also recognising Northmavine as a distinctive community of place in its own right, with historical roots as a civil parish. As one interviewee commented:

Taking Northmavine as a whole, Northmavine is a group of local communities, they are all different, and I mean they have all got ideas for their own ... you’ve got Eshaness here, you’ve got Hillswick, and then you’ve got the communities of Ollaberry, you’ve got Sullom, North Roe, and they all, every community is

¹⁷⁴ Note: Glasgow’s South Side, is a general term for the residential communities to the south of the River Clyde, see for instance: <http://southsidehappenings.blogspot.co.uk/>. Those parts of the Southside neighbouring Govanhill include Pollokshields, Strathbungo, Mount Florida, Polmadie, the Gorbals and Shawlands.

different and they've all got little things of their own. ... And while Northmavine will stick together on some things, they will vigorously defend if somebody tries to ... deplete something in their own bit of the community.

There is evidence too, as discussed in 1.4.3, of a significant socio-economic and age-related diversity within the local population, and thus many projects are concerned for improving access to housing and services: the development of local housing; the community store in Hillswick; the community poly-tunnels in 12 different settlements; and earlier work with young people and families. Alongside this, there is an active strategy (NCDC, 2012a) of seeking to bring the individual settlements to work together and continue to construct and sustain a parish-wide identity.

6.2.3: Grounded in community (3): a developing local community sector

The discussions above have indicated that each of the three organisations is actively engaged with a wider local community sector. The grounded-ness and related credibility of all three case-study organisations thus also relate to a wider interweaving of a local community sector, and their respective roots into local informal community networks, and the further grounded-ness and credibility that this generates. Each of the three community organisations studied actively works with and is support of a local community sector as follows:

GHHA and Govanhill: there has been an increasing volume of community sector activity in Govanhill in the last five years, in part linked to increasing levels of public funding being made available given the scale of the private rental 'slum housing' crisis. Govanhill Law Centre (GLC) has been established as part of the Govan Law Centre network; South Seeds, a community-led environmental organisation working in the South Side of Glasgow is based in Govanhill; Crossroads Youth and Community Association, a community-based community development organisation, now has a base in Govanhill as well as in the Gorbals. Each of the organisations has offices it lets from GHHA/GCDT property, and undertakes certain elements of joint-working with GHHA. GHHA has also played a crucial supporting role in establishing Govanhill Family Support Group, for family members of those using drugs, and Merge Welfare, a BME resident and tenants organisation in the area.

However, the community sector is wider still, as a GHHA report (2012) indicates with over 20 community organisations/groups active in the area, and illustrating a local community base, as well as sometimes working in neighbouring communities, and further third sector organisations and partnerships active in Govanhill and the Southside. The Govanhill Baths Community Trust's (GBCT) decade-long campaign to save the local, and previously public sector-run, swimming baths has come to fruition with GBCT now managing the building and seeking to reopen the pool(s) (GBCT, 2013)¹⁷⁵. Gerry Mooney & Nick Fyfe (2006) have provided an analysis of the community's campaign and, perhaps ironically, GBCT is now finally receiving support from the public sector to re-open the Baths: initially, via the Scottish Government's Equally Well initiative, and now national funding bodies, and general support from GCC itself (Harkins & Egan, 2012a; GBCT, 2013) including for the move towards community ownership of the building. GBCT itself can be understood as playing a community anchor role too given its breadth of community-based activity; social enterprise, culture and arts activities, community development activities and community research.

Joint advocacy work undertaken since 2008 by GHHA, GLC, Crosshill & Govanhill Community Council, and with GoCA once established in 2010, in relation to the private rental slum housing crisis in the area, is explored further in 6.2. Two interviewees stressed the importance of the joint-working that is being generated through GoCA:

There was money available last year¹⁷⁶ and this came to GoCA as we represented quite a large group of people, and they asked us to get together, put projects forward, and for the group to decide what they thought the area canna basically needed. And it went really quite well ... it was the group that decided what they felt was the best, and they got money for the Family Support Group ... and they got money for a caravan for respite for people. ... we got the Govanhill Law Centre ... with issues that are happening in the area. They need another lawyer, and they got money for that. The Baths Trust, another organisation, they

¹⁷⁵ Note: the GBCT (2013) update, dated November 2013, indicates that funding from the Big Lottery and Historic Scotland has been achieved – subject to completing technical assessments – that will support completion of Phase 1 of the complex plans for the building and the full development of a Well-being Centre; thus moving towards the final Phase 3 which will involve the re-opening of the main pool.

¹⁷⁶ Note: £200,000 of funding from the Scottish Government's Equally Well health inequalities initiative was made available to GoCA to support a participatory budgeting pilot as part of the Govanhill Test Site (Harkins & Egan, 2012a).

got money to work within the Baths to get that opened up. So that was the community that was able to decide what they felt was needed, so that I would say [that] empowered the community.

Creetown: CI undertakes joint-working with a range of community sector organisations and groups in the village: Kirkmabreck Community Council, Creetown Bowling Club, Creetown Heritage Museum Trust. It also works closely with local businesses too, in particular the Gem Rock Museum: although these are not third sector organisations, they can demonstrate high levels of local commitment. As noted above in 6.2.1 and 6.2.2, a significant number of joint projects have been generated; for instance, the development of a community hall, jointly-owned by a range of community organisations as members of Creetown Building Preservation Trust. Likewise there has been joint-working by community organisations, local business and the primary school on community arts and tourism-related initiatives. The range of community management and ownership continues to extend, for instance, with new offices for CI established on the main street, and a proposal for a local community enterprise centre in a recently-closed pub building.

Northmavine: NCDC works/has worked; with the community halls and their committees with; Northmavine Club (marina) and local micro-business in developing the Collafirth Pier; the Hillswick community to develop the community shop and local committee, and with links to the Ollaberry Community Cooperative; groups within local communities on community poly-tunnel ownership; a local crofting landlord to develop social housing in North Roe; the Northmavine Community Council on local issues; and, various micro- and family businesses to support local tourism development. There is, again, a growing community sector ‘infrastructure’ of community-owned or managed assets and a network of activists/volunteers and local staff.

There are significant elements of community sector development here, although not on the scale or through trading-related activity as envisaged within Pearce’s vision of a social economy in Anytown, as discussed in 5.2.2. However, the significant size of GHHA financially, and the scope of its joint-working across the local community sector, and in fact with the public sector through Govanhill Service Hub, has generated a certain community sector political role and power, or leverage: particularly, given the

level of crisis and the ability of the community sector to provide traction and ‘get things done’, and to advocate locally and nationally for further resourcing. Clapham & Kintrea’s (2000) concern as to the ability of community housing associations to challenge larger state institutions could now be further explored in this light, although as part of research with a wider focus across community housing associations and the community sector.

However, and in contrast, Heather Lynch’s (2010) research in Govanhill, with the GBCT’s Centre for Community Practice, using a ‘community capitals analysis’ – as discussed in 3.4.1 – highlighted a lack of both political and ‘linking’ social capital generally within the area, with many people feeling disempowered and distant from decision-making bodies: she places this as a more general trend across Glasgow (citing Seaman & Lyon, 2008). A certain caution is needed here as to the meanings given to such data, and what was ‘driving’ local people’s experience and thinking at that time. Nevertheless, given the context of a working class community experiencing very significant levels of economic and social inequality, it seems reasonable to assume that a growing community sector role will not necessarily be experienced as a more immediate political empowerment by the wider local community until, or if and when, the levels of resourcing generated/accessed can support more significant and concrete local economic and social changes, which will then, in turn, be directly experienced by the wider local community.

6.2.4: Community representativeness and community leadership

Each of the three organisations has an elected management committee or Board of Directors/Trustees drawn from people living locally. Each committee/Board can be seen to recognise directly certain elements of the diversity of the local community: GHHA in terms of ethnic diversity, as well as diversity of tenure (tenants and residents); CI through people living in Carsluith as well as Creetown; and NCDC with people from across the five main settlements as well as some outlying communities. Each committee/Board also had brought in or developed local people with certain specialisms; thus several of GHHA’s Board were longstanding members with significant experience of housing issues and had worked on the Board of Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations (GWSFHA); CI included several people from the local business community; NCDC included people with experience of

either public and private sector organisations/bodies in Shetland including a Shetland Islands Council (SIC) elected member. Each organisation's committee/Board had a process of election at AGM and then structure of meetings; for CI and NCDC once a month, and for GHHA a more complex set of sub-committees, including an audit committee, supporting the work of the main committee.

The discussions of a developing community sector, community diversity and community-grounded-ness in 6.2.1-6.2.3 above, illustrate how a community anchor can actively extend from its community governance and organisational activities to build a further sense of a 'relative representativeness': it is noticeable, for instance, that each of the three organisations shows clear evidence of communication with their local community council and other local community sector organisations; and the establishment of GoCA in Govanhill takes this further, although this may be to underestimate the scale of informal communication across the local community sector within Creetown and Northmavine.

Chris Harkins & James Egan (2012a), in their evaluation of the recent pilot participatory budgeting initiative in Govanhill through GoCA, point to the complexities of community representativeness, particularly in an urban community as complex and diverse as Govanhill. They illustrate a range of views, some conflicting as to the effectiveness of the process, but generally conclude that it was "*a positive and valued experience for all concerned*" (2012a: 2); this fits with the researcher's interview material where four interviewees spoke positively and a fifth more critically of the initiative. There were, for instance, tensions as to whether all local community organisations understood the resource opportunity the pilot presented, and as to what extent the community sector organisations that took part, approximately 13, could be understood to be in a position to fully represent community views and interests. Harkins & Egan (2012a: 29) conclude that:

...expectations of community representation must be tempered with pragmatism and realism.

This would likely capture a certain ambiguity within almost all participatory and/or representative democratic processes, not only those at a community level, as different interest groups seek to assert and convince a sufficient number of others of their

positions and representativeness; whilst a changing socio-economic context over time will likely impact on positions and related responses generated. Harkins & Egan's (2012a) broad conclusion, that GoCA has worked to develop a certain pragmatic level of community representativeness, usefully underlines the need for a community-led practice to be always under development and, yet, able to evidence and assert its views if challenged by others, including others, such as elected members, with a certain democratic credibility of their own via the state.

Harkins & Egan's (2012a) work also highlights the breadth of community leadership roles through GoCA, and this can be seen across the case-study material: across spatial dimensions – from smaller neighbourhoods/settlements through to wider roles outside of the local community; and relative to different communities of interest/identity and types of working – community project, service provision, and advocacy/campaigning. In Govanhill, for instance, there are activists/volunteers and staff leading groups in their neighbourhoods, or within communities of interest/identity (South Asian and Slovak Roma, for instance) as well as community-wide and further afield within GWSFHA and Scotland's Poverty Truth Commission¹⁷⁷. In Creetown, both staff and activists/volunteers can work or be in discussion with local authority staff and Dumfries & Galloway Council (DGC) elected members, as well as leading local projects. NCDC has used working groups to develop strategies for tourism development, renewables, young people, and a local committee for the Hillswick Shop; and builds relationships with the local authority and elected representatives – one of the latter is currently on its Board.

Those involved in community leadership will then begin to generate certain skillsets and experiences in common. One interviewee spoke of the need for community leadership to go beyond simply listening to community views and its present expectations, and to seek to inform and generate aspirations for more ambitious horizons, and to have the skills and patience to work with a range of people:

You've got to be able to handle people, and you've got to be thick skinned as well I think, probably like anybody who takes up a position; there will be people

¹⁷⁷ Note: The Poverty Truth Commission was a Scotland-wide project, led by Faith in the Community and supported by the Church of Scotland that brought together people experiencing poverty with some of Scotland's civic leaders with the aim of identifying the truth about poverty and solutions to it (The Poverty Truth Commission Scotland, n.d.).

who will be envious of that position ... Someone like (a staff member) has got [their] finger on the pulse of where funding's available ... They would say well actually here's may be a way of doing something, let's talk to the community about it.

In relation to such a skillset, or at least part of it, Harkins & Egan (2012a) use the term 'community professional'; those working with community organisations as staff and/or activist/volunteers, who know how public sector and professionalised organisations work and, therefore, how to convince them that 'your' organisation is a reliable partner. One interviewee pointed to a related and similarly 'political', as in power related, concept articulated by Jim Diers (2007) of the 'double agent' role; with staff working at the interface between 'the community' and the public sector, and perhaps more generally with professionalised organisations. For activists/volunteers and staff undertaking such leadership roles within their communities significant stresses and conflicts will likely be generated; see for instance Carolyn Kagan's¹⁷⁸ (2006) discussion of the political and psychological stresses on community representatives (also McKnight, 1995, see 2.2.4; Collins, 1997, see 3.3.2; Cockburn, 1978; and see 3.4.1).

Yet, given the political nature of community leadership, those taking-up such a role need also to demonstrate an on-going 'community commitment'. Within Creetown and Northmavine, one sign of such commitment, whether as staff and/or activist/volunteer, is the act of actually living in that community; which held true in almost all cases. Yet, as Pearce (1993) argues, it must be possible for others living outside of a particular community to demonstrate such community commitment. For GHHA, as a much larger, older and urban community organisation, and a professionalised and regulated registered social landlord (RSL), the staff are drawn more widely: however, four of the six staff interviewed had worked for more than 10 years with the organisation – some for very significantly longer. Yet, community commitment of itself does not necessarily resolve tensions between community leaders, for instance in relation to the development of a community organisation (Walker et al., 2010) or between community organisations (Henderson, 2006a); Harkins & Egan (2012a) note elements of community and public sector politics within the participatory budgeting pilot in Govanhill. Certainly, within

¹⁷⁸ Note: currently a Professor of Social and Community Psychology at Manchester Metropolitan University, view: <http://www.rihsc.mmu.ac.uk/staff/profile.php?surname=Kagan&name=Carolyn>

each of the communities within the case-studies, certain tensions and rivalries were pointed to during some interviews.

The practice of community leadership is thus a crucial and complex skill, and likewise the generation of a work-able (pragmatic) but credible sense of community representativeness: yet, both are central to a democratic community-led practice, and worthy of further research, consideration and development.

6.2.5: Further thinking on a community-led practice

In 4.3.1, MacKinnon's (2002) critique of local community development in the Scottish Highlands, within the workings of the neo-liberal state, highlighted concerns that, at least within particular cases at that time, there were very clear constraints, namely: (i) a certain empowerment of particular local actors rather than a community empowerment; and (ii) a very limited scope, locally, to shape even local events given the dominance of a neo-liberal political economy. Beginning with (i), from the discussions in 6.2.1 – 6.2.4 above, an initial understanding of those 'local actors' as a network of community organisations and groups, and their related community leaders, as a local community sector has been illustrated. Further, an understanding of how such a leadership and sector can be seen to be connecting to the wider community has been created through a range of developing community practices and activities that make for a community grounded-ness, community dialogue, community diversity and community representativeness.

Given that the key focus of empirical inquiry has been on interviews with staff and activist/volunteers, as such 'local actors', although drawing widely from documentation and observation too, then there is a limit to what can be concluded as to the extent to which an active local democratic, or community-led, climate has actually been achieved in each case: that is each case would need a more extensive researching that drew from wider community experience. Yet, there is sufficient substance generated from the case-study research, to support understanding of what the aspiration for a democratic and community-led practice can mean; that the range of practices, illustrated as being actively used, generates an initial understanding, from which a potential vision of a local and grassroots democratic, community-led practice can be articulated. From this initial understanding, the opportunity for further participatory research becomes visible,

in which community organisations can work to pool their existing knowledge of such community-led practice and can consider further opportunities to extend this practice, locally and nationwide.

Current constraints on such a developing community-led practice also come into view and, in particular, that the activities that relate to such a developing practice will need to be adequately resourced; the significant participatory and representative democratic structures, noted in 4.3.1, as operating in Wester Hailes during the 1980s (Demarco, 2009), for instance, would suggest a significant level of resourcing and community focus and commitment is required to make them ‘work-able’.

Crucially though, and as (ii) above, the ability of a community and its partners actually to shape local events must surely be considered alongside (i). Community-led decision-making *and* the ability of the community sector to ‘provide traction’, and deliver on such decisions, are inevitably linked through the wider community, who must find such decision-making relevant and worthy of their investment. The extent to which the sector is able to provide, or further provide, traction, alongside the extent of development of its community-led practices, will presumably impact on the extent to which the wider local community experiences itself as influencing decision-making – and in effect ‘feels empowered’ (6.2.3). Yet, this cannot, then, be considered separately from the resourcing of the community sector and its working in wider socio-economic systems. Jane Thomson’s (2001), as per 4.3.1, call for an ‘anticipating of an egalitarian society’, which would seem to acknowledge the current constraints in resourcing through wider socio-economic structures. This, therefore, points to an on-going challenge for the community sector to continue to develop a community-led practice *and* to continue to work towards establishing the necessary resourcing to ‘get things done’ locally, and so must, in turn, recognise the need to influence and change wider socio-economic structures in order to access and sustain such resourcing.

6.3: Community anchors and sustainable independence

This section builds from the discussion of sustainable independence in 4.3.2, which drew initially upon thinking from the SCA and others on independent income streams, and then further from that of Max Weaver (2009) on the ‘sustainable independence’ needed by community anchors to achieve a local mission clearly distinct from

government policy; with key elements of financial sustainability and organisational robustness. Relations with the state were understood as critical elements in increasing such sustainable independence, in particular in shifting from a metaphor of ‘partnerships’, unlikely to be on an equal footing, to that of ‘relational contracting’ as a longer-term, and potentially qualitatively different, relationship. However, discussions in 5.4.1 will inevitably cast doubt over the extent to which independence from government policy, in this case the neo-liberal state, is achievable given the state’s use of policy/regulation and funding/investment to seek to direct economic and social development.

In the light of such earlier discussion, this section draws from the case-study material to generate more concrete discussions of the financial sustainability of a community anchor; to outline key elements of organisational robustness and ability to ‘get things done’; and to consider the malleability of culture that a community anchor requires to work with the formality of organisational practices and the informality of community networks and, thus, sustain its local mission or promotion of local community interests.

The section is therefore structured as follows:

- (6.3.1) Financial sustainability and sustainable independence
- (6.3.2) Robust organisational systems that provide traction
- (6.3.3) Seeking a malleable organisational culture
- (6.3.4) Further thinking on sustainable independence

6.3.1: Financial sustainability and sustainable independence

In 4.3.2, Weaver’s five suggested strategies to support increasing financial sustainability of community anchors were outlined, namely: community asset ownership/asset transfer; long-term relational contracting with the state; community/social enterprise; accessing capital/finance on suitable terms; and evidencing of a community anchor holistic role. These are discussed, briefly, in relation to each of the case-studies:

GHHA: can be understood to have reached a high level of current financial sustainability in that it has a turnover measured in millions, £8.6m in 2011/12, and a significant financial reserve and asset-base through its housing stock and other property; the organisation is considered to be sufficiently financially-secure to be able to draw on

a commercial loan facility, as needed. Its asset base of housing stock¹⁷⁹ has grown over the last 40 years in the main through asset transfer from the local state (GWSFHA, 1999; McKee, 2008; GHHA, 2013a, 2013b) and investment from the central state, for instance, the Housing Association Grant¹⁸⁰. There is clearly potential, then, to interpret this as ‘relational contracting’. Although this is with the benefit of hindsight, and the lived experience may have been more fragmented, provisional and ‘fought for’, rather than an on-going, concrete policy commitment (see, for instance, McKee, 2008). However, GHHA now finds itself providing social housing and related welfare services, and acting as ‘local agent’ on behalf of GCC in relation to private rental and owner-occupied housing in the area, as well as more generally working with the local and central state in relation to regeneration. This further supports the sense of such a relational contracting between local state and GHHA, as a community anchor.

GHHA’s housing services can be understood as a social enterprise in that tenants pay rent, and its factoring services, property services and community development activities, including those through its trading subsidiaries, all generate earned income and surplus; allowing an accumulating financial reserve, re-investment in its operations, and a community benefit income for further community development activity. Again, relations with the state are relevant here, given the significant role of housing benefit in tenants paying rent, and through contracts with the local state to deliver particular projects and services.

GHHA has not evaluated its work in a more systematic fashion in relation to a community anchor role, but does report annually in considerable detail on its housing operations and financial management to the Scottish Housing Regulator, giving credibility to its abilities to deliver/provide traction through robust management systems. It illustrates an openness to research processes, not only through this research project, but for instance the Scottish Government’s Equally Well Govanhill Test Site

¹⁷⁹ Note: This community ownership asset-base cannot, however, be understood in the same sense as a private sector organisation might hold one: in part because, in this case, the state still holds a claim of repayment on the grants it has provided, totalling close to 80% of the value of the stock; and, more generally, because the organisation’s ‘Rules’ require that if the organisation were to be dissolved its asset-base be past to another third sector RSL – thus maintaining the asset lock (GHHA, 2010; GHHA, 2013a).

¹⁸⁰ Note: the formerly Scottish Office, now Scottish Government, Housing Association Grant that supports buying, building, refurbishment and conversion of housing by RSLs (registered social landlords): <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Built-Environment/Housing/investment/grants/hag>

evaluation (Harkins & Egan, 2011, 2012b) and an earlier study of community engagement in the area (Bynner, 2010).

CI: is working towards a financial sustainability. Having first employed a member of staff as recently as 2006, it is building up a local community asset-base: a local office; a community centre, owned with organisations through Creetown Building Preservation Trust; supporting others who own or manage community assets locally; and is now seeking to purchase a building for a community enterprise centre. CI has developed its own social enterprise consultancy providing services to public and third sector organisations and projects. It has now advanced plans for a micro-hydro scheme, which have been submitted to the Forestry Commission Scotland, owners of the land, for consultation (Creetown Initiative 2014a, 2014b), as well as developing plans for a wind turbine project. One interviewee commented:

The initial (micro-hydro) scheme was judged to be about 100KW a year. But the designers and specialists are now saying it could be double that. One of the things we're waiting to do is we're waiting to do some water volume tests ... if it (the scheme) comes off it will mean as a community we're almost self-funding in terms of projects and we'll be able to do, you know, a lot of other things. It will secure this organisation's future as well ...

The micro-hydro scheme offers significantly greater financial sustainability through earned income, estimated by one interviewee at potentially £200,000 p.a.¹⁸¹, and sufficient to meet core costs and support development of local projects.

The organisation has a limited direct financial relationship with the local authority, currently drawing a low level of core-funding (£5000), but more generally receiving grants for projects or through wider initiatives such as the Sulwath Connections Landscape Partnership¹⁸² and the Dumfries & Galloway Farmers' and Community Markets Association (DGFCMA). CI has, however, received sizeable levels of funding/investment from the central state and national funding bodies, such as the Big

¹⁸¹ Note: CI's Business Plan (CI: 2014b, 2014a) for the micro-hydro calculates that, once costs including servicing of the loan are taken into account, in the first year there will be a net profit of £19,788, increasing to £35,843 by year 10, and then £190,607 by year 15 (CI, 2014a: 10).

¹⁸² Note: Sulwath Connections Landscape Partnership was funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund and Scottish National Heritage, in particular, and coordinated by Dumfries & Galloway Council, and involved 20 different projects across the region; view at: <http://www.sulwathconnections.org/>

Lottery Fund, again largely for particular projects¹⁸³. To what extent this can count as an intentional and strategic ‘relational contracting’ specific to CI *itself* by the central state is unclear without further inquiry involving the state. This does illustrate, though, a certain direction in Scottish and UK state policy involving the community sector, as considered in 3.3 and Chapter 4, and so is ‘intentional’ in this broader sense of making funding and invest available to community sector organisations, particularly those with a growing ‘track record’ of successful project management.

CI, and the local community sector more generally, has also benefited from a local, long-standing philanthropic endowment or trust, the Slevin Bequest. Funds available through this endowment have been sought to part-fund/match-fund various projects and asset purchases within the local community sector as a whole: so the Bequest can be understood as acting as a local community sector resource. CI hasn’t actively developed a social accounting approach as yet but, clearly, given the nature of work being undertaken by the staff team, both locally and through its external consultancy, has the expertise to do so and the records/evidence base to draw upon.

NCDC: is actively building towards financial sustainability, too, in relation to its core costs, a key focus within its current business plan for the three financial years 2012-15 (NCDC, 2012a). It now has an initial asset-base with ownership of several buildings in Hillswick, including the community shop and properties for rent or re-development: these were purchased through a mix of state support and a loan, and generate income through rent and shop income surplus. Further social enterprise activity through a ‘mixed portfolio’ contributes to organisational income too, and includes: research and consultancy contracts; sales of poly-tunnels; local business support and book-keeping; and factoring/property management. It is now seeking in future years to develop further through housing and property management and business/social enterprise support through a local hub. Community renewables – a micro-hydro or wind turbine – are under consideration but raising income is significantly more difficult than in the rest of Scotland because Shetland is not currently part of the UK National Grid and there is

¹⁸³ Note: Funding received by CI for projects in the Creetown area is given as £860,000 (Creetown Initiative, n.d.) between 2006 and 2012 and, more recently, put at over £1m. It has also received Scottish Government ‘Enterprising Third Sector’ funding to support a member of staff in seeking to develop a community renewables project/programme.

limited need for additional generating capacity within its local grid¹⁸⁴.

The very existence of NCDC can be understood to be a long-term relational contracting with the local and central state, as local activists/volunteers were able to initiate a coordinated programme of activity from 2004 under the (then) Scottish Executive's *Initiative at the Edge* programme (Cambridge Economic Associates Limited & Research for Real Ltd, 2007). It has since received a decade of core financial support, for some staffing and related costs, from both HIE and SIC's economic development unit. Although such core-funding is now tapering off, and will seemingly lose all core-funding support from 2014-15, it would surely be expected, given the complex role NCDC now plays in Northmavine, that both HIE and SIC will continue to find ways to support its activities; the responses and commitment of the state at this point in NCDC's development would seem valuable to return to within future research.

NCDC does not have any endowment to draw on, but does have a small but significant reserve that provides interest and financial credibility. A music festival organised in 2013, 'Glusstonberry', has raised significant monies to add to such a reserve, although required very significant levels of unpaid work from staff and activist/volunteers. NCDC does not have a more formalised social accounting process, but it does maintain records of its economic and social achievements within its Business Plan (NCDC, 2012a)¹⁸⁵, and provides baseline reporting system with HIE (NCDC & HIE, 2012): and so can evidence a range of outputs and potentially undertake social accounting in the future.

With core-funding support now falling away many of the interviewees from Northmavine spoke of their focus on developing further sources of earned income. One interviewee recognised the sea change:

But the biggest problem is you are okay in the beginning, the Council gave us money and Highlands and Islands Enterprise gave us money, and pay (staff)

¹⁸⁴ Note: some community centres on Shetland have, however, reduced energy costs through installing small wind turbines. Further, a Renewable Energy Audit for Northmavine (Aklil et al., 2006) was undertaken for NCDC in 2006, and highlighted certain aspirational opportunities to generate energy and subsidy through 'off-grid renewables' and tourism-related activity.

¹⁸⁵ Note: NCDC's Business Plan (Northmavine Community Development Company, 2012a) now incorporates the Northmavine Community Development Plan, discussed in as 6.2.1, and a 'Forward Strategy', as well as a record of economic and social achievements.

wages, but we need to get something that is giving us a big enough turnover to keep (staff) in post. I mean the shop gives us some money back to keep NCDC [going], but they aren't enough to keep her wages going. ... (staff) gets paid money by various other groups, well groups, associations and things, ... and has been very successful. We need to, NCDC needs to find, or get something in place that gives us sustainability, without having to rely on external body funding because it's getting harder and harder to get and they are giving you less money.

It was clear from a range of interviewees and the Business Plan 2012-15 (Northmavine Community Development Company, 2012a) that this was a priority, and that very significant efforts from staff, board and other activist/volunteers and supporters were going into considering and establishing new income sources.

Financial sustainability can be understood as an on-going process rather than a final outcome. NCDC and CI are still on the path to financial sustainability relative to their core costs, although clearly showing strong commitment and taking key practical steps towards achieving this. GHHA has achieved a very significant level of financial security through its core activity of social housing provision in Govanhill, and the rest of its wider community regeneration activities can then draw on these financial and management structures. Yet, as noted in 2.2.4 and 4.3.2, even a relative sizeable organisation may be put under pressure by state activity, such as the UK Coalition Government welfare reforms.

Each organisation can be understood to be drawing from a mix of some if not all of these strategies to achieve or work towards financial sustainability; with the evidencing of the community anchor role currently the least active strategy. The 'activeness' of both the community anchor and the state in various guises is apparent in the development of such a sustainability. Both GHHA and NCDC can be characterised as being in long-term relational contracting roles with the local and, in fact, central state, although this is likely more fragmentary than it sounds: with GHHA as part of a long-standing process approaching 40 years, whilst NCDC as part of a newer process that has reached a 'crossroads' and to which from 2014-15 moves into relatively unknown territory. Both GHHA and NCDC, however, have 'something' that the state is seeking:

GHHA through its crucial housing role and community connections within a working class and deprived community; NCDC through its community activism/volunteering, including staff roles here, and community connectedness within an economically ‘marginal’ community. CI appears to have greater distance from the local state and central state, with less obvious immediate working or partnership links although, crucially, is successful in drawing substantial resources from the central state and national bodies. It is unclear if an active and intentional long-term relational contracting is being achieved here.

A further element in achieving greater financial sustainability is more hidden from view, the opportunities the market can or might present: either through trading as a social enterprise, investments including philanthropy and endowments¹⁸⁶, and/or corporate social responsibility – although the role of this last has not been revealed within these case-studies. Currently social enterprise, particularly via housing and property, is a significant earner for GHHA and NCDC; although not to be understood as entirely distinct from the role of the state given the input from housing benefit and state assets or loans. Community renewables is the other potential earner for CI: but again the state’s role here, through subsidies for renewables, is relevant. CI illustrates the potential role for a community endowment programme in supporting community organisations in getting started: and, as noted in 3.3.4, this was highlighted in the SNP Manifesto for the 2007 Scottish Parliamentary elections (SNP, 2007), and is also currently being developed in England¹⁸⁷ through finance from both state and private sources.

All three elements, the community sector – whose actions are understood as involving working across all three of the means of economic coordination discussed in 5.3.2 – the state and the market are shown to have a role currently in the generation of financial stability for a community anchor; although in the longer-term third sector financial institutions could have a key role too (see Senscot, 2013). Yet, it is the relationship between community sector and state that is suggested as fundamental here, and the notion of relational contracting points towards this being complex, given that the

¹⁸⁶ Note: in the sense, both philanthropy and endowments are likely to be provided through the interest generated on investments in the financial markets.

¹⁸⁷ Note: within this programme, 50% match funding will be given by the UK Government against corporate, philanthropic and individual donors up to a total of £150m (Cabinet Office (UK Government), 2011).

starting point for the concept of sustainable independence is that of a community anchor, concerned for a local mission and local community interests, rather than for a tame following of state policy. However, the dynamics of power may not be so easily reducible to a narrative of two simple models: ‘independent community anchor’ versus ‘co-opted community anchor’. A CSTP may need to wrestle, and over time, to understand and work through more complex options and strategies. Two interviewees, for instance, spoke of certain concerns relative to the asset transfer of property from local authority ownership and into community ownership; namely some properties will involve complex, sustained renovation/refurbishment and/or upkeep and maintenance, and so may be more akin to liabilities rather than assets:

There aren't very many council buildings here. I suppose the nearer you get to (larger town) the more valuable the asset would be. ... But, the farther you get away from the centre, the less buildings there are, and the less they are assets. So there's some buildings in (larger town) they are looking to get rid of, so if you are some kind of developer then there's definitely an opportunity there. But, the farther you get away from the centre, the less buildings there are, and the less they are assets.

And it's a worry because a lot of communities are being given the opportunity to take something on, and they jump in thinking 'oh yeah it's a great idea', and the buildings are rotten, half of them, you know. They are not DDA (Disability Discrimination Act, 1995¹⁸⁸) compliant. There's all sorts of issues with them.

The relationship between community sector and state seems necessarily to involve both cooperation and common ground *and* antagonism and conflicts, as each seeks to assert its interests and concerns; and could potentially be, at times, deeply conflicted. Yet the conceptual narrative of a long-term, relational contracting would seem to capture the potential value to both of such an approach. Yet, the state, as generally the more powerful body, must be able to recognise and work with the dilemmas here; it is unlikely to be able to benefit from community anchors and the community sector

¹⁸⁸ Note: the Disability Discrimination Act 1995 has now been merged with other equalities and human rights legislation into the Equality Act 2010; see further information at: <http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/legal-and-policy/equality-act/what-is-the-equality-act/>

without being prepared to work with community partners who have to raise difficult issues and promote their own local visions.

6.3.2: Robust organisational systems that provide traction

This brief section seeks solely to establish a broad sense of the sorts of systems and knowledge that support a community organisation in being ‘robust’ and ‘getting things done’, as in providing traction. The aim is to establish knowledge of the organisations that can support further interpretation and analysis in 6.3.3 below as to their working cultures, as well as more generally across the thesis. To this end, three themes are broadly discussed below in relation to the case-study material: governance, management systems, and project management and related specialisms. Such thinking goes beyond Weaver’s (2009) particular focus on a robust governance relative to sustainable independence, to seeking to understand the workings of the organisations as a whole as relevant to such organisational robustness.

The broadness of these themes might suggest that they can be applied across most types of organisations – public, private and third sector organisations – and this might in part be a useful reflection. However, as discussed in 3.4.4, this can also be misleading, for organisations can have distinctively different purposes derived in particular from their forms of ownership and decision-making. In the case of community organisations, the expectation is that their community-owned structures and community-led practice give a distinctive sense of purpose and related ways of working.

Governance: a key theme, as already indicated in 6.2.4 above, in which all three organisations illustrated a working committee or Board¹⁸⁹, reporting to a wider membership and local residents via the AGM, publications and the networks generated through a community-led practice. Each also reported to outside bodies that oversee their actions; auditors, of course, to consider their annual accounts; for GHHA as a Registered Social Landlord, the Scottish Housing Regulator; and for all three organisations the regulator of charitable organisations in Scotland, OSCR (Office of the Scottish Charity Regulator). Each has also built up literature, policy and records that

¹⁸⁹ Note: GHHA’s management committee has up to 18 members, as both tenants and residents – who will be members of the Association; with 17 members and 2 co-opted members, reported across the year ending March 2013 (GHHA, 2010; GHHA, 2013a); CI has a Board of 6 Directors and 2 other members (CI, 2014c); NCDC has 8 Directors (NCDC, 2012a).

illustrate the organisation's sense of purpose and strategic thinking, and these include a memorandum of associations & articles and a strategic document, or reporting, for both regulators and wider membership and residents.¹⁹⁰

Management systems – finance and staff: each organisation illustrated concern for financial systems: GHHA has a Finance Director amongst its senior management team, a finance and an internal audit sub-committees reporting to the management committee, and reports, through audited accounts, to the Scottish Housing Regulator; CI has a staff member who prepares monthly financial reports for the Board and senior project worker; NCDC with a Business Plan 2012-15 (NCDC, 2012a) giving detailed projections of income and expenditure, with NCDC staff illustrating relevant knowledge through the provision of accounting and business advice services to local businesses.

GHHA, as is consistent with being a professionalised community housing association, operates with a line management system: director and senior management team, junior managers and staff. CI and NCDC, as befits smaller, developing community organisations, have looser structures, and are still evolving: CI with a team of eight staff is now instituting more formalised structures with a senior project worker over-seeing the staff team as a whole and a staff review process; NCDC, too, has a project development officer who takes overall responsibility for the organisation and in effect two staff teams, one to manage the Hillswick community shop – with its own shop manager overseeing part-time staff and volunteer activity – and a smaller NCDC development team¹⁹¹.

All three organisations illustrate the varied roles that Board members, activists and volunteers can play within the wider workings of the organisation – governance, project working and wider connectivity. But in all three cases, it was the paid staff teams who provide the on-going structure for much of the core work – administrative, strategic and particular specialisms. For the smaller organisations, this presents a degree of

¹⁹⁰ Note: for instance: GHHA through its Aims and Values statement, its 'Rules' document, Annual Report and Accounts, and annual report as a newsletter; CI through its Memorandum & Articles and regular newsletters; NCDC through its original Northravine Development Plan and updates of this, the NCDC Business Plan that includes a Forward Strategy and Statement of Purpose, an Annual Trustees Report, and annual report as newsletter.

¹⁹¹ Note: NCDC's Development Team has currently one full-time and one part-time staff member, although involved for a two year period until Jan 2012 a third worker undertaking environmental/green development work.

vulnerability to ‘key-person risk’, a ‘what happens if’ a lead worker, in particular the key manager, is no longer available: although the skills and knowledge of board members and other staff suggest an ability to cope in the shorter-term, if this were to happen.

Project management and specialisms: all three organisations also crucially showed their ability both to project manage – planning, negotiating, implementing and overseeing – and operate with more than one specialism. Each was skilled within the sphere of a ‘community social and economic development’ and showed, too, other specialisms; GHHA, housing and welfare; CI, community environmental management and community renewables; NCDC, community retail and increasingly housing/property. It was noticeable that *not* all those taking leading ‘project management roles’ and developing a specialism were paid staff; two of those interviewed were activist/volunteers playing lead roles on complex or sensitive projects; and two others played lead roles across a number of community organisations and groups.

6.3.3: Seeking a malleable organisational culture

Discussions across 6.2 above on community-led practice, and in 6.3.2 above, can be used to illustrate a key theme, the need for both formality and informality in the work of community anchors: the relative formality of these community sector organisations with their use, or increasing use, of procedures, systems and management; and yet, often, the informality of their relations with community groups, networks, activists/volunteers and residents. Here, the researcher is seeking to illustrate how these two elements can, and need to be, combined in distinctive ways within community organisations. This is not to say that the working culture of other types of organisations cannot be considered through such a lens, or a continuum of formality and informality perhaps: for instance Etienne Wenger (1999: 18-34) notes in his discussion of a highly-structured private sector working environment, mired in policy and procedures, enforced by management, that staff inevitably find shortcuts, dealing with ambiguities and coping with boredom, in order to make the systems ‘work-able’ and survivable.

Charles Handy’s (1998) discussion of four models of organisational culture usefully highlights certain patterns of culture within many professionalised organisations; there is an implication here that the culture of an organisation is not simply about what it

does, its activities and processes, but also reflects human expectations and purposes too: factors that add ‘tone and texture’. Handy argues that existing organisation will illustrate the influence of more than one model or culture, and these can briefly be summarised as follows:

- *Club culture*: a strong, central leadership figure around which the organisation is built to match the former’s style and supports the leader’s needs.
- *Role culture*: in which there are clear roles, “*role occupants, not individualists*” (p.90), with formalised communications through systems and procedures, and a pyramidal, likely hierarchical structure; this is common in mature, long-standing organisations.
- *Task culture*: in which people work in groups bringing their skills and knowledge and commitment to bear, often in order to solve problems; such organisations focus on coordination and team leaders, rather than extensive management structure, with an ethos of team-working.
- *Person culture*: in which a range of individuals play the key roles (individualists), and other staff and systems are established to support them; as perhaps a GPs Surgery, with the GPs in the key roles and the management, administrative and other health staff as support.

Each of the three case-study organisations can be said to exhibit elements of task culture, particularly as they work with other community organisations and community groups, and likely more generally: for instance, the Govanhill Service Hub operational meeting had clear elements of task culture to support discussion across public and community sector organisations, although would be working across public sector organisations likely to emphasise a role culture. GHHA, as a professionalised and regulated housing association illustrated clear elements of role culture, with procedures, policies and management structure and clear divisions of labour within this. In small ways, there were signs of this developing within CI and NCDC, where policy and procedures were being adopted, although both organisations remain small enough for considerable flexibility of role amongst staff.

Whilst all three organisations have one ‘key manager’ with an overall responsibility, reporting to the committee/Board for instance, and each of them has their own sense of strategic vision and distinctive leadership style, it would be misleading here to assert a simple ‘club culture’: in particular because the researcher met others, both staff and

activists/volunteers members, taking leadership roles in relation to particular services or projects, and bringing their own leadership qualities; so potentially suggestive then of elements of a ‘person culture’ too.

This briefest of interpretations, via Handy’s cultural models, illustrates their potential future use relative to community anchors, but the focus here is on the need to understand the working across formality and informality that is central to the community anchor role. It is not clear that any combination of these models alone can capture such a characteristic. One interviewee, for instance, spoke of both the formality and informality of staff relations with Directors, as activists/volunteers, and the level of commitment involved:

We have a structure where we have Directors, Board Members, who meet monthly, and they really do meet monthly (laughs). And Directors pop in as well, so this morning I was out at a meeting with a Director. So they do, they are all volunteers, but they do actively help; which is good as opposed to sitting back and doing nothing. So they meet on a monthly-basis and they discuss all the project work. We present a report saying what we’ve achieved in the last month, what we’re planning to do.

The relationships between staff and activists/volunteers can then *potentially* be characterised in a more complex way, perhaps in part as task culture and, in part as person culture: yet *potentially* as widening networks of informal communication or connectivity linking across a local community sector and informal community networks, and as part of a community-led practice. Such thinking would need more particular investigation, but points to informality and networks as providing a conceptual narrative for a fifth cultural model with community-building, networking and informal dialogue as central. This fifth model could add to Hardy’s existing four cultural models, and support a developing interpretation and analysis of the culture of community anchor and community sector organisations: one which recognises and supports the further development of their distinctive, malleable working culture, and melds the formal and informal. Similarly, a culturally-based model that is able to cope with the complexities of working across the different means of economic coordination – market exchange, state, community/reciprocity – as community sector organisations generally and actively do. This attention to the cultural workings of community anchors

could, then, support them in being better able to reflect on and sustain a robust organisation, concerned for a sustainable independence and the complexities of relational contracting with the state.

6.3.4: Further thinking on sustainable independence

By drawing from Weaver's (2009) initial narrative of sustainable independence, in which financial sustainability and robust organisational governance are interwoven to support the pursuance of local mission, further interpretation and analysis of the case-study material has been generated and further issues highlighted. Strategies for financial sustainability have been considered, and illustrated as relevant to the case-study organisations, but these have pointed to understanding such a financial sustainability through the dynamics between the community sector, the state and the market. In particular, the importance of the relationship between community sector and state has come to the fore, and of recognising that: both need to build a long-term commitment through an ethos of 'relational contracting' or relation-building; and this working relationship will be complex and necessarily involving both cooperation and conflict, otherwise the community anchor cannot be understood as pursuing advocacy to support a local mission, but rather as solely acting out state policy. Relational contracting, therefore, requires skill and commitment from both parties.

The nature of a robust organisation has also been discussed and the researcher has shifted the focus from solely particular processes and structures, such as governance, management and the development of specialisms and expertise, to include organisational culture and how the community sector can reflect on the working cultures of community anchors. In particular, Charles Handy's (1988) existing four cultural models have been used as an example of how to reflect on organisational culture. Handy's model has been added to through a potential fifth cultural model that can draw from the informality that being part of a local community sector, and working with informal community networks will bring. Development of such a model could potentially deepen understanding of the nature of organisational robustness, and so the practice of sustainable independence, as well as supporting the development of a democratic community-led practice.

Much of this thinking is focused on local practices of the organisation and its relationship-building with the local state, nevertheless the structural considerations of working within the socio-economic systems of the nation state have been recognised too, with the sustainable independence of community anchors positioned in relationship to the structures, and their related dynamics, of the state, the market and community/reciprocity. Sustainable independence is, thus, conceived of as a relative independence which, whilst seeking independence from policy-making in order to pursue local mission, is inevitably also part of the workings of the wider socio-economic structure, and thus can be actively developed or constrained through policy-making.

6.4: Concluding thoughts

This chapter has used the case-study material to deepen understanding of a CACE, with its commitment to a mutualist democratic practice, and to increasing the ability of the community sector to work for local community interests and ‘get things done’; and in the context of recognising such discussions as more generally relevant to a CSTP. Through discussion of two key themes of community anchor practice as a community-led practice and a sustainable independence, and how they can be related to the actual case-study material, understanding of a CACE narrative has been deepened. This understanding is one that can support further discussion and reflection on practice within community sector dialogues as to the further development of both these broad, and indeed inter-relating, foci for practice; including discussions as to working cultures of community anchor and other community sector organisations that can sustain such practice and independence.

Further, these discussions have been placed in a political economic dynamic between the community sector, the state and the market; one in which the dynamic between community sector and state is understood as crucial to the longer-term development of the community sector. There is an implied recognition of the ability of community anchors to build an asset base, one sustained through an asset-lock and community-led practice, and so potentially to generate alternative economic and social space that is in part sheltered and distinctive from the forces of the market and the state. Yet, the actual practice of a working towards a sustainable independence, as seen from the case-study material, also illustrates that such an alternative space is achieved within and seemingly constrained by such political economic dynamics, at least currently. This growing

interpretation of the political economic dynamics of the state, the market and community/reciprocity will support further interpretation and analysis in Chapters 7 and, in particular, 8.

Relative to RA3/RO4 and the relationship between community anchors and community empowerment, there has been a deepening of understanding as to the role that community anchors can play in establishing community-led practice and in working to assert local community interests through a focus on increasing their sustainable independence. Yet, in relation to both a community-led practice and a focus on sustainable independence, it has been recognised that need to be understood relative to the political economic dynamics of state and market. Community anchors are being shown as a (likely) necessary step to community empowerment, where understood as a community sector development or ‘community empowerment (2)’, as per 1.3.1, but are unlikely to be sufficient by themselves to facilitate such a community empowerment. The dynamics between the state, and if still less obvious at this point, the market and the community sector would seem to need be adjusted significantly if such a local, and in fact wider, community empowerment is to gain ground, and make more substantial contributions to society, economically, socially and ecologically.

Chapter 7: Informing a theory and practice: community anchors as multi-purpose and empowering

7.1: Introduction

This chapter seeks to explore the multi-purpose ‘nature’ of community anchors, and the related aspirations of those who work within and alongside them. The initial focus is on the multi-faceted, multi-purpose and/or holistic role of community anchors, as they work across dimensions of community development, and the matters of practice and political economy that such a complexity of roles generates. The interpretation and analysis then shifts to discussions with those working-on-the-ground, as to their understanding of and aspirations for ‘community empowerment’; and across both the broader usage of ‘community empowerment (1)’ as a contested, eclectic realm of discussion and the more focused use of ‘community empowerment (2)’ concerned for a developing community sector, as outlined in (1.3.1). By focusing on the multi-purpose roles of the case-study organisations, and on the expectations and aspirations of those working within and alongside them, a richer picture of the community anchor role as a whole develops; one which again extends discussion of a CACE/CSTP.

In relation to the RAOs, this chapter continues to focus on RA2, in particular: through the practice of community anchors as multi-purpose organisations (RO2) that in fact also increasingly raises issues of political economy; and through the expectations and aspirations of activists/volunteers and staff of, and for, community empowerment (RO3) which, again, raise both matters of practice and political economy. In so doing, the thesis continues to illustrate the relationship between community anchors and community empowerment (RA3/RO4) and deepen understanding of a CACE/CSTP (RA1).

The discussions steer the following course across the chapter:

- (7.2) Working with multiple roles
- (7.3) Community sector dialogue and community empowerment
- (7.4) Concluding thoughts

7.2: Integrating multiple roles

This section seeks to explore the practice of community anchors as multi-purpose or multi-functional, and to recognise some of the wider implications, benefits and tensions within such a multi-purpose-ness. The dimensions of community development are used to provide an initial framework for this discussion in relation to the case-study material; although the discussion of each dimension is far from mutually exclusive, but rather points to the multi-functional nature of any one particular activity or project, whatever the initial intent. Sub-section 7.2.1, therefore, provides introductory descriptions of community anchor activities through these dimensions, namely:

- local community social and economic development;
- service provision and partnership-working with the state and others; and
- advocacy, campaigning and working for policy and political changes.

Further discussion then follows on the complexities of working with the state across these dimensions, and there is recognition that this requires community anchors to look beyond the confines of their own community to consider the wider workings and impacts of the nation state (7.2.2). A particular focus is then given to the community anchor's advocacy and campaigning role, and recognising the complexities of working with the state and with grassroots campaigning (7.2.3).

The section is thus structured as follows:

- (7.2.1) Working across dimensions of community development
- (7.2.2) Outward-looking community anchors
- (7.2.3) Community anchors, advocacy and campaigning

7.2.1: Working across dimensions of community development

This sub-section is itself broken down into three descriptive discussions of: local community social and economic development; service provision and partnership-working with the state and others; and advocacy, campaigning and working for political changes. Their positioning, in a different order to that given in Chapters 1 and 3, is due to local community economic and social development as the initial focus for action within a CACE or, more generally, the community ownership tradition; although it should be recognised that all three dimensions are considered significant and integral to a CACE. Using the case-study material, an outline of many of the activities and actions

of the three community organisations is provided relative to these three dimensions. Further interpretation and analysis is then taken forward in 7.2.2 and 7.2.3.

(1) Local community economic and social development

This discussion is itself pursued via three related themes of community building/social development; community economic development; and community sector development.

Community building/social development: the emphasis here is on the activities of the three organisations in supporting and developing community activity that is broadly ‘social’ rather than immediately economic in nature; and where both the social and the economic are assumed to be involved in the construction of community identity. It can, in part, be linked to the development of social capital, as considered in 3.4.3 (Putnam, 2000): whether as ‘bonding capital’ through family and friendships; ‘bridging capital’, and weaker associations across a community and likely neighbouring communities – a community solidarity perhaps; or ‘linking capital’, with links further afield to a range of communities of interest, a wider social solidarity perhaps, but also decision-makers, influencers and powerful institutions (Painter et al., 2011, citing Woolcock & Sweetser, 2002). This may, however, be confusing, if it is not recognised that community anchors tend to focus on local community building and, as discussed in 3.2.1 and 6.2.2, working across a matrix of local community diversity; whereas social capital, and ‘community’ too, are not necessarily spatially confined to ‘the local’ and can be used in other circumstances.

All three organisations are involved with, and support, a range of such community-building projects, without necessarily playing a leading role in all cases, and these include those relating to: creativity and the arts; community history; environmental project work; work with young people, children and their families, and older people too. NCDC and GHHA also work within smaller communities – settlements or neighbourhoods – ‘within the whole’. GHHA also recognises the need to work with local communities of minority ethnic identity, establishing a BME (Black and minority ethnic) resident and tenants group, with a particular focus on Pakistani/South Asian identities, and providing culturally and linguistically sensitive and knowledgeable housing and welfare services. It also works to support the community development, advocacy support and campaigning research work of other local community sector and

voluntary organisations, in relation to the local Roma communities, and more generally asylum seekers and refugees.

Community economic development: all three organisations show a commitment to, and aspiration for, further work on community economic development through the development of their own community enterprises, and through the support and facilitation of the development of other community enterprises and local micro-business. Both GHHA and NCDC have two trading subsidiaries apiece, with CI looking to develop one in relation to its micro-hydro renewables project. Each is also working to develop structures to support such local economic development: GHHA has initiated a ‘social enterprise incubator’ (GHHA, 2012; Assist Social Capital, 2012; Govanhill Community Development Trust, 2013) and is now part of the Social Enterprising Europe programme, and aiming to develop suitable training and materials (Govanhill Community Development Trust, 2013). CI is seeking to establish a community enterprise centre to support local craftspeople and provide office/workspaces (CI: 2011, 2012, 2013, n.d.). Likewise, NCDC is seeking to establish a social enterprise/business hub (NCDC: 2012a, 2012b), whilst already providing local business support and advice.

Each can also be seen to be more generally supporting community economic development: GHHA through its community development trust has also developed a portfolio of local units/workshops/office-space for rents to small business, third sector and public sector organisations; although, thus far, their experience has been that these do not necessarily provide employment for people living in Govanhill itself as businesses tend to bring existing staff. CI works with local businesses and other community organisations in relation to tourism, in particular, the Gem Rock Museum and the Creetown Museum Heritage Trust, to develop the village’s range of activities and attractions; for instance, developments that include community woodlands, revitalised playing fields, public and community arts programmes, town square regeneration and activities, provision of cycling, a community market and now a planned hostel. NCDC has worked on a tourism strategy with local businesses, improving local facilities and accommodation; in particular the café and accommodation at Eshaness, the marina facilities at Collafirth Brig (pier) and local signage.

Local community sector development: as previously discussed in 6.2.3, all three organisations, through their focus on community social and economic development, provide support and coordination, and work alongside a wider local community sector, itself grounded in community; in effect developing a local community sector infrastructure that can support yet further local community social and economic development.

(2) Partnership-working with the state and others

This discussion is itself pursued via two themes, partnership with the state and partnership with others.

Working in partnership with the local and central state: NCDC and CI have both worked in small ways with the local state, for example with local schools, and both draw significantly on state funds and other public bodies to support their range of activities. However, their degree of active integration within public service delivery is currently limited; although as noted in 6.3.1, NCDC can be understood to have formed through relational contracting between community/community sector and the local state, as Shetland Islands Council (SIC), and the central state, as Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE).

Given its history as a community housing association taking up social housing stock from Glasgow City Council (GCC) within Govanhill since the 1970s, most recently through a second stage transfer via Glasgow Housing Association (GHA) completed in January 2011, and given the current multi-faceted private rental sector ‘slum housing’ crisis within Govanhill (GHHA, 2008; Scottish Parliament Public Petitions Committee, 2008) – as discussed in 1.4.1 – then GHHA has a significantly more developed relationship with the local state and, in part, with the central state too – see (3) below. As well as providing housing services and welfare support related services, GHHA and the local community sector, currently works closely with public sector services through the Govanhill Service Hub and the Govanhill Partnership¹⁹². It also has a wider housing

¹⁹² Note: this was formerly the Govanhill Neighbourhood Management Steering Group, Govanhill Partnership is an officers’ management group reporting to the Pollokshields & Govanhill Community Planning Partnership.

role in the area as local agent for GCC in relation to the private rental and owner-occupier sectors.

Working in partnership with others – private sector and wider third sector: NCDC and CI both have strong working relationships with local people running micro-businesses and small businesses, in which common purpose has been found for working together to improve the community, the prospects for local business and community enterprise, and associated local employment. GHHA provides premises for a range of small businesses from within Glasgow, and which is part of its wider concern for regeneration of the area, but which would not seemingly be described as partnership-working. None of the three community anchors have had longer-term partnerships with larger corporate private sector companies or larger SMEs (small and medium-size businesses) in relation to financial support for community economic and social development, or as a joint business venture¹⁹³.

All three have working partnerships with local community sector organisations within their own communities. More widely, CI has a working link with the Dumfries & Galloway Social Enterprise Network, the latter being their office tenant, and are active within the Dumfries & Galloway Farmers' and Community Markets Association; the latter providing support for both community and small business initiatives. GHHA has a number of significant working relationships within wider community, third and public sector partnerships such as South East Integration Network and Roma-Net.

All three organisations have relationships with at least one national/regional representative body: with GHHA active within Glasgow & West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations (GWSFHA) and the SCA; and all three organisations are

¹⁹³ Note: two points: (1) All three community organisations would, of course, have relationships with private sector organisations in the more general sense of drawing on the market to resource the organisation and its day-to-day activities – energy, communications, transport and so on – and in achieving particular projects, e.g. for GHHA in contracting the building and refurbishing of homes. (2) There would seem to be a potentially significant piece of research here to understand if and when any such longer-term partnerships arise between larger private sector organisations and community sector organisations and 'communities arise – see, for instance, in Henderson (2006a) an example in Craigmillar in Edinburgh of some joint-working between the private sector and the local secondary school on the provision of training – and how the outcomes of such partnership-working might be interpreted and evaluated, particularly in relation to a critique of neo-liberalism.

members of the Development Trust Association Scotland (DTAS)¹⁹⁴, itself an SCA member.

(3) Advocacy, campaigning and working for policy/political changes

All three organisations had an ongoing working relationship with their respective community councils, and spoke of working relationships with local authority elected councillors; with NCDC having a local councillor on its Board. CI also spoke of contact with the local MSP in relation to a funding issue with national dimensions (Fergusson, 2009)¹⁹⁵. NCDC provided a research report for SIC (NCDC, 2008) that evidenced the need for additional economic and social support for the full range of ‘fragile’ communities in Shetland, and which informed SIC’s Community Regeneration Policy (SIC, 2011c [2009]). In a more general sense too, both organisations advocate for further resourcing of their respective communities; NCDC, for instance, sustaining a lobby for family housing in Eshaness over a number of years; whilst CI has proven adept at drawing in central state and national public funding, as well as philanthropic funding, as noted in 6.3.1.

GHHA has taken a leading role in significant lobbying and advocacy work, in particular working at a national level with the Scottish Parliament and Scottish Government in relation to the private rental ‘slum’ housing crisis in Govanhill, alongside Govanhill Law Centre and with other community partners including the Community Council and, more recently, Govanhill Community Action (GoCA). Together they initiated a Scottish Parliament Petition (PE1189), which ran from 2008-2011 (Scottish Parliament, n.d.), and brought issues relating to private rental housing and the management of landlords, both in Govanhill and Scotland-wide, further onto the Scottish Government’s agenda. This contributed to the following policy-related actions:

- influencing of two pieces of housing legislation, the Housing (Scotland) Act 2010 and Private Rented Housing (Scotland) Act 2011 (Harkins, Egan & Craig 2011; Harkins & Egan, 2012b);

¹⁹⁴ Note: CI has had a strong link with DTAS through its members’ consultancy ‘the Pool’ – although this is not currently operating in a formal sense; likewise NCDC has undertaken consultancy work through DTAS and Shetland Islands Council.

¹⁹⁵ Note: Alex Fergusson MSP (2009) writes of taking-up a funding issue with the Scottish Government Minister in relation to national agency Sports Scotland’s practice being ‘almost discriminatory’ against rural communities; in part, following difficulties experienced in Creetown in developing local facilities.

- £1.8m additional Scottish Government funding for housing, community development and the Govanhill Services Hub in 2010 (Neil, 2010¹⁹⁶) – see also Sistema Scotland funding discussed later in this sub-section;
- sustaining Govanhill as a particular priority within Glasgow City Council's (GCC) allocation of its Private Sector Housing Programme Grant (Glasgow City Council Executive Committee, 2013a¹⁹⁷); and
- establishment of a Govanhill Regeneration Taskforce (2010-2012)¹⁹⁸, which then reported in early 2012 (Govanhill Regeneration Taskforce, 2012), and is seemingly leading (finally) onto further regeneration work in south-west Govanhill (Glasgow City Council Executive, 2013a).

Given the working class, ethnically-diverse nature of the community, GHHA has also been involved in advocacy on race and poverty issues, including through:

- Govanhill Media Action, a joint project with Oxfam Scotland and community sector partners, which is working to raise the level of positive coverage of Govanhill in the local and even national media – particularly but not only in relation to the local Roma communities;
- its BME resident and tenants group, MERG welfare, which has worked with the support of Glasgow City Council to produce an anti-racism/anti-hate crime DVD to encourage use of the third party hate crime reporting facility in Glasgow;
- supporting Govanhill Law Centre and Oxfam Scotland's advocacy, self-advocacy and research activities in support of the local Roma communities and other migrant peoples including refugees and asylum-seekers; and
- advocating for the second Sistema Scotland project to be initiated in Govanhill and neighbouring areas as 'Big Noise Govanhill' – in effect a competitive process with other communities seeking Scottish Government funding available for a single project (Stewart, 2012)¹⁹⁹.

¹⁹⁶ Note: letter from Alex Neil MSP, Minister for Housing and Communities, to the Scottish Parliament's Petitions Committee confirming then scale of funding.

¹⁹⁷ Note: this GCC Executive Report (2013a) records £18m of GCC's Private Sector Housing Programme Grant from the Scottish Government over the last 6 years as being spent on Govanhill.

¹⁹⁸ Note: the Task Group included Deputy First Minister Nicola Sturgeon, who since 2011 has been the local constituency MSP, as well as local councillors, public sector managers, and community sector representatives.

¹⁹⁹ Note: Sistema Scotland plan to use music as a community development and educational tool working with local primary schools in Govanhill. GHHA has played a key role in bringing Sistema to Govanhill

GHHA can be understood to have played increasingly active advocacy and a service provision role within community planning structures, having built strong working relations with the officers' management group – initially called the Govanhill Neighbourhood Management Group and more recently Govanhill Partnership – in managing public sector service provision in the area (Bynner, 2010; Harkins, Egan & Craig, 2011). As Govanhill Service Hub has developed, both it and the Govanhill Partnership, have sought to work in consultation with community partners including GHHA, Govanhill Law Centre, the Community Council and GoCA. GHHA is also active within Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations (GWSFHA), with the latter undertaking both local and national policy consultation and campaigning work in relation to housing and community regeneration.

Further research work would be needed to understand in more depth 'how' the advocacy and campaigning role of GHHA and the community sector in Govanhill has impacted on the policy and political dynamics at local and national levels: what were the points of 'leverage' and how did community and community sector concerns fit with wider policy and political agenda? Indeed, it would be useful to draw from other examples of community sector advocacy and campaigning, as well, to support understanding and development of further practice by the community sector. Suffice to say here, that the GHHA case-study provides encouragement for those within the community sector seeking to influence wider local, regional and national policy agendas.

7.2.2: Outward-looking community anchors

Across 7.2.1, further descriptive understanding of the multi-purpose role of a community anchor has been outlined, giving a greater sense of the current scope and scale of activity within the community sector. Relative to the dimensions of community development, the three organisations can all be seen to be undertaking a considerable range of community economic and social development activity. Within the work of GHHA there is, however, a notable difference in the scope and scale of partnership working with the state – as part of public service delivery and 'employment training'

(Stewart, 2012). For more on Big Noise Govanhill view: <http://makeabignoise.org.uk/big-noise-govanhill/>

programmes – and advocacy for community and community sector interests in relation to local and national state. In seeking to understand such a difference, then, the size and age, given it is now 40 years old, of GHHA, relative to CI and NCDC, provides a starting point and, alongside its willingness to undertake such sizeable and varied tasks; not all housing associations might, for instance, pursue a wider community regeneration, preferring to keep the focus on housing provision alone.

The scale of GHHA's work can further be considered through socio-economic and political context. The scale of urban socio-economic crisis experienced by many working class areas of Glasgow and the wider region²⁰⁰, particularly since de-industrialisation and loss of manufacturing industry beginning in 1960s and 1970s, and accelerating in the 1980s with a UK Government policy shift to a service-based economy (Donaldson, 1984; Collins, 2008; Danson & Whittam, 2010; Danson & Trebeck, 2011), gives the region a particular political significance. Further, Glasgow is a crucial element in the Scottish economy, as Scotland's largest city/region (population-wise), and currently a key political and electoral battleground between the Scottish Labour Party and the SNP²⁰¹. With community housing associations the focus of policy developments in Glasgow, with substantial support from the local and central state since the 1970s and 1980s, and continued most recently as a second stage transfer from GCC via Glasgow Housing Association (GWSFHA, 1999; Clapham & Kintrea, 2000; McKee, 2008), GHHA and other community housing associations have had access to significant resources and policy support over some decades.

The younger, very much smaller and rurally-based organisations, CI and NCDC, have arisen within a rural policy context of concern for an increasing economic and social marginality of remote rural communities, which began to gain momentum through community land trusts in the 1990s, leading onto the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2003 and related funding streams in the 2000s (Pearce, 1993; Skerratt, 2011; Black, 2012; Shucksmith, 2012; Cooke, 2013; Satsangi, 2013), as discussed in 3.3.2 and 3.4.2; although also, as argued in 3.3.1, as part of the wider changing political economic

²⁰⁰ Note: potentially as understood as 'the region' or 'city-region' covered by the eight local authorities that make up the Glasgow and Clyde Valley Strategic Development Planning Authority: this is considered further in Chapter 8.

²⁰¹ Note: for instance, of the 16 MSPs representing Glasgow following the 2011 Scottish Parliament elections, seven are SNP and seven are Scottish Labour Party – with one Scottish Conservative Party MSP and one Scottish Green Party MSP. Within Glasgow City Council since the 2012 local elections, 45 councillors are Scottish Labour, 26 are SNP, with eight from the other parties.

dynamics of the UK nation state from the 1980s, as a shift from Keynesian welfarism to neo-liberalism. These rural initiatives are not, however, on the scale of some of the urban ones. The development of community organisations of a certain scale and scope over a number of decades since 1970s, such as community housing associations and other community organisations with sizeable property asset bases (Walker et al. 2010), illustrates then the potential for the community sector to play significant roles in sometimes complex ways across these dimensions of community development. As already suggested, and likely increasingly apparent, the abstract nature of such a three dimensional categorisation of community development inevitably has limitations, in particular that activities, projects and foci do not fall conveniently into a single dimension. For example, GHHA's work with the BME resident and tenant group has led to the development by the group of an anti-hate crime DVD that can be seen as advocacy by the group and GHHA in support of local community interests: the DVD is also part of partnership-working with the local state through GCC's hate crime reporting scheme, and is part of a wider community development strategy with and by the group. Similarly, NCDC's work on local housing needs has involved elements of community-led development, advocacy, and partnership-working with the state and Hjalmland Housing Association²⁰²; while CI's work to develop and manage a community woodland is part of their local community development focus, but also clearly involves partnership-working with a public body, Forestry Commission Scotland.

This discussion of dimensions would seem to point to the complexity of the roles being taken up by community anchors, both in relation to individual activities and across the whole of their operations. Further, given that all three community anchors can be used to illustrate each of the three dimensions, that opportunity and circumstance will be crucial for development; although community leadership and the existing skill and knowledge-base within the organisation and community will impact too. GHHA has developed within a certain policy context over four or so decades, and so within particular opportunities and circumstance. Although not all community housing associations in Glasgow can be said to be undertaking the same breadth of activity, not all are seeking to play a community anchor role, for instance (GWSFHA, 2011; McKee, 2012), nevertheless community housing associations, GWSFHA and their supporters

²⁰² Note: Hjalmland Housing Association provides 500+ properties, Shetland-wide, with approximately half of them in the main town of Lerwick, view at: <http://www.hjalmland.org.uk/history>

have been active across those decades in advocacy in relation to policy development and, in part, the construction of opportunities and circumstance.

Yet this thesis is arguing, as a working assumption, that these opportunities and circumstances have also been fashioned within the on-going emphasis on neo-liberalism by the state, and within global economic structures, since the 1980s, and that, in particular, in Scotland and the UK this has expressed itself as area-based regeneration interventions and ameliorative approaches from policy-makers to structural inequalities or uneven development; as per discussions across section 3.3. It might be expected, then, that policy-making will continue to channel the efforts of community anchors, and through community-led regeneration, into area-based interventions; potentially as a community management in fact, as per 5.4.1.

For instance, relative to the private rental sector ‘slum housing’ crisis in Govanhill, there is movement to tackle this crisis: with a Govanhill Services Hub, established since 2010, to which GHHA, GCC and the Scottish Government have made resource contributions (Harkins, Egan & Craig, 2011, Harkins & Egan, 2012; GHHA, 2012); additional Scottish Government funding of £1.8m (Neil, 2010) likewise established for community development and housing restoration; and a Regeneration Action Plan (Govanhill Regeneration Taskforce, 2012) eventually agreed. Yet, progress is slow and the scale of resources relative to the scale of the housing, social and economic problems faced is clearly insufficient, with the Govanhill Regeneration Taskforce (2012) calling for Housing Renewal Areas status – an idea originally suggested in 2008 (GHHA, 2008) – for part of Govanhill, and for public subsidy from the Scottish Government to support landlord and owner-occupier investment, seemingly making no progress. However, recently in December 2013, a proposal went before GCC’s Executive Committee (2013a) for consideration, which would request significant investment from the Scottish Government in 13 key tenement blocks in south-west Govanhill; with GCC, GHHA, the Govanhill Partnership (local community planning management body) and the Scottish Government itself positioned within the document as long-term partners. This suggests that the plan will be seriously considered once formally presented to the Scottish Government²⁰³. Although beyond the scope of the researcher’s interview data,

²⁰³ Note: the Glasgow City Council Executive report (2013a: 3) includes “the provision of a Government funded dedicated capital investment programme over an agreed period of at least 5 years” for 13 blocks, and an article in the Evening Times on 4.12.13 (Nichol, 2013) suggests the size of the fund to be

there is, then, initial evidence here of GHHA and its community partners continuing to work to sustain the attention of GCC and the Scottish Government on this private rental slum housing crisis, and signs that this may, yet, have some impact on achieving resourcing at a scale more suitable to the actual physical regeneration needed.

Further, while progress has been made in relations between the local Roma communities and the local community sector and GCC (Crkon, 2012²⁰⁴), a Govanhill Law Centre/Oxfam Scotland report (Paterson et al., 2012) has flagged up the considerable discrimination faced by the Roma community in relation to use of benefit and welfare services/agencies of the UK central state.

The wider advocacy and campaigning work of GHHA, Govanhill Law Centre and community partners in Govanhill, have also had influence on the community and, more generally, across Scotland through a certain influence on legislation, as indicated earlier in this sub-section. Such advocacy work highlights the constraints on any area-based focus and, yet, the potential to go beyond this by looking ‘outwards’ towards wider social structure. For while investment in the physical regeneration of Govanhill will be valuable, it may, in one sense, be at the expense of other areas – where state expenditure is static²⁰⁵ – and it will do little for the broader scope of problems in relation to employment, services and welfare that all on low incomes face, both in Govanhill and more generally across society. However, by having influence on wider policy and legislation, GHHA and community partners can be seen to illustrate *the potential* for community organisations, more likely through coordinated actions from their

requested would be £32m. Although, well below an early estimate of £187m back in 2008 from GHHA to restore 2000 homes (Perry, 2008), including 750 tenement flats considered ‘below tolerable standard’ (GHHA, 2008), this suggests at least movement towards the right scale of intervention. Glasgow City Council Executive minute (2013b) indicates agreement to move to a final report to pass to the Scottish Government for consideration and, informally, the researcher has heard this has now happened (March, 2014).

²⁰⁴ Note: Peter Crkon’s report for Glasgow City Council surveys the Slovak and Czech (A8) Romani communities, but seemingly not the more recently-arriving and less established Romanian (A2) Romani community.

²⁰⁵ Note: this assumes a relatively static picture of state income from taxation, borrowing and profit from public enterprise; and limited opportunity for or from the private sector, or even third sector, to bring in further investment for regeneration activities across the nation state, given ‘the market failure’ or structurally uneven economic development under which the private sector slum housing crisis has developed. Where central state expenditure is increasing, in real terms, then additional income would be available for investment in regeneration as well as other state interventions and services, but this seems unlikely to be on a scale necessary to tackle housing problems across Scotland given current neo-liberal political economic orthodoxy.

representative bodies, to have a certain impact on policy across the wider nation state and economy as a whole.

The discussions of community ownership, and of alternative economic and social space, in 5.4.1 have suggested that community anchors and the community sector can and should aspire to significant economic and social activity that is not entirely shaped or dictated by the market and the state. The complexity of the anchor role illustrates, as previously argued in 6.3.4, that the workings of community anchors need to be understood in the context of socio-economic structure; as relations between the state, the market and community/ reciprocity. In aspiring to a community ownership, rather than simply a community management, there will likely be certain opportunities arising from area-focused interventions such as the development of community asset ownership. There will likely be opportunities, too, arising from outward-looking strategies, for instance, where advocacy and joint-advocacy across the community sector and with other allies can impact on policy-making; outward-looking opportunities for joint-working on local economic development are considered in 8.2.4.

The community anchor model might suggest a simple fit with an area-based regeneration strategy, as a community-led regeneration in just one place, but this would now seem misleading. As a community anchor, and local community sector, seek to extend their ability to 'get things done', then of necessity its/their roles becomes more complex and outward-looking – as in seeking resources, allies and a supportive policy context. Where the community sector continues to assert an aspiration for a wider community ownership, and related land reform, then such an outward-looking approach, and the search for allies and opportunities to achieve such goals, would seem to be inevitable too. Implicit, all along, within the dimensions of community development, and likewise the intersecting matrix of local community diversity in 3.2, has been a recognition of wider forces at work, that will require an outward focus beyond a community, alongside an inward focus. This resonates, too, with a CACE, and its concerns for both local action and a change in structural context.

7.2.3: *Community anchors, advocacy and campaigning*

Oppositional activity from within communities can be the starting point for developing a wider community approach, with local activists frustrated with ‘the powers that be’; perhaps in direct conflict with the local state over public services, for example closure of local services (Mooney & Fyfe, 2006; Henderson, 2006a; Cochrane, 2007; SCA 2008a; DTAS, 2010); in rural areas, frustrations over a private landowner’s use or lack of use of an estate (Callaghan et al., 2011; Hunter et al., 2013); or perhaps in response to the impact of wider political economic trends such as growing local unemployment (Collins, 2008; DTAS, 2009; Community Health Exchange, 2011²⁰⁶). Having discussed in the last section, the increasing complexity of roles that a community anchor will likely work with, once it becomes established, then it seems likely it will move from a particular focus on oppositional activity, to a wider focus across the dimensions of community development. In so doing, its role relative to working with the state shifts, and it will likely start to assess to what extent it is possible to continue to play (in part) oppositional roles, as an ‘outsider’; or, whether it must restrict itself to an ‘insider’ advocacy role in its work with the state. Indeed, as noted in 6.3.4, the shift from a community anchor as intermittent partner of the local state to that of longer-term ‘co-producer’, characterised through relational-contracting, generates discussion as how the two can cope with the necessary conflicts – as well as an implied concern that their relationship could easily become *too* comfortable and cooperative.

Drawing from the three case-study organisations, their emphasis would likely be described as characteristic of organisations on ‘the inside’ rather ‘the outside’. GHHA has been/is undertaking to advocate for community interests, and with its community sector partners, but this is understood to be an advocacy using existing state structures, rather than an oppositional grassroots campaign. CI and NCDC have relationships with the local and central state, and thus opportunities for advocacy, but these would currently be described as ‘lower key’, with their emphasis on community economic and social development and liaison with local political figures. The suggestion, from this limited evidence-base, is that community anchors will not *necessarily* become actively or explicitly involved in grassroots campaigning initiatives. Nevertheless, this still leaves open *the potential* for community anchors to be supportive of local grassroots

²⁰⁶ Note: some of the examples given within these three texts include in Inverclyde Community Development Trust (DTA Scotland, 2009), Clydebank Independent Resource Centre (Collins, 2008), and Kings Court Health and Wellbeing Centre (CHEX, 2011).

and oppositional campaigning, through *relevant* training, resources and/or supportive ‘behind the scenes’ advocacy in support of a local campaign; and also of *the potential* for an active, leading role in mobilising community opposition, in certain circumstances, when very significant local community interests are under threat.

The politicised context of working within Govanhill is discussed by Harkins & Egan (2011, 2012b), and they identify the local media, local authority politics and national politics as generating a politically-charged decision- and policy-making environment. They also present within their report on the Equally Well participatory budgeting pilot within Govanhill (Harkins & Egan, 2012a) – one of the Scottish Government funded ‘test sites’ – examples in which the dynamics of both public sector and community sector decision-making within the developing pilot process can be seen to be part of such ‘political’ processes – in the general sense of the word rather than party-political: for instance, GHHA and Oxfam Scotland are described as seeking to win support and backing from the public sector and the community planning structures for the pilot; and the local community sector is described as in an active decision-making process within the pilot and needing to both advocate for their particular concerns and priorities, whilst also recognising wider community interests and needs.

It would, however, be unlikely that such diverse dimensions of politicisation should be focused on Glasgow alone: indeed, the discussions of Cotterill & Richardson (2011) on community anchors and local councillors, noted in 4.3.3, point to the need for the community sector to be both politically-strategic and politically-savvy as to the party political nature of local politics. The roles of local authority councillors in liaising with Kirkmabreck Community Council and Northmavine Community Council, and the working relations with officers from the respective Dumfries & Galloway Council and Shetland Islands Council, would suggest then that both CI and NCDC are working within political environments too.

Discussion with some interviewees in all three communities, as well as informal conversations and observations, pointed to the political and strategic dimensions of community life as well. For instance, one interviewee noted:

I think the interesting thing would be, and I don't know how you would possibly measure it, but you know, things that are imposed on a community by external

influences, how receptive people are to that, than something that's been community-driven, and consulted upon, you know. Grown within the community, but you just can't, you could never measure it could you? But it tends to be, you always get that 'militant faction' that rail against authority, and I think that if you approach them with a more inclusive, consultative approach, then they tend to come aboard a bit more, don't they, than if they are just told this is what's happening, this is what we're going to do.

Community organisations are, thus, moving through a range of dialogues and decision-making that are politicised, as in concerned for power: in part as the interactions and dynamics of power between local interest groups, but, more crucially, set within a broader structural context in which public and private sector 'players' (agents) through regional, national and international structures (social systems) construct a political economic context.

Community anchors are seeking to manoeuvre within a politically-charged context to support their own survival and development and their commitment to local community interests. Within this context, increasing levels of sustainable independence – as financially sustainable and robust organisations able to provide traction – can then be understood to likely increase the opportunities for such manoeuvrings and the development of an 'insider' advocacy, and perhaps 'outsider' advocacy too, given a growing, if relative, independence from the state. Community-led practices can then be seen as both strategic in themselves, *and* taking place within politically-charged local contexts too which 'demand' a strategic approach: community anchors, and more generally a local community sector, will work to sustain local community support – and a related credibility and relevance – whilst recognising, too, that a local community sector and the wider 'community' will of necessity, given the matrix of local community diversity, involve certain political tensions.

The case-study material collected can only support a brief consideration of these broad themes; given the broad nature of the discussions generated within the interviewing undertaken – see 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 on selection of interviewees and the interviewing process. However, two brief observations can be added. Firstly, that advocacy and campaigning are more likely to be undertaken when community sector and public sector are broadly agreed as to the importance of an issue: a proposed and highly-

inflammatory march by racist ‘far right’ groups in multi-ethnic Govanhill – and in the context of fast approaching local authority elections (May 2012) with a far-right racist candidate standing in the Southside Central electoral ward that includes Govanhill – drew condemnation and concern from both community sector and public sector.²⁰⁷ In the case of Kingsway Court Health and Well-being Centre (Community Health Exchange [2011]), briefly recognised in 4.3.3, when part of the state/public sector is the actual focus of a grassroots campaign, then a certain skill as well as courage are needed to find ways to support local community activism and advocacy. Mention of racist or far-right influences also recognises that not all grassroots ‘activity’ can be considered ‘constructive’, and some such ‘activism’ can include intimidation of ‘vulnerable groups’ (Thompson, 2001; Cochrane, 2007; Diers, 2007); although this needs to be understood and tackled relative to the socio-economic context. Community anchors will, then, face complex questions and dilemmas in relation to the handling of some grassroots actions.

Secondly, in both Creetown and Northmavine, and their respective broader regions of Dumfries & Galloway (and more widely in the south of Scotland) and Shetland, communities were facing substantial tensions in relation to the scope and scale of wind farm developments. Significant numbers of projects and proposals in south-west Scotland are generating high levels of local opposition and debate (see for instance, Galloway Gazette, 2012); and, likewise, a proposed 103 turbine Viking Energy wind farm in central ‘Mainland’ Shetland, which would lead to development of an interconnector cable (the first from Shetland) to mainland Scotland and the UK National Grid, has proven highly controversial with advocates both for and against (Viking Energy, n.d.; Sustainable Shetland, n.d.; Guest, 2014)²⁰⁸. The scale of such developments, and local challenges to them, goes beyond explanations as (solely) a simple ‘nimby-ism’, to asking key questions about *both* sustaining the local

²⁰⁷ Note: the researcher observed discussions recognising community concerns and condemning the proposed march within both public sector and community sector settings. The far right Britannica Party fielded a candidate in Southside Central ward in the GCC 2012 local elections, but received only 35 votes (ScottishElections.org.uk, 2012; Gable, 2012).

²⁰⁸ Note: The Viking Wind Farm project has caused deep controversy on Shetland with many advocating for it, for instance, the Shetland Charitable Trust (Viking Energy, n.d.), who would jointly own it with the power company Scottish and Southern Energy, and would use the income generated to re-invest in Shetland’s social and economic development. They point to the inter-connector cable between Shetland and the UK National Grid that would be laid as supportive of the development of further capacity for renewables in Shetland; and this has the support of the Scottish and UK Governments. However, Sustainable Shetland are opposing the development on environmental and health-related grounds (Sustainable Shetland, n.d.), and have successfully pursued a judicial review, which itself has been taken to appeal by the Scottish Government (Guest, 2014).

environment and quality of life *and* strategies for economic and sustainable development that are genuinely understood to benefit the full spectrum of local people. As/if community anchors and the community sector grow in scope and scale themselves, their concerns for local community economic and social development will surely require engagement with all parties in such scenarios, and potentially advocacy of a particular position, too, in some circumstances.

Finally, and relative to Pearce's (2009) initial categorisation of the types of community development in which campaigning and political activity with the local labour movement was signalled as one key element, see 1.2.1 and 1.3.2(4), one observation is that, relative at least to the three case-study organisations, there were no immediate signs of joint-working with the local labour movement/trade unions – on anti-poverty campaigning or otherwise. Perhaps this is a sign of the current times, and of lower levels of working class activism since the end of the 1980s (Hoggett, 1997) as trades union activity has been constrained by the neo-liberal state and a low-wage service economy (Danson & Whittam, 2010) – as discussed in 1.3.5 and 3.3; and a creeping sense of the (apparent) irrelevance, to or alienation from, mainstream political processes has resulted, particularly within working class households and communities (Bort, McAlpine & Morgan, 2012).

Penny Waterhouse & Matthew Scott (2013) argue and evidence, in a recent report for the National Coalition for Independent Action, undertaken with the support of Manchester Metropolitan University, that such oppositional community campaigning activity has not been entirely lost from the community and third sectors. Working to undertake a collective research inquiry with contributions from 70+ organisations, mainly in England, but also some in Scotland, into forms of dissent and opposition to current UK Coalition Government policy agenda of public spending cuts and privatisation of services, they note a range of forms of dissent that include 'active dissent' through campaigning and a 'subversive dissent' within collaborative working with the public sector. Waterhouse & Scott (2013) point to some evidence of joint-working with local trade unions, but usually of a limited nature. They argue that representative voluntary organisations, such as local community voluntary services (CVS), who access significant financial support from the state, have largely been silenced – noting a few exceptions. In one sense, this might confirm the scale of alienation between local community sector and local trades unions, yet the exceptions

add a note of optimism and suggest that explanations may be complex and worthy of further investigation, and suggest scope for a developing practice.

There is a significant challenge for community anchors and the community sector, and to which a CSTP could lend a valuable contribution to further thinking on how to work with ('manage') this seeming tension between advocacy for local community interests and organisational survival; alongside exploring existing successes of campaigning work with the local labour movement and with other communities of interest/identity in relation to, for instance, race, gender, disability, faith and belief, sexuality, age-related, and culture and language. There is a further question, too, as to whether there is a variant on the community anchor model, or some other construction of a community organisation, that might seek to prioritise community campaigning; as per Alinsky's model of community organising, perhaps, and the current work of Citizens UK, as noted in 3.4.1 (Diers, 2007; Seal, 2008; Eversley, 2009). Such a variant need not necessarily be in conflict with the existing community anchor model and ethos, but potentially work parallel to it, and is suggestive of the potential to develop a more diverse and complex community sector. Yet, for such thinking to support meaningful discussion within the community sector, examples will be needed of such organisations and how they can establish suitable funding, presumably independent of the state.

7.3: Community sector dialogue and community empowerment

This section 'steps back', relatively-speaking, from an emphasis on the researcher's own interpretation and analysis of the case-study material through theorising on a CACE/CSTP and, instead, focuses on the expectations and aspirations of the interviewees in discussing 'community empowerment': both as a 'community empowerment (1)', as a general usage of community empowerment, and a 'community empowerment (2)', as a more focused usage on community sector development – as established in 1.3.2. Inevitably though, this approach, too, prioritises the researcher's own interpretation and analysis of the interviewees' views, but there is recognition within the process that the current views of those working in the community do not necessarily all fit neatly within the thinking generated on a CACE.

The research interviews were focused primarily on discussions of what people and their organisations were doing, and largely within the context of events in their own

community and region/city. Yet, given the interview format adopted as ‘a conversation with a purpose’, there were opportunities to widen discussion and most interviewees, depending on the trajectory of the interview, were asked as to their views of community empowerment and/or on how their community and organisation could be understood as community-led. Sufficient research material accrued to support an initial consideration of activists/volunteers and staff discussions of ‘community empowerment’, and thus to give some potential insight into thinking of the wider community sector.

The discussion, therefore, develops as follows:

- (7.3.1) Discussing community empowerment
- (7.3.2) Further thinking on community sector dialogue

7.3.1: Discussing community empowerment

There were four broad types of discussion, which are considered individually below, as follows:

- (1) sceptical and cautious responses;
- (2) informal community networks and community solidarity;
- (3) extending community sector roles;
- (4) developing community dialogue.

(1) Sceptical and cautious responses

Three interviewees were unhappy with, or uninterested in, the term ‘community empowerment’:

We have used it, but it’s over-used, and the meaning is not clear any more. It’s a buzz word used too much, so loses its impact. I prefer words like ‘enabling’²⁰⁹, but maybe it’s a personal thing: I know plenty of people who still use the term.

No, I would never use that. (when asked about the term ‘community empowerment’, but then, when re-phrased as ‘strong community’) We have a strong community, and something that Shetlanders are very, very good at is fundraising and we’re very charitable. We’re very charitable. I think we give, I

²⁰⁹ Note: with ‘enabling’ understood as supporting individual people to do the best they can, increasing their options, and improving their quality of life.

can't remember if it's per head of population, it's quite a lot more than any other area in Britain to charities. So whether its local charities or cancer charities or whatever, we have quite strong community for that type of thing, and people support that type of thing really well.

It's just a cliché to me. It's the same as 'the community thinks'. I don't really understand it. If somebody can explain it to me I'm willing to give it serious consideration, but nobody has done so far.

Two other interviewees were at least in-part cautious about using the term 'community empowerment', and sought to qualify how they were using it: one in relation to the idea of a 'caring community'; and the other making a clear distinction between, on the one hand, those who talk about it *and*, on the other, the people who get on with doing it. Two others sought clarification as to the researcher's expectations and use of the term before answering²¹⁰. The discussions with all of these seven interviewees, however, indicated that they were not necessarily against communities and community organisations taking actions, nor against, at least, certain types of 'local control', responsibility and/or resilience; indeed, it would have been a little surprising if this had been the case given their roles.

A further interviewee raised a more fundamental concern:

You can't expect people to give of their time and of their skills when they themselves are living in poverty. I'm not saying that people in poverty don't do those kinds of things, often it's the complete opposite; those who are most in need are giving the most. But it's not for us to expect people to get involved in their community or create community spirit or be active in their community when they are living in poverty. Come on.

This interviewee spoke, instead, of the services needed to tackle poverty, and implied a sense of community empowerment as being focused on developing the roles and

²¹⁰ Note: although they asked potentially for different reasons: one seemed to want a clearer sense from the interviewer as to what the focus of discussion within the question was; the other to gain a better understanding of the researcher's own understanding and concerns for community empowerment before giving their own response.

abilities of individuals, rather than, for instance, as one way of supplying services or 'getting things done'.

There is, then, seemingly a variety of current potential uses and meanings for the term 'community empowerment' within the community sector. Its use will generate distinctive discussions, and not all people will hold it to have positive implications or uses, with some seeing it as misleading, or generating unhelpful expectations.

(2) Informal community networks and community solidarity

Four interviewees from Northmavine gave particular emphasis on the value of informal community networks in relation to informal care and support, and supporting charitable activities – in particular, through the 'Sunday teas' fundraising tradition in Shetland:

Particularly in Northmavine, they do care about each other, and they care about the community and what happens to it. And that's that kind of empowerment coming through and it's maybe not blatant, but it's there. (Researcher then asks how such empowerment might be developed) I'm not entirely sure how you could develop it further without you changing what it is. Because, as I say, it's almost inherent as it is, without having to do any more to it.

And most of the, entertainments not the right word, but the socialising is charitable, you know. They'll have, they'll be trying to raise funds for something, Sunday teas and, that's a very particular Shetland thing. They raise Sunday teas in the Halls and people go, and fish and chip suppers, that type of thing. And it's usually always to raise funds for something. (later) And supporting each other in (village), in particular, there's still a lot of you would help your neighbour if you could help in any way. You just, if you needed help you would just have to phone, and somebody would help you. You would never be stuck.

One person spoke of individual and community resilience:

The Shetland people are a really resilient people, and when you look back to

what Shetland used to be. The links weren't that great, so you had to kind of just make do with what you had. Their ability to take something that you would normally think is just a piece of junk is amazing. It never ceases to amaze me to be honest. (a little later) They don't throw things away, they just keep it and re-use it. So because they've got that resilience and they've had to get on with things, and they've had to make it better, I think a lot of the communities do feel quite empowered.

This sense of 'community spirit' or 'community solidarity' outside of more formalised structures was strongly articulated by many met by the researcher in Northmavine, and suggests that higher levels of a 'mutual commitment' *may* be sustained here, and perhaps more generally in many Island communities. There *may*, too, be a common theoretical thread here that can be constructed between such high levels of community solidarity and the high levels of well-being (ratings) reported by residents in Shetland within the Office for National Statistics (2013b) national survey 2012/13. In fact, this seems a common pattern across the northern and western Scottish Isles, with those on the Orkneys and Eilean Siar (Western Isles) reporting highly too²¹¹. And further, this *could* be linked through theory to the relatively low levels of socio-economic deprivation reported in the Shetlands, the Orkneys and the Western Isles; for instance, the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD, 2012) notes that none of the data-zones within these three Island groups are in the lowest 15% deprived community bracket.

Thus, there is scope for a theoretical discussion of the linkages between community solidarity, health and well-being, and levels of (a relative) socio-economic equality across these three Scottish island groups – potentially as Wilkinson & Pickett's theorising (2009) on the relationship between economic and social inequality and societal well-being. Yet, as intriguing as this is, firstly it must be recognised as being well beyond the scope of the empirical inquiry and associated desk research, on the one

²¹¹ The Office for National Statistics survey 2012/13 highlights very high levels of average personal well-being – as 'life satisfaction', 'worthwhile' and 'happiness' – across all three of these Island groups – the highest in Scotland in a comparison by local authority areas. Although, interestingly, Dumfries & Galloway (DG) scores the lowest levels of anxiety in Scotland – with the three Island groups the next lowest – and DG also scores positively on the other measures. Glasgow City local authority area tends to the lower end of this index. However, caution is needed here, given firstly, the self-reporting nature of the data; secondly, the complexity of the theoretical constructs needed to interpret and analysis the data; and thirdly, the potential for significant variability of experience within each of these areas.

hand, and the theoretical construction and development being undertaken within this thesis, on the other. And secondly, as already indicated in the Northmavine case-study material in 1.4.3, such thinking needs to be treated with a certain caution given the clear signs that there are significant numbers of people who are low and very low incomes, or at risk of being so, in Northmavine (Westbrook, 2011) and, Shetland and remote communities more generally (Hirsch et al., n.d.); *and* likewise that significant numbers of people do experience social isolation on Shetland (SIC, 2006). The significant experience of community solidarity and related purposefulness, as expressed by many the researcher interviewed within Northmavine, are therefore suggestive of a common experience for significant numbers in the area, but not one that can be taken to be uniformly the case for all in that community.

Such thinking and sentiment was also articulated, if seemingly not as strongly, in Creetown, for instance:

I think it's probably quite a close-knit community. The very fact that we're small, most people know each other, there's the inevitable village gossip, and conflict. (later) But for a small village, it's got a lot on offer as well socially, hasn't it. There's lots of groups. It's got its own football, for example, two football teams actually, and it's pretty serious about it. A bowling club, a youth club, the church is pretty active. There's all sorts of different, it's got its own silver band. (later) I think you could probably go and be involved with something probably every night of the week, if you wanted to.

It's a fairly close-knit community, that's a really difficult one actually. (in answer to 'what's this community like?') Its, I mean the people have been, there's always some people who are slightly apprehensive of change, and anything. (later) They wouldn't get involved that way (in undertaking a formal survey). However, they would like to talk to you in the street, and they would like to talk to you in the office, about other aspects of it: could you help them with loft insulation, cavity insulation, could you give them advice on it. So, I don't think there's a negativity at all in the community. Certainly it's a very friendly community here. If you walk down the street everybody sort of like says hello, whether you do actually know them or not.

Whilst the qualification with ‘quite’ or ‘fairly’ here might add a perceived constraint as to the level of community solidarity in comparison to Northmavine, the strength of community is not left in doubt by one returnee: *“I wanted to come home, to a community where I’m seen as a person rather than a number”* (Gardiner, 2013). In fact, some in Govanhill felt the same:

There are all sorts of social problems ... but there’s a good core in Govanhill, like a village. People feel ‘it’s ours’.

Heather Lynch’s (2010) study of local people’s experiences of the Govanhill area and its strengths, through a community capitals analysis, emphasised that some enjoyed its multi-cultural feel, feeling safer there than in other parts of the city. Others, particularly older people, and some young people, clearly felt less secure. The fact that Govanhill is a densely-populated, multi-ethnic, working class urban community, with a much larger population, set in the context of high levels of poverty, deprivation and exploitation, and with a changing social make-up, inevitably puts both individuals and the local community under higher levels of stress and distress. One interviewee illustrated the tensions here and so ‘confusion’ as to the strength of community:

Community Spirit is leaving. There’s some parts of Govanhill that are still really lovely. When the Right to Buy came in that was a big problem. (explanation of the drift to private rental housing, and then later following explanation of the social problems) I’ve giving you what I hear and see. Some people say there’s still quite good community going on. But I think we’re, we’ve got quite a few backcourt schemes going on trying to get tenants working together no matter what race they are, but we can’t even really go shopping in this area anymore, people are scared.

The similarities and the differences in experienced or perceived levels of community solidarity between the three communities, or as possible general trends between urban, rural and island, cannot be fully explored through the data collected by this researcher. Nor can it be assumed that community solidarity works for all; one interviewee suggested that some would be uncomfortable with the levels of solidarity on Shetland.

Nevertheless, further understanding of the varieties, intensity and potential of such community solidarity, and their integrating within wider political economic theorising, would valuably inform a CACE/CSTP.

(3) Extending community sector roles

Across all three communities, it is likely no surprise that staff and activists/volunteers spoke of the value of their community organisations and, more generally, of local community sector activity and community-led approaches. More intriguingly, nine interviewees, in relation to discussion of community empowerment, spoke of seeing opportunities to extend the range of activities undertaken by community organisations, for instance:

Yes, if we can take over local services, there's not that many services within the community. Transport might be an issue. The council do struggle to provide a coherent transport system, and you can't expect them to answer all the questions with regards rural transport, but there are certain rural transport needs, and if we're given that kick start of support that we can take over and provide a tailored service. A car share (scheme), it's an ideal situation.

And we're very much you know in accord with the findings of the Christie Commission, and we'd argue that that is certainly the way to, for regeneration to be successful. (later) We've already been speaking to the likes of the NHS, the Health Budget, and we've been looking at things like the Change Fund. We've argued that for years, and I think there is an example down in England where some of the health budget has gone to housing providers. Because it's a, you know, providing a warm safe affordable house improves people's health, it increases people's educational attainment.

We want to expand that by doing all sorts of things, and hopefully we'll get the hydro (micro-hydro) in that will give us another huge opportunity to do good, because the revenue from this – although this hasn't been decided, the revenue will be dispersed within the community. And I personally would like to have an educational trust set into it, where we could support young people coming through who have talents from whatever direction, from football to science.

I'm talking about environmental management, but why shouldn't an organisation look after school buildings and maybe employ the janitor. With local authorities trying to close public toilets, why don't they hand them over (too) (a little later) Leaving aside NHS, look at local transport; there are community mini-buses, there's one based in Brae for instance. But it needs a real discussion as to what community organisations like NCDC could provide.

This is not a comprehensive listing of the range of activities and potential, either from trading in the market or from public service funding via the state, that interviewees spoke of across the interviews that their community organisation could lead on or undertake, but it illustrates the current aspirations of a significant number of interviewees for the development of their community organisations.

4) Developing community dialogue

Again, from across all three communities, emphases were put on various forms of community dialogue and decision-making in relation to community empowerment and being community-led. Various approaches to community dialogue have already been discussed in 6.2.3, but the following examples illustrate some of the thinking and sentiment that activist/volunteers and staff use to explain the value of such dialogue, whilst also recognising that there can be constraints here too:

We taught them all these different film-making workshops, and it was during the October holidays. And then once they'd come up with the idea about the Park that they wanted to follow, I then got them to sort of storyboard it and from that they worked out how they would shoot it. (later) It was a good way for the kids to voice what they thought and how they'd like the Park to be developed, and everything like that.

I think the way it is community-led is because the committee are from the community. There's tenants of the housing association on the Committee, there's owner-occupiers who own their houses in the area, and there's other tenants from other private landlords on the Committee. So its community-based because it's a committee in the community that is basically in control of it.

I think particularly out in rural areas where it's harder to get the powers that be, sitting in bigger councils or in government or whatever to listen to smaller communities, I think that it does give a community one voice and perhaps better lobbying power to go to those people and say this is what we actually want, and this is the number of people that want it: rather than just one person making a lot of noise and getting ignored.

Community-led, because of the fact that it's the people in the community who make the decisions on the housing, on everything. And at least that makes the difference, at least we're kind of part of what's happening. Even if it's a change, we're there, to understand it and to be told. And I think that's the greatest part of it, there's so many diverse people coming from different communities, coming into the one group, and making the decision for this community.

The quotes highlight the aspiration for wider community dialogue held by a significant number of the interviewees, across the matrix of local community diversity and, in the last two, demonstrating an explicit recognition of dimensions of power: one seeing the potential opportunities, and one recognising the constraints too.

7.3.2: Further thinking on community sector dialogue

This section has opened up discussions of community empowerment, both as a broad 'community empowerment (1)', which acts as a starting point for wider discussions, and as a 'community empowerment (2)', in which there is a focus on the role of the community sector. The researcher has presented an interpretation and analysis of the views expressed by interviewees as generating useful themes that are relevant to (1) and (2). Some approaching discussion of the term 'community empowerment' with a caution or scepticism and/or a valuing of existing community structures and community solidarity; others, seeing opportunities for an expanding community sector role and/or concern for a community dialogue that can potential promote community interests or community cohesion.

Both usages of community empowerment here, then, would be valuable discussions to pursue more widely across the community sector, in order to develop fuller discussions

of the issues and their relevance to a CACE/CSTP and a community sector dialogue. Certainly, as in 3.2.2, the researcher has argued for the importance of not only a developing local community sector but also a recognised and supported role for informal community networks, with the latter's potential for mutual support. Both can be understood to have been articulated here by interviewees; some focused on an expanding community sector role, while some emphasised the value of informal community solidarity. Both of these elements would seem to be necessarily relevant to a CACE/CSTP and to a community sector dialogue, and so would seem to need to be actively 'held' and developed within these two forms of debate and engagement.

Relations with the state have continued to be highlighted directly in the context of the discussion of community empowerment, namely as:

- greater involvement of community organisations in the provision of publicly-funded services;
- filling 'the gaps' left as the state limits or constrains its own role; and
- finding common purpose to advocate/lobby for resources from state institutions.

Implicitly, one interviewee has pointed to the role of the state in creating the socio-economic conditions in which people can escape from poverty and thus potentially be in a position to be (more) active in the community sector, if they so choose. Perhaps, more generally, those who have argued the merits of the existing levels of community solidarity *might* be said to be implicitly valuing 'the status quo', and the dynamics between community/reciprocity, state and market that are active within the nation state currently; although a deeper exploration *might* have shown interviewees holding more complex views, and such an assumption as prejudice. Yet, if the socio-economic dynamics within the nation state were to shift, for instance, towards higher levels of unemployment and/or low wage employment in the community, and so putting yet greater expectations on the role of community/reciprocity, would they interpret such increased pressure on 'community' as acceptable, reasonable, fair or just? Or would they begin to reflect further on why the state and the market were failing their community and adjust their thinking?

In positioning the interpretation and analysis within the thesis in relation to structuration theory (Giddens, 1984), and the workings of both social systems and human agency in 1.3.4 and 2.2.3, and in relation to Lukes' (1974) theorising on the shaping of

expectations through social systems and leadership within social systems in 2.2.3, there is, then, potential here, through further research across different communities and socio-economic contexts to explore how those working within communities currently explain their activities and, if and how, they relate this to local and/or wider context and political economic dynamics; and, further, how any shifting in such contexts might influence the interpretations of these same people. This could support the development of further understanding within the community sector, and more widely, as to how socio-economic systems and their political economic dynamics can impact on their work.

However, in generating this reflection via the views of some of the research participants, it should also be noted that a number of interviewees were clearly aware of wider policy and political economic context, and their discussions are revisited in 8.2.2, as part of broader consideration, across 8.2 and 8.3, of the challenges that the community sector faces in working across the state, the market and community/reciprocity within the nation state (in the context of a global economy).

There is also a ‘missing ingredient’ here, too, that of the wider local community dialogues on ‘community empowerment’, as per the distinction generated in 1.3.1 relative to (i) a CSTP, (ii) the community sector and its dialogues, and (iii) *the wider local community dialogue*. What do those of ‘us’ not currently immersed in, or at least not immediately party to, our local community sector – rather than informal community networks – make of the idea of community empowerment, and of the activities of our own local community sector that we understand as community empowerment? To what extent can community empowerment, as currently developing in Scotland, be understood to *feel* relevant to such a wider body of people? The wider dialogue of local communities must be a key concern for a CSTP, and for a community sector dialogue, to seek to understand and engage with; and thus surely a crucial focus for a future community sector research agenda, as considered in 9.4.

7.4: Concluding thoughts

In seeking to understand how the multi-purpose role of a community anchor is ‘worked out’, in and through practice and reflection on that practice, perhaps more questions, for further research, than answers have been generated. Yet, the dimensions of community

development have been illustrated as capable of asking useful questions as to the emphases that any one community anchor is taking. Such a framework could usefully act as a tool to stimulate discussion within the community sector as to the ‘actual’ focus and balance of the existing workload of their organisations and, thus, where and if relevant, to generate the potential ‘space’ to reflect on alternative goals and organisational strategies.

Further discussion has also been generated as to the role of community anchors in seeking to look beyond the constraints of area-based interventions to wider working with others in the community sector and further afield, through advocacy and community economic and social development. In recognising that community anchors are positioned relative to the local and central state in ways that make advocacy and campaigning complex, the scope has been highlighted for exploring in greater depth ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ advocacy and campaigning roles, and for considering the range of potential allies with whom common ground and cause for social change could be developed – the scope for further participatory and/or social research, in fact.

Discussions with those in the community sector, as to community empowerment, its nature and its potential, suggest that currently there will be a range of responses and questions generated as to what community empowerment ‘is’, and what might be achieved through it; and this would seem a valuable basis for constructive and reflective dialogue within the community sector itself. Further, there were a significant number of activists, volunteers and staff who saw further potential for their community anchors to develop their roles in relation to provision of services, community economic and social development and/or advocacy; and which *could* be consistent with a CACE narrative. Yet others, too, valued existing community spirit or solidarity, seemingly as informal community networks, and this serves as a reminder that a crucial role for the community sector can be to recognise, value and advocate for such networks; as discussed in 3.2.2, a supporting of those of ‘us’ who play active roles in doing the critical work of the ‘core economy’. The formal community sector and informal community networks would appear both to be crucial to those working within communities, and to the articulation of a CACE: understanding of their respective roles, and an advocacy of their respective interests, within the combative political economic workings of the nation state and global economy, both need to be fully recognised.

Further clarification of the relationship between community anchors and community empowerment has been generated (RO4/RA3), in so much as a more concrete understanding of the range of working of a multi-purpose community anchor has been generated, and this can be related to ‘community empowerment (2)’, as community sector development; whilst at the same time recognising that there will be broader discussions of community empowerment, as ‘community empowerment (1)’, and what such an empowerment can mean for communities and the community sector. However, in recognising both the need and the potential for community anchors and the community sector to look beyond area-focused interventions, clarification has been generated that community empowerment in ‘one community’ will have significant limitations, both relative to the multi-purpose workings and aspirations of community anchors and to any attempts to impact on uneven economic and social development within the nation state. A broader theorising on and practising of ‘community empowerment’ across interlinking local community sectors, as they extend through districts, regions and the nation state, would seem crucial here, in order to do justice to the role of a community anchor in pursuing a local mission and local community interests, and as a necessary step for community empowerment, and this indeed becomes the focus of Chapter 8.

Chapter 8: Informing a theory and practice: the community sector within the workings of the socio-economic systems of the nation state.

8.1: Introduction

This chapter further aims to understand how the community sector currently sits within the economy of the UK nation state, understood largely as a neo-liberal market economy, but also recognisable, in part, through the lens of the three economic systems of a modern mixed economy (Pearce: 2003, 2009), as discussed in 1.3.2 and 5.3; with the former firmly focused on enabling a private sector dominated market – a market fundamentalism (Cumbers & McMaster, 2012); and the latter concerned to explore and adjust the dynamics of ownership (between social/community, public and private) and of economic coordination (as market, state and community/reciprocity). In so doing, this chapter draws from the earlier theoretical material and from the case-study material, and it seeks to establish how a community sector can understand the compromises and ambiguities that working within current political economic circumstance entail, while also considering how it might understand its practices as of value to community interests and as part of an aspiration for social and political economic change.

Relative to the ROAs, this chapter can be seen to focus on RA2 and its consideration of a CACE/CSTP relative to matters of practice and political economy. And to do so, in particular through RO3, and its concerns for:

- the community sector's role within a modern mixed economy;
- its focus on political economy, relative to a 'making mutualism dominant'; and
- understanding how this can be interpreted relative to discussions of community empowerment with those working within the community sector.

However, in seeking to do so, the researcher's interpretation and analysis adds to: a developing understanding of the multi-purpose and, in fact, multi-dimensional practices of community anchors (RO2); an understanding of the relation between community anchors and community empowerment (RA3/RO4); and, a more general aim to inform the working of the community sector (RA1).

The discussions are structured as follows:

- (8.2) The community sector within a modern mixed economy
- (8.3) The community sector and the challenges of political economy

- (8.4) Concluding thoughts

8.2: The community sector within a modern mixed economy

This section explores, by drawing from the case-study material, how community anchors are currently working in relation to the state, the market and community/reciprocity: it builds, in particular, upon the further understanding of a modern mixed economy developed in 5.3. The discussions generated, firstly, consider the range of relations between community anchors and the state, and the experiences of activists/volunteers and staff in relation to working with the state. The focus, then, turns to considering how community anchors work or can work across the socio-economic systems of the nation state, when the state's emphasis is on a concentration or centralisation of economic and service-related development, with a resulting uneven economic and social development. In doing so, consideration is given as to strategies that community anchors adopt, or might adopt, that seek to protect their own and community interests and, potentially, support further development of alternative local economic and social 'spaces'.

The discussion develops as follows:

- (8.2.1) The community sector and the state: the range of relations
- (8.2.2) Community sector experiences of working with the state
- (8.2.3) Positioning the community sector relative to the state and the market
- (8.2.4) Considering strategies for working within the current political economy
- (8.2.5) Aspirations for a 'mutualist market'

8.2.1: *The community sector and the state: the range of relations*

There can be no simple statement of the range of relationships with the state for the organisations within the case-studies, in part, as previously indicated in 3.3, because the state is itself complex and diverse, possessing:

- different layers – central, municipal, ultra-local and supra-national;
- each layer including different departments and services;
- related public bodies, agencies and 'arms-length external organisations' (ALEOs);

- elected representatives and political parties, working within and through executive, ‘representative’ and reviewing bodies

Drawing from the case-study material, potentially all, and at least one, of the community anchors illustrates the following *active* connections with elements of the state and public sector:

At city or district/regional levels - through:

- local authority and respective departments, including youth and community, economic development;
- elected members/local councillors;
- other public sector coordinating bodies, including health board/community health partnership, police, fire & rescue;
- local public bodies and ALEOs, including Glasgow Regeneration Agency, Glasgow Property and Glasgow Life; and
- joint planning arrangements, including community planning partnerships and planning authorities/strategic development planning authorities.

At central and national levels:

- the Scottish Government and Scottish Parliament;
- public agencies, for example, Forestry Commission Scotland (FCS), Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE); and
- non-departmental public bodies, e.g. the Big Lottery Fund (BIG).

At a local/community/neighbourhood level:

- local operational bodies, including Govanhill Partnership and Govanhill Services Hub;
- public sector service providers with a local base, such as primary schools;
- community councils – although these occupy perhaps a more hybrid role between ‘community’ and local state²¹².

²¹² Note: community councils (CCs) could be better understood, currently, as a hybrid at the interface between state and ‘community’. They have statutory roles in relation to planning and licensing (Highland Council, 2013), and to consult the local community as its representative. Local authorities have a duty to consult CCs on services and neighbourhood issues (Scottish Government, 2009a). There is usually a small budget, as an administrative/discretionary grant from the local authority, as well as a certain level of official support. In all three case-study communities, there was evidence of local

This is not a comprehensive listing of all their working contact with the state, but works to develop a useful picture of the range of contacts. Whilst none of the research data – interviews or documents – indicated direct contact with the UK state or the EU ‘state’, there were clear links to the work of the three community organisations, for instance:

- UK Government welfare reform is directly impacting on GHHA’s work as a housing association, particularly through payment of housing benefit and ‘the bedroom tax’ – see 2.2.4;
- UK Government policy to support the development of renewable energy sources is influencing the thinking of CI and NCDC as they consider plans for community renewable projects;
- UK Government welfare and benefits policy for EU migrants, and EU policy and the policy of other EU states, have had a particular, and discriminatory, impact on Roma communities in Europe, including those settling in Govanhill;²¹³ and
- the EU contributes financially to SRDP (Scottish Rural Development Programme)/LEADER funding streams in Dumfries & Galloway and in Shetland, which provides match-funding to community initiatives.²¹⁴

The importance of the working relations between the state and the case-study organisations has previously been emphasised in 6.3 and 7.2, particular through the conceptual narrative of a long-term ‘relational contracting’: with GHHA illustrating over its history significant levels of investment from the local and central state,

authority elected representatives attending community council meetings, heightening the role of the community council within the local authority. However, it is the relationship with the local community through community councillors as local people – activists and volunteers – and the wide range of activities that community councils can link to that would seem to extend their local credibility, presumably variable from place to place, and which builds from their more formalised, if limited, role within the workings of the local state.

²¹³ Note: UK Government restricted benefit payments to A8 EU state migrants until May 2011, while restrictions on A2 EU state migrants have continued until the end of 2013. Whilst Roma people(s) continue to experience high levels of discrimination in many Eastern European states (Poole & Adamson, n.d.), and increasingly in some Western European states to which they’ve migrated, see for instance: (1) European Roma Rights Centre report (2012) on the mistreatment of Roma in France; and (2) while in Govanhill, Paterson et al. (2011) evidence significant experience by the Roma of an administration discrimination through the UK benefit and employment agencies, particularly relative to the ‘right to reside’.

²¹⁴ Note: Scottish Rural Development Programme (SRDP) is funded by Scottish Government and the EU, and is particularly directed at rural community development through the LEADER tranche of funding which is administered through 20 local action groups covering most of rural Scotland; view <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/farmingrural/SRDP/LEADER>.

characteristic of such a long-term relationship, although this can't be assumed to have been achieved without advocacy by GHHA and its allies (McKee, 2008); while CI illustrates a more limited partnership with the local state, currently receiving a limited contribution to core funding, and significant resourcing via different sources within the central state and public bodies; and NCDC is illustrative of a longer-term commitment by the local and central state, as HIE (Highlands & Islands Enterprise) and SIC (Shetland Islands Council). Yet, as well as more deliberate working relationships with the local state and central state, each also relates to the state and public funding and investment through measures such as housing benefit and potentially the 'Feed-in-Tariffs' (FiT) for renewables²¹⁵.

Two other useful illustrations, that explore actual and potential relations with the state, can be generated via this case-study material. Firstly, as discussed in 6.3 and 7.2, the development of the Govanhill Services Hub as a focus for local public and community services has been loosely described by *some* as a 'Town Hall model'; although this has not been a term adopted locally. There has been a certain decentralising of the local state provision and management here to operate at community levels, and a certain integration of community sector activity within this: particularly through GHHA, Govanhill Law Centre, Crosshill and Govanhill Community Council and GoCA (Govanhill Community Action). This is not as an English town or parish council (NALC, n.d.)²¹⁶, which can raise income and employ staff; or as a French commune, which may undertake a wide range of activity across local service management (Council of European Municipalities and Regions, n.d.)²¹⁷; or, more generally, the greater decentralisation of local government across many western European states (Bort, McAlpine & Morgan, 2012). Nevertheless, the greater focus on developing a local coordination of local public and community services in Govanhill, since at least 2010 (Bynner, 2010; Harkins, Egan & Craig, 2011) generates theoretical questions about the potential value of further decentralisation of state functions and structures in Scotland;

²¹⁵ Note: renewable energy generation installations can currently benefit from financial support via the UK Government established Feed-in-Tariff (FiT), for smaller scale generation, and the Renewables Obligation Certificates scheme – in effect state subsidies to support the development of renewables; view <https://www.ofgem.gov.uk/environmental-programmes/renewables-obligation-ro>

²¹⁶ Note: The National Association of Local Councils (NALC, n.d.) represents around 8,500 town and parish councils in England, and who have powers to raise their own funds through 'precept', provide employment for over 25,000 staff, and spend in the region of £400 million per year. They represent over 15 million people in both urban and rural areas, about 35% of the population, and 150+ new parish and town councils have been created since 1997.

²¹⁷ Note: for instance, France's 37,000 communes vary in size considerably, and can undertake activity relating to town planning, the environment, economic development and education.

either representationally as the equivalent of parish/town councils and/or operationally through community planning partnerships and public sector operational/management structures.

Such a decentralisation of local government, though, should be understood as distinctive from the local community sector development, as understood within a modern mixed economy model in which the third sector – in particular through social and community ownership – is held to be distinctive of public and private sectors (Pearce, 2003); and is beyond the scope of the empirical inquiry undertaken here. Yet, it generates potential future research questions both as to the nature of the relationships between: (i) a decentralised public sector management structure and a local community sector and community anchors; and (ii) the respective and distinctive roles of a community-led community anchor organisations and a decentralised local government representative body.

Shetland provides the second illustration, for here there has been some opportunity to use state and market generated income to develop further community sector social and physical infrastructure. SIC, and related bodies such as Shetland Charitable Trust²¹⁸, have been able, until recently, to support higher levels of public services and related third and community sector support, through additional revenues gained from the development of the oil industry; as well as income from public enterprises²¹⁹ (SIC, 2011a), allied to a generally buoyant local/regional economy (Dyer, Roberts & Blackadder, n.d.). Although SIC receives higher levels of Scottish Government revenue support per person than Scottish local authorities generally (Campbell, 2014), these are likely attributable, at least in part, to the higher costs of service provision in remote island communities rather than to the provision of more services.

²¹⁸ Note: The Shetland Island Trust, as then termed, was established to handle compensatory funds from the 'oil industry' to Shetlanders, as agreed with SIC. Until recently, SIC elected representatives were the sole trustees on the Shetland Charitable Trust Board, but as of 2012, and following discussions with OSCAR, a new model of governance has been established with the trustees now being 8 nominated trustees and 7 SIC councillors (Shetland Charitable Trust, n.d.).

²¹⁹ Note: SIC (2011a) notes approx. £31m of 'specific grants, fees and charges' raised in 2007/8, dropping to approx. £23m in 2010/11. SIC manages various ports across the Islands, including Sullom Voe, view: <http://www.shetland.gov.uk/ports/>; although Lerwick Port Authority, a Port Trust, manages the Lerwick docks, reinvesting surplus/profits in the facilities: <http://www.lerwick-harbour.co.uk/about-us>.

Investment in community sector infrastructure, for instance, includes a ‘relatively’ well-funded network of 18 community councils²²⁰, one interviewee spoke of a budget of £4-5,000, and a network of 51 locally-managed community halls²²¹. However, SIC’s has an on-going budgetary crisis, and a programme of public spending cuts was initiated in 2011-12 and is expected to continue until 2017-18²²², and this is putting pressure on many services, including community council budgets – see for instance Griffiths (2013).

Nevertheless, this blend of additional local state income via the market, public enterprise, and taxation, and an active interventionist local state, may justify a certain comparison with wider western European experiences of a decentralised local state (Council of European Municipalities and Regions, n.d.; Bort, McAlpine & Morgan, 2012) indicated above. With a small population of almost 22,000, likely higher levels of community solidarity, as discussed in 7.3.2, and significant natural resources and related opportunities, such a Shetland ‘model’ of the local state and community sector is generated in particular circumstances, but again generates potential future research questions as to the relationship between the local state and the community sector, and what together they might achieve within differing political economic contexts – in particular where a longer-term ‘relational contract’ between the two leads the strategy, as discussed in 6.3.

8.2.2: Community sector experiences of working with the state

Interviewees often spoke positively of their working relationships with different parts of the state and other public bodies. Across the 29 staff and activists/volunteers interviewed, there were many different instances of working together, but some of the more explicit comments are given as examples:

We’ve got a great relationship with the Forestry Commission, we’ve got great people, very much into community, and they’ve really supported us.

²²⁰ Note: view SIC website at: <http://www.shetland.gov.uk/coins/allCommunityCouncils.asp?page=1>.

²²¹ Note: view Shetland Halls Association: <http://www.shetland-communities.org.uk/subsites/SHA/>.

²²² Note: there has been a plateauing of levels of SIC income via the Revenue support grant (Scottish Government/UK Government), council tax and non-domestic rates since 2009/10 (SIC, 2011) and a decline in SIC’s reserves, and the income it generates therefore from investment, in order to cushion this decline.

We're working with Community Learning and Development with the Youth Projects that we're doing, and we're getting good support from them.

We've actually found the abilities to solve people's problems. It's the problem solving, that's the big bit with the (Govanhill Service) Hub, it's about solving the problem and solving the problem with the person, a person-centred approach.

So high, high funding should actually have stopped in this financial year but they (HIE and SIC) decided that because of the issues that we've had in trying to become self-sufficient, and could see that it really was not through want of trying. So they decided that they would support us for another two years, which is incredible.

Inevitably, there were significant numbers of frustrating experiences too, for example: slow responses from the Planning Authority and, examples of lack of commitment to partnerships and projects. Interviewees illustrated the levels of frustration and/or resignation that can be reached:

We've also worked with other(s) departments within the Council, who, I felt as if they were trying to put barriers in front of us and were so wrapped up with due diligence that decisions never get made and people protecting jobs, and people afraid of making decisions.

The overcrowding is absolutely horrendous: cockroaches as big as mice, how can people live like this. People don't believe that this is happening, until you tell them. Too many people are shutting their eyes to this. Why is the council allowing this to happen? They've topped and tailed some buildings but what good is that, as some people wouldn't open their doors to let them in.

(1): Big beautiful, empty places (Northmavine). I sometimes think the Council thinks it's just a spot for people to go and look at the view

(Researcher): They don't remember people are living there?

(2): I often say the Council officials, not the Councillors would have loved for Northmavine to have broken off at Mavis Grind and disappeared, but then what

about the shelter for Sullom Voe, they would have said.

(1): Tis true (laughter)

(2): So it comes in handy²²³

There was also awareness among some interviewees of growing tension around local state expenditure with, for instance, a community-run music festival losing council support:

It was very successful. It brought probably between quarter and half a million into the local economy. It used to cost us 60, 70,000 a year to put it on. It just needed that little bit of support, and the Council did support it, until eventually they decided to, they'd run out of money and were looking for anything. They pulled the plug, and it showed a deficit, and we just weren't prepared to go on and run up deficits; because obviously those that were running it had a liability to it, so sadly it was the end. But it had probably run its course; I mean it was a fantastic event, and we were even short-listed for a Thistle Award.

But also potentially as opportunities for organisations:

Because the money is talking, the council, they have to save £33 million over the next 3 years or something²²⁴. And, so they are looking at cuts to services, and closing facilities, and things like that, is what they were sort of looking at to begin with. And now what they are thinking is, can we operate them in a different way?

Two interviewees, as quoted in 6.3.1, also recognised the potential risks of an asset transfer agenda: where there has been under-investment in council-owned or managed buildings over decades then these may become liabilities rather than assets for

²²³ Note: from a two-person interview. The Sullom Voe Oil Terminal is positioned opposite and to the east of the southerly end of the Northmavine peninsula, and on the other side of the Sullom Voe (sea loch); in effect, Northmavine shelters Sullom Voe from the westerly Atlantic weather.

²²⁴ Note: as indicated in the Northmavine case-study introduction in 1.4.3, Shetland Islands Council has cut its annual budget considerably since 2011-12, and by tens of millions (Griffiths, 2013); although the same can be said for Glasgow City Council and Dumfries & Galloway Council – see further discussion in 8.2.3.

community organisations. Taking up asset ownership, thus, needs careful consideration and access to specialist advice.

The role of the central state, specifically the Scottish Government, was recognised too. GHHA has made connections with the Scottish Government through its advocacy work, as discussed in 7.2, which had started in 2008/2009 and can be seen as currently on-going, with the recent establishment through Scottish Government support of a second Sistema Scotland project, *Big Noise Govanhill*, with one interviewee noting:

We've had very fruitful discussions on Sistema²²⁵. There was another meeting this morning and we're going ahead. It's a huge resource there for young people. We visited Raploch and were amazed by what was going on there, during the school holidays (laughter). Strings here, brass there: it was truly amazing, and I was totally enthralled.

Several interviewees in Northmavine were clearly aware of a wider socio-economic context and trend, and posed long-term concerns for the future of the community within thinking on: a reducing role for the state in general; a centralisation of employment, and so likely increased residency within and around the main town Lerwick; and an 'ageing' and declining size of local population. Interviewees commented:

I'm quite pessimistic about the capacity of the British economy to support the periphery well, as well as it's done the past 20 or 30 years, in the coming 20 or 30 years. My general view is that rural communities will survive best if they can generate income to replace the public money that they may not be going to get anymore. So, I think the best opportunity for doing anything of that kind in communities of this kind, not an easy one to achieve as things stand at the moment, is probably through generating renewable energy.

Choosing to live in Northmavine is an expensive choice. It's probably easier if they live there already because they'll probably have a relative who has enough ground somewhere to give them a site, rather than buy one. It's expensive in two

²²⁵ Note: the development of this second Scottish Sistema project was in the context of a series of negotiations with GCC, the Scottish Government and Sistema Scotland, as well as in competition with other communities (Stewart, 2012).

ways: the costs to commute ... and if you build in Northmavine you have to build to live in it, the resale price means you will not recover cost of building, not that big a house will cost £150k ... (later during the interview) Once you get into the periphery there are many services that just don't exist without some kind of subsidy. I think we need to work out the appropriate level of subsidy, and if it's not provided then those areas will become more depressed.

Difficulties with housing in Northmavine, particularly for young people and families, and gaining employment locally, were discussed with four others, with two interviewees arguing that an initiative, presumably state funded, was needed to support local housing.

Some of the interviewees in Creetown expressed, however, a more immediately powerful sense of frustration with the central state, Scottish and UK, and their (perceived)²²⁶ lack of political power of rural communities and economies relative to the urban central belt in Scotland, and more generally within the UK nation state:

The problem that rural communities have of course is that they don't have any political clout. Dumfries & Galloway's only got a quarter of million people in it, and it doesn't elect governments ... it doesn't have any sort of strength politically to shout its corner. My arguments always been that you need a healthy countryside, you can't always concentrate on central belt, Glasgow. But it needs a structure in place, a Highlands and Islands (HIE) type organisation in places like Dumfries & Galloway. I think that model should be replicated throughout rural Scotland.

But, nobody seems to care to be quite honest, until it (small business and VAT) becomes a political issue, and it probably won't be because we're, we're a rural community with low population, so the voting factor doesn't make difference to

²²⁶ Note: the researcher puts 'perceived' here not because of a disagreement with the basic thrust of the argument put forward by interviewees in Creetown, but because this assertion in itself would seem to need further evidence to justify its use as a 'fact' at this point in the text. In fact, the researcher builds the case for Creetown and the Dumfries & Galloway region facing significant economic and political economic challenges and inequalities in 1.4.2 and in Appendix 3 (A3.2), and discusses them as an uneven economic development and centralisation of economic and political processes, within a neo-liberal political economic context in 8.2.3, in particular, and more generally across the second half of this chapter.

be quite honest. So the rural economies, like this, don't have much political clout at all in any respect.

This was part of a wider discussion of the political and economic struggles that Creetown/Kirkmabreck and the wider region face. The rapid growth in the number of actual and planned onshore wind farms across the region and, more generally, across south-west Scotland, was leading to considerable local opposition (see for instance, Galloway Gazette, 2012), and one interviewee concluded dryly, given the region's existing (and potential) large scale hydro-electric generating capacity, that:

If they gave us a FiT (Feed-in-Tariff) for all that we could put in for the hydro system, the region would be quite wealthy (laughs).

Several interviewees noted the low incomes and poverty in the community, as discussed in 1.4.2 and Appendix (A)3.2, and one articulated the sense of challenge that Creetown as a village, and by implication the wider Kirkmabreck parish and many parts of the region as a whole, faces:

Everything is for this community. It's (to) regenerate the community, make sure that we don't become another one of these tumble town sort of communities, villages. (researcher: that's a powerful image ...) There are so many of them that you see, and you can see over the last ten years that this, the amount of shops that used to be in this village, for instance, that have disappeared, the businesses that have disappeared. It happens everywhere, we need to make sure that we don't lose people, that we can actually still have the businesses. ... No I would say survival is probably right, I mean everything that is happening at the moment is actually impacting on the entire community, it's not one household, (it's) everything that's around you. I mean economic forces outwith the community are impacting in here.

Their commentary fits with the researcher's understandings of the regional context of Dumfries & Galloway: a regional economy that is below average in terms of Gross Added Value per head for Scotland and a region facing both a declining and 'ageing' population (DGC, 2011; Skerratt et al., 2012). One interviewee, in arguing for a coherent strategy for rural Scotland, advocated for the development of an agency/

agencies of the same standing and community-focus as HIE, with a commitment to community development, to work across all rural areas; and in fact this could be said for urban areas in Scotland, too.

Whilst the experiences of inequality, poverty and deprivation within Govanhill is more overt and considerably more severe in scale, documentation relating to, in particular, Creetown/Kirkmabreck, but also Northmavine, highlights that there are significant numbers of people on low/very low incomes and facing poverty and potential poverty; and, more generally, an economic marginality and vulnerability community-wide, as outlined in 1.4.2 and 1.4.3. The discussions with interviewees tended to illustrate their initial commitment and the formation of their organisations as focused on particular local problems or issues, such as housing, de-population, economic decline, and access to services, yet there were clearly a significant number, if not all, of the interviewees that were seeking to understand their experiences within their community and the community sector by developing explanations with a wider focus, drawing on economic processes, policy-making and the dynamics of political power, whether at local authority or national levels.

Given the local focus and emphasis of the community sector, this might seem surprising, save that the community sector, as illustrated in 8.2.1 above, is already deeply connected with the wider workings of the state. Similarly, it is directly connected with the market as illustrated by the level of competition for local employment in a Tesco Express in Govanhill in 2014 (Thomson, 2014); the closure of the local factory in Creetown in early 2012 (Galloway Gazette, 2011); or the closure in the early 2000s and then current re-opening of the fish-processing plant in Northmavine (Shetland Times, 2013). Structural understandings are, then, inevitably under discussion within the community sector, as staff, activists and volunteers seek to make a difference for their communities within the current workings of the state and market. This would suggest that frameworks, such as Pearce's (2003) three economic systems – third/social, public and private – of a modern mixed economy, and Polanyi's (1968; Harvey, 2009 [1973]) discussion of the state, the market and community/reciprocity, and indeed a CACE/CSTP, can potentially support and further inform discussion as the sector's dialogue on wider structural issues continues to deepen, in line with its own expanding role and aspirations; although which articulations of political economy the community sector, or elements of the sector, actually work with, will be worked out within its

actual practices and dialogues.

8.2.3: Positioning the community sector relative to the state and the market

This sub-section now seeks to position the three community anchors, and their respective communities, within an understanding of an ‘uneven economic development’, through discussion of their positioning relative to the state and the market. In order to do this, current planning documents will be referred to, and a working assumption made that they will reflect the dominant thinking from within the state, a neo-liberal state, as to the respective roles of state, market and community/reciprocity within economic and social development.²²⁷ The discussion should be seen in the light of existing relations with the private sector and local economic development, as outlined in 7.2.1, where all three case-study organisations are seeking to develop local social enterprise and local business/micro-business activity; CI and NCDC are working strategically with local (micro-) businesses; and GHHA working with the state and community partners to build employment training, and to provide offices and workshops to attract businesses. And in the light of socio-economic context, as outlined in 1.4, with:

Govanhill: as a working class community with high levels of inequalities relating to income, health and education; high levels of ethnic diversity and significant numbers of EU migrants, in particular Slovak and Romanian Roma communities escaping discrimination in Eastern Europe (Poole & Adamson, n.d.); and set within a (largely) urban regional economic context, Glasgow and Clyde Valley, in which there are many such concentrations of socio-economic deprivation. The local authority, Glasgow City Council (GCC), is seeking to make budget savings of approximately £40-50m across 2013-15 (GCC, n.d.). Hastings et al. (2013) note a 3.6% fall in GCC’s nominal expenditure (rather than in ‘real terms’²²⁸) from 2010-13, compared to a Scottish average for local authorities of a fall of 0.7%, and with an expected decline in local government expenditure across Scotland between 2008 and 2015 of 24% – and 30% in England. Hastings et al. also note a general trend in those local authorities in Scotland

²²⁷ Note: This should not be taken to reflect badly on planning as a profession, nor planning as a professional discourse and ethos, and which involves a wider range of thinking and commitments. There are those with an emphasis on/commitment: to (1) market-led approaches; to (2) state-led approaches; and (3) a more eclectic group in which ecologically and community concerns are paramount; see, for instance, Scottish Planner (2010) which in part illustrates this eclectic range of approaches.

²²⁸ Note: so not taking into account the impact of inflation to illustrate in ‘real terms’ decline/increases.

and England with higher levels of deprivation experiencing greater levels of decline in their budgets (in real terms), averaging a difference of approximately £100 per head of population in comparison to local authorities with lower levels of deprivation, as well as increasing demands for services in more deprived areas; and accompanied by a plateauing of economic activity and economic opportunities in the UK nation state.

Creetown/Kirkmabreck: as a ‘mixed’, socio-economically speaking, community, and with significant numbers of people struggling both with low/very low incomes and with accessing suitable local services. The village has declining levels of locally-based employment and local population, and is set within a region in which many places are economically fragile and constrained, housing provision is under pressure, population is declining in numbers and ‘ageing’, and there are significant public service/spending cuts across the local authority, Dumfries & Galloway Council (DGC), expected to run until at least 2015/16 (Galloway Gazette, 2013); Hastings et al. (2013) note a 2.3% decline in DGC’s nominal income between 2010-13, and so greater still in ‘real terms’.

Northmavine: as an economically ‘marginal’ community facing declining levels of locally-based employment and population and related services – retail, housing. Despite the relative robustness and buoyancy of the Shetland economy as a whole (Dyer, Roberts & Blackadder, n.d.), there are significant numbers of people struggling with low incomes, and evidence of spatial concentrations of this (for instance, SIC, 2006; Westbrook, 2011). SIC has been undertaking a programme of significant public spending cuts since 2011/12 (SIC, 2011b), which are expected to run on to 2017-18, there has also been a significant cushioning of the cuts through use of SIC’s substantial reserve since 2011-12 (Riddell, 2013; Griffiths, 2013).²²⁹

²²⁹ Note: the SIC reserves are expected to drop from £229m in 2010-11 to approximately £150m (or below) in 2017-18 (Griffiths, 2013), illustrating the scale of the crisis SIC has and continues to face in relation to its public spending. Hastings et al.’s (2013) data suggests that across financial years 2010-13 SIC’s public spending actually increased in real terms, but this may either illustrate the cushioning effect of the reserves over that period or be as a result of a one off factor not immediately apparent in the data used. Campbell (2014) notes that for 2014-15 revenue allocation from Scottish Government to SIC will decline by over 3.0% in real terms, the highest % decline across Scotland, and compared to a Scottish average of just under 2.0%. Campbell’s material also show that all three main island groups Shetland, Orkney and Eilean Siar receive much higher levels of revenue allocation per head in 2014-15, over double the Scottish average for Shetland in fact, illustrative of the greater needs for state support in these areas, and thus potentially their greater sensitivity, in terms of impacts on living standards, to such public spending budget cuts.

For each case-study a ‘broad-brush’ picture of the developing directions of economic strategies of the local authority can be gained via the ‘emerging’ Local Development Plans²³⁰, following planning reform in Scotland as indicated in 3.3.4, of the local planning authorities within SIC, DGC and GCC; as well as the regional Glasgow & Clyde Valley Strategic Development Planning Authority (GCVSDPA)²³¹. Each of the draft development plans commits, in line with the Scottish Government’s broad guidance through the current Scottish Planning Policy (Scottish Government, 2010) and the National Planning Framework for Scotland 2 (Scottish Government, 2009) – both under revision as discussed in 3.3.4 – to pursuing sustainable economic growth, sustainable place-making and low-carbon/environmental strategies. The result can be interpreted as a common picture across all four documents of the targeting or concentrating of state resources on particular places, in order to attract private sector business and investment, and to provide the necessary services to support such economic development and workforce. Such a targeted and market-focused approach, as prescribed by central state strategy, as discussed in 3.3.4, can be said to be focused on creating ‘competitive, successful places’ with the necessary economics of scale to cope with domestic and international market forces. Yet, in the process, it will be argued, such a prioritisation will also continue to generate an uneven economic and social development, with many ‘failing places’ too, and, as discussed in 3.3.2, ‘a dual society’ (Johnstone & McWilliams, 2004) of, on the one hand, those gaining economically, particularly from within such ‘successful places’; and, on the other, those trapped on low incomes, often in such ‘failing places’.

Each of the three case-study communities finds itself as ‘**not-a-target**’, as is illustrated directly below, within these emerging Development Plans:

Govanhill: Glasgow and Clyde Valley Strategic Development Plan 2012 (GCVSDP) points to a spatial development framework focused on:

²³⁰ Note: each of the four planning authorities relevant to the three case-studies follows the basic route of consultation on a Development Plan: starting from a Main Issues Report (MIR) and related documentation and consultation on this; then further consultation on an emerging Development Plan and related documentation; initial agreement with the local authority(ies) on the ‘final’ version; this is then presented to Scottish Ministers for examination by a reporter and potential revision, before being returned to the local authority for final agreement.

²³¹ Note: GCVSDPA is in effect a consortium of the eight planning authorities from each of the eight local authorities that make up the region/city-region, and with its own management and staff team, view: <http://www.gcvsdpa.gov.uk/whoweare>.

- a ‘Development Corridor’ – Clyde Waterfront, Clyde Gateway, Glasgow City Centre, Ravenscraig;
- ‘Community Growth Areas’ – for housing developments and place-making;
- ‘Strategic Economic Investments Locations’ and ‘Strategic Freight Transport Hubs’; and
- a ‘Network of Strategic Centres’ – Glasgow city centre and various ‘town centres’.

None of these key aspects of the strategic development framework directly involves Govanhill. Glasgow City Centre, and the ‘strategic town centre’ of Shawlands are both about a mile from Govanhill: despite Govanhill having a significant ‘town centre’ of its own, as shops and cafes etc. along Victoria St and, as well as the South Asian and other shops in around the meeting of Cathcart St/Allison St. Indeed, likely many places within the GCVSDP area would already have such a ‘town centre’ without being awarded the designation of strategic town centre.

GCC’s Main Issues Report 2011 (MIR)²³², for the proposed Local Development Plan (LDP), follows the same concerns as the wider GCVSDP, but notes in more detail some key developments near Govanhill, in particular:

- industrial and business zones to the north and north-east of Govanhill – which are under review as others across Glasgow;
- the potential development of a ‘residual waste treatment plant’ in Polmadie, adjoining Govanhill to the east/north-east;²³³ and
- the need for further affordable housing in south and west Glasgow.

²³² Note: GCC’s proposed LDP to replace the City Plan 2 published in 2009 was originally due Autumn 2012, but has been delayed to allow for a further second round of consultation on issues arising from the initial consultation on the MIR. A further MIR is now it seems expected in 2015 and a proposed LDP in 2016, view via: <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=15247&p=0>. Informal discussion with GCC indicated supplementary guidance is expected to be generated through the process but revealed no current expectation of (spatial) supplementary guidance more specific to Govanhill or Glasgow South Side.

²³³ Note: there has been a local campaign against this plant, now called the Glasgow Recycling and Renewable Energy Centre, given it involves a ‘gasifier’ (Crosshill and Govanhill Community Council, 2012), as part of ‘Glasgow Alternatives to Incineration’. However, planning permission for the site’s development was granted to private company and waste specialist Viridor in January 2013 (Green Alternatives to Incineration in Scotland, 2013).

Given that Glasgow is an urban area with significant provision of public transport then targeting of resources on particular places might be considered less of an immediate concern for Govanhill residents. Yet, this cannot be assumed to be the case, given:

- very significant numbers of people on low/very low-incomes in Govanhill, then additional transport costs, and potentially increased (child/family) care-related costs to cover travel time if relevant, make the location of employment a relevant issue;²³⁴
- the lack of a strategic focus through regional and city-wide planning processes on Govanhill in relation to economic and related service development – employment, housing, retail and local services for instance – which could be used to support a local economic strategy for Govanhill and surrounding communities²³⁵.

Creetown: The DGC's Proposed LDP (DGC, 2013a: 5-6) focuses on three key spatial areas for economic development: Dumfries as a regional capital – as (Scottish) National Planning Framework 2 (NPF2); Cairnryan/Stranraer as international gateway (NPF2); and Gretna, Lockerbie and Annan triangle and Regeneration Corridor/M74 Corridor. It also points to a series of 12 smaller towns acting as 'district centres' and with land earmarked to support economic development; these include towns along/near the A75 such as Newton Stewart – five miles from Creetown – as well as Kirkcudbright, Dalbeattie and Castle Douglas²³⁶.

The Settlement Hierarchy (DGC, 2012) document that accompanied DGC's LDP/MIR builds a pyramidal structure of places, with Creetown a 'local centre' and nearby Carsluith a 'village'; with regional centres and district centres at the top of the pyramid.

²³⁴ Note: a recent report in the Evening Times on 21.01.14 (Thomson, 2014) noted that a new Tesco Express store opening on the Victoria Rd in Govanhill had advertised 11 posts and received 476 applications. Whilst the source is potentially to be understood more as anecdotal, and not all applicants would be from residents of Govanhill and immediately neighbouring communities, it does suggest high levels of competition for local employment, in this case likely to be low-paid employment, in the main.

²³⁵ Note: there are action-related planning documents specific to Govanhill: (1) Report of the Govanhill Taskforce: Regeneration Action Plan: final draft (Govanhill Regeneration Taskforce, 2012); (2) Govanhill Neighbourhood Action Plan (draft) (GCC, 2011). However, these should be understood as action planning to integrate existing public sector and community sector services and roles within existing public service strategies, although with elements relating to economic development such as employability and training projects, rather than the development of a long-term local economic development strategy, aimed at Govanhill and the wider South Side, and integrated within wider development planning.

²³⁶ Note: within the Proposed Dumfries & Galloway LDP (2013: 7) Castle Douglas is called an 'economic regeneration area', as per Dumfries, Stranraer and the GLA triangle/corridor, with land between Lockerbie and Gretna along an M74 corridor 'a strategic inward investment site'.

There is some acknowledgement of the role of Creetown and Carsluith: each is given a small housing market target within the Mid-Galloway Housing Market Area Plan (DGC, 2013b). There is also a generalised regional commitment within the Proposed LDP (DGC, 2013a) to ‘rural business development’ and rural broadband access; and opportunities aimed at supporting tourism development, for instance, the UNESCO Galloway and South Ayrshire Biosphere and the related Galloway Dark Sky Park, which are relatively close to Creetown. Nevertheless the focus of economic and social development, and investments of size and substance, would seem to be aimed at the regional centres rather than rural Dumfries & Galloway²³⁷.

Northmavine: the SIC’s proposed LDP (SIC, 2012²³⁸) similarly draws upon a targeted approach, which it terms ‘Areas of Best Fit’ (AoBF). Here, Shetland has been divided into seven geographical areas relating to provision of service, drawn from community planning. Within each area, the main town and surrounding ‘district’ has been selected as an AoBF, and will provide a focus for services and economic development – as a “focus for growth” (2012:16)²³⁹. Lerwick as Shetland’s main town – which holds about half of the Islands’ population if surroundings areas are included – is a particular focus. For North Mainland, of which Northmavine is a part, the small town of Brae is the AoBF. The LDP notes some opportunities for housing development in the village of Hillswick, but there is little else in Northmavine as a whole, save for a potential industrial site (Loch of Haggrister) to the far southern end of the peninsula, close to Brae. Whilst Brae is relatively close in terms of distance to Northmavine, access from many parts of the Northmavine community by public transport is very limited/complex,

²³⁷ Note: the DGC proposed LDP (DGC, 2013) had been passed to Scottish Ministers and once examined by a reporter, and revised as necessary, is expected to be adopted by DGC by autumn 2014. It will replace the previous DGC Structure Plan from 1999, and four Local Plans from 2006, including the Wigtown Local Plan (DGC, 2006) that covers Creetown. The Proposed LDP includes three pages of maps and guidance on Creetown (pp.97-99) that confirm existing housing development sites, green/open spaces and existing business/industrial sites. The Wigtown Local Plan 2006 gives more detail over four pages and a stronger sense of local knowledge, even acknowledging the active role of the community sector in the village, for instance. Informal comment from DGC was that no further supplementary guidance, which would surely hold more local knowledge and aspiration of relevance to Creetown, is anticipated.

²³⁸ Note: the Shetland Local Development Plan will replace the Shetland Structure Plan 2000 and the Shetland Local Plan 2004, and the proposed Plan was to be passed to SIC for discussion at the end of November 2013, and then onto Scottish Ministers. As part of the Shetland Local Plan 2004, a Northmaven Community Council Statement 2006 was produced (SIC, [n.d.(1)]), but for the current proposed Local Development Plan all supplementary guidance will be thematic or topical, and informal discussion with SIC indicated no further geographic supplementary guidance is currently anticipated.

²³⁹ Note: there are seven localities but eight AoBFs so that both the islands of Unst and Yell, part of the North Isles locality, have an AoBF.

and even by car potentially lengthy from the northern end of the parish. In taking the focus away from the five main settlements in Northmavine, such a centralisation to Brae, and more generally Lerwick, can be understood as limiting of economic and service development within Northmavine.

In arguing for, across the case-study material and as a working assumption, a common pattern of centralisation of public (state) and private sector (market) investment, as part of central state policymaking aimed at directing economic and social development, then a key implication of a neo-liberal state, or this variant of the neo-liberal state, has come into view. Namely, an ongoing uneven economic and service development, and as a feature of the sustaining of high levels of economic and social inequalities; *except* if/where the state intervenes actively in other forms to redistribute the economic output, through the welfare system for instance.

Yet, this leads to a series of testing questions and concerns for a CACE to consider, via the case-study material, given its focus on local community economic and social development and a democratic and egalitarian concern for working for the common good. All three communities point to two key sets of local and regional economic relationships: (1) that between themselves and the targeted places/communities; and (2) that between themselves and the other satellite places ‘orbiting’ the targets. The community anchors in each case could be focused on (1), recognising the power of such a neo-liberal strategy and endeavour to make themselves of ‘use’ to the plans of those targeted places as a satellite; indeed given each has a relative proximity to a key centre or focus of concentration, each might be well-placed to do so. Yet, the economic and social costs – for instance, a continuing decline in locally-based employment and locally-based public and community services – could be high too; and would likely disproportionately impact on those on low and very low incomes through travel costs and access to services. In places with small, already declining populations such as Creetown and Northmavine, there would be a continued fear of ongoing population decline and further loss of businesses and services. In Govanhill, with its growing population, the fear would be that yet more people are finding themselves facing severe poverty and related economic and social inequalities.

The community anchors in each case could focus on (2) as well, and see other satellite communities as rivals and competitors for limited resourcing, as fits with plans for the

privileged target places; or, instead, as sources of cooperation and common purpose in developing shared strategies, for instance, in working out alternative responses and strategies. The challenges in the smaller communities illustrate some of the opportunities and tensions here. In Northmavine, for instance, as a community of five main settlements, the two larger settlements of Hillswick and Ollaberry are now hosting many of the locally-based services that at one time were spread more widely, for example, the general store, primary school, GP; in effect, offering an alternative to Brae. In Creetown, and more widely across Dumfries & Galloway, tourism is a key industry, and there is potential to work in partnership with others, for instance, as CI does through the Dumfries & Galloway Farmers' and Community Markets Association, to attract a greater tourist trade to the region as a whole perhaps; but also with the potential for places to be rivals for the provision of tourist accommodation and tourist activities, so crucial to their survival.

In relation to a CACE, and its ethos, there is seemingly an uneasy relationship through a focus on (1) given the likely related uneven economic and social development and fears of ongoing local decline; whilst the cooperative interpretation of (2) offers a certain resonance. From 'inside' the thinking offered by a CACE, there would seem to be strong reasons for community anchors to seek alternative economic and social strategies rather than to fall in line with mainstream plans. Yet, there have to be fears, given the powerful regional, national and global political economic process at work, and the role of the state within this, that attempting to prioritise a strategy of local economic and social development will be, at best, ineffectual, unrealistic and a distraction from more achievable aspirations; and, at worst, damaging with resources wasted, reputation battered, morale lowered, and relations with the local and central state at a low ebb.

8.2.4: Considering certain initial strategies for working within the current political economy

The last sub-section argued that the centralisation of economic development under a neo-liberal state provides a particular challenge for community anchors and a CACE given their focus on community economic and social development, but ended with a concern that there are likely significant constraints as to the community sector's current opportunities for seeking to challenge such a strategy. Here, with the aim of generating further discussion, three different approaches or themes are very briefly sketched as to

the broad emphasis that community anchors and the community sector could consider taking in relation to economic and social development.

A partnership-focused strategy: in which the community anchor recognises existing constraints to economic and social development, as established by the central and local state, yet seeks to make the best of opportunities arising from such centralisation, and to ameliorate negative impacts through longer-term relationship-building, relational contracting, with the local state, where the latter proves open to such an approach. Where the state is receptive, and centralisation is leading to a reduction in public sector service provision and spending, and ‘market failure’ with local private sector services and employment reducing too, then the community anchor and local community sector will seek to take up community service provision. However, and longer-term, an ongoing community decline would remain a challenge, as centralisation continues and as local employment opportunities continue to reduce and those of working age and their families continue to leave the area or struggle to survive on low incomes, with related social stresses.

An activist strategy: actively campaigning and organising, and likely competing against others within the wider community sector, to ‘win’ resourcing and generate community social and economic development for their particular communities. The community anchor lobbies and advocates vigorously for state and market-related, including philanthropic, resources to support community economic and social development and public service provision. The anchor is willing to actively challenge the local state and others as appropriate, where it understands local community interests to be threatened or at stake; although how it does so may vary as it learns ‘what works’, and what does not and is counter-productive. It will likely also actively seek market-generated ‘inward investment’ and the arrival of significantly-sized private sector organisation(s) to provide local employment. However, such successes may need to be maintained through an ongoing process of seeking to preserve the (any) competitive advantages gained, whilst other communities see the results and challenge for resources too.

A cooperative strategy: looking to the longer-term and seeking to build cooperative approaches, a finding of common purposes, with other communities, the social economy and wider allies. In recognising, the need for community sector structures that can impact locally as well as further afield, it seeks to counter centralisation and, as

opportunities allow, to explore alternative economic and social development concerned for decentralisation and/or redistribution of economic benefits²⁴⁰. The longer-term perspective of such an approach raises questions as to how to cope with both the here-and-now and the necessary working towards and/or maintenance of sustainable independence, *and* as to what happens if there are no signs of progress being made towards countering centralisation and promoting decentralisation – what then?

In outlining three potential initial strategies, and it is assumed that there will be others, it should be noted that each is in danger of becoming a ‘straw man’ or simplistic stereotype, and needs further development particularly in relation to actual current practice. In part such simplification can currently be guarded against through recognising that it would be expected in each of the three strategies that community anchors would continue to play a multi-purpose role across the three dimensions of community development – advocacy, partnership, locally-led development; *and*, as these three strategies are abstracts, in reality any community anchor would likely draw from across all three to varying degrees. Yet, over time it is the relative emphasis given to each strategy that comes to characterise, or give a certain ‘tone and texture’, to the organisation’s actual work, practices and aspirations; such that it can generate certain distinctive outcomes, although necessarily within political economic constraints.

All three of the case-study organisations and communities could be used to illustrate each strategy. Each is illustrative of longer-term relationship-building with the state, or at least partnership-working, and drawing significantly from state funding directly or indirectly, in what can easily be interpreted as ameliorative approaches by the state as it pursues centralisation and an uneven economic and service-related development. Each community organisation can also be understood to be undertaking an activist strategy actively and successfully advocating for resources for community economic and social development, as considered in 6.3.1 and 7.2.1, with all three organisations generating reputations for providing traction and ‘getting things done’.

²⁴⁰ Note: ‘redistribution’ here would indicate a strategy of accepting that certain types or levels of centralisation could or should be accepted, at least until changing political economic context allows for exploration of a further decentralisation, but that ways to distribute/re-distribute more evenly across the area and region the economic gains of such a centralisation would need to be sought.

Links to the cooperative strategy are, perhaps, less obviously developed: yet each community organisation is also making wider links across the community sector through membership of national representative bodies of SCA, DTAS (Development Trust Association Scotland) and GWSFHA (Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations) – with GHHA’s illustrating significant involvement in the last. And each organisation shows examples of making working links closer at hand within the community sector, third sector and others with community commitments: GHHA through GoCA (Govanhill Community Action), the South-East Integration Network (working across south-east Glasgow) and Roma-Net (Glasgow), each of which links it to others working in neighbouring communities; CI through the Dumfries & Galloway Farmers and Community Markets Association which works across the region, and with Dumfries & Galloway Social Enterprise Network; and NCDC’s working with the community of Vidlin, which is to the east rather than north of the Shetland mainland, to lobby for improved broadband services.

This is clearly an interpretation and analysis under development, and further work would be needed to give substance to the interpretative model being constructed here to support a more finely-tuned research tool, and a more constructive community development tool. This could involve seeking community organisations, who show a very clear emphasis on one of the three strategies, in order to generate greater clarity as to the distinctiveness of the three strategies; and/or tracking particular community organisations over time to allow consideration of the degree of emphasis being given to each strategy; and/or researching across a larger number of community anchors to establish whether the strategies can be used constructively to explore their thinking and planning.

Two other issues are worth recognising and reflecting on here. Firstly, there is the degree of ‘fit’ between each strategy and a commitment to a local mission or local community interests. Each of the three strategies raises questions as to how a community anchor can actively work to represent and develop local community interests; with each orientating towards a particular approach that may or may not have wider local community support and which will likely have both expected and unexpected consequences, particularly in the longer-term. In relation to a CACE – and its integration of narratives of community anchors, community sector development and ownership, the social economy and a mutualist political economy – whilst each of the

three strategies can be used constructively according to circumstance, it is the cooperative strategy and a working across the community sector and social economy, both more locally and further field, that most strongly resonates. There is linkage here as well to: the discussion of local economic development through networks of community anchors generated in 5.4.2 (Pearce, 2003; Danson & Whittam, 2010); to the outward-looking and advocacy roles of community anchors as they seek to generate any impact beyond their immediate community, although in relation to a local mission/community interests, as considered in 7.3.2 and 7.3.3; and, now, as a counter to the current centralisation of economic and service-related development through neo-liberal thinking, discussed in 8.2.3. There is, then, potential within a CSTP and, likewise, within community sector dialogue, to consider how ‘local community interests’ are being framed through the various strategies, community sector roles and political economic aspirations being articulated, and to monitor what/which is proving ‘work-able’ and why.

Finally, the role of the state as a either barrier to or facilitator of, or elements of both in relation to different parts of the state, of community sector development clearly remains central. For many opportunities for significant change would seem to rest with its intentions. In 8.2.2, the potential role of HIE-like organisations across rural Scotland, or all of Scotland, in facilitating community economic and social development, as well as more generally economic development, was raised. In relation, to NCDC and Northmavine, HIE and the local state have over the course of a decade given significant financial and other support to NCDC, and it is hoped that that this will continue in an appropriate form come 2014-15. HIE’s role, more generally, in relation to local economic development has recently been illustrated through its provision of £150,000 of support to upgrade the fish processing plant/crab factory at Ronas Voe in (northerly) Northmavine (Shetland Times, 2013), as per 1.4.3; the plant having previously closed in the early 2000s, but now being taken over by an existing Shetland company. MacKinnon (2002), as noted in 4.3.1, pointed to the neo-liberal business language and strategies that dominated HIE’s articulation of what it was doing²⁴¹. Yet, there is a certain potential here to understand its role in local community development and local

²⁴¹ Note: it is beyond the scope of this project to consider whether HIE continues to operate within a largely neo-liberal frame of reference, but as noted more generally there is a working assumption within the thesis, as per 3.3.4, that neo-liberal thinking is dominant within the Scottish central state and Scottish Government, and thus for HIE, too, as a regional body working within the state; for instance, HIE puts emphasis on ‘sustainable economic growth’ within its Annual Report and Accounts, 2012-13 (HIE, 2013: 7).

economic development as a *precursor* to an ‘activist’, ‘interventionist’ or ‘responsible’ state concerned for a more even or less uneven economic and social development; alongside the potential to also interpret HIE’s role as simply one part of a range of ameliorative strategies for remote communities, established by a neo-liberal state primarily concerned for investing in a centralisation, or economies of scale, and an associated ‘community management’ for other ‘non-target’ communities.

Developments, Scotland-wide, of such an interventionist state approach offers one model for a more significant investment in the community sector, social/community ownership and local economic and social development; and one that could be integrated with democratic community-led approaches from within the community sector and, likewise, democratic community and third sector infrastructure necessary to direct such investment. Yet, this in itself begs the question as to the circumstances in which the central, or even local, state would recognise the value of investing in such a strategy as a national, regional or local policy.

8.2.5: Aspirations for a ‘mutualist market’

In 5.3.3, the concept of a ‘mutualist market’ was generated to describe the potential construction and workings of the price-fixing ‘mechanism’ of market exchange under mutualist conditions – with a mutualist state and a certain dominance of the social economy – as opposed to a currently capitalist and more specifically neo-liberal construction of the market. This, it is suggested, provides an aspirational quality, or direction-of-travel, to a mutualist political economic narrative and to a CACE. A further quality was suggested, that of a mutualist market as having a particular concern to support and *value* the workings of community/reciprocity, rather than as seeking to either commodify such community or exploit it where the market is failing and the state simply seeks to withdraw.

In the sub-sections above, and in 7.2.2 and 7.2.3, discussion of the case-study material has begun to consider elements of cooperation and joint-working of the community organisations outside of their communities, and these could be interpreted as part of an aspiration for or workings towards a mutual market. The focus of each of the three organisations on community enterprise and local micro-business support, that can increase the number of locally-committed enterprises, could be added to such an

interpretation; including GHHA's involvement in a European Community 'Social Enterprise Europe' project (Govanhill Community Development Trust, 2013). As could the following: the establishment by GHHA and NCDC, and likely soon CI too, of trading subsidiaries; the further interest in community ownership of GoCA²⁴², as well as further initiatives by NCDC and CI in community ownership of local property; the consideration by NCDC of a possible community-share issue for its proposed micro-hydro scheme – a community share issue had been used previously in the area prior to the forming NCDC to establish the Ollaberry Community Coop²⁴³; NCDC and CI have both also worked with DTAS on consultancy contracts in support of social economy organisations and objectives.

These then can all be interpreted as early steps that illustrate an aspiration for a developing mutualist market or precursor to this; although these should not be assumed to be the only possible interpretation that can be offered. There are other signs of such an aspiration afoot, as indicated in 3.4.4 and 5.4.2, and to offer a few other examples: Senscot's (2013) proposal for a Scottish Community Banking Trust, working on mutual terms across the third sector; the Assynt Crofters Trust's development of a micro-hydro generation scheme with in-part a loan from 'social bank', Triodos (Callaghan et al., 2011). These can be positioned, more generally, through Nick Henry & Philip Craig (2013), in their report for the Community Development Finance Association, who estimate £0.7bn of existing community finance from community finance institutions as available in 2012 in the UK, although a potential demand of approximately £6bn across a wide range of local organisations – local micro-business, community enterprise and start-ups – and local residents. It must be recognised, however, that such figures are dwarfed by the scale of private sector financial activity in the UK and across the globe; for instance, where measurements of daily transactions on global currency markets were

²⁴² Note: During early 2012, GoCA held discussions amongst its members on ownership of community buildings and landmarks in Govanhill, establishing which organisations were currently interested, although, as the researcher understands, opportunities to actively pursue this currently have not been available. It can, however, be understood as a marker of future community sector intent.

²⁴³ Note: Ollaberry's Community Coop was opened in 1995, before NCDC was established in 2004, and is a distinct local body, but can still be understood as part of the local community sector within Northmavine (Ollaberry Community Enterprise Ltd, n.d.). NCDC did not draw on a community share issue in order to fund the purchase of the Hillswick Shop, using state funding and a commercial loan, but the shop has a local management through a local committee of Hillswick/Urafirth residents, and uses volunteers for certain tasks (not, however, to serve in the shop), and thus illustrates a mutually-supportive relationship between its trading activities with customers and suppliers from within the market, and yet also at the same time with 'community' through the community support as volunteers, customers and a more general goodwill and collective commitment.

given in trillions of US dollars even in 1998 (Castells, 1999).

The case-study material illustrates, then, the potential for community anchors to act as local community economic and social development agencies, and perhaps as part of networks of anchors in doing this. And in so doing, to draw on their multi-purpose structures to bring together and, in part, coordinate and strengthen the relationship between the social economy and community/reciprocity.

8.3: Working with the challenges of political economy

In section 5.4.1 the dilemmas of the community sector were considered through the respective thinking of John Pearce (2003) and Allan Cochrane (2007) and articulated as a tension between a neo-liberal ‘community management’ and an aspiration for ‘community ownership’. It is this same tension that has likewise emerged through the researcher’s developing interpretation and analysis across 8.2 as to the respective direction-of-travel of the community sector, on the one hand, and that of the state and the market, on the other. It is Pearce’s (2003, 2009) claim that it is ‘in the bones’ of the community sector to want to contribute to both practical and genuine change in tackling poverty and structural inequality; and yet to understand it as the ‘nature of capitalism’ to continue to generate this same poverty and inequality. Ironically, the community sector must compromise in order to survive and to achieve certain practical goals or outputs (projects), and yet continue to advocate and campaign for significant political economic change or lose its ‘heart and soul’ (sense of purpose). If the community sector does indeed take up such thinking, then it must find itself in a genuinely contradicted and ambivalent place as (and if) it seeks to ‘make a difference’.

This section seeks to consider further with this dilemma, by firstly considering the contrasting interpretations of ‘community management’ and ‘community ownership’, as discussed in 5.4.1, in relation to the case-study material; and how engaging with thinking on both could be used to sustain a necessarily tension within practice: and, secondly, to ask questions that could support the community sector in adding further substance to its potential discussions of its social and political economic directions-of-travel. In both cases, the researcher is seeking to support development of a CSTP that can continue to wrestle both with practical matters of survival and making a difference

now *and* with future, longer-term matters of the heart, as social vision, and the head, as strategy and political economy.

The section therefore considers:

- (8.3.1) In tension: community management or community ownership
- (8.3.2) Seeking and sustaining a political economic direction-of-travel
- (8.3.3) Further thinking on the challenges of political economy

8.3.1: *In tension: community management and community ownership*

By drawing on the work of both John Pearce (1993, 2003, 2009) and Allan Cochrane (2007) respectively, in 5.4.1, the researcher pointed to two conflicting interpretations and dialogues around the community sector role. Firstly, that of ‘community management’, and a community sector role within a neo-liberal political economy in supporting the state in managing those communities marginalised through uneven economic development in order to: limit the social damage of long-term deprivation and inequality; to support welfare reform in particular as welfare-into-work; and to demonstrate the state’s social ‘commitment’ while limiting the risks of social disorder and even social unrest. Secondly, that of ‘community ownership’, and a community sector approach to community empowerment and community-led regeneration, within a democratic, egalitarian ethos, and focused on community ownership, community enterprise and local economic and social development; inevitably constrained by current political economic context, but aspiring to social and political economic change.

The researcher argued in 5.4.1 that both interpretative narratives are likely to provide insight within a CACE/CSTP; a community management role is likely unavoidable within the confines of a neo-liberal nation state if the community sector is to survive; yet community ownership offers a narrative that supports practical survival, too, and, where cultivated, sustains commitment to exploring alternative economic and social spaces *and* to longer-term social and political economic change. By actively ‘holding’ both narratives, community management as social critique and community ownership as social vision, within a CACE/CSTP then a *potentially* useful conflict is generated, if a very uneasy one, that continues to recognise: the dilemmas of working within a deeply unequal society; the need to survive and develop; and the need for social solidarity and social vision.

Each of the case-studies offers an opportunity to reflect on these tensions. Govanhill, as a working class community with high levels of poverty and economic and social inequality, and within a city and region exhibiting many such concentrations, can be explored relative to community management and the drawing of the community sector into this role. GHHA and the local community sector have played a crucial role through their advocacy activity in ‘alerting’, in a sustained on-going manner, the local and central state to an escalating housing and social crisis; in effect acting as a ‘canary in a coalmine’. The community sector works in partnership with the state to reduce the levels of crisis to ‘manageable proportions’. However, there is unlikely to be any further ‘resolution’ of this as state priorities for use of highly-constrained public sector funding and investment shifts elsewhere, on to the next crisis in fact and, if so, community management as crisis management: see, for instance, Neil Brenner & Nik Theodore’s (2002) discussion of an urban neo-liberalisation as an open-ended restructuring process that requires accompanying strategies of crisis displacement and crisis management. Given the levels of intervention needed Scotland- and UK-wide, and the on-going neo-liberal focus of state and economy, yet the failures of the market, then individual communities are inevitably in endless competition for limited funding and investment.

Alternatively, and drawing from a community ownership narrative, GHHA illustrates a long-term investment by both community and the central and local state over four decades: successfully developing a community-controlled social housing stock and related welfare services; a growing community economic and social development agenda; an active partnership between the community sector and public sector. Further, GHHA is a part of a developing advocacy by the local community sector, and through its wider links with GWSFHA, SCA and DTAS more generally at a national level. A growing community sector identity and ability to provide traction – locally, regionally and nationally – alongside GHHA’s own high levels of (relative) sustainable independence, gives a certain power and credibility to the organisation and the local community sector and a certain potential to explore alternative economic and social development and advocacy, for instance as community enterprise, community participation and coordination through GoCA, and (community) advocacy and lobbying activity. Further, the partnership-working with the state in relation to community management, as described above, can be seen in a positive light, despite very significant constraints, in taking active steps to prevent the community falling further into deeper

crisis, with the human costs that follow, particularly through sustained lobbying on the need for investment in the private rental/owner occupied tenement blocks in Govanhill.

Creetown/Kirkmabreck and Northmavine are rural communities, and so not immediately understandable through a critique of urban social policy, nevertheless the term ‘community management’ in relation to economic and social marginality, and significant local levels of poverty and inequality, is still illustrative here. In both cases, the efforts of community and community organisations have been supported by the local and central state, with NCDC receiving financial support and advice from SIC and HIE; and CI receiving significant levels of financial support from the central state and public bodies, developing a working relationship with relevant departments of the local authority, and gaining a certain credibility and related financial support. The state, in relation to community management, can be understood to have gained new mechanisms of intervention that stave off crises or ‘alert’ to growing crises, as reductions in the level of public services, e.g. resources for local education and post office services, and the reducing role of the market in supplying local employment and services, e.g. retail, which continue to impact. Relative to a community ownership narrative, in both cases, the continued growth in the local community sector and related activity, and in levels of community ownership, illustrates a community and wider social solidarity at work, which *might* harbour and cultivate support for wider social change.

Arguably then, both can be said to provide insights of value to the community sector and to a CSTP, and the tension *can* be productive for it focuses on how the work and development of the community sector relates to the current dynamics of the political economy, as neo-liberalism; as well as on aspirations for distinctively different future political economic dynamics with a greater commitment to ‘working for the common good’. This tension might then be said to be concerned with the holding together of three different but key elements or areas of concern:

- *working for survival and development*: of individual community organisations and the wider community sector and social economy;
- *working for current local community interests*: working to hold to a sense of local mission, through community-led practices across community diversity, despite the tensions as to how this fits and/or conflicts with state policy; and

- *working for political economic changes relevant to a shared social vision:*
building dialogue as to social vision and aspiration, and associated political economic understandings of the socio-economic systems of the nation state.

Where the community sector is able to give time to such reflective and strategic thinking across these three themes, there is also scope for a constructive discussion of the tension between community management and community ownership; one that places this tension within considerations of a community sector direction-of-travel, and of the socio-economic systems of the nation state through which it must navigate.

8.3.2: Seeking and sustaining a social and political economic direction-of-travel

Three areas for discussion were suggested, in 8.3.1, as crucial for the community sector to wrestle with in seeking to establish a dialogue as to a direction-of-travel for the sector at large, namely:

- community sector survival and development;
- working for local community interests – across a matrix of community diversity;
and
- political economic changes relevant to a social vision.

Each provides a challenging area of theory and practice in its own right, and by drawing from those chapters concerned for theory and theoretical development, and those concerned for empirical inquiry through the case-study material, then the claim is made here that substance has been added to all three areas that can support such dialogue(s). In the process of discussions across the preceding chapters, and despite the different socio-economic contexts of the three organisations and their respective communities, common ground has been identified in understanding each and their practices. Each community has been shown to be struggling, at the least, with an economic and social marginality relative to ‘successful places’ and, at the worst, with very high levels of socio-economic inequality and deprivation. In each case, and despite the differences particularly in size and scope between the long-standing and urban-based GHHA and the newer and rural/island CI and NCDC, a certain broad or generic focus of activity across the dimensions of community development can be evidence and argued for. Such that if an abstract community anchor were to be described, it might be expected to be active as follows:

Community economic and social development:

- community ownership of housing/properties and renewables – for core income;
- a social enterprise/local micro-business incubator – advice and support;
- community-building activity, and potentially a community benefit fund; and
- local community sector development and support.

Partnerships with the state/others:

- drawing from central and local state resources to undertake environmental projects, employment training and volunteering;
- joint-working with the local state on particular projects or services, or potentially as part of a more widely focused and formalised partnership; and
- generating links with local and micro-businesses and some third sector bodies.

Advocacy/political change(s):

- developing a community plan/vision, or similar, and gaining resources to progress it;
- lobbying/advocacy of the local state, with the community sector including the community council; and
- national/regional lobbying and advocacy through community sector representative bodies.

Relative to the discussion of the two interpretations of community management and community ownership above, both elements would be expected to be at work here, but it is the latter, and understood broadly as the development of alternative economic and social space, that is of particular concern for a CACE/CSTP. Across the chapters, certain other themes have particularly resonated with this broader theme and they include:

- a particular ‘valuing’ of informal community networks or the ‘core economy’;
- advocacy and campaigning from across the community sector;
- a network of community anchors generating a local economic system(s); and
- a developing ‘mutualist market’.

These themes and community ownership itself, as a local democratic control, suggest an attempt to assert something ‘other’ than the priorities of the existing state. This assertion is constrained and even subverted by the state to support community management, and yet the claim being explored here is that the community sector continues, albeit in small ways, to assert its ‘otherness’ in contradiction of the state. However, this begs the question as to what the state should be doing to support the community sector and social economy and, more generally, to seek actively to tackle an uneven economic and social development across the nation state. This question in effect asks the community sector to consider what its own broader social vision is currently and, how the workings of the local and central state could be used to actively support this. Where such a supportive and active state *can* be conceived within our current thinking, then, such thinking can likewise support the community sector in thinking further as to its social vision and aspirations, where it should set its sights currently in terms of political economic direction-of-travel.

There are already significant indications, both via a mutualist CACE and the alternative economic and social space outlined, as to what the community sector might be looking for, and the following suggestions as to the focus of a supportive state are given:

- infrastructure for the social economy of social enterprise support/advice, financial/tax incentives, and legislation, as per Pearce in 5.3.3, and support for local economic networks;
- likewise, infrastructure to support community ownership, as in part outlined in 4.2.2;
- the development of third sector and public sector financial institutions relevant to the community sector and social economy – to support a mutualist market;
- commitment to a ‘living income’ and, more generally, to the welfare state, as both an anti-poverty strategy and community sector development strategy – in order to ‘value’ local community networks and support local economic networks;
- further asset transfer of housing/property and support for development of community renewables – to support the sustainable independence of community anchors and their representative bodies;
- constructive engagement by the local and central state with areas of conflict between it and the community sector – for such assertions by the community

sector are likely to be raising crucial economic and social issues that need attention; and

- a national strategy for the community sector, and a network of investment and support agencies across the nation state, preferably owned/direct by the community sector/third sector.

Wishful thinking, perhaps, and not a comprehensive listing, but illustrative of the forms of state interventions which would be seen as beneficial to the community sector and, likely relative to its survival and development, its promotion of local community interests, and its sustaining of a relevant direction-of-travel. It is surely a focus for further thinking within a CSTP and community sector dialogue, and within in a wider community dialogue too and, crucially, is an example of how thinking on the role of the state is fundamental to more significant levels of community sector development. In particular, such a vision of the state could help the community sector as it finds itself making judgements as to whether to pursue opportunities offered by the state in relation to public sector reform, economic development, and indeed the welfare state itself, through welfare-into-work, for example, that draw it into related questions of privatisation of public sector roles, the future of the welfare state, forms of ownership and investment. The example of Phillip Blond's (2010) thinking, in 5.4.2, relative to the role of the welfare state and fiscal and monetary management of the UK economy, illustrates the complexity of such involvement with the state. Likewise, as discussed in 3.3.4, the Christie Commission report (Commission on the Future Delivery of Public Services, 2011) in Scotland also offers testing questions too as to relations between public and community sectors and the longer-term aspiration for public services and the welfare state.

8.3.3: Further thinking on the challenges of political economy

The limits of the case-study material, the empirical inquiry, would seem to have been reached here. It is not possible to conclude that a CACE narrative, with its political economic implications, is a 'natural' position for the community sector, and hence it is crucial to position it within a broader CSTP. How a community sector could seek a dialogue as to the role of the state within a modern mixed economy and/or a political economic direction-of-travel is left unconsidered in any detail. Yet one possible outcome to work towards would be a 'manifesto', formal or informal, that sought to

outline initial community sector perspectives on and expectations of the state. Such thinking would be mutually supportive of considerations of the three elements of community sector thinking on its own development: survival and development, advocating local community interests, and social vision/political economic narrative. These two lines of discussion – expectations of the state and aspirations for community sector development – can help to inform each other, while further consideration of the three (current) political economic positions – neo-liberal, neo-Keynesian, and steady-state – outlined in 1.3.4, and the way each works to integrate matters of economic development; ownership and coordination; social development and welfare; and sustainable development and ecological constraints, provide a third dimension or context to such a developing discussion.

There is a related and nagging question here too, as to what if neo-liberal political economic thinking continues to dominate, and aspirations for further community ownership and a shift towards a more democratic and egalitarian society prove to be elusive as policy-making in Scotland and the UK continues to focus on a neo-liberal market fundamentalism? Perhaps, this is too pessimistic a thought to dwell on, and the community sector is better placing its energies into its own development and working to finding allies to support this. Certainly, the debates generated by the referendum on Scottish independence seem to have injected energy into political life, as demonstrated by the Common Weal proposals (The Jimmy Reid Foundation, 2013), briefly considered in 5.4.2; yet significant debates as to how to build sufficient support across a broad range of interest groups and socio-economic classes to generate a political economic shift that can significantly impact on economic and social inequalities in Scotland and the UK remain largely absent.

8.4: Concluding thoughts

This chapter has sought to develop an understanding of the workings of the community sector within the current political economic contexts of the Scottish state within a UK nation state. Consideration has been given both to the existing practices and context *and* to frameworks that can support community anchors and the community sector in thinking further as to the tensions between surviving and developing, advocating for local community interests and sustaining a longer-term social and political economic vision. What the researcher has worked to identify are inter-relating frameworks that

establish the issues, concerns and challenges that can support further research, interpretation and analysis relevant to a CACE and/or CSTP, and potentially further discussion and reflection within community sector dialogue.

This chapter has explored the emphasis within RA2/RO3 on a CACE/CSTP in relation to matters both of practice and political economy, working to understand these as crucial elements within any development of a CSTP. It has also deepened understanding of the multi-purpose and multi-dimensional natures of community anchor practice (RO2) as working across at least three dimensions of community development *and* strategically across survival/development, advocacy for local community interests, and social vision and related political economic narrative. There is no ‘final’ or conclusive integration of these various elements, but rather the suggestion that by ‘holding’ them within a CSTP and a community sector dialogue, that crucial issues and challenges can be raised and further considered in relation to developing practice.

In so doing, the nature, and likely changing and contested nature, of the relationship between community anchors and community empowerment has continued to emerge (RO4). In particular, given the current political economic environment in which neo-liberal thinking dominates, community anchors find themselves working within a tension between a neo-liberal community management and an aspiration for an egalitarian community ownership concerned for a community-led practice and alternative economic and social developments. Community anchors can then be understood as ‘crucial’ to community empowerment in complex and contested ways, whether as a more general usage of ‘community empowerment (1)’ or as a more particular ‘community empowerment (2)’ focused on local community sector development, because their roles are channelled and constrained by the neo-liberal state *and yet* can aspire to work towards an increasing community ownership and alternative forms of development. The meanings attached to community empowerment and to the community anchor role, even as ‘community empowerment (2)’, continue to be negotiated actively, and change over time. Through reflecting on and reviewing this tension, within a CACE/CSTP and within community sector dialogue, the ‘space’ is sustained for continuing both to consider the (changing) constraints generated by the neo-liberal state and its focus on community management, and to seek opportunities in policy-making and practice for the pursuit of community ownership and a related alternative economic and social development.

Chapter 9: The concluding chapter: an overview of the research findings and consideration of a developing community sector research agenda

9.1: Introduction

This chapter seeks to conclude the research process, initially in 9.2, through an overview of the findings and assertions generated across the course of the thesis; relative to the RAOs, those findings relating to RO1, RO2 and RO3, and in the main foci, RA1 and RA2. The focus, here, is on the main contribution of the researcher and the research: that of informing and supporting the development of a ‘CACE within a CSTP’ in relation to matters of practice and political economy; and to achieve this through both theoretical development and empirical inquiry.

A more detailed consideration is given to the relationship between community anchors and community empowerment, in particular, community anchors as a necessary step to community empowerment, in 9.3. This section looks at what has been learnt so far about this relationship, and how a further more extensive investigation could be undertaken; relative to the RAOs, these findings relate to RO4 and RA3.

In 9.4, consideration is given more widely as to the potential for further research as a ‘community-led’ community sector research agenda, and identifying options, opportunities and barriers to this. In so doing, the constraints and limitations, as recognised within 2.3 and 2.4, of the existing research project, as theoretical development and empirical inquiry, are further clarified. These discussions relate, in particular, to RO5 in the RAOs, and further inform RA1 and RA2.

The final section summarises from across the three Research Aims (RA1-3) and points to opportunities to disseminate the research findings and thinking across the research community, the community sector and those involved in policy-making.

The chapter takes the following course:

- (9.2) Informing a theory and practice: key findings
- (9.3) Community anchors as a necessary step to community empowerment
- (9.4) Towards a community sector research agenda
- (9.5) An epilogue: and finally ...

9.2: Informing a theory and practice: key findings

This research project and thesis have been focused on understanding and informing the development of a CACE/CSTP, by drawing from the experiences of community anchors working within a Scottish policy context. RA1 and RA2 have been concerned to deepen understanding of such a CACE/CSTP, in particular through consideration of matters of day-to-day practice and political economy. Relative to RO1, RO2 and RO3, the researcher has generated a theoretical background, and from this related theoretical developments. These have then been used to explore the case-study material, through interpretation and analysis, in relation to: key current matters of practice, namely community-led practice, sustainable independence and multi-purpose community anchors; and matters of political economy and the workings of the community sector with the state, the market and community/reciprocity. Increasingly, as theory and empirical inquiry have been brought together through interpretation and analysis, then these two elements, of practice and political economy, have themselves begun to form a more coherent narrative, thus supporting an increasing understanding of a CACE/CSTP.

The key findings from across Chapters 4 to 8 are presented below as three distinctive discussions, relating to RO1, RO2 and RO3 respectively.

(1)Theorising on a CACE within a CSTP: the work of John Pearce (1993, 2003, 2009) has provided a crucial starting point for understanding a CSTP, for firstly, he understands the breadth of practice of community development, such that it is broad and inclusive, and includes advocacy and political change(s); partnership and service provision with the state; and (alternative) community economic and social development. Then, secondly, he provides a model of the three economic systems of a modern mixed economy, within which the third sector and social economy have a central role, and are held to have equal status with the public and private sectors. Drawing from Pearce's initial thinking, this researcher has then been able to position a conceptual narrative of community empowerment ['community empowerment (2)', see 1.3.2] as a developing community sector (for instance, Pearce, 1993; Thake, 2006; Local People Leading, 2008a) within broader discussions of practice and political economy, as a CSTP – or community sector theory and practice. By drawing from theorising on urban policy and political economy (for instance, Atkinson & Moon, 1994; Cochrane, 2007; Harvey, 2009 [1973]), on rural policy and political economy (for instance, Scott et al., 2007; Shucksmith, 2012; Skerratt et al., 2012), and on community development and the social

economy (for instance, Arnstein, 1969; Wyler, 2009; Ridley-Duff & Bull, 2011), the researcher has generated a wider understanding of the theoretical debates and issues that a CSTP must engage with as a theory and practice.

This researcher has also tracked the initial development of the community anchor model in the UK, initially in England through the work of Stephen Thake (2001, 2006), and later in Scotland (LPL, 2008b; McKee, 2012) noting: its relationship with New Labour UK Government policy-making on welfare reform (Thake, 2001; Cochrane, 2007) and SNP Scottish Government policy-making on community empowerment and regeneration (Scottish Government & COSLA, 2009; Scottish Government, 2011b); and the current developing practices within the community anchor model on community-led practice (Hardie, 2012), sustainable independence (Weaver, 2009), and multi-purpose roles (Thake, 2001; Weaver, 2009; SCA, 2011b).

The researcher has then used this understanding of the community anchor model to develop discussion of a particular community anchor/community empowerment narrative, or CACE. This CACE understands the community anchor role as to facilitate community empowerment, in particular an empowerment concerned for community sector development and community ownership (Pearce, 1993; Local People Leading, 2008a; Wyler, 2009); and to be understood as part of a developing social economy within the third sector of a modern mixed economy (Pearce: 2003, 2009; Ridley-Duff & Bull, 2011). The researcher has added further political economic elements to the discussion of this particular ‘mutualist’ CACE, namely: the roles of different forms of ownership – public, private and social/community – operating within an economy (Pearce, 2003; The Jimmy Reid Foundation, 2013); the roles of different means of economic coordination operating within an economy – market, state, community/reciprocity (Harvey, 2009 [1973]); and the management of welfare and ‘disorderly’ places by the neo-liberal state (Cochrane, 2007) as a ‘community management’ that challenges the ‘community ownership’ aspirations of a CACE.

In conclusion, for this first area of key findings, or assertion(s) (Stake, 1995), this researcher has illustrated that a coherent theoretical account and discussion of a CACE/CSTP, drawing both from community development and community anchor practice, and from understandings of the social economy and political economy, can be achieved. It is such a theoretical construction, drawing from these various conceptual

narratives, that supports the interpretation and analysis of the case-study material.

(2) *A CACE/CSTP and developing practice*: by drawing from the theoretical base, as CACE/CSTP, to interpret and analysis the case-study material, the researcher has recognised and further developed three areas of practice, presenting them as conceptual narratives and their associated narratives.

The first of these is that of a *developing community-led practice*. Here a range of conceptual narratives has been drawn upon to illustrate how a dynamic, multi-layered approach to a community-led practice can be articulated and evidenced via the case-study material. These inter-linking conceptual narratives include:

- ‘community grounded-ness’ (drawing from Sampson & Weaver, 2010; McKee, 2012), where community anchor organisations show a complex range of practices and connectedness to their local community;
- community leadership and related narratives of ‘community professionalism’ and ‘community representative-ness’ (Kagan, 2006; Diers, 2007; Harkins & Egan, 2012a); and
- ‘matrix of local community diversity’ – where various layers of local communities of places and interest meet and intersect (drawing from Pearce, 1993; Hoggett, 1997; Alperson, 2002).

A community-led practice, as understood within a CACE, thus seeks to work from within a deliberative democratic tradition (Thompson, 2001; Barrett, 2009; Painter et al., 2011), where participatory and representative democratic process are active (Demarco, 2009). Yet, the degrees of local control and local powering sharing (MacKinnon, 2002) achievable (currently) need to be carefully considered, given the socio-economic systems of the nation state (structures) within which communities are embedded. Further participatory and/or social research that recognises both perspectives on a community-led practice – its aspiration for a rich local democratic practice, yet working within a wider political economic context – would support the development of this complex area of practice.

The second is that of a *sustainable independence*. Drawing, initially, from the work of Max Weaver (2009) (also, Cairns, Harris & Hutchison, 2006; Local People Leading, 2008a; Centre for Local Economic Strategies, 2009), again, a range of conceptual

narratives of inter-relating concepts of financial sustainability; relations with the state in particular and the market; robust organisational governance and management; formal and informal structures; and local mission and local community interests, have been used to generate complex discussion of the case-study organisations and their relative ability to work independently of the state over the longer-term – a sustainable independence.

Currently, crucial to the achievement of such a sustainable independence is the range of development strategies that can be used to increase sources of income distinct from the state ('self-sufficiency') that include: asset ownership, suitable borrowing and investment, social enterprise, evidencing the value of a multi-purpose community anchor role. Yet, and perhaps ironically, these are illustrated through the case-studies as needing a wider and longer-term relationship-building with the local and central state across a range of activities, illustrated through the metaphor of 'relational-contracting' (Weaver, 2009), rather than shorter-term partnerships and focused projects.

The researcher's analysis of the case-study material has added a further element to the narratives that support the concept of sustainable independence, that of an organisational culture (drawing from Handy, 1998) that is sufficiently malleable to work with both the formality of organisations, including those within the public sector, and the informality and fluidity of 'community' and informal community networks. Such a malleability of culture can allow an organisation to sustain a community-led practice and generate a rich, complex sense of local mission.

Again, the ability of community anchors to achieve a sustainable independence from both state and market is understood as relative, given that they are working with the state and within the market. It is both an aspiration to work towards in order to have greater local control to pursue a local mission, but also an opportunity to increase understanding of the workings of socio-economic structure, as the state and the market, and the roles of the community sector relative to this.

The third area of practice is that of a *multi-purpose community organisation* integrating a complex range of activities. By focusing on three of the dimensions or categories of relevance to a broad understanding of 'community development' (Pearce, 2003) – those of community social and economic development, service provision and partnership-

working, and advocacy and political actions – and through drawing from the case-study material, the potential for community anchors to play complex roles across a range of activity with a local community, and beyond, has been illustrated. The limitations of an area-based approach or regeneration, community empowerment in one place, become more apparent with community anchors seeking to work more widely with neighbouring communities and seeking to contribute to impacting on wider social systems of the state and even market, and so this points to community anchors as needing to take an ‘outward-looking’ approach. Yet, as community anchors take on an increasingly complex and longer-term range of activity, there is recognition, too, that again this is likely to involve an increasingly complex relationship with the local and central state. This suggests, in particular relative to advocacy and campaigning, that community anchors are likely, in the longer-term, to form ‘insider’ roles through their working relations with the state (Aiken, Cairns & Hutchison, 2008; Cotterill & Richardson, 2011; Harkins & Egan, 2012a) and, if so, consideration is needed as to: how they continue to work with and effectively support ‘outsider’ grassroots campaigning; and how, and with whom, they and the wider community sector form alliances for advocacy and campaigning across the nation state. This in itself raises a key question as to whether there is a need for a model of a community organisation with a more obviously ‘outsider’ campaigning role, more distant from the state, and how funding for this might plausibly be generated.

This second area of ‘key findings’ in relation to practice of community anchors illustrates that a complex account of the practices of community anchors can be generated from the conceptual narratives interwoven around these three central narratives – of community-led practice, sustainable independence and multi-purpose working. They bring together a rich vein of practices and related issues including local democracy, leadership and professionalism, community dialogue, local mission and community interests, financial development and management, community and organisational governance, organisational management and culture, advocacy and campaigning, and relations between state, market and community/reciprocity. It is this breadth of thinking that can support a deepening of understanding of a CACE/CSTP.

(3) A CACE/CSTP and matters of political economy: the theoretical construction of a CACE/CSTP and the case-study material has supported the researcher in engaging with

this third area of ‘key findings’, a CACE/CSTP and matters of political economy, and three central discussions have been generated.

Firstly, that of *community sector understandings of community empowerment*: the theoretical material and the case-study material suggest that the way the term community empowerment is used in many spheres – for instance, policy-making, community sector dialogue and ‘popular’/public discussion – is likely to remain eclectic and, therefore, ‘troublesome’ when and where such a pluralism is not recognised. Nevertheless, the focus within this project has been on community empowerment as local community sector development, the increasing ability of the sector to provide traction, or ‘get things done’. Consideration of the expectations and aspirations of those interviewees working within the community sector indicates that most, but significantly not all, found the term community empowerment, in a general and eclectic sense, one they could use to articulate the roles and activities of their community organisation and the wider community. In so doing, various themes were generated: the role and importance of a community solidarity as distinct from wider community economic development; the role and potential for a further increasing role of the community anchor and the community sector local development and service provision; and the role of the community anchor in supporting community dialogue and a related wider advocacy with decision-makers.

Further and wider investigation of the nature and expectations of, and for, community empowerment, in both a general usage and a more community sector-focused usage, within the community sector, either as participatory or social research, would be valuable in supporting further informed discussion within a CSTP and community sector dialogue of the complexity of both the community sector and informal community networks. Similarly, research into views and expectations of community empowerment – general and particular – held within wider community dialogue, ‘us’ as the wider local population, would likewise valuably inform a CSTP and community sector dialogue.

Secondly, the range of relations between the community sector and the state and the market have been scoped and acknowledged. The community sector already has a complex series of relationships with different elements of the state and public sector. The community sector has also developed working relationships with small scale

private sector organisations, mainly local micro- and small businesses. A local community sector will also have extensive ‘internal’ links between local community organisations and with informal community networks and, more generally, with neighbouring community sector, third sector and social enterprise organisations, and relevant national bodies. The case-study material highlights a range of experiences of working relations with the local state, central state and public bodies; both positive experiences of supportive working relationships, and conflicted experiences where interviewees pointed to frustrations within projects or to a social, economic and/or political challenge, which the local or central state was failing to meet.

One of the common characteristics across all three communities was the evidence from socio-economic statistical sources, planning documentation and media monitoring – alongside the discussions with the interviewees – of the marginality of each to processes of economic and social development regionally and nationally; strongly suggestive of an ‘asymmetrical’ (Giddens, 1984) or uneven economic development (Atkinson & Moon, 1994; Cochrane, 2007; Harvey, 2009 [1973]) across the nation state. This suggests that community anchors and the community sector are faced with significant challenges in generating strategies to advocate for and protect local community interests; whether to restrict their activities to partnership-working, as offered by the existing state; or to advocate strongly and strategically for access to resources to support economic development and social development in their community; or to consider wider strategies across the community sector, and with other allies, that seek to counter economic centralisation through the development of local economic systems and alternative economic and social spaces (Pearce, 2003; Cochrane, 2007; Danson & Whittam, 2010). In reality, community anchors and the community sector are likely to pursue elements of all three strategies, as they seek to survive and develop, while asserting local community interests, but this raises questions as to how they can sustain a (any) long-term social vision, as a CACE or otherwise.

Finally, the particular *political economic challenge* that the neo-liberal state presents for a CACE, with the latter’s focus on ‘working for the common good’, a community ownership and mutualism. In particular, this is because of the focus of any neo-liberal state on supporting in various forms: private sector ownership and a related construction of the market; centralisation and a concentration of economic and political power; the ambiguous role of ‘community management’ (drawing from Pearce, 2003; Cochrane,

2007), in the face of inequality, it passes to the community sector; and its lack of commitment to structural socio-economic change aimed at tackling inequality (Harvey, 2005; Peck, 2008). The community sector, thus, faces significant and inevitable conflicts and compromises given its role in community management and yet likely aspirations for community ownership and local economic development. Recognition of such conflicts can, at least, be acknowledged through ongoing discussion of three key elements: community sector survival and development; advocacy of local community interests; and sustaining discussion of a longer-term social vision and related political economic considerations.

It cannot be assumed that a CACE is, or always would be, the agreed social vision and political economic narrative for the community sector, nevertheless it offers one starting point for community sector discussion, and by positioning it within a wider CSTP, it offers a wider context for such discussion. Both a CACE/CSTP and a CSTP, therefore, can provide support for community sector dialogue in developing a ‘manifesto’, if initially provisional and discursive, and of sustaining discussion of tensions inherent within a framework of organisational development, community interests, and social vision.

This third area of ‘key findings’, as to the community sector and political economy, highlights the challenges for a CACE/CSTP. For it seems likely that: within the community sector itself there are a range of existing views as to the nature of community empowerment, even without consideration of further political economic concerns; the community sector is faced with responding to the challenges of neo-liberalism, as both a centralisation and a community management, and in which it is cast in the role of responding to the consequences of such neo-liberal outcomes, rather than leading from its own aspirations. A CACE/CSTP is one tool it can use to reflect on these challenges and work to sustain and advocate for its development, community interests and a longer-term social vision.

Finally, and returning to the RAOs, the other key elements for discussion are the ‘key underlying working assumptions’ relating to ROs1-3. These are considered below, whilst the key working assumption in relation to RO4 is considered in 9.3.1.

Firstly, in relation to RO1, the key underlying assumption was:

that there will be sufficient commonality between the developed theory and the actual practices of the case-study organisations and, likewise, sufficient commonality of practices and context between the three case-study organisations and communities, for a meaningful and relevant interpretation and analysis to be generated relative to a CACE/CSTP.

The brief claim and answer, in both cases, are that there has been sufficient common ground, such that the theoretical development and the case-study research, as empirical investigation, could be drawn into meaningful discussion; at least as construed by the researcher within this thesis. Whilst each organisation, and each community, has distinctive features – such as size, particular types of income generating activity, and spatial positioning across an urban-rural spectrum – the researcher argues that he has been able to use the theory constructed in relation to a CACE/CSTP to develop and sustain an extensive interpretation and analysis. Given, however, the qualitative and critical case-study research methodology used to support and develop the research process, as considered in Chapter 2, it should be recognised that other researchers, particularly those using a different theoretical perspective and methodology, would likely have designed and implemented a different research process, and used other distinctive theory or at least provided a distinctive interpretation of the case-study material. The researcher cannot be said to be providing ‘the final word’ on a CACE/CSTP rather, instead, he provides contributions to support the further discussions of practitioners, researchers and policy-makers from within a CSTP and community sector dialogue.

Secondly and in relation to RO3, there is a key underlying assumption as follows:

that a CACE/CSTP will be sufficiently theorised in relation to matters of political economy that it will be able to support a more extensive critical discussion.

The researcher has worked to develop a theoretical base within Chapters 4 and 5 for a CACE, and more widely across Chapters 1, 2 and 3 for a CSTP, drawing initially from the narratives of John Pearce (2003) on the social economy, mutualism and the three

economic systems of a nation state and global economy, and of the SCA (LPL, 2008a) on community anchors and community empowerment. This base was extended by relating such thinking to wider discussions: forms of ownership and decision-making; means of socio-economic coordination within the (developed) nation state; and political economic narratives. This last was discussed explicitly through consideration of the neo-liberal state as the current orthodoxy; the post-Keynesian social democratic state as its immediate challenger; and a steady-state egalitarian political economy as a longer-term, perhaps post-capitalist, challenge. The tension between state policy and initiatives aimed at ‘community management’, on the one hand, *and* community sector aspirations for ‘community ownership’ and local economic and development, on the other, has been used as a tool to stimulate political economic discussion in relation to a CACE/CSTP. The researcher would argue, therefore, that a CACE/CSTP has achieved a suitable level of theoretical complexity to support political economic interpretation and analysis of the case-study material in this thesis; although a CACE cannot be taken as the community sector’s only option in relation to political economic theory or its agreed option.

Finally, and in relation to RO2, the key underlying assumption is:

that the areas of current practice identified as relevant will prove, in fact, relevant to the development of both the more abstract and theoretical CACE/CSTP and the actual current concerns of the community sector in Scotland.

This relates to the focus on community-led practice, sustainable independence, and the integration of multi-purpose areas of practice. Certainly, the researcher would argue that they have generated valuable interpretation and analysis relative to the case-study material, and have further informed the development of thinking within a CACE/CSTP. However, whether they can be considered ‘sufficiently relevant’ to the community sector itself remains a working assumption; one that needs to be ‘tested’ through further work, but beyond the scope of this particular project and thesis. The aim must be to find ways to feedback such discussion to the community sector, and gain further responses and analysis from their own reactions and discussion, where possible. This is considered further in 9.4 below, in relation to a ‘community-led’ community sector research agenda. There is a related matter here too, as discussed in 2.2.4, as to the generation of

discussion in an accessible form within wider community dialogue, those of ‘us’ within communities who are not currently active in the community sector – as distinct from ‘informal community networks’. There are key questions here as to the current levels of understanding and expectations of the community sector, which cannot be assumed but can valuably be investigated.

9.3: Community anchors as a necessary step for greater community empowerment

There has been an acknowledgement across the chapters, particularly in the concluding sections of each, of a growing understanding of the relationship between community anchors and community empowerment; and so discussion of matters relating to RA3 and RO4 has been supported, illustrating the nature of this relationship relative to the overall underlying assumption/hypothesis of:

Community anchors as a necessary step for greater community empowerment

This section therefore seeks to take an overview and consider what has been learnt as to this relationship via the following discussions:

- (9.3.1) Illustrating community anchors as crucial to community empowerment
- (9.3.2) Seeking to demonstrate community anchors as a necessary step to greater community empowerment

9.3.1: Illustrating community anchors as crucial to community empowerment

In considering and developing a theoretical understanding of a CACE/CSTP, and in relating this thinking to the practices and context of the three case-study organisations, the claim is made here that progress has been made, as follows, in understanding the relationship between community anchors and community empowerment:

(i) the theoretical understanding of a CACE/CSTP has given a more particular, although never static, meaning to the statement, ‘*community anchors as a necessary step for greater community empowerment*’

(ii) an evidence-base has been assembled, via the three case-studies, to illustrate what this can mean in practice on-the-ground and, in so doing, to provide a second tranche of

evidence to the underlying hypothesis/assumption; with the first tranche being the already existing case-study work identified in 1.2.1.

(iii) there is considerable scope for further developing the evidence base in relation to existing community anchors in order to make a stronger case, a relative ‘demonstrating’, as per social constructionist thinking on the nature of social research, of the central role of community anchors within community empowerment.

(iv) there is considerable scope for further developing thinking on the potential scale and variety of community empowerment, where understood as local community sector development – or ‘community empowerment (2)’ as per 1.3.2. For instance, this could be articulated as the development of alternative economic and social space, through an ‘embryonic local economic system’ (Danson & Whittam, 2010), and which recognised the community anchor role within this individually, or as part of a network of community anchors.

There are likely no surprises here in relation to (i), for the community anchor narrative, and the particular understanding of community empowerment used, have been fashioned by those with growing experience in both practice and research, over at least two decades from the 1990s (Pearce, 1993; Thake: 2001, 2006), and perhaps almost five decades back to the late 1960s (Wylter, 2009; Power, 2011), as discussed in 3.3.2 and 3.4.2. And that, therefore, there would likely be, at the least, a certain coherence between the role of community anchors, or community-led, multi-purpose community organisations, and a particular, if never static, understanding of ‘community empowerment’ and the growing potential of the community sector in relation to community economic and social development.

Nevertheless, as (ii), in assembling an evidence base, a deepening understanding of (i) has been gained, and illustrations of community anchors as crucial to community empowerment developed. There is a recognition in (iii) that further research, in relation to community anchors, can work towards a stronger demonstration of the necessary role of community anchors in generating this form of community empowerment – a ‘community empowerment (2)’; and, in so doing, support the further development of relevant practices, political economic understanding, and an evidence base that supports the community sector in making its case to communities/the public, the state and other

stakeholders. In 9.3.2 below, the researcher imagines a further research process that aims for a 'relative demonstration' of *community anchors as a necessary step to community empowerment*.

Finally, (iv) identifies that there is an existing train-of-thought, held within an existing understanding of 'community empowerment as community sector development', that is also pointing to a 'new horizon': as identified in Chapter 5 through Pearce's (2003) discussion of a developing social economy in 'Anytown', Danson & Whittam's (2010) concept of an 'embryonic local economic system' and Dobson's (2013) strategies for an economic localism. There is further scope for developing thinking on the nature of such a 'community empowerment (2)', and the scale of community sector activity and infrastructure, and the range and type of community-led economic and social development. Related to this is a developing community anchor role, at least for some community anchors, as part of such an inter-linking network of 'community-led local economic and social development agencies', and the need to consider the crucial role of the state in supporting such a network.

None of the three community anchors would be understood to be currently working at such a scale of community economic and social development and/or within such a network, although the work of GHHA and, more generally, the community sector in Govanhill, is illustrating a more significant scale of operation; whilst the work of GHHA as part of GWSFHA (Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations) points towards one potential route for developing such wider networks of activity. There is potential here for further research into community anchors and local community sectors working at such scale, as well as networks of such organisations developing a social economy, and building on a DTAS (Development Trust Association Scotland) report (Walker et al., 2010) in Scotland and the UK; whilst recognising, as well, as developments in Europe, North America, Latin America and Asia too as discussed in relation to the social economy and community ownership in 1.3.2, 3.4.2 and 3.4.4.

9.3.2: Seeking to demonstrate community anchors as a necessary step for greater community empowerment

Whilst '*demonstrating*' *community anchors as a necessary step for community empowerment*, to be understood as a more significant testing out of such a generalisation or hypothesis, is beyond the scope of this particular project, consideration can be given here as to 'the how' of such a future project: while noting that it should be recognised that this is not the only potential research option available for 'building the case' for a CACE/CSTP, nor necessarily even a priority within a community sector research agenda, which is considered further in 9.4 below.

In considering next steps for such a further demonstration of anchors as necessary for community empowerment, three key questions are discussed below:

(1) what are the alternatives to community anchors relative to the development of community empowerment?

(2) how can the role of community anchors within a CACE be further refined to develop a sufficiently technical, or semi-technical, set of definitions, such that it could be 'tested' more thoroughly?

(3) how can the work of a community anchor be understood within a broader socio-economic context?

(1) Alternatives to this community anchor model

In seeking to make the case for the anchor model as a necessary step for empowerment, it would be important to consider the *plausible* rival models to which it could be compared. The range of such alternatives might be varied, for instance:

An alternative community anchor model: One such alternative would be a community anchor model showing many, if not necessarily all, of the same general characteristics, but focused on a distinctive understanding of community empowerment; perhaps strongly prioritising partnership-working with the state, or advocacy/political change(s) as suggested in 7.2.3, rather than the particular emphasis on community social and

economic development taken within a CACE.

Another, and in fact likely scenario, would be the sharing of community anchor functions by two or more community organisations within a particular community of place or interest²⁴⁴. Although this might be considered to be only a minor difference to a model focused on one key anchor organisation within a local community, at least in terms of a shared practice, there are further questions, and the potential for differences of approach to local community sector development and/or resulting outcomes of such development. Such thinking also points to a third community anchor alternative, that relating to a matrix of community diversity, where intersections of different local communities of place, interest and identity, provide the opportunity for interworking between community anchors representative of these different communities.

A rival approach to facilitating the local community sector: whilst ‘all else’ in terms of forms of community empowerment and developing the local community sector is held in common, here, the community anchor model is not pursued as the key tool for facilitating community development; perhaps, instead a deliberate partnership or network of a number of largely single-purpose local community organisations, or even involving public sector organisations, but with none given either ‘the leading role’, ‘the facilitative role’ or ‘the multi-purpose role’.

A rival understanding of community empowerment: as already acknowledged, there are potential rivals in relation to the focus and scale of community development – different models of community empowerment, in effect. There are also different aspirations for the role of ‘community’ within different political economic theory and narratives: for example, differences between neo-liberal thinking and mutualist thinking, echoing the distinction between community management and community ownership that has been made in this thesis. Even within the CACE narrative considered within this research project and thesis, there is scope for significant differences of expectations: for instance, from those who decide to keep their focus firmly on the community anchor role as a ‘local mission’ in one place, and those who commit, in one or more forms, to work to

²⁴⁴ Note: for instance, a DTAS publication in 2009 (DTAS, 2009), researched and written in draft by this researcher, describes the work of three community organisations in the small town of Renton, in West Dunbartonshire, as an integrated platform between Cordale Housing Association, the Carman Centre and Renton Community Development Trust; although a more detailed understanding of that three-way working relationship was not generated.

build common cause more widely within the community sector – in neighbouring communities, district-wide or more extensively still.

(2) Developing sufficiently-technical definitions of a community anchor

The aim, here, in seeking such a technical, semi-technical and/or tightly-drawn definition of a community anchor, and likewise of community empowerment, would be to support the collection of more comprehensive data, likely both quantitative and qualitative, which could be used to support the ‘testing’ of a narrowly-focused hypothesis, and other related hypotheses. Given the under-pinning of this research project via structuration theory and social constructionism, as discussed in 2.2.3, and thus concerned for provisional generalisations rather than scientific laws, testing is being used here in that sense. This constrains what can be considered achievable, but this should not be understood as a failure to recognise the value of quantitative research methods, or ‘mixed methods’ (Yin 2009), and related interpretation and analysis, in developing further insights in relation to particular theorising: nor, the ability of such research to provide a quantitative evidence-base, that is often valued by policy-makers and funders alike, in support of claims for effectiveness for particular practices, approaches and policies, as noted recognised in 9.4.2 too.

As discussed in section 4.3.2, Sampson & Weaver (2010) have developed such a framework around the conceptual narratives of ‘attracting’ and ‘connecting’ in relation to delivering a local mission, and delivering more effectively than single-purpose (silo) organisations; 15 forms of data collection are developed, quantitative and qualitative, with the related definitions to support the process. In relation to the role of community anchors within a CACE narrative, it would doubtless be possible to generate a similar chain(s) of thought, definition, and data collection to support development of a relevant research project. In particular within this narrative, it is the focus on its roles in relation to a developing local community sector; as well as to, more generally, other community social and economic development, partnership-working and advocacy/political change(s). Consideration of these themes is likely to yield, as a simplification of the anchor role, several central concepts, as per Sampson & Weaver’s work, that would provide the starting conceptual narrative(s) for such a quantitative and qualitative investigation.

(3) Community empowerment and the wider socio-economic context

For such an understanding of the community anchor role, relative to a CACE narrative, to provide a more meaningful picture of not simply the ‘outputs’ of a community anchor, but also the wider outcomes and impacts locally and perhaps further afield, a further body of information and evidence would be needed to support interpretation and analysis, relating to:

- the local community sector and informal community activity: understanding the wider role of the local community sector within a community;
- community experiences and actions: the experiences and interpretations across the diversity of people living locally;
- community outcomes: what is ‘measurably’²⁴⁵ changing within this community and what are the likely contributors to such changes; and
- the socio-economic context in which this community is positioned, and the current and future anticipated impacts of such a context.

It is only by deepening knowledge of both contexts and actual changes that the role of a community anchor can meaningfully be interpreted and analysed. As the Institute of Voluntary Action Research’s (IVAR) report (Baker, 2011) on multi-purpose community organisations notes, there is also a useful distinction to be made here between ‘contribution’ and ‘attribution’: the contribution of a community anchor to outcomes and impacts in a community can be made more visible through research, without the need to causally attribute this entirely to the community anchor – indeed such a position would intuitively seem untenable.

It should also be recognised that the evidence-base for the effectiveness of a community anchor, and the opportunity to demonstrate its role in relation to community empowerment as local community sector development, *might* find themselves at odds with wider political-economic changes within society. In a ‘worst case scenario’, the effectiveness of the local community sector may be seen to be increasing, but any impacts are deeply constrained by poverty and inequality within a particular community, that is ‘things are not improving for local people’, given the wider (political economic) workings of the nation state and global economy. Community empowerment, then, is to be understood as but one mode of ‘getting things done’

²⁴⁵ Note: the word ‘measurably’ is used broadly here, and suggestive of both the use of quantitative and qualitative data in an in-depth and systematic manner, in order to provide a suitably extensive and ‘reliable’ evidence-base for interpretation and analysis, and in particular ‘testing’ of hypotheses.

locally, and there are other socio-economic systems within the nation state at work here. Seeking to understand the dynamics of these systems within a nation state is crucial to fully understanding the roles and potential roles of community anchors in relation to community empowerment, and the impacts that this does or does not have.

The discussions in (1), (2) and (3) above illustrate key considerations in developing a research process aimed at demonstrating, or otherwise, the role of community anchors as a necessary step to community empowerment, whilst recognising the wider socio-economic context. It should also be recognised that there will likely be opportunities for comparative interpretation and analysis relative to other communities, where some variation on a community anchor model (within a CACE) is being pursued and, potentially too, communities where there is only very a limited community sector (rather than informal community networks). Here too, an understanding of the wider socio-economic contexts of each community would need to be considered.

Any such project would need significant conceptual preparation to construct the necessary theoretical background to support the research design, and thereafter piloting work to strengthen the project design and the data collection methods: it would seem to require a project of some considerable substance²⁴⁶. Whether it could be said to decisively ‘demonstrate’ the hypothesis of the community anchor role in relation to community empowerment – as a limited generalisation – is unclear, but it would very likely deepen knowledge of the *contribution* that community anchors can make to a community. Further, it would likely generate further insights into the dynamics between (i) community anchor ‘outputs’, (ii) community sector and wider community outcomes and impacts, (iii) community sector and wider community experiences, and (iv) the wider socio-economic and policy context and trends within this. This would surely add to a deepening understanding of the potential current contributions of, as well as current

²⁴⁶ Note: Thomsom, Morrison and Pettigrew’s (2007) – from the Social and Public Health Sciences Unit at the University of Glasgow – article on their study of a comparison of self-reported experience of health for two groups in West Dunbartonshire illustrates the complexity of such a project. One group had moved into new housing through the work of a community housing association, Cordale Housing Association (CHA) in Renton – and although not recognised in the article as such CHA is commonly now understood as a community anchor (see DTAS, 2009 for instance). The other was a control group remaining in existing council housing. Comparisons were inconclusive after a year, with both groups showing small improvements in reported health, but the sample size of 50 tenants per group each, and the range of data collected to support discussion solely of improvements or otherwise in health, show the complexity and long-term nature of such a hypothesis-testing research process in a community setting.

constraints on, community anchors and community empowerment to the process of community regeneration and wider social change, such as their impacting on levels of inequality.

Whether this is a current priority for a community sector research agenda is less clear. If the three concerns suggested for the community sector in 8.3 are held to be valuable by the community sector itself – those of its survival and development; advocating for local community interests; and sustaining a relevant social vision and political economic strategy – then these may well suggest other priorities for a community sector research agenda, and this is considered in 9.4 below.

9.4: Towards a community sector research agenda

This final section considers how the interpretation and analysis within this thesis can inform the construction of a ‘community-led’ community sector research agenda, an agenda which also seeks to use the priorities and concerns of the community sector itself as drivers of its own construction. This section seeks to consider how both the research findings and the community sector experiences in practice can integrate with wider social and political processes to construct such an agenda, and as follows:

- (9.4.1) A robust research process and developing a community sector research base
- (9.4.2) Working towards a community-led research agenda
- (9.4.3) Potential areas for further community sector research
- (9.4.4) Further thinking on community sector research: using quantitative data

9.4.1: A robust research process and developing a community sector research base

Discussion of the research methodology, and related theoretical perspective, within Chapter 2 pointed to certain limitations within the unfolding research process, and relative to a qualitative case-study research methodology, in particular to the limited use of multi-layered perspectives and of ‘thick’ description, at least within the case-study reporting in this thesis. It considered, too, particular themes generated through the use of the methodology in actual research practice, namely:

- the process of selection of research opportunities;

- the use of certain elements of participatory research;
- the process of interpretation and analysis; and
- (some of) the social dynamics of power within the research process.

And these, it was argued, can be understood to support a more accountable research process, one that can be used to inform future community sector research.

Further, in concluding in 2.4, an initial sense of how the research methodology, and the related actual research process, could be explored as to the extent of its robustness, or strengths and constraints, was generated, and this is returned to, here, to support a further informing of future community sector research. The key elements emphasised in 2.4 were that of: establishing a plausible, contextualised, complex and nuanced account, within which an understanding of the dynamics of power within society have been integrated; and establishing a means of accountability, and the potential for a consequential validity, relative to its impact and to a wider sense of utility. It was, however, recognised that clarity, as to plausibility, accountability, consequential validity and utility, is likely to be a longer-term process involving others as researchers, practitioners and policy-makers, and the extent to which these communities of practice respond to, use and integrate, and/or challenge the findings. Nevertheless, some initial assessment will be attempted by the researcher here.

Certainly a complex account, relative to both theory development and empirical investigation, has been developed; the latter has been contextualised relative to the particular organisations and their communities, and their working and positioning in the socio-economic systems of the nation state. By drawing on understandings of the workings of socio-economic systems, through ‘social theory’ and political economic theorising (Giddens, 1984; Pearce, 2003; Cochrane, 2007; Harvey, 2009 [1973]), the researcher has worked to generate a structural understanding of society, and to position the workings of community anchors and the community sector within this: whilst also illustrating, through the use of material from interviewees, that human agency is active within this process, as per the duality of structure (Giddens, 1984). At the heart of this has been a concern to recognise the importance of social and political economic change, as understood through a CACE/CSTP. Whether this account is plausible is surely to be contested (by others), and indeed its aim is to generate further contested dialogue, but the researcher has promoted and sustained development of a certain theoretical

coherence from which others can consider its plausibility and utility from their own perspectives ('bias'), values and expectations.

The researcher has sought to offer within the thesis a relative accountability, as space allows, as to the nature of the process; with certain themes of relevance to the actual unfolding research process considered in more depth in 2.3. The extensive use of case-study workbooks and case summaries provides an 'evidence trail' to which the researcher can return to when requested to provide further substance as to the research process. In addition, given that all three community organisations and their respective communities are named, there is then also scope for others, including those organisations and communities, to challenge and/or further develop the researcher's interpretations and findings.

It is the extent to which an ongoing interest in the research, and the themes it is generating, can be sustained over time that will likely determine both the consequential validity, as considered in 2.2.2 and 2.4, and in the fuller sense of impacting on the community sector itself as well as on the particular participants, and (any) the resulting utility over time. By positioning the empirical inquiry in relation to a theoretical development of both a more particular CACE/CSTP and a broader pluralistic CSTP, the researcher has endeavoured to take the practices of these particular community anchors and the wider community sector 'seriously' and, in so doing, to generate an account of the community sector's ability to undertake complex, highly-skilled roles; whilst potentially working to sustain aspirations for a more democratic and egalitarian society focused on a social solidarity of 'working for the common good'. Some will contest one or both of these elements, and that is crucial to the research process, but in setting the scene for further consideration of the community sector's effectiveness and development, then the researcher's working assumption is that the 'usefulness' (or otherwise) of the community sector in a fuller, complex and critical sense, rather than a limited and neo-liberal sense, will follow.

The discussions that continue across this section, as to the development of a community sector research agenda, should be seen in this light and against the construction of an ongoing robust research process; one in which both an evidence-base and a theoretical-base continue to develop through discussions of meaning, evidencing generalisations and considerations of the workings of social systems and roles of human agency

(duality of structure). The ‘holding together’ and sustaining of such an evidence-base, and of a related CACE and CSTP, over the longer-term, would seem a crucial role for the SCA and the community sector in Scotland and further afield; although not solely the responsibility of the community sector, this is a key element in supporting a continued development of its collective identity. A further, and current, constraint on the research process, thus far, and so on the sense of ‘robustness’ relative to consequential validity and utility that can be applied to the research, is that, as yet, it is unclear what the process for this ‘holding together’ of an evidence-base and CSTP would or will be like, and where the finance and research partners will come from to work with the community sector to sustain such work.

9.4.2: Working towards a community-led research agenda

This research process, as discussed in Chapter 2, cannot be considered a participatory one, certainly not in any significant sense, yet it points towards the potential to develop one. Following on from completion of this thesis, the researcher will be looking for opportunities to discuss some of the findings in an accessible form with the research participants and the wider community sector, with the support of the SCA, and in order to generate relevant discussions within the community sector²⁴⁷. So there is then potential, as an outcome of such feedback and related discussion, for further mapping of the current ‘terrain’ within community sector dialogue, and so to building an understanding of how the issues raised within this research are seen more widely. This then can be considered a starting point for ‘a community-led’ research agenda for the community sector; mirroring the community-led practice discussed in relation to community anchors in 6.2, in which a range of structures, issues and processes – community grounded-ness, community diversity, community dialogue, community sector development, community leadership – are used to generate over the longer-term a credible community plan/local mission; crucially, though, to be seen in the context of the workings of socio-economic systems and the political economic perspectives that drive them.

Two other key issues are raised: firstly, as to the forms of research that might be relevant. In generating the theoretical background and theory development for this

²⁴⁷ Note: for instance, the researcher is currently writing (March 2014) for the SCA three articles for its e-bulletin, one on each case-study organisation, in order to illustrate their work with the public sector, and to suggest future options.

thesis, at least five types of research, and of course potential hybrids, have been noted in relation to community sector development:

Organisational functioning and practice: for instance the social accounting and auditing model noted by John Pearce (2003) – see, too, the work of the Social Auditing Network – and the triple ‘bottom-line’ within a social economic business model that recognises financial, social and cultural, and environmental dimensions to any organisation’s practices.

Participatory research within the community sector: for instance, the discursive action research of IVAR (Baker, 2011) with community organisations in England, in effect, to support and inform development of community sector dialogue and practice, relevant policy-making, and perhaps a more abstract CSTP.

Evidencing for funders and policy-makers: funders and policy-makers are often wedded to quantitative data, understanding it as ‘factual’ or a definitive proof rather than interpretation and analysis, and hence Sampson and Weaver’s (2010) framework, as noted in 9.3.2 above, illustrates how such a research methodology can be developed.

Policy development – and a ‘making of the case’: there are many examples of such research and, indeed, Stephen Thake’s (2001, 2006) reports on community anchors and community ownership, as considered in 4.2.2, make the case *to* the New Labour UK Government for both, and in relation to the then developing policy context; as well, it would seem on behalf of the community sector.

Literature review and conceptually-related research and development: as per the literature review material on community ownership (Aiken, Cairns & Thake, 2008), discussed in 3.3.2 and, similarly, the significant conceptual elements developed by Pearce (2003) in relation to the social economy and a modern mixed economy.

The second issue arising is in relation to the likely need for key partners, particularly as funders but also, potentially, as providing research credibility; with the SCA and its member organisations, and other community representative bodies in Scotland providing community leadership. Support from funding bodies such as the Joseph

Rowntree Foundation, Carnegie Trust, the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), and the central state and other national bodies would be crucial; likewise interested university departments and other research institutes, perhaps think-tanks too, would be valuable. But, again mirroring the relations between the community sector and the state in connection to practice, the consequences of such partnership-working are complex: negotiations as to funding, research priorities and tools, interpretation and analysis, and dissemination of findings have to be agreed. There are inevitably, various dynamics of power, and so a politics of research, to be ‘played out’ here; within which the community sector and its research agenda is but one crucial ‘player’. The community sector will be faced with the same cluster of challenges – survival and development, advocating for local community interests, and working for a longer-term social and political economic vision – as identified in 8.4.1. In which case, the reflective nature of a CSTP can have a part to play in sustaining a ‘critical edge’ to community sector research practices.

9.4.3: Potential areas for further community sector research

There is, potentially, a subtle distinction here between a community sector research agenda, and a community-led one at that, and the research issues being generated within a CSTP. As discussed in 1.3.2 and 2.2.3, the levels of abstraction and detailed consideration involved in a CSTP, and its likely focus on seeking to develop ‘second order concepts’ (Giddens, 1984), as new theoretical concepts and narratives, will not necessarily prove immediately relevant or accessible to the community sector and its day-to-day dialogues and narratives. For instance, some, and perhaps many, issues considered relevant by researchers and others concerned for an abstract CSTP, may be ‘irrelevant’ within community sector dialogue – as in not directly useful or stimulating, although perhaps also meaning ‘not currently relevant’. In this context, many of the issues for future research outlined here may well be found to be either ‘not relevant’ or ‘not currently relevant’, but some will have a utility, and so a summary of (some of) the key areas of potential areas for future research, as established across Chapters 6, 7 and 8, is provided as follows:

Further developing community-led practices: there is potential for deepening understanding of ‘good practice’, and alternative versions of ‘good practice’, from across the range of key, inter-relating themes and narratives developed in 6.2. Either a

participatory research approach with a number of community anchors, and/or a social research project with an emphasis on anonymity, could prove valuable. Given the positioning of community-led practices within both democratic and political economic theorising, there is certainly considerable scope for the further development of the theoretical base from which it can draw; particularly that relating to the substantial body of theory on democratic practices.

Sustainable independence: there is further scope for exploring existing good practice in Scotland in relation to the two key foci of improving financial sustainability and of developing robust and effective community organisational structures. As well, research into the outcomes from such a developing practice, and how the increasing of the sustainable independence of community organisations, through these two broad foci, is actually achieved and what its actual impacts on a local mission and local community interests are. There is also considerable scope for looking, across the UK, Europe and internationally, to consider more widely the strategies used and challenges faced by community sector organisations, and more generally the social economy, relative to both foci; particularly the generation of earned income immediately independent of the state, and building further on the work of DTAS (Walker et al., 2010).

Integrating dimensions of activity across a multi-purpose community anchor: there is considerable scope for learning more about the day-to-day synergies, tensions and ambiguities of working across these three dimensions – community social & economic development, partnership-working, and advocacy/political change(s) – and again either through participatory or social research. In part, this is because each category itself holds a diverse range of activity, e.g. from within ‘advocacy/political change(s)’, and can mean many very different things – as considered, for instance, in 7.2.3; but also because each evolves as community anchors and the community sector themselves develop in scale and range, and engage in new, likely more complex ways with the state, the market and community/reciprocity too. The emphases that any community anchor gives relative to these dimensions would be valuable to track over time, including for the organisations themselves, in seeking to reflect on practice, and changing practice, and how this relates to the changing socio-economic and political economic context(s).

The community sector and dialogue(s) on community empowerment: the term ‘community empowerment’, when used in a broad sense as a ‘community empowerment (1)’ (see 1.3.2), rather than a tightly-defined or highly prescriptive sense, has proven valuable in supporting dialogue with those working within the community sector as to their expectations for their ‘community’ and local community sector, as well as revealing frustrations with the term. In some cases, use of the term also led on to discussions of relationships with the state and opportunities for development. Given a suitable interview structure, there is considerable scope, then, for discussion of community empowerment to lead on and into a range of related subjects, for instance: relationships with the local state; community solidarity and the matrix of local community diversity; and local community representation and local democratic practice.

Community anchors and working within a modern mixed economy: the focus on the three sectors through forms of ownership as public, private and social, and through the means of economic coordination as state, market and community/reciprocity, has begun to generate interpretation and analysis in particular through a focus on the concentration and centralisation of economic development and related services, currently within a dominant neo-liberalism, and resulting socio-economic marginalisation, uneven development and inequality. It would be valuable to further explore the strategic responses community anchors have taken, or could consider taking, to such a marginalisation, potentially through the approaches of ‘partnership’, ‘activism’, and ‘cooperation’ (as 8.2.4), and through development of further understanding of other possible counters to such a centralisation.

Practice within a political economic context: the discussions offered of the community sector’s priorities – as survival and development, focused on local community interests, and social vision and political economic direction-of-travel – would be usefully further explored through the actual practice of community organisations, to support a deepening of theory and practice. Likewise a consideration of the relationship between the community sector and the state, and what type of state approach and culture can usefully support the sector’s work and concerns, can help to deepen understanding of the political economic context with which to consider these priorities; and considerations of community management and community ownership can support questions of whose agenda is actually being pursued. By engaging with research relating to such thinking, the integration of the three community sector priorities can be

actively reflected upon and working towards a social vision and political economic direction-of-travel sustained.

Finally, it is worth noting that two dimensions of community development that haven't been actively explored within this thesis, namely 'faith and spirituality' and 'the ecological' – as indicated in 1.3.2(4) and 3.4.1 (Jenkins, 1976; Dobson, 2007) – could usefully be considered, too, as potentially active and informative areas of research.

9.4.4: Further thinking on community sector research: the use of quantitative data

This section has worked to establish some of the key issues highlighted by this research project for a community sector research agenda, in particular: the ongoing work of building of an evidence-base through community anchor case-studies; the potential for a community-led construction of such an agenda, and related discussions of types of research and the politics of research; and potential future research topics generated by this project that a community sector research agenda could consider.

One final issue is considered here, and relates to the particular value often given by policy-makers to quantitative data in 'establishing' the value of an approach. In 9.3.2, consideration was given as to how to establish a research framework, from which a range of quantitative and qualitative measures could be generated, to support an in-depth, more extensive study of the relationship between community anchors and community empowerment; this, however, would require significant funding.

Whilst undertaking the case-study research within this project, the researcher worked to explore the potential for tapping into existing sources of quantitative data, both contextual information and that relating to the work of the community anchor, which that could be used to illustrate the case-studies. Local government publications were one source of such data, particularly on local employment and population in Northmavine and Creetown/Kirkmabreck; while community health profile data, via the Scottish Public Health Observatory, was particular valuable in relation to Govanhill and data on levels of inequality and deprivation there. Likewise, the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) and Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics (SNS) statistical summaries were drawn upon to help to build up socio-economic context in relation to Creetown/Kirkmabreck which was its 'own' data-zone, and Northmavine where most of

the community was in the one data zone; an urban community such as Govanhill, however, covers a significant patchwork of 10-15 data-zones and part data-zones, and so illustrates that assembling this can also be problematic and time-consuming.

Statistical material of relevance to organisational activities has been somewhat harder to locate. GHHA provides extensive material to the Scottish Housing Regulator which supported exploration of governance, organisation strength and housing provision, but the latter was not a central focus here in relation to the community anchor role. SIMD data, which can be accessed for each data-zone, and illustrate how each is assessed relative to the seven indices of deprivation/non-deprivation – income, employment, health, education, community safety, housing, and accessing geographical services – *might* be able to deliver some quantitative data but early attempts proved this is no easy matter. For instance, the low, but improving SIMD rating on the geographical access to services index, by comparison with other communities, for Northmavine, and from 2004 onwards, pointed to a possible active and contributing role from NCDC. By accessing the actual data used, rather than the index scores, then the improving score for ‘access to petrol station services locally’ correlated with the (re-)opening by NCDC and the local community of the Hillswick Community Shop and its petrol pumps²⁴⁸. Some ongoing improvements in public transport to shopping facilities between 2006 data and 2012 SIMD data *might* be attributable to advocacy by Northmaven Community Council²⁴⁹ and NCDC, relative to road maintenance and provision of public transport, but would need further exploration; likewise public transport times and drive times to a range of services for people in Northmavine could more generally be explored. Yet,

²⁴⁸ Note: The data is available for 2004, 2006, 2009 and 2012 SIMD via: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Statistics/SIMD/DataAnalysis>. In relation to the data-zone for most of Northmavine, S01005519, travel time to a petrol station was given as 13.83 minutes in 2012 SIMD Index data, 21.67 minutes in 2009 Index data and 14.00 minutes in 2006. This would fit with the pattern for the Hillswick Shop that would have been in private hands when the data for 2006 was collected, and still providing petrol facilities at that time. Later this service was discontinued and then the shop finally closed, before being re-opened again in 2009 with petrol facilities by NCDC; thus an increasing travel time between 2006 and 2009 SIMD but a drop down again to similar levels in 2012 SIMD as 2006. However, some care is needed with such comparative data: firstly the technical requirements for data collection often changes and, for instance, changed between 2009 Index and 2012 index – although in this case such as to likely increase travel times in general by road for 2012 Index relative to 2009; secondly, the technical definitions used are not necessarily consistent with common usage, and in all three Indexes it would seem that the Hillswick Shop didn’t count as a shopping facility/retail centre, but likely did count as fuel services; thirdly, as is becoming clear here, very significant prior local knowledge is needed to meaningfully interpreting the data provided, e.g. the history of Hillswick shop.

²⁴⁹ Note: in relation to the Community Council for Northmavine parish, the alternative spelling ‘Northmaven’ is used.

changing technical definitions and measurement between SIMD 2006 and SIMD 2012 make this a complex task too.

Within a growing knowledge of a particular community, such data, alongside significant researcher time and experience in interpreting statistical data, and some good fortune with data availability could be used to provide supplementary evidence as to the contribution of the community anchor to that community. The potential to explore such an approach is illustrated here, and the potential to use other such publicly available and detailed statistical data is anticipated, but just how much useful data might be successfully delivered, particularly for communities which cover a range of data-zones, would need to be resolved through further empirical inquiry. Some caution would be needed, too, in terms of the interpretation of ‘contribution’ and ‘attribution’ through such data: for instance, the community anchor may be understood, in part, as a conduit for state investment/funding and/or, in part, as an advocate for community interests in gaining such investment/funding.

9.5: An epilogue: and finally ...

This chapter has sought to provide an overview of the research findings in relation to a CACE/CSTP both through theoretical investigation and development and through empirical inquiry. In so doing, matters both of practice and political economy have been considered and the particular relationship between community anchors and community empowerment has been reflected on. The chapter has also sought to consider some of the constraints of the research process, the extent to which an evidence-base has been furthered, and the potential for developing a community sector-led research agenda, but which needs to negotiate across political and funding ‘realities’.

The theoretical construction of a CSTP, a community sector theory and practice, has proven a useful ‘device’ for positioning discussion of community anchors within a broader tradition of what has loosely been termed ‘community development’ – as per the discussions in 1.2.1, 1.3.2 (4) and 3.4.1; and which relates to the increasing focus, since the 1960s, of the state on community approaches and the third sector, and of citizens on activism, civil society, community ownership and the social economy. A CACE, as a construction of interlinking conceptual narratives, has similarly proven useful in sustaining a focus on a particular perspective within the community sector, one

that is concerned for community empowerment as community ownership-based, and from within a broader mutualist ethos.

By positioning discussion of the role of community anchors relative to a CACE, then a particular understanding of the relationship between community anchors and community empowerment has been illustrated through drawing on themes of:

- local democracy and community-led practice;
- sustainable independence and local mission;
- a multi-purpose community anchor role and complex relations with the state;
- a community anchor as a local economic and social development agency; and
- working within the dynamics of the state, the market and community/reciprocity within a nation state, and currently as a neo-liberal political economy.

This narrative has been recognised, in part, not only as aspirational and looking to the future but, also, concerned for ‘the now’ and community sector development and local community interests and, yet inevitably, under various pressures to fit with the current concerns of state policy; a tension captured in the discussions of ‘community management’ versus ‘community ownership’ and of ‘centralisation’ versus ‘local economic development’.

Where, then, the thesis can be considered distinctive, or ‘original’, is in this seeking of an integration between particular local social systems and their workings, as community anchors in Scotland and key elements of their practice, with wider social systems, as the political economic workings of the socio-economic systems of the nation state (and beyond); or as development of a CACE within a CSTP. Such discussions within the thesis have been given a particular Scottish focus, whilst recognising many wider commonalities across the UK nation state. So, the thinking of the Scottish Community Alliance on community anchors and community empowerment has been a crucial starting point for a CACE; likewise the theorising and research of John Pearce (1993, 2003, 2009) draws in particular from Scottish experience of (urban) community business, rural community development in the Highlands and Islands, and urban community housing associations – although more widely from the UK and North American experiences too.

The case-studies have, similarly, been Scottish, rather than potentially looking further afield in the UK, Europe or internationally – although these latter would doubtless be valuable too, as recognised in 3.4.4 and 9.4.3 above – in order to draw from the depth of Scottish urban and rural community sector experience. The aim is not to claim that there is a uniquely Scottish CACE or CSTP; this would not easily fit with the political economic thinking on nation state and wider global perspective used within this thesis. But, it is to recognise that a focus on a CACE from within the Scottish policy context, and the particular practices of community organisations in Scotland, will generate distinctive and valuable insights for those in Scotland, and in the UK and further afield.

The breadth of a CACE/CSTP suggests the potential dissemination of the material as articles and briefings via an eclectic range of publications, for instance:

Academic and research-related publications including those relating to: urban policy, such as the journal ‘Urban Studies’²⁵⁰ or ‘Place, Policy and People’²⁵¹; political economy, policy and economic development, such as the journal ‘Review of Social Economy’²⁵²; community education, such as the journal ‘Concept’²⁵³; the third sector, such as ‘Voluntary Sector Review’²⁵⁴; social enterprise and the social economy, such as ‘Journal of Social Entrepreneurship’²⁵⁵; and, inequality and anti-poverty related, such as the ‘Journal of Poverty and Social Justice’²⁵⁶.

Practitioner and policy-makers’ publications: short articles suitable to community sector and third sector communications such as the Scottish Community Alliance’s e-bulletin²⁵⁷ and the Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisation’s Third Force News²⁵⁸; likewise in publications aimed at policy-makers such as the Scottish Government and Parliament focused Holyrood Magazine²⁵⁹.

²⁵⁰ Note: view Urban Studies journal at: <http://usj.sagepub.com/>

²⁵¹ Note: view People, Place and Policy at: <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/ppp-online/>

²⁵² Note: view Review of Social Economy at:

http://www.socialeconomics.org/?page=journals&side=review_of_social_economy

²⁵³ Note: view Concept at: <http://concept.lib.ed.ac.uk/>

²⁵⁴ Note: view Voluntary Sector Review at: http://www.policypress.co.uk/journals_vsr_aas.asp

²⁵⁵ Note: view Journal of Social Entrepreneurship at:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rjse20#.UujoHLRFDIU>

²⁵⁶ Note: view Journal of Poverty and Social Justice at: http://www.policypress.co.uk/journals_jpsj.asp

²⁵⁷ Note: view Scottish Community Alliance e-bulletin via: <http://www.localpeopleleading.co.uk/>

²⁵⁸ Note: view Third Force News at: <http://www.thirdforcenews.org.uk/>

²⁵⁹ Note: view Holyrood Magazine at: <http://www.holyrood.com/>

There is then considerable scope for generating further discussion of the practices and roles of community anchors and the community sector, and the related policy and economic context(s) of their development, through a number of avenues relating to research, practice and policy-making. In the process, discussion will be generated that can further inform development of a CACE, a CSTP, and community sector dialogue, and contribute to an unfolding, and critically informed, community sector development.

Appendix 1: Research Aims and Objectives

Note: A1.1 gives the Research Aims and Objectives (final version); while A1.2 gives two earlier versions to illustrate elements of continuity and of development across the three years of study, inquiry and writing.

A1.1: Research Aims and Objectives (final version)

Research Aims:

RA1: To inform and support the development of a community anchor/community empowerment narrative (CACE) within a community sector theory and practice (CSTP) in Scotland.

RA2: To position such a ‘CACE narrative within a CSTP’ (CACE/CSTP) in relation both to discussions of ‘matters of practice’ and ‘matters of political economy’.

RA3: To illustrate community anchors as a crucial element in greater community empowerment.

The key underlying working assumption: community anchors as a necessary step for greater community empowerment.

Research Objectives and related Research Questions:

RO1: To provide the necessary theoretical background, and from this to develop a theoretical understanding of a CACE/CSTP from which to then interpret and analyse the case-study material.

Key underlying working assumption: that there will be sufficient commonality between the developed theory and the actual practices of the case-study organisations and, likewise, sufficient commonality of practices and context between the three case-study organisations and communities, for a meaningful and relevant interpretation and analysis to be generated relative to a CACE/CSTP.

Research Questions:

- how can a CSTP be understood and positioned in relation to relevant policy, research and theory?
- how has the community anchor model been theorised and researched, and integrated within policy development in Scotland and the UK thus far, and what common issues of current practice can be identified?
- how can a CACE narrative be further developed from the material on community anchors and positioned within a wider CSTP and used to support discussion of both matters of practice and political economy?

RO2: To further explore particular current issues of practice, as identified through RO1, of a CACE/CSTP.

Key underlying working assumption: that the areas of current practice identified as relevant will prove in fact relevant to the development of *both* the more abstract and theoretical CACE/CSTP and the actual current concerns of the community sector in Scotland.

Research Questions:

- by drawing from the case-study material, what is being learnt as to the practising of ‘community-led’ approaches by community anchors?
- by drawing from the case-study material, what is being learnt as to the practising of ‘sustainable independence’ by community anchors?
- by drawing from the case-study material, what is being learnt as to the multi-purpose role, and the integration of those various purposes, of community anchors?

RO3: To further explore how a CACE/CSTP can be positioned within theorising on ‘a modern mixed economy’ (Pearce, 2003) and wider matters of political economy.

Key underlying working assumption: that a CACE/CSTP will be sufficiently theorised in relation to matters of political economy that it will be able to support a more extensive critical discussion.

Research Questions:

- by drawing from the case-study material as to how those working in the community sector understand community empowerment and relations with the state, how is a CACE/CSTP being informed and developed?
- by drawing from the case-study material and Pearce's concern for relations between the three fundamental sectors – private, public and third – within a modern mixed economy, how is a CACE/CSTP being informed and developed?
- by drawing on the case-study material, Pearce's concern for 'making mutual dominant', and theorising on 'the state', 'the market' and 'community-reciprocity' within political economy, how is a CACE/CSTP being informed and developed?

RO4: To consider the extent to which community anchors have been illustrated as a crucial element in greater community empowerment, and how they might be further demonstrated as a necessary step to greater community empowerment.

Key underlying working assumption – as per the Research Aims: community anchors as a necessary step for greater community empowerment.

Research Questions:

- how have community anchors been illustrated as crucial elements in greater community empowerment?
- how might community anchors be further demonstrated as a necessary step to greater community empowerment?

RO5: To further integrate the research findings from RO1-4, highlighting other emerging conclusions, constraints and critiques, and potential areas for further research and/or development.

Research Questions:

- what are the priorities for further development and research in relation to a CACE/CSTP and more generally a CSTP?
- what are the constraints on research findings thus far?

A1.2: Previous versions of the Research Aims

(1) Research Aims within the Developed Research Proposal (December 2011)

RA1: To support the development of a considered theory and practice of community anchors in Scotland – potentially focusing on urban settings.

RA2: To illustrate anchors as a crucial element in the empowerment of communities.

RA3: To consider how such a theory and practice of community anchors can inform theory on an ecologically-sustainable political economy.

The (overall) key underlying assumption/hypothesis to be considered is: community anchors as a necessary step for greater community empowerment.

(2) Research Aim within an Initial Research Proposal (October 2010)

Aim: To develop a critical understanding of the ‘theory and practice’ of community empowerment being developed by community organisations in Scotland.

And the following extract from the accompanying introduction highlights the role of community anchors and the thinking of the SCA within this initial proposal:

Working assumptions: Over the course of these discussions (with the Scottish Community Alliance) three ‘working assumptions’ have become apparent:

A distinctive understanding of community empowerment: that community organisations and their networks in Scotland are developing and/or supporting both a growing range of community social and economic assets and a particular way of thinking about what they are doing and why they are doing it – a distinctive ‘theory and practice’ of community empowerment.

Community anchor organisations: independent-minded, representative and potentially self-sufficient community organisations are an *essential component* to the effective empowerment of all communities.

Critical research: that there is a role for rigorous research in supporting the dialogues of both community organisations and networks, and of others – civil society, policy-makers, academics and professionals – on the theory and practice of community empowerment.

Appendix 2: Participatory Research and Informed Consent.

Note: A2.1 presents a copy of information on the project given to interviewees and other research participants – the version used for field work in Northmavine – while A2.2 presents a copy of an update sent out to interviewees towards the end of the project in September 2013.

A2.1: Information for Research Participants

(Page 1)

Research project on ‘community anchors’ – Northmavine Community Development Company (NCDC) (30.05.12)

Information for research participants ... in one-page (well, almost)

This research project aims to support the development of the ‘community sector’ in Scotland, in particular by looking at what community organisations that play a leading role in their community – sometimes called ‘community anchors’ – can do and are doing. You don’t need to be familiar with using the word ‘community anchor’ in order to take part in the research; I’ve listed what an anchor is about in ‘the further information’ at the end which will help connect your knowledge to the case-study.

The project is supported by the Scottish Community Alliance, the umbrella organisation for the community sector, see details below too.

The research stages:

- ***Stage 1:*** will develop case-studies of (likely) three community organisations operating in different situations in Scotland – such as city, town, rural, and remote – to deepen understanding of how these organisations are working.
- ***Stage 2:*** will then build on what has been learnt from the role of such community organisations to look at a particular issue in more depth.

Participating in the case study (Stage 1): I will visit the organisation and the wider local community, interview (individually or in groups) a range of people working within

and alongside the organisation, and read a range of reports. A draft case-study will be produced and the participants will be able to feedback on it.

Informed participation (consent): I will check through this information with the participant(s) at the beginning of the interview to check with them that they (still) are interested in participating; no one should feel under pressure to answer any particular question. Participants can also add to or adjust their contribution after the interview, by phone or email; the best thoughts often seem to arrive later.

Anonymity and confidentiality: names will not be used in the draft or published case-studies and/or any related report(s), and any use of quotes will be agreed with participants. Complete anonymity however may not be possible – particularly within a particular ‘local community’ – and so where issues are raised that are highlighted as ‘sensitive’ or ‘off-the-record’ by a participant, it will likely be useful to think through the best way of recording them; having said that I’m not expecting that these case-studies will be dealing with lots of sensitive issues.

Learning and further involvement: I’m hoping that the chance to talk through and reflect on the organisation’s work and wider community activity will be useful to each participant – feedback on this is always useful to me. There is also the potential for further involvement through feeding back on/discussion of the draft case-study, and on the initial findings in the Stage 1 report. This will further help and contribute to a ‘theory and practice’ of community anchors and community empowerment in Scotland. *However, as with all aspects of this project, such further involvement is entirely voluntary.*

James Henderson – *overleaf there’s some more information on community anchors, me and the Scottish Community Alliance.*

(Page 2)

Some further information:

A ***community anchor*** is a multi-purpose community organisation taking a coordinating role within its community. It will *likely* be:

- part of a particular local community of place or interest
- ‘community-controlled’ or ‘community-led’
- multi-purpose – undertaking a range of roles/activities
- providing a community hub
- providing and supporting community leadership
- a focus for developing community services, projects & enterprises
- generating income to support itself and benefit the wider community
- dependable, ‘there for the long-term’
- providing systems that ‘work’ or ‘support getting things done’
- seeking to support community empowerment.

The researcher: I’m a research student undertaking a PhD with the Urban Studies Dept. at Heriot-Watt University. Previously, I’ve undertaken research projects on community organisations, community services and inequality, as well as policy-related research/writing on greenspace and the planning system. I can be contact at: jfh4@hw.ac.uk

The Scottish Community Alliance: is supporting this project in order to further explore the role of anchors in extending community empowerment and its benefits. It is an umbrella organisation of 14 community representative networks (in no particular order and at 28.05.12):

- Social Entrepreneurs Network Scotland (Senscot)
- Glasgow & West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations
- Development Trust Association Scotland
- Community Woodland Association
- Community Retail Network
- Scottish Allotments and Gardens Society
- Community Transport Association Scotland
- Community Energy Scotland
- Transition Scotland
- EVH (Employers in Voluntary Housing)
- Scottish League of Credit Unions

- Community Recycling Network for Scotland
- Federation of City Farms and Gardens
- Voluntary Arts Scotland

Contact Angus Hardie for more information on the SCA at:

angus@scottishcommunityalliance.net ... or view: www.localpeopleleading.co.uk/

A2.2: An update or progress report to research participants

Re: Research Project on Community Anchors – September 2013

You kindly helped me in the first half of last year (2012) with my research into the role of community anchor organisations by taking part in an interview with me. Over six months I talked with staff, activists and volunteers from three different community organisations – Govanhill Housing Association, Creetown Initiative, Northmavine Community Development Company – as well as others who know the organisations and the communities; over 30 people in total.

Given it's been over a year now (!) I thought I should update you on where I've got to. The research was/is for my studies for a PhD at Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, as well as aiming to inform and support the work of the Scottish Community Alliance, see <http://www.localpeopleleading.co.uk/>.

The interviews with yourself and others have helped me think in more depth about:

- what it means for community anchors to be 'community-led'
- the ways organisations are working towards greater financial independence and security
- the different forms of activity that anchors undertake: local economic and social development; partnership-working with the state and others; advocacy and campaigning
- the expectations people working in communities have/don't have of community empowerment
- working relationships between the public sector, private sector and community sector
- dynamics between the state, the market and 'community'

I'm now currently writing-up the final report, it's about 90,000 words, and I'm expecting to finish and hand in the final draft later this autumn, all being well. I'm then looking to work with the Scottish Community Alliance to write some short articles (in plain English) on elements of what I've learnt that could go out in their e-bulletin, as well as a briefing, and will let you know when this happens.

If you've any questions about my research in general and/or on how I've used the material from yourself/interview, please email – happy to feedback.

Best wishes, James (Henderson).

Email: jfh4@hw.ac.uk

Appendix 3: Building an interpretation and analysis

Note: A3.1 outlines the ‘basic’ interpretative framework of broad themes developed to support understanding and discussion, within the case-study workbooks and case-summaries, of each of the anchor organisations and their respective community. A3.2 provides *one* illustration of the ongoing interpretative and analytical process used to pursue and develop an in-depth and more critical understanding of each of the case-studies.

A3.1: An interpretative framework for the individual case-study material

(1) Community profile and socio-economic context

- History;
- Community diversity and strengths;
- Community services;
- Local Community sector;
- Regional economy;
- Local economy;
- Issues of deprivation – as relevant;
- Political representation, politics and the state.

(2) Community anchor organisation – key interpretative themes

Anchor networks and structures:

- Community-led;
- Providing traction – organisational structures; and
- Sustainable independence.

Anchor functions across dimensions of community empowerment:

- Advocacy, campaigning, policy/political change(s);
- Community economic and social development; and

- Partnership-working with state and with private sector.

Anchor mission and community empowerment:

- Community diversity and local community sector;
- Community empowerment narratives (dialogues); and
- Community anchor and working with the state, the private sector and the third sector.

A3.2: An illustration of the researcher’s process of interpretation and analysis

In developing the case-study workbooks and case-summaries, the researcher has sought to provide wide-ranging baseline material that then supports further development of the interpretation and analysis (IA). The example given here focuses on one particular, and crucial, contextual development, that of the extent of poverty, deprivation and levels of low/very low incomes in Creetown/ Kirkmabreck in Dumfries & Galloway, and seeks to illustrate how the researcher has sought to build an IA of levels of low income in the village and parish, whilst acknowledging the constraints on such a process and the ongoing nature of a critical and reflective IA. This element of the IA can then be seen to ‘surface’, and provide context in the case-study sketch in 1.4.2 and then in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, in particular in sections 7.2 and 8.2.

Broadly, the IA, in relation to levels of low-income and deprivation in Creetown, can be understood as developing through three phases of working:

- initially through the interview material – as well as informal conversations and observations (**A3.2.1**);
- then via more detailed work drawing from the documentation initially available (**A3.2.2**); and
- then, in an ongoing sense, via the ongoing monitoring and collection of relevant documentation (**A3.2.3**).

Note on extracts from the case-study workbook: the footnotes within the extracts from the case-study workbook here record the sources of information, so for instance:

- ‘*Ints*’: for interview material, and Ints-2 indicates two interviews/interviewees;
- ‘*Docs*’: documentation;

- ‘*Obs*’: from observations; and
- ‘*Informal*’: from informal conversation.

Interviewee codes have been left in for the first example i.e. ‘(1) Ints-4: CI1, CI4, CI5, CI6’, (see below, footnote: 260); but then removed from the others to preserve anonymity, although the information would very unlikely to be considered sensitive by research participants in the researcher’s judgement.

A3.2.1: Early IA work through the interview material

Initial analysis of the CI/Creorgetown interview material helped to construct, within the associated case-study workbook, an initial picture of key contextual issues, namely as follows: 1) History; (2) Community and its diversity; (3) The local community sector; (4) Community Services; (5) Local and Regional Economy; (6) Levels of socio-economic deprivation. Elements (5) and (6), in particular, begin to build understanding of levels of inequality, as low-income households in the community, and are given below.

(5) Local and Regional Economy:

Four interviewees²⁶⁰ described a very difficult economic environment regionally, across D&G Council area, and locally. Comments on the regional economic circumstance included:

- *Seeing D&G as a low income area, one that statistics fail to do justice too, but one in which the right industries can work – such as Natural Power, a renewable energy consultancy, which has a head office in Dalry near Castle Douglas, for instance²⁶¹*
- *Plenty of small businesses, often ‘lifestyle businesses’ and tourism-related, but struggling due to the economic downturn and Government responses such as raising VAT to 20% which has impacted sharply on retail business*

²⁶⁰ Note from workbook on data sources: (1)Ints-4: CI1, CI4, CI5, CI6 .

²⁶¹ Note from workbook: View Natural Power website at: <http://www.naturalpower.com/contact-us/natural-power-global-head-quarters>.

- *More generally an on-going difficult economic environment in D&G: where the tourism trade is generally not increasing in size, and Foot and Mouth disease in 2001 did have a significant impact*²⁶²

Locally, within the village and parish, a currently bleak picture as to jobs available:

- *Jobs are in short supply and people have to travel to work*
- *The steel works (pre-cast) in the village has just announced that it is closing with the loss of 20 jobs*²⁶³
- *Tourism is seasonal with benefits in the summer, but very slow in the winter*
- *People in the static caravans are coming down less often during the economic downturn (now double-dip recession)*
- *Quite a few self-employed and small businesses in village*

*Three people*²⁶⁴, *and others informally, spoke of the historical, long-term decline of the local economy, as witnessed by fewer and fewer business on the main street:*

- *one time (unclear when) there being 40 to 50 shops and small businesses*
- *two hotels closing in the last decade or so (?), the Creetown Hotel, some years ago, and recently the Barholm Arms, leaving only one hotel left the Ellangowan, to which there was concern as to its future*²⁶⁵
- *now one shop/business closing a year*

One interviewee spoke powerfully of the dangers of losing people, because of powerful economic forces outwith village, unless employment, transport and services maintained in the village – in fact the risk of Creetown becoming a ‘tumble town’.

²⁶² Note from workbook: (2)Docs: (i) Impact of Foot and Mouth in House of Commons Report 2005 UK-wide: 6 million animals slaughtered, £3bn cost to tax payers. See: <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200506/cmselect/cmpublic/563/563.pdf>; and (ii) D&G Council Report outlining Recovery Plan e.g. £850,000 from Scottish Executive to D&G Tourist Board to support promotion of tourism: <http://www.dumgal.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=1670&p=0>.

²⁶³ Note: in fact, material from the local press, indicated job loses to be about 40 in number (Galloway Gazette, 2011, for instance).

²⁶⁴ Note from workbook on data sources: (1) Ints-3; (4) Informal-2

²⁶⁵ Note from workbook on data sources: (4) Informal-1

(6) Levels of deprivation:

As developed in (5) above, interviewees pointed to both Creetown as a community struggling economically within a wider region struggling economically. The diversity within the community has already been considered in (2) above, but one interviewee²⁶⁶ identified the village itself as containing a cross-section of society:

“I would say it’s a true cross-section, it’s a village that, you know, has a cross-section of relatively wealthy people, to you know less wealthy people, let’s put it that way. So we’ve got council housing, we’ve got private housing, we’ve got small houses and big houses. So we may be small in terms of numbers but we are a big cross-section.”

Further, two interviewees gave yet more emphasis to this:

- *“everyone’s on a low income here”²⁶⁷ – and meaning not only people who are unemployed, but older people, people in low income employment*
- *“It’s a very poor village, now”²⁶⁸ – and pointing to young people needing support to develop their talents, and CI as trying hard to bring in industry*

Commentary in relation to IA within interpretative case-study research methodology tradition: drawing from the interviewees and other informal, the researcher was able to begin to generate a valuable socio-economic IA of the community and the wider region of Dumfries & Galloway (DG). This initial IA, as implicated above, pointed both to the community in general facing an on-going economic decline – since the closing of the granite quarries – and to significant numbers of people struggling to make a ‘decent living’; and potentially being, either (1) ‘low income’ or ‘very low income households, or (2) others who might generally have income levels above this but which could fluctuate and who were also, therefore, at risk of such vulnerability. The IA across the two sections draws from 5 of the 7 interviewees, as well as informal conversations; the

²⁶⁶ Note from workbook on data sources: (1) Ints-2;

²⁶⁷ Note from workbook on data sources: (1) Ints-1:

²⁶⁸ Note from workbook on data sources: (1) Ints-1:

latter to be understood as either ‘off-the-record’ comments from interviewees *or* through informal conversations, not recorded or part of a formalised interview process with both non-interviewees and interviewees; elements of observation could also be assumed to be added to this IA, either through attending the Board meeting, or by walking round the village and being in the office.²⁶⁹

At this stage, then, the researcher can be considered as using the following techniques and approaches identified by Robert Stake (1995):

Categorical aggregation: seeking patterns from across different ‘episodes’ within the interview data.

Naturalistic generalisation: generalisations as to the socio-economic context of both village life and regional life are forming, although in experiential terms rather than finely-tuned conceptual terms. Inevitably, as a researcher, some thought is also being given to conceptualise or systematise these generalisations, but this is yet early days in the IA process, and it is not clear if a more formalised conceptualisation will be useful or necessary; although it is likely that the researcher will move from first order concepts to second order concepts (Giddens, 1984) to present some potential development in the framing of meaning.

Given the researcher’s concern for appreciative inquiry (2.2.4), then he is seeking to take the interviewees’ discussions generally at ‘face value’ and ‘in good faith’; that as in being meaningful, if not conveying either ‘the whole meaning’ (everything they know) or understanding ‘the full context’ (everything there is to know). Yet Stake’s concern for reflectivity and a certain level of scepticism point also to the need for a certain ‘investigative-ness’ and the need for this initial learning to be further developed through other data sources and methods, and in effect a triangulation.

Certainly, discussions with the interviewees and others, attendance at the Board meeting and other observations, intuitively, pointed the researcher towards understanding the

²⁶⁹ Note: informal conversation was not used extensively, given that there is no formalised informed consent process although interviewees were aware that the researcher was ‘a researcher’, and had some insight into what he was doing there, and non-interviewees were made aware too that the researcher was ‘a researcher’. Crucially, such conversations can highlight different angles and opportunities that can then be further pursued in a more formalised way, if relevant, and where informed consent to formal participation can then be established.

organisation and its staff and activists/volunteers as both committed and knowledgeable. This can be understood as involving a mixture of what Stake calls ‘direct interpretation’ in relation to particular situations, in this case gaining understanding of the participants through direct interactions and observations with them, as well as categorical aggregation(s) through thinking further as to the growing pattern across the interviewees as a whole. There is, then, a suggestion here of both ‘the rational/analytical’ and ‘the intuitive/creative’ as being significant elements within the IA.

There was a growing sense, too, that the issues highlighted within (5) and (6) were likely to be high priority contextual issues. This seemed logically, given the researcher’s focus on community anchors as facilitators of social and economic development but, also intuitively, given the level of concern and passion generated by the interviewees as to the social and economic future of their community, the lives of others living there, and for their own lives and futures. What was, so far, lacking was a more extended sense of a critical triangulation beyond that gained by drawing from a number of different interviewees (as data sources). Given the range of other issues and priorities relating to a CSTP and the aim to develop other case-studies, the researcher was not seeking to extend the interviewing, or similar, across a wider sweep, or sample perhaps, across the village to gain further insight into local understandings of socio-economic context and low-incomes households. The focus on seeking a more in-depth and triangulated approach was through drawing on documentation, and its impact on the IA in relation to this particular issue is explored below.

A3.2.2: Initial IA work via the documentation

This sub-section again provides some extracts from the case-study workbook in relation to the types of documentation used to further understand the extent of income deprivation and low-income households in Creetown, before returning to a commentary on the nature of the IA within this phase.

Extracts from the case-study workbook:

(i) Establishing a wider political economic context and related theoretical issues:

Some trends in rural economic and social development – Shucksmith (2012)

Shucksmith is considering rural development across the UK and puts his analysis in the context of:

- *‘public spending cuts’ – reduction in the growth of public expenditure, and even reduction in public expenditure in real terms when taking inflation into account*
- *Rural economies becoming very much like urban economies with an emphasis now on manufacturing and services*
- *The dangers of a two-speed rural development: (1) fast-growing accessible rural economies and (2) slow growing remote-rural economies*
- *Inequality and neo-liberalism: between 1945 and the mid-1970s a trend of decreasing inequality, but since (under neo-liberal influence) at first a significantly increasing trend of inequality and then a plateauing at these much higher levels*
- *Two particular opportunities and challenges: high-speed broadband access in remote-rural communities; and green/renewable energy*

Essentially, he then works to evidence and argue for ‘networked rural development’ – rather than top-down or bottom-up models – in which bottom-up approaches to community development are to be married with the role of an enabling state, which provides structure, partnerships and resources (networked development) that can seek to address inequality and the dangers of two-speed rural development.

SERG Policy Briefing No.2 from Scott, Gilbert & Gelan (2007) at the Macaulay Institute²⁷⁰ considers 4 myths as to the Urban-Rural divide:

- *(1) Counter-urbanisation (population shift from urban to rural) is no simple phenomenon with different elements of urban (city/small town) and rural (accessible/remote/very remote) gaining/losing in complex ways.*
- *(2) Different culture and beliefs: again no simple stereotypical divide, rather complex and multi-dimensional, with communication and mobility across urban and rural, and conflict played out at local levels.*

²⁷⁰ Note: the Macaulay Land Use Research Institute joined with the Scottish Crop Research Institute to form the James Hutton Institute in 2011.

- (3) *Deprivation: again not simply an urban phenomenon, but a concept with complex dimensions (as per SIMD), and with pockets of deprivation easy to miss.*
- (4) *Rural economy: no longer dominated by agriculture and forestry, but as diverse as the urban economy.*

(ii) Various documents gave substance to the economic circumstances of the region and more generally South and South-West rural Scotland.

Rural Scotland in Focus 2012 (Skerratt et al., 2012):

- *D&G thus has an expected 13.1% decline in working-age population but, due to increasing single occupancy households, a need for more housing; notes to general higher levels of second homes and vacant homes in remote rural areas of Scotland*
- *The south of Scotland (predominantly rural) has seen increasing unemployment, comparable to urban areas, whereas unemployment has increased more slowly in rural areas as a whole – and worryingly, given the state’s focus on ‘value for money’, the report notes that investment (per pound) in urban areas, in the longer-term, is more productive at decreasing levels of unemployment than investment in rural areas*
- *The south-west of Scotland (rural areas) shows high levels of ‘other urban’, ‘small towns’ and ‘rural settlements’ scoring high on the Scottish Small Town Vulnerability Index, including Dumfries and Stranraer.*

Dumfries & Galloway Council’s Main Issues Report (2011) – key element in the development of the emerging Local Development Plan

Key issues and expected trends for the region raised through to 2031 are:

- *declining population – by 2.7%*
- *need for more housing/increasing households – by 10%*
- *increasing numbers of older people at retirement age – up by 40%*

- *inward investment, physical infrastructure and tackling climate change are identified as crucial*

An Economic overview (p16): “Gross Value Added (GVA) per head is below the national average across almost all industry sectors. The region is characterised by below average wage and household income levels. The Regional Economic Strategy (RES) observes that whilst the region’s economy has improved over recent years the overall rate of growth is lower than Scotland or the UK. The study also highlights that the region is losing private sector jobs at an unsustainable rate due to the fact that businesses will generally recruit from the 18 – 45 age range which is significantly underrepresented in Dumfries & Galloway.”

Unemployment given as 4% and below the Scottish average

(iii) Employment and unemployment in Creetown:

The Dumfries & Galloway Council document Settlements in Dumfries & Galloway²⁷¹, use of 2001 identifies that a decade ago Creetown had a population of 488 in the 16-74 age bracket, of which those classed as economically active included:

Employee part-time: 13.36% (D&G, 13.24%; SA, 11.12%)

Employee full-time: 27.46% (34.77%; 40.25%)

Self-employed: 9.43% (10.49%; 6.6%)

Unemployed: 5.33% (4.17%; 3.94%)

If this general pattern still holds true²⁷², and given the change in terms of a downturn in economic growth since 2008 and rising unemployment a shift in the

²⁷¹ Note: recorded in the thesis’ references as Dumfries & Galloway Council (n.d.). In each case the first % figure applied to Creetown – the village only and not the parish as a whole – the second (D&G) was for Dumfries & Galloway local authority/region as a whole, and the third (SA) was the Scottish average.

²⁷² Note: although Dumfries & Galloway Council have yet to publish a similar report using Census 2011 data, they did later provide the researcher with the statistical data for 2011 to allow the same comparison to be made a decade on – and close to the time of the researcher’s study visit in 2012. Using the figures for those potentially economically active in age ranges 16-74, the researcher calculated the following percentages: Employment part-time: Creetown village (C), 14.6%; Dumfries & Galloway (D&G), 15.9%; Scotland (S), 13.3%. Employment full-time: C, 31.3%; D&G, 34.5%; S, 39.6%. Self-employed: C, 8.3%; D&G, 11.1%; S, 7.5%. Unemployed: C, 5.2%; D&G, 4.2%; S, 4.8%. The researcher therefore

balance of these four categories is certainly plausible, then people living in Creetown would be:

- *more likely to be undertaking part-time working than in Scotland generally*
- *significantly (in a descriptive rather than statistical sense) less likely to be in full-time working*
- *more likely to be self-employed than the Scottish average, but lower than the D&G average*
- *more likely to be unemployed than the D&G and Scotland wide*

The more recent SNS data (2011) point to higher ‘income deprivation’ within Kirkmabreck,²⁷³ at 16% compared to a Scottish average of 13%, but also that ‘employment deprivation’ at 10% of working population compared to Scottish average of 13%; this latter statistic is focused on levels of unemployment and take-up of certain benefits, but the two taken together are suggestive of more people working on low wages (in-work poverty) than is the average in Scotland²⁷⁴.

concludes that these same general patterns still persist of lower levels of full-time employment and higher levels of part-time, self-employment and unemployment in Creetown compared to the Scottish average. In relation to part-time employment, levels have increased in Creetown and remain higher than the Scottish average, but the gap has closed; whilst Dumfries & Galloway as a whole now shows higher levels than Creetown. In relation to full-time employment, levels have increased by 4% in Creetown compared to a fairly static figure for Dumfries & Galloway, and a slight drop of 0.6% in the Scottish average, but with Creetown still 8% below the latter – however the closure of the local steel plant in Creetown in early 2012 will likely have impacted significantly on the levels of full-time and perhaps part-time employment too since the 2011 census. In relation to self-employment, levels have fallen in Creetown whilst the Scottish average has increased so that Creetown is now only 0.8% higher – levels in Dumfries & Galloway have increased remaining well-above the Scottish average. In relation to unemployment levels in Creetown and Dumfries & Galloway have remained fairly static, whilst increasing in Scotland on average, although Creetown still remains 0.4% higher than the latter.

²⁷³ Note from workbook on data source: SNS data gives: income deprivation at 16% compared to a Scottish average (SA) of 13%; with those registered for job-seekers allowance between ages of 24-49 years as 5.7% and between 50 to pensionable age as 5.6%; compared to SAs of 4.5% and 2.4% respectively.

²⁷⁴ Note from workbook on data source: Via SNS: ‘employment deprivation’ (SIMD 2012) includes unemployed people and those on incapacity benefit, severe disablement allowance or on the compulsory New Deal.

(iv) Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) and relative comparisons of deprivation and well-being.

Kirkmabreck was 2902nd in 2009 on the Index of 6505 data-zones²⁷⁵ across Scotland (where 1 is the most deprived data-zone and 6505 the least), and was rated 2750 in 2006, and 2814 in 2004 suggesting a relative stable position. This places it in the 40-50% bracket and an overall index rating of 5 - in fact in 40-45% by vigintile (twentieths) – and across 2004, 2006 and 2009; (2012, remains at 5th decile, and 9th vigintile, and placed at 2884th in the overall list). On first appearances, this would suggest that Creetown and Kirkmabreck, if not wealthy is certainly not a ‘deprived community’ – perhaps an ‘average community’ even. However, it is the variability within the different types of deprivation, or perhaps clearer to say ‘deprivation to wellbeing/affluence scales’²⁷⁶, that illustrates how SIMD figures need to be considered more closely.

Looking across the different types of analysis of deprivation/well-being/affluence, the following picture is generated; and across different years 2009, 2006, 2004 (2012 in brackets), but recognising that there is ongoing development of the indicators, and their measurement, and so each year is not necessarily comparable.

- (1) Income Deprivation: rated 4, or in 30-40% decile/range, and fluctuates between 4 in 2004, 5 in 2006 and back down (2012: 4)*
- (2) Employment Deprivation: rated 6, (50-60%); but had been 5 in 2004 and 2006 (2012: 6)*
- (3) Health deprivation: rated 9, (80-90%); but had been 7 in 2004 and 2006 (2012: 7)*
- (4) Education, skills and training deprivation: 5, (40-50%); had been 6 in 2004, but dropped to 5 in 2006 (2012: 5)*
- (5) Geographical access to services deprivation: 2, (10-20%); has remained stubbornly at 2 since 2004 (2012: 2)*
- (6) Crime deprivation: 7, (60-70%); was at 8 in 2006 (2004 no record given) (2012: 9)*

²⁷⁵ Note: ‘Kirkmabreck’ is the researcher’s term for the data-zone; it is not recorded in SNS/SIMD listings as such, but coded as data-zone S01000928.

²⁷⁶ Note: in fact SIMD describes its Indices as working from ‘deprived’ (1) to ‘non-deprived’ (10).

(7) *Housing deprivation: 6, (50-60%); same in 2004 and 2006 (2012: 6)*

(Note: where 1 is highest levels of deprivation, and 10 is lowest, levels of deprivation – or perhaps, in effect, ‘well-being’).

An older set of data within a Planning related document, and drawing from the 1991 and 1981 census data was also located, and this established the *potential* for still existing, long-term spatial pockets of poverty within the village itself – and potentially relating to social housing.

Note (i) on areas of deprivation within Creetown

A 1999 Deprivation Report, in fact a technical report No.1²⁷⁷ for the D&G Structure Plan 1999, uses data from 1991 and 1981 censuses, and in particular Enumeration Districts (EDs), to consider patterns of deprivation across the region – specifically the spatial spread of 15% most deprived EDs (84 of 546 EDs in fact). Here deprivation is measured through a household deprivation factor of five indicators²⁷⁸ - from an initial 13 indicators across nature of household and dependents, unemployment, access to amenities, illness and disability. Two points to notice:

EDs were concentrated in 2 of the 4 ‘sub-regions of D&G, namely Nithsdale (41 EDs) and Wigtown(shire) (27 EDs), the other two Stewartry (of Kirkcudbright) (9 EDs) and Annandale and Eskdale (7 EDs), had considerably lower numbers. The report notes that about half of EDs across D&G are concentrated in the urban areas – considered ‘other urban’ by Rural Scotland 2012 report – of Dumfries & Galloway.

Creetown, which in this report is placed within Wigtown, had 1 ED in the most deprived 5% in 1991, and which had been in 5-10% most deprived EDs in 1981; while another ED in Creetown had an improved rating of from 10-15% bracket in 1981 to no longer being in the bottom 15%; although it should be noted that

²⁷⁷ Note: given as reference in this thesis as Dumfries & Galloway Council (1999).

²⁷⁸ Note from workbook on data source: Household deprivation factor: one-parent households, unemployment and youth unemployment, children in non-earning households, overcrowding

indicators used in 1981 analysis were similar but not entirely the same. Nearby town of Newton Stewart had five deprived EDs by 1991 data.

Commentary in relation to IA within interpretative case-study research methodology tradition: By drawing from statistical and planning documentation, and from theorising relevant to rural communities, an implied picture begins to form as to how the commentary from interviewees can be interpreted. Namely, that their recognition of the difficulties many living in Creetown find in making a living could be further understood in relation to: (i) above average levels of unemployment, self-employment and part-time employment; (ii) difficulties and higher costs in accessing geographical services; (iii) a regional economy with a lower economic growth rate than the Scottish average, higher levels of lower wage employment, and perhaps struggling to attract larger private sector business in part because of an ageing population.

In an abstract sense some of the documentation can be said to have provided further examples for inclusion in ‘categorical aggregation’ as the views and findings of other researchers/commentators add to those of the interviewees; and likewise in seeing the statistical data as a collection of cases from which categorical aggregations, in a quantitative form, are being drawn.

Triangulation *can* be understood to be happening given the widening of data sources and extensive use of documentation as a further method to compare and contrast with interviewing and observation – methodological and data source triangulation. *And* potentially, this *could* be seen, too, as including elements of investigator and theoretical triangulation given that various statistical data-sets drawn from and, likewise, the different theorists drawn from. However, already complications are becoming apparent, for the various statistical data noted are of variable age, some recent and some from 2001 – and one further back to 1991; the relevance of such data becomes increasingly ambiguous and uncertain with the potential for significant change, or subtle but powerful change, and thus misunderstandings within interpretation and analysis.

There is, then, potential for such a triangulation to be misleading, as the various data sources are *not necessarily* as distinctive and independent of each other as they might at first seem:

- the various sources of statistical information, and theory and interpretation from researches and policymakers are likely over time to be influencing the development of each other, as the researchers draw from previous work and thinking, and seek to deepen their understanding and improve/reconstruct their working definitions of phenomena, the workings of their statistical tools, and their interpretations of context.
- whilst the interviewees may not have directly read any of the documentation this researcher has drawn from, they will have been influenced by a range of information and views circulating within local media and council reports, and thus within community networks, and which will, in part, have come from a range of social research sources.
- researchers and policy-makers will also likely draw from samples and consultations of public and community views of those similar to Creetown and the interviewees there, perhaps directly even from the Creetown area, in order to build their understanding of context with which to develop their research.

There is, then, the likelihood of a drawing from existing research sources that are interwoven, and yet perhaps holding, too, subtle theoretical differences that limit the meaningfulness of such interweaving, rather than as seeing them as existing completely independent of each other; as triangulation as a metaphor might suggest e.g. as three stars in the night sky.

This researcher is, thus, cautious as to understanding the growing body of documentation referred to above in a 'quantitative sense' as an accumulating body of evidence; as might be the case with some objectivist/positivist accounts of social research. Triangulation from within a social constructionist account might be better understood as an ongoing attempt to comprehend the frames of meaning that are in operation and the relative plausibility of generalisation being used and investigated; whilst recognising, too, that such data collection and IA remain theory-laden, and that theory, too, continues to change and develop. There is a danger here in become so sceptical of data collection and IA, that social research grinds to a halt under the weight of endless theoretical consideration and introspection. This is not what is being suggested, and field research and researching with others helps to keep social research a creative/intuitive process as well as a rational/analytical one. Nevertheless, it seems

important to remain reflective and cautious, or mildly sceptical, as to the weight given to triangulation, via different data sources and methods, in decisively making ‘the case’.

A3.2.3: On-going IA work via the documentation

Through on-going monitoring of local media and other material on the internet, the researcher has continued to seek to construct a more complex understanding of the socio-economic context and levels of income deprivation in Creetown/Kirkmabreck; and the case-study workbooks through associated case-study summaries have, thus, extended. Feedback from CI’s senior project worker did not focus on this theme within the case-study summary, but recently published material has extended the IA, and these include:

Note: seemingly recent research for Highlands & Islands Enterprise (Hirsch et al., n.d.²⁷⁹) on the income needed in remote rural Scotland – including parts of Dumfries & Galloway – to reach the Minimum Income Standard across the UK, concludes that such an income needs to be between 10-40% higher in order to meet higher costs associated with: higher costs of goods, the higher costs of household fuel bills, and the longer distances for routine travel.

Public sector spending cuts: an issue locally, as nationwide, with D&G local authority agreeing a budget cut of £7.9m for 2013/14, having cut £29m in last 3 years, and expecting to make further savings of £27m in the coming 3 years; whilst holding Council Tax at £100 below Scottish average²⁸⁰.

Youth unemployment and wage levels: D&G is experiencing levels of youth unemployment over 1% higher than the Scottish and UK averages; whilst average wages are recorded as £100 per week lower than UK average (Galloway Gazette, 2013)²⁸¹.

Living wage: An article in a Third Sector Newspaper draws from KMPG research on the living wage to summarise DG as a region having the highest

²⁷⁹ Note: given as reference within this thesis as Hirsch et al. (n.d.).

²⁸⁰ Note: given as reference within this thesis as Galloway Gazette (2013a).

²⁸¹ Note: given as reference within this thesis as Galloway Gazette (2013b).

levels of those earning below the Living Wage (£7.45 per hour currently, 2013/14, and set to rise to £7.65 in 2014/15) in Scotland; figure given as 36% compared to Scottish average of 20% and UK average of 21%.²⁸²

Further commentary in relation to IA: The further research commentary and statistical data are now extending the interpretation and analysis; for instance, a further understanding of the consequences of low income in Creetown, given that it is considered a rural remote community. Likewise, in recognising the challenges to the local state in providing adequate public services, given public sector spending cuts and its own lower levels of council tax; the latter now effectively locked in place with now a sixth years of agreement between Scottish Government and COSLA on an on-going council tax freeze²⁸³. Whilst youth unemployment for the region remains particularly high, and more generally wage levels as particularly low including many below the Living Wage rate. Again, as above in relation to previous documentation, it is tempting to understand this as an accumulation of evidence, but the researcher argues that this would be better understood as an ongoing ‘attempt’ to provide context, adjust frames of meaning and promote further consideration of generalisations; one that should be understood as open to challenge and critique via the wider research community and other ‘stakeholders’ from wider society.

²⁸² Note: given as reference within this thesis as Third Force News (2013), and then as explored in relation to the Creetown Initiative in section 1.4.2, the actual research is report is accessed as follows: the figure given for Dumfries & Galloway is 36% of those employed are paid below ‘the living wage’ (Markit, 2013: 15) compared to a Scottish average of 20% and UK average of 21%. This is by far the highest figure for a local authority in Scotland with ‘second placed’ Clackmannanshire with 29%; and, likewise, Dumfries & Galloway shows a related and significant lower median average wage than the Scottish median average, £8.57 per hour compared to £11.13 per hour (UK median average, £11.26 per hour). The Markit 2013 report notes these figures as estimated by drawing from Office of National Statistics data and its own national household survey data.

²⁸³ Note: given as reference within this thesis as Scottish Government (2013b).

References

Aiken, M., Cairns, B. and Hutchison, R. (2008) *Exploring the advocacy role of community anchor organisations: Final report – February 2008* [online], London: Institute of Voluntary Action Research, available:

http://www.bassac.org.uk/system/files/dms/documents/8/IVAR_Advocacy_FinalReport_Feb2008_0.pdf (accessed - no longer available).

Aiken, M., Cairns, B. and Thake, S. (2008) *Community Ownership and Management of Assets* [online], York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, available:

<http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/2322-community-organisations-assets.pdf> (accessed 19 November 2013).

Aiken, M., Cairns, B., Taylor, M. and Moran, R. (2011) *Community organisations controlling assets: a better understanding* [online], York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, available:

<http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/community-organisations-assets-full.pdf> (accessed 16 January 2014).

Aklil, D., Gazey, R., Angelis, Y., Stewart, L., Ross-Smith, P. and Duncan, R. (2006)

Robin Duncan (2006) *Renewable Energy Audit for Northmavine*, [unpublished]²⁸⁴ Pure Energy TM Centre Limited and North Isles Renewable Energy Partnership.

Alcock, P. (2012) *Working Paper 82: The Big Society: a new policy environment for the third sector?* [online], Birmingham: Third Sector Research Centre, available:

<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tsrc/documents/tsrc/working-papers/working-paper-82.pdf> (accessed 13 January 2013).

Alcock, P. (n.d.)²⁸⁵ *Briefing Paper 1: Research Approach and Strategy of the Third Sector Research Centre* [online], available at:

<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tsrc/documents/tsrc/working-papers/briefing-paper-1.pdf> (accessed 25 November 2013).

²⁸⁴ Note: researcher provided access to a copy by NCDC.

²⁸⁵ Note: although the document itself is undated, the Third Sector Research Centre website records it as from 2009, view: <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tsrc/publications/index.aspx>

Aldridge, H., Kenway, P. and MacInnes, T.²⁸⁶ (2013) *Monitoring Poverty and Social Exclusion in Scotland in 2013*, York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, available: <http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/poverty-exclusion-scotland-summary.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Alperson, P. (2002) 'Introduction: Diversity and Community', in Alperson, P., ed. *Diversity and Community: An Interdisciplinary Reader*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2-30.

Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, London: Verso.

Arnstein, S.R. (1969) *A Ladder of Citizen Participation* [online], available: <http://lithgow-schmidt.dk/sherry-arnstein/ladder-of-citizen-participation.pdf> (accessed 28 November 2011).²⁸⁷

Asenova, D., Bailey, S. and McCann, C. (2013) *Managing the social risks of public spending cuts in Scotland* [online], York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, available: <http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/public-spending-cuts-scotland-full.pdf> (accessed 15 June 2014).

Assist Social Capital (2012) *Govanhill Community Connections Project Report: September 2012*, [unpublished] Assist Social Capital.²⁸⁸

Atkinson, R. and Moon, G. (1994) *Urban Policy in Britain: The City, the State and the Market*, Basingstoke and London: The MacMillan Press Ltd.

Baker, L. (2011) *Assessing the impact of multi-purpose community organisations: Final report of a collaborative action research approach: June 2011* [online], London: Institute of Voluntary Action Research, available: http://www.ivar.org.uk/sites/default/files/images/Assessing_the_impact_of_MPCOs_report_1.pdf (accessed 20 January 2014).

²⁸⁶ Note: the main report is not currently available via the Joseph Rowntree Foundation website, so the summary document is referred to. Although the three authors are not specifically mentioned in the summary document it is clear from the JRF web-page that they are the document's authors – view at: <http://www.jrf.org.uk/publications/monitoring-poverty-scotland-2013>

²⁸⁷ Note: originally published as Arnstein, S.R. *A Ladder of Citizen Participation*. JAIP, Vol. 35, No. 4, July 1969, pp. 216-224.

²⁸⁸ Note: researcher provided access to a copy by Govanhill Community Development Trust.

Ball, R. and Stobart, J. 'Getting a fix on community identity: the catalyst of the local government review' in Hoggett, P., ed. *Contested Communities: experiences, struggles, policies*, Bristol: Policy Press, 125-143.

Banks, S. and Manners, P. (2012) *Community-based participatory research: a guide to ethical principles and practice* [online], available:

<https://www.dur.ac.uk/resources/beacon/CBPREthicsGuidewebNovember20121.pdf>

(accessed 7 January 2014).

Barbour, A. and Llanes, M. (2013) *Supporting people to legitimise their informal businesses* [online], York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, available:

<http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/small-business-formalisation-full.pdf> (accessed 8 January 2014).

Barker, M. (n.d.)²⁸⁹ 'Big Society Charity: Capitalist Philanthropy in the UK', *State of the Nation* [online], available: <http://www.stateofnature.org/?p=5318> (accessed 16 January 2014).

Barnett, C (2009) 'Democracy' in Gregory, D., Johnston, R., Pratt, G. Watts, M.J., and Whatmore, S., eds. *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 5th ed., Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 150-152.

Batty, E., Beatty, C., Foden, M., Lawless, P., Pearson, S., and Wilson, I. (2010) *The New Deal for Communities Experience: A final assessment. The New Deal for Communities Evaluation: Final report – Volume 7* [online], London: Department of Communities and Local Government, available: <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/ndc/downloads/general/Afinalassessment.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Berry, K. (2008) *SPICe Briefing for the Public Petitions Committee: Petition Number: PE1189* [online], The Scottish Parliament Information Centre, available:

<http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefingsAndFactsheets/Petitions%20briefings%20S3/PB08-1189.pdf> (accessed 3 February 2014).

Birkhoelzer, K. (2012) *John Pearce – a Life for the Local Social Economy* [online], available: http://www.senscot.net/view_art.php?viewid=12331 (accessed 25 November 2013).

²⁸⁹ Note: although no date is given on the web-article, it relates to a post-2010 to 2012 period between the arrival of the UK Coalition Government and the researcher accessing it in 2012/13.

Black, T. (2012) *Community Ownership in Scotland: a baseline study – September 2012* [online], Edinburgh: Development Trust Association Scotland, available: <http://www.dtascot.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/community-ownership-scotland-baseline.pdf> (accessed 16 January 2014).

Blond, P. (2010a) *Red Tory: How the Left and Right Have Broken Britain and How We Can Fix It*; London: Faber and Faber.

Blond, P. (2010b) ‘Shattered Society: Liberalism, Right and Left, has made lonely serfs of us all. Does the Red Tory tradition offer a remedy?’, *The American Conservative* [online], 1 June 2010, available: <http://www.amconmag.com/article/2010/jun/01/00006/> (accessed 22 January 2014).

Blond, P. (2010c) ‘We won’t help the poor by increasing benefits’, *The Guardian* [online], 29 August 2010, available: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/aug/29/phillip-blond-budget-coalition-poverty> (accessed 22 January 2014).

Blond, P. (2010d) ‘The austerity drive must not derail the winning ‘big society’’, *The Guardian* [online], 3 October 2013, available: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/oct/03/cuts-big-society-treasury-civic-state> (accessed 22 January 2014).

Blond, P. (2012) *David Cameron has lost his chance to redefine the Tories*, *The Guardian* [online], 3 October 2012, available: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/oct/03/cameron-one-nation-u-turn-tory-tragedy> (accessed 22 January 2014).

Blond, P. and Milburn, J. (2010) ‘No equality in opportunity’ [online], *The Guardian*, 27 January 2010, available: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/jan/27/inequality-opportunity-egalitarian-tory-left> (accessed 22 January 2014).

Booth, W.C., Colomb, G.G. and Williams, J.M. (2008) *The Craft of Research*, 3rd ed., Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Bort, E., McAlpine, R, and Morgan, G. (2012) *The Silent Crisis: the failure and revival of local democracy in Scotland* [online], Biggar: The Jimmy Reid Foundation, available: <http://reidfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/The-Silent-Crisis1.pdf> (22 January 2014).

Brenner, N. and Theodore, N. (2002) 'Cities and the Geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism"', *Antipode*, 34 (3), 349-379.

Brook Lyndhurst and Ecometrica (2011) *Review of the Climate Challenge Fund – research findings No.8/2011* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available from: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/350969/0117633.pdf> (accessed 28 November 2011).

Bryman, A. (2008) *Social Research Methods*, 3rd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burtenshaw, R. and Robinson, A. (2013) 'David Harvey interview: The importance of postcapitalist imagination' [online], *Red Pepper* (August 2013), available: <http://www.redpepper.org.uk/david-harvey-interview-the-importance-of-postcapitalist-imagination/> (accessed 2 December 2013).

Bynner, C. (2010) *Review of Community Engagement in Neighbourhood Management in Govanhill: Report for the Govanhill Neighbourhood Management Steering Group: April 2012* [online], Glasgow: Glasgow Community Planning Partnership, available: http://communityrenewal.org.uk/docs/govanhill/Review_of_Community_Engagement_in_Neighbourhood_Management_in_Govanhill.pdf (accessed 2 December 2013).

Cabinet Office (UK Government) (2011) *£150 million Big Society 'endowment for the nation launched* [online], London: UK Government, available: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/150-million-big-society-endowment-for-the-nation-launched> (accessed 22 January 2013).

Cahn, E. (2000) *No More Throw-away people: The Co-Production Imperative*, Washington DC: Essential Books.

Cairns, B., Harris, M., and Hutchison, R. (2006) *Servants of the Community or Agents of Government? The role of community-based organisations and their contribution to public services delivery and civil renewal: Executive Summary for bassac – June 2006* [online], London: Institute for Voluntary Action, available: http://www.ivar.org.uk/sites/default/files/images/bassac_ExecSummary_servantsofcommunity.pdf (accessed 20 January 2014).

Callaghan, G., Danson, M., and Whittam, G. (2011) 'Community Ownership and Sustainable Economic Development', *Scottish Affairs*, Winter (74), 79-100.

Cambridge Economic Associates Limited and Research for Real Ltd (2007) *Review and Evaluation of the Initiative at the Edge* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Executive, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/194435/0052194.pdf> (accessed 22 January 2014).

Campbell, A. (2013) *Financial Scrutiny Unit Briefing: The Procurement Reform (Scotland) Bill* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Parliament Information Centre, available: http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefingsAndFactsheets/S4/SB_13-67.pdf (accessed 14 January 2014).

Campbell, A. (2014) *Financial Scrutiny Unit Briefing: Local Government Funding: Provisional Allocations for 2014-15* [online], Edinburgh, Scottish Parliament Information Centre, available: http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefingsAndFactsheets/S4/SB_14-04.pdf (accessed 27 January 2014).

Campbell, B (1993) *Goliath: Britain's Dangerous Places*, London: Methuen.

Castells, M. (1997) *End of Millennium*. Oxford: Blackwells.

Castells, M. (2000) 'Information Technology and the Global Capitalism', in Hutton, W. and Giddens, A., eds. *Global Capitalism*, New York: The New Press.

Centre for Human Ecology (2012) *Training for Transformations* [online], available: <http://www.che.ac.uk/2012/09/training-for-transformation/> (accessed 15 January 2014).

Centre for Local Economic Strategies (CLES) (2009) *The Importance of Community Anchors to Empowerment Issues in the North West* [online], available: http://www.nwtwc.org.uk/uploads/CLES_Report.pdf (accessed 20 January 2014).

Centre for Social Justice (2013) *Five Pathways to Poverty* [online], available: <http://www.centreforsocialjustice.org.uk/policy/pathways-to-poverty> (accessed 15 January 2014).

Chicago Public Schools: Chicago Community Schools Initiative (2013) *Community Schools Initiative (CSI)*, available: <http://www.cps.edu/PROGRAMS/DISTRICTINITIATIVES/Pages/CommunitySchoolsInitiative.aspx> (accessed 17 January 2014).

Clapham, D. and Kintrea, K. (2000) 'Community-based Housing Organisations and the Local Governance Debate', *Housing Studies*, 15 (4), 533–559.

Clopton, A. and Finch, B. (2011) 'Re-conceptualising social anchors in community development: utilizing social anchor theory to create social capital's third dimension', *Community Development*, 42(1), January-March 2011, 70-83.

Cockburn, C. (1977) *The Local State: Management of Cities and People*, London: Pluto Press Ltd.

Cochrane, A. (2007) *Understanding Urban Policy: a critical approach*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Collins, C. (1997) 'The dialogics of 'community': language and identity in a housing scheme in the West of Scotland', in Hoggett, P, ed. *Contested Communities: experiences, struggles, policies*, Bristol: Policy Press, 84-104.

Collins, C. (2004) 'Community Regeneration in 'The New Scotland': A Space for Debate?', *Scotregen*, 28, Summer, 4-5.

Collins, C. (2008) *The Right to Exist: the story of the Clydebank Independent Resource Centre* [online], Clydebank: Clydebank Independent Resource Centre, available: <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/the-right-to-exist-the-story-of-the-clydebank-independent-resource-centre-112387> (accessed 16 January 2014).

Collins, C. (2010) 'What's the problem with communities these days? Learning networks, root causes and solutions' in Emejulu, A. and Shaw, M., eds. *Community Empowerment: Critical Perspectives from Scotland: The Glasgow Papers* [online], Edinburgh: Community Development Journal, 46-52 available: http://www.iacdglobel.org/files/TheGlasgowPapers_1.pdf (accessed 12 November 2013).

Collins, C. (2013) 'Language, Marxism and the Grasping of Policy Agendas: Neo-liberalism and Political Voice in Scotland's Poorest Communities', in Barker, C., Cox, L., Krinsky, J. and Gunvald Nilsen, A. eds. *Marxism and Social Movements*, Leiden (the Netherlands): Koninklijke Brill NV.

Commission on the Future Delivery of Public Services (2011) *Commission on the Future Delivery of Public Services*, available from:
<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/352649/0118638.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Community Alliance (2007) *An ever-evolving story: How community anchor organisations are making a difference*, Community Alliance.²⁹⁰

Community Alliance (2009) *Anchors of tomorrow: a vision for community organisations of the future* [online], London: Community Alliance, available:
http://www.futurecommunities.net/files/images/2_5_Anchors.pdf (accessed 22 November 2011).

Community Development Alliance Scotland (2010) *Community Development in Scotland: a position statement* [online], available:
<http://www.communitydevelopmentalliancescotland.org/cd-policy/documents> [accessed 13 November 2013].

Community Development Alliance Scotland (2011) *Community Development Alliance Scotland Response to Building a Sustainable Future: Regeneration Discussion Paper: June 2011* [online], available: <http://www.communitydevelopmentalliancescotland.org/cd-policy/responses-to-consultations> (accessed 17 January 2014).

Community Futures Network of Canada (n.d.) *Welcome: Gate to 269 Community Futures Offices in Canada*, available: <http://www.communityfuturescanada.ca/> (accessed 17 January 2014).

Community Health Exchange (CHEX) (2011) *Breaking Through: 2nd edition²⁹¹: Community-led health organisations: removing barriers to wellbeing*, Glasgow: Scottish Community Development Centre.

Community Planning Review Group (2012) *Review of Community Planning and Single Outcome Agreements: Statement of Ambition* [online], available:
<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Government/local-government/CP/soa> (accessed 14 January 2014).

²⁹⁰ Note: Community Alliance is no longer active, and no place of publication given, and the document is no longer available on the web, although the researcher holds a paper copy.

²⁹¹ Note: although termed a '2nd edition', the 1st and 2nd editions are in fact each an entirely different series of case-studies of community-led health organisations, and thus distinct publications.

Cooke, I. (2010) 'Trust in the community? Developments Trusts in Scotland' in Emejulu, A. and Shaw, M., eds. *Community Empowerment: Critical Perspectives from Scotland: The Glasgow Papers* [online], Edinburgh: Community Development Journal, 28-32, available: http://www.iacdglobal.org/files/TheGlasgowPapers_1.pdf (accessed 12 November 2013).

Cooke, I. (2013) 'Community Ownership: a catalyst for community-led regeneration', *Practice Insights* [online], Spring 2013, 4-6, available: http://www.iacdglobal.org/files/practice_insights_spring_2013_cd_and_community_empowerment.pdf (accessed 16 January 2014).

Cooperatives UK (n.d.)²⁹² *TUC and Cooperatives UK: Government plans for mutuals should not be 'forced through' against employees' will* [online], Cooperatives UK, available: http://www.uk.coop/pressrelease/tuc-and-co-operatives-uk?utm_source=Linx+293+-+29+August&utm_campaign=linx293&utm_medium=email (accessed 13 January 2014).

Cooperatives UK and Trade Union Congress (n.d.)²⁹³ *Public Services, Cooperatives and Mutuals: Best Practice Guidelines* [online], Cooperatives UK, available: (accessed 13 January 2014).

Coote, A. (2011) 'Big Society and the New Austerity' in Stott, M., ed. *The Big Society Challenge*. Thetford, Norfolk (UK): Keystone Development Trust Publications, 82-94.

Cotterill, S. and Richardson, L. (2011) *Inspiring Democracy: Community Anchors and Councillors* [online], Manchester: Institute for Political and Economic Governance, The University of Manchester, available: <https://www.escholar.manchester.ac.uk/api/datastream?publicationPid=uk-ac-man-scw:118980&datastreamId=FULL-TEXT.PDF> (accessed 20 January 2014).

Council of European Municipalities and Regions (n.d.) *Local and Regional Structures in Europe* [online], Council of European Municipalities and Regions, available: http://www.ccre.org/docs/T_599_28_3524.pdf (accessed 23 January 2014).

Craig, G., Mayo, M., Popple, K., Shaw, M., and Taylor, M. (2011) 'Introduction: community development in the United Kingdom', in Craig, G., Mayo, M., Popple, K., Shaw, M., and

²⁹² Note: web-material is undated, but researcher's notes recorded the material as being posted during 2013.

²⁹³ Note: document is undated, but researcher's notes record the material as being posted during 2013.

Taylor, M., eds. *The Community Development Reader: History, themes and issues*, Bristol: the Policy Press, 3-21.

Creetown Initiative (2011) *Ferry News: Issue 12: Autumn – Winter 2011-12* [online], Creetown: Creetown Initiative, available: http://www.scribd.com/fullscreen/74005822?access_key=key-135peed7amiq32wznj6u (accessed 23 January 2014).

Creetown Initiative (2012) *Ferry News: Issue 15: Winter 2012* [online], Creetown: Creetown Initiative, available: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/115293540/Ferry-News-15-Winter-2012> (accessed 23 January 2014).

Creetown Initiative (2013) *Ferry News: Issue 16: Spring 2013* [online], Creetown: Creetown Initiative, available: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/132597004/Ferry-News-Spring-2013> (accessed 23 January 2014).

Creetown Initiative (2014a) *Forestry Commission Scotland: Application Form: Creetown Initiative* [online], Forestry Commission Scotland, available: [http://www.forestry.gov.uk/pdf/Creetown-Application.pdf/\\$FILE/Creetown-Application.pdf](http://www.forestry.gov.uk/pdf/Creetown-Application.pdf/$FILE/Creetown-Application.pdf) (accessed 31 March 2014).

Creetown Initiative (2014b) *Creetown Hydro Project Business Plan: Prepared for the Forestry Commission Scotland – January 2014* [online], Forestry Commission Scotland, available: [http://www.forestry.gov.uk/pdf/Creetown-Business-Plan.pdf/\\$FILE/Creetown-Business-Plan.pdf](http://www.forestry.gov.uk/pdf/Creetown-Business-Plan.pdf/$FILE/Creetown-Business-Plan.pdf) (accessed 31 March 2014).

Creetown Initiative (2014c) *Addendum*²⁹⁴ [online], Forestry Commission Scotland, available: [http://www.forestry.gov.uk/pdf/Creetown-Application-addendum.pdf/\\$FILE/Creetown-Application-addendum.pdf](http://www.forestry.gov.uk/pdf/Creetown-Application-addendum.pdf/$FILE/Creetown-Application-addendum.pdf) (accessed 31 March 2014).

Creetown Initiative (n.d.²⁹⁵) *A little place with big ideas* [online], available: <http://www.se-networks.net/cultural/CreetownInitiativeLtd.pdf> (accessed 9 December 2013).

Crkon, P. (2012) *An Assessment of the Human Capital Levels and Economic Performance of A8 Romani Migrants in Govanhill*, Glasgow: Development and Regeneration Services, Glasgow City Council.

²⁹⁴ Note: an addendum to the Business Plan (CI 2014b).

²⁹⁵ Note: document undated but material within it indicates it was published during 2012, and it became available on the internet in November 2012.

Cribb, J., Joyce, R. and Phillips, D. (2012) *Living Standards, Poverty and Inequality in the UK: 2012* [online], London: Institute for Fiscal Studies, available: <http://www.ifs.org.uk/comms/comm124.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Crosshill and Govanhill Community Council (2012) *10th September 2012 – Public Meeting* [online], available: <http://crosshillandgovanhill.org.uk/incinerator.php> (accessed 27 January 2014).

Crotty, M. (1998) *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process*, London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Crow, G. (1997) 'What do we know about the neighbours? Sociological perspectives on neighbouring and community' in Hoggett, P (ed.) *Contested Communities: experiences, struggles, policies*, Bristol: Policy Press.

Crummy, H. (1992) *Let the people sing: a story of Craigmillar*, Newcraighall, Edinburgh: Helen Crummy.

Cullingworth, B. and Nadin, V. (2006) *Town and Country Planning in the UK*, 14th edition, Abingdon, Routledge.

Cumbers, A. and McMaster, R (2012) 'Rethinking Public Ownership and Participation', *On The Horizon*, 20 (3), 172-181.

Curtice, J. and Ormston, R. (2011) *Is Scotland more left-wing than England?* [online], available: <http://www.nuffieldfoundation.org/sites/default/files/files/scotcen-ssa-report.pdf> (accessed 15 January 2014).

Cutland, J. (2007) *The Story of Ferrytown of Cree and Kirkmabreck Parish*, 3rd edition, Creetown: Creetown Heritage Museum Trust.

Dailly, J. and Barr, A. (2008) *Understanding a Community-led Approach to Health Improvement* [online], Glasgow: Scottish Community Development Centre, available: <http://www.scdc.org.uk/media/resources/what-we-do/mtsc/Understanding%20a%20community-led%20approach%20to%20health%20improvement.pdf> (accessed 13 November 2013).

Daly, G., Mooney, G., Poole, L., and Davis, H. (2005) 'Housing Stock Transfer in Birmingham and Glasgow: The Contrasting Experiences of Two UK Cities', *International Journal of Housing Policy*, 5:3, 327-341.

Danson, M., Macfarlane, L., and Sullivan, W. (2013) *Investing in the Good Society: five questions on tax and the Common Weal*, Biggar: The Jimmy Reid Foundation, available: <http://reidfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/InvestGoodSociety.pdf> (accessed 22 January 2014).

Danson, M. and Trebeck, K. (2011) eds., *Whose economy? An Introduction* [online], Oxford: Oxfam GB, available: <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/whose-economy-seminar-papers-complete-series-188809> (accessed 21 January 2014).

Danson, M. and Whittam, G. (2010) 'Can social enterprise lead the way for regeneration and poverty reduction?', *Concept* [online], 1(2) Spring 2010, available: <http://concept.lib.ed.ac.uk/index.php/Concept/article/view/77/85> (accessed 8 January 2014).

Danson, M. and Whittam, G. (2011) 'Scotland's Civic Society v. England's Big Society? Diverging Roles of the VCS in Public Service Delivery', *Social Policy and Society*, 10, 353-363.

Davies, N. (1997) *Europe: a history*, London: Pimlico.

Department of Communities and Local Government (2008) *Communities in Control: real people, real power: CM7427* [online], Norwich: TSO, available: <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120919132719/http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/communities/pdf/886045.pdf> (accessed 17 January 2014).

Defourney, J. and Nyssens, M. (2010) 'Conceptions of Social Enterprise and Social Entrepreneurship in Europe and the United States: Convergences and Divergences' [online], *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 1: 1, 32-53, available: http://ec.europa.eu/internal_market/social_business/docs/conference/defourney_en.pdf (accessed 16 January 2016).

Demarco, L. (2009) *Reflections on my time in Wester Hailes 1976-1990* [online], Social Enterprise Network Scotland, available: http://www.senscot.net/view_art.php?viewid=8965 (accessed 13 January 2014).

Development Trust Association Scotland (DTAS) (2009) *Communities taking control* [online], Development Trust Association Scotland, available: <http://www.dtascot.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/dtas-tabloid.pdf> (accessed 1 December 2013).

Development Trust Association Scotland (DTAS) (2010) *Public Asset Transfer: empowering communities*, Edinburgh: Development Trust Association Scotland, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/1031/0098558.pdf> (accessed 31 December 2013).

Development Trust Association Scotland (DTAS) (2011)²⁹⁶ *DTAS Response – Building a Sustainable Future: Regeneration Discussion Paper*, Edinburgh: Development Trust Association Scotland.

Development Trust Association Scotland (DTAS) (2012) *Development Trust Association Scotland response to the Scottish Government consultation on the proposed Community Empowerment and Renewal Bill* [online], available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/0041/00412166.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Development Trust Association Wales (n.d.) *What is a community anchor?*, available: <http://www.dtawales.org.uk/community-anchors/i/324/> (accessed 17 January 2014).

Diamond, P. (2013) 'Tony Blair is right: the post-1945 social democratic model has to change' [online], *The Guardian*, (12 April), available: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/apr/12/tony-blair-social-democratic-model> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Diers, J. (2007) *Neighbourhood Power: building community the Seattle way*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

Dobson, A. (2007) *Green Political Thought*, 4th ed., London and New York: Routledge.

Dobson, J. (2011) *Community assets: emerging learning, challenges and questions* [online], Joseph Rowntree Foundation, available: <http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/community-assets-challenges-opportunities-summary.pdf> (accessed 19 November 2013).

²⁹⁶ Note: the Development Trust Association Scotland document is undated, but is clearly a 2011 document given that the Scottish Government's regeneration consultation took place in the first half of 2011 (Scottish Government, 2011a, 2011b).

Dobson, J. (2013) *Responsible Recovery: a social contract for local growth* [online], London: *ResPublica*, available:

http://www.respublica.org.uk/documents/oqd_Responsible%20Recovery_A%20social%20contract%20for%20local%20growth.pdf (accessed 17 January 2017).

Donaldson, P. (1984) *A Question of Economics*, London: Penguin Books Ltd.²⁹⁷

Donnison, D. (2013) 'The Disempowered State', *Scottish Review* (9 May), available: <http://www.scottishreview.net/DavidDonnison84.shtml> (accessed 30 December 2013).

Dubb, S. (2013) 'Unlocking Community Development: the anchor key', *Common-wealth.org*, 2 January 2013, available: <http://community-wealth.org/content/unlocking-community-development-anchor-key> (accessed 17 January 2014).

Dumfries & Galloway Council (DGC) (1999) *Dumfries & Galloway Structure Plan: Technical Paper No.1: Deprivation Study* [online], Dumfries: Dumfries & Galloway Council, available: <http://www.dumgal.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=355&p=0> (accessed 3 December 2013).

Dumfries & Galloway Council (DGC) (2006)²⁹⁸ *Wigtown Local Plan: sections 1 – 4* [online], Dumfries: Dumfries & Galloway Council, available: <http://www.dumgal.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=436&p=0> (accessed 27 January 2014).

Dumfries & Galloway Council (DGC) (2011) *Dumfries & Galloway Local Development Plan: Main Issues Report: March 2011* [online], Dumfries: Dumfries & Galloway Council, available: <http://www.dumgal.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=6529&p=0> (accessed 29 January 2014).

Dumfries & Galloway Council (DGC) (2012) *Dumfries & Galloway Proposed Local Development Plan: Settlement Hierarchy: November 2012* [online], Dumfries: Dumfries & Galloway Council, available: <http://www.dumgal.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=6533&p=0> (27 January 2014).

Dumfries & Galloway Council (DGC) (2013a) *Dumfries & Galloway Proposed Local Development Plan: January 2013* [online], Dumfries: Dumfries & Galloway Council, available: <http://www.dumgal.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=11287&p=0> (accessed 27 January 2014).

²⁹⁷ Note: Peter Donaldson was then Senior Tutor in Economics at Ruskin College, Oxford.

²⁹⁸ Note: document undated, but Dumfries & Galloway Council website's Structure Plan download webpage notes the Wigtown Local Plan as published in 2006, view: <http://www.dumgal.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=3738>.

Dumfries & Galloway Council (DGC) (2013b) *Dumfries & Galloway Proposed Local Development Plan: Housing Land Audit 2013: Mid Galloway Housing Market Area: November 2013* [online], Dumfries: Dumfries & Galloway Council, available: <http://www.dumgal.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=13344&p=0> (accessed 27 January 2014).

Dumfries & Galloway Council (DGC) (n.d.) *Settlements in Dumfries & Galloway: 2001 Census Profiles* [online], Dumfries & Galloway Council, available: <http://www.dumgal.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=403&p=0> (accessed 3 December 2013).

Duncan, P. and Thomas, S. (2012) *Acting on Localism: the role of housing associations in driving a community agenda* [online], London: ResPublica, available: http://www.respublica.org.uk/documents/fla_Acting%20on%20Localism%20.pdf (accessed 17 January 2014).

Dunning, J. (n.d.²⁹⁹) 'Personalisation', *Community Care*, available: <http://www.communitycare.co.uk/2008/08/07/personalisation/> (accessed 20 January 2014).

Dyer, G., Roberts, D. and Blackadder, A. (n.d.)³⁰⁰ *An Analysis of the Shetland Economy: based on regional accounts for 2010-11; version 3.0*, [unpublished] El Colegio de Mexico, James Hutton Institute and University of Aberdeen, and AB Associates.

el Salahi, Z. (2010) 'Preventing violent extremism through community work? Essentialism and manipulation', in Emejulu, A. and Shaw, M. (eds.) *Community Empowerment: Critical Perspectives from Scotland: The Glasgow Papers* [online], Edinburgh: Community Development Journal, 16-19, available: http://www.iacdglobal.org/files/TheGlasgowPapers_1.pdf (accessed 29 January 2014).

Economic and Social Research Council (2012) *ESRC Framework for Research Ethics (FRE) 2010: Updated September 2012* [online], available: http://www.esrc.ac.uk/images/Framework-for-Research-Ethics_tcm8-4586.pdf (accessed 7 January 2014).

Ekins, P. (1986) 'The Nature of Work', in Ekins, P., ed. *The Living Economy: A New Economics in the Making*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 81-84.

²⁹⁹ Note: dated 7 August 2008, but discusses UK Government policy initiatives in 2012.

³⁰⁰ Note: document is unpublished and not in a final draft form, but Shetland Islands Council's Economic Development Unit kindly provided a copy to the researcher. The document is undated but was commissioned during 2011, and key findings were reported in the Shetland Times on 01.06.13, view at: <http://www.shetlandtimes.co.uk/2013/06/01/economy-is-booming-but-wages-have-scarcely-risen-in-past-decade/>

Elliott, A. and Skerratt, S. (2013) *Land Reform Review Group: Interim Report: 10 May 2013* [online], available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/0042/00422959.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Emejulu, A. and Bassel, L. (2013) *Between Scylla and Charybdis: Enterprise and Austerity as a Double Hazard for Non-Governmental Organisations in France and the UK* [online], Edinburgh: Centre for Racial Equality, University of Edinburgh, available: <http://www.ceres.education.ed.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/Briefing-No.2.pdf> (accessed 16 January 2014).

Emejulu, A. and Shaw, M. (2010) 'Editorial Introduction' in Emejulu, A. and Shaw, M., eds. (2010) *Community Empowerment: Critical Perspectives from Scotland: The Glasgow Papers* [online], Edinburgh: Community Development Journal, 5-8, available: http://www.iacdglobel.org/files/TheGlasgowPapers_1.pdf (accessed 12 November 2013).

Emmerson, C., Johnson, P. and Miller, H. (2014) eds. *The IFS Green Budget: February 2014* [online], London: Institute for Fiscal Studies, available: <http://www.ifs.org.uk/budgets/gb2014/gb2014.pdf> (accessed 6 February 2014).

Engelsman, U., Rowe, M., Southern, A. (2013) *Community land trusts, affordable housing and low income neighbourhoods: draft paper*, [unpublished paper]³⁰¹ University of Liverpool Management School.

Etzioni, A. (1995) *The Spirit of Community: rights, responsibilities and the communitarian agenda*, London: Fontana.

European Roma Rights Centre (2012) 'Hollande Should Keep His Election Promises Regarding Roma [online]' *European Roma Rights Centre*, 22 August 2012, available: <http://www.errc.org/article/hollande-should-keep-his-election-promises-regarding-roma/4039> (accessed 23 January 2014).

Eversley, J. (2009) *Direct Action and Grassroots Democracy: The legacy of Saul Alinsky* [online], Goldsmiths University of London, London Civic Forum and London Metropolitan University, available: <http://www.ppre.org.uk/resources/Alinsky+Conference.pdf> (accessed 15 January 2014).

³⁰¹ Note: kindly provided to the researcher as a draft by the authors.

Fergusson, A. (2009) 'Alex Fergusson MSP opens Creetown M.U.G.A' [online], *Rt. Hon. Alex Fergusson MSP for Galloway and West Dumfries*, 2 March 2009, available: http://www.alexfergusson.org.uk/news_detail.asp?newsID=213 (accessed 23 January 2014).

Finch, J. (1993) '“It's great to have someone to talk to”': Ethics and Politics of Interviewing Women' in Hammersley, M., ed. *Social Research: Philosophy, Politics and Practice*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 166-180.

Friedli, L. (2012) 'Always Look on the Bright Side: the rise of assets based approaches in Scotland, *Scottish Anti-Poverty Review*, 14, Winter 2011-12, 11-15, available: http://povertyalliance.org/userfiles/files/SAPR_14_Winter1112_FINAL.pdf (accessed 16 January 2014).

Fry, M. (2013) 'Michael Fry: Neo-liberalism should not be a dirty word', *The Scotsman*, (6 February), available: <http://www.scotsman.com/news/michael-fry-neoliberalism-should-not-be-a-dirty-word-1-2776211> (accessed 13 January 2014).

Fukuyama, F. (1995) *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*, New York: Free Press.

Gable, S. (2012) *Britannica Party fields four candidates* [online], Searchlight Magazine, 8 April 2012, available: <http://www.searchlightmagazine.com/blogs/searchlight-blog/britannica-party-fields-four-candidates> (accessed 6 February 2012).

Gardiner, L. (2013) 'Week 5: Creetown Flags' [online], *Ferry Thorn*, 16 May 2013, available: <http://ferrythorn.blogspot.co.uk/2013/05/week-5-creetown-flags.html> (accessed 23 January 2014).

Galloway Gazette (2011) '40 jobs under threat at Solway Steel' [online], *Galloway Gazette* (21 December), available: <http://www.gallowaygazette.co.uk/news/local-headlines/40-jobs-under-threat-at-solway-steel-1-2018559> (accessed 3 December 2013).

Galloway Gazette (2012) 'Minister is in 'denial' over anger at turbines' [online], *Galloway Gazette*, 10 October 2012, available: <http://www.gallowaygazette.co.uk/news/local-headlines/minister-is-in-denial-over-anger-at-turbines-1-2568355> (accessed 23 January 2014).

Galloway Gazette (2013a) 'Education cuts continue in budget' [online], *Galloway Gazette*, 8 February 2013, available: <http://www.gallowaygazette.co.uk/news/local-headlines/education-cuts-continue-in-budget-1-2781092> (accessed 27 January 2014).

Galloway Gazette (2013b) 'Youth unemployment in Galloway above average' [online], *Galloway Gazette*, 17 October 2013, available: <http://www.gallowaygazette.co.uk/news/local-headlines/youth-unemployment-in-galloway-above-average-1-3144237> (accessed 29 January 2014).

Gannon, M. and Bailey, N. (2013) *Working Paper: Analysis Series No.5: Attitudes to the necessities of life in Scotland; can a UK poverty standard be applied in Scotland?* [online], available: <http://www.poverty.ac.uk/sites/default/files/attachments/WP%20Analysis%20No.5%20-%20Attitudes%20to%20the%20%27necessities%20of%20life%27%20in%20Scotland%20%28Gannon%20Bailey%20Nov13%29.pdf> (accessed 15 January 2014).

Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society: outline of the theory of structuration*, Cambridge (UK): Polity Press.

Giddens, A. and Hutton, W. (2000) 'In conversation', in Hutton, W. and Giddens, A., eds. *Global Capitalism*, New York; The New Press.

Gordon, T. (2013) 'A new blueprint for an independent Scotland' [online], *The Herald* (4 May), available: <http://www.heraldscotland.com/politics/referendum-news/a-new-blueprint-for-an-independent-scotland.20985084> (accessed 2 December 2013).

Glasgow and the Clyde Valley Strategic Development Planning Authority (2012) *Glasgow and the Clyde Valley Strategic Development Plan: May 2012* [online], Glasgow: Glasgow and the Clyde Valley Strategic Development Planning Authority, available: <http://www.gcvsdpa.gov.uk/images/stories/documents/GCVSDPA%20May%202012.pdf> (accessed 2 December 2013).

Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations (GWSFHA) (1999) *People's Palaces: an exhibition by the Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations* [online], available: http://www.gwsf.org.uk/uploads/peoples_palaces.pdf (accessed 3 December 2013).

Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations (GWSFHA) (2011) *Community Empowerment and Renewal Bill: Initial Response to the Scottish Government* [online], available <http://www.gwsf.org.uk/uploads/jan12/communityempowermentetcbill.pdf> (accessed 17 January 2014).

Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations (GWSFHA) (2012) *GWSF Election Briefing: Glasgow City Council Elections 2012* [online], Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations, available: <http://www.gwsf.org.uk/uploads/march12/finalgwsfelection12web.pdf> (accessed 2 February 2014).

Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations (GWSFHA) (2013a) *Scottish Government – Local Government and Regeneration Committee: Delivery of Regeneration in Scotland Inquiry: GWSF Response to Calls for Written Evidence* [online], Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations, available: <http://gwsf.org.uk/assets/files/publications/GWSF%20Response%20Delivery%20of%20Regeneration%20in%20Scotland%20Inquiry%20.pdf> (accessed 2 February 2014).

Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations (GWSFHA) (2013b) *29 November 2013: GWSF's Annual Conference is a big success* [online], available: <http://gwsf.org.uk/assets/files/29%20November%202013.pdf> (accessed 20 January 2014).

Glasgow Centre for Population Health (2008) *A Community Health and Wellbeing Profile for South East Glasgow* [online], Glasgow: Glasgow Centre for Population Health, available: <http://www.gcph.co.uk/assets/0000/0627/SouthEastGlasgow.pdf> (accessed 2 December 2013).

Glasgow Centre for Population Health (2011) *Asset based approaches for health improvement; redressing the balance* [online], Glasgow: Glasgow Centre for Population Health, available: http://www.gcph.co.uk/assets/0000/2627/GCPH_Briefing_Paper_CS9web.pdf (accessed 16 January 2014).

Glasgow City Council (2011) *The Local Development Plan for Glasgow: Main Issues Report* [online], Glasgow: Glasgow City Council, available: <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=13033&p=0> (accessed 27 January 2014).

Glasgow City Council (n.d.) *Report to Council: 2013-15 Revenue and Capital Budget* [online], Glasgow City Council, available: <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=14786&p=0> (accessed 27 January 2014).

Glasgow City Council Executive Committee (2013a) Committee Document – South West Govanhill.doc *Transforming South-West Govanhill* [online], available (via): <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/councillorsandcommittees/submissiondocuments.asp?submissionid=66497> (accessed 23 January 2014).

Glasgow City Council Executive Committee (2013b) *Committee Document – Item Minute: 12 December 2013: Transforming South West Govanhill (Ward 8)– Proposed strategy approved – Instruction to Executive Director of Development and Regeneration Services* [online], available: <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/councillorsandcommittees/viewDoc.asp?c=e%97%9Di%93n%80%87> (accessed 6 February 2014).

Glasgow Community Planning Partnership (2011) *Govanhill Neighbourhood Action Plan 2011-12 draft 29/08/2011*, [unpublished]³⁰² Glasgow City Council.

Glassman, J. (2009) ‘Neo-liberalism’ in Gregory, D., Johnston, R., Pratt, G. Watts, M.J., and Whatmore, S., eds. *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 5th ed., Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 497-498.

Govanhill Baths Community Trust (GBCT) (2013) *Current Situation: Update report from Chairperson: 9th November 2013* [online], available: <http://www.govanhillbaths.com/about/updates/> (accessed 31 January 2014).

Govanhill Community Development Trust (GCDT) (2013) *Social Enterprising Europe Programme*, Glasgow: Govanhill Community Development Trust.

Govanhill Housing Association (GHHA) (2008) *Public Petition to the Scottish Parliament PE1189* [online], Scottish Parliament Public Petitions Committee, available: http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/S3_PublicPetitionsCommittee/Submissions_08/08-PE1189A.pdf (accessed 3 February 2014).

Govanhill Housing Association (GHHA) (2010) *These are the Rules of Govanhill Housing Association Limited* [online] available: http://www.esystems.scottishhousingregulator.gov.uk/publicdocuments/RSLCS_026286.pdf (22 January 2014).

³⁰² Note: copy of this draft provided by Glasgow City Council to the researcher.

Govanhill Housing Association (GHHA) (2012) *Govanhill Update – February 2012: an overview of the Govanhill community* [unpublished report]³⁰³ Govanhill Housing Association, Govanhill Community Development Trust, Great Gardens.

Govanhill Housing Association (GHHA) (2013a) *Govanhill Housing Association Limited Annual Report and Accounts to 31 March 2013*, available: http://www.esystems.scottishhousingregulator.gov.uk/publicdocuments/CS_029091.pdf (accessed 22 January 2014).

Govanhill Housing Association (GHHA) (2013b) *Govanhill Housing Association: Annual Review 2012-13*, Glasgow: Govanhill Housing Association.

Govanhill Law Centre (n.d.) *Private sector slum flats in Govanhill, Glasgow* [online], Govan Law Centre, available: <http://www.govanlc.com/privateflatsgovanhill.htm> (accessed 3 February 2014).

Govanhill Regeneration Taskforce (2012) *Report of the Govanhill Regeneration Taskforce: Regeneration Action Plan*, Glasgow: Glasgow City Council.

Graham, J. and Cornwell, J. (2009) 'Building community economies in Massachusetts: an emerging model of economic development', in Amin, A., ed. *The Social Economy: international perspectives on economic solidarity*, London: Zed Books Ltd, 37-65.

Gregory, D. (2012) *Is there a cooperative alternative to capitalism?* [online], Ethical Consumer, available: <http://www.ethicalconsumer.org/portals/0/downloads/prize%20essay%20-%201st%20place%20-%20dan%20gregory.pdf> (accessed 21 January 2014).

Green Alternatives to Incineration in Scotland (2013) *Glasgow City Council approves £154m waste plant, 29 January 2013* [online], Green Alternatives to Incineration in Scotland, available: http://www.gainscotland.org.uk/Polmadie_incinerator_approved_29Jan2013.shtml (accessed 27 January 2014).

Griffiths, R. (2013) 'Robinson: Budget should put financial troubles behind us' [online], *Shetland Times*, 12 December 2013, available: <http://www.shetlandtimes.co.uk/2013/12/12/robinson-budget-should-put-financial-troubles-behind-us/> (accessed 23 January 2014).

³⁰³ Note: copy of this document provided by Govanhill Housing Association.

- Guba, E. and Lincoln, Y. (1981) *Effective evaluation*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Guest, A. (2014) 'Sustainable Shetland campaign goes national [online], The Shetland Times, available: <http://www.shetlandtimes.co.uk/2014/01/16/sustainable-shetland-campaign-goes-national/> (accessed 6 February, 2014).
- Hague, C., Wakely, P., Crespin, J., and Jasko, J. (2006) *Making Planning Work: A guide to approaches and skills*, Rugby, UK: Intermediate Technology Publications Ltd.
- Hamlyn, D. (1995) 'Epistemology, history of', in Honderich, T., ed. *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 242-245.
- Handy, C. (1988) *Understanding Voluntary Organisations*, London: Penguin Books Ltd.
- Hardie, A. (2012) 'The Case for Community-led Regeneration', *Scottish Anti-Poverty Review*, 14, Winter 2011-12, 20-22, available: http://povertyalliance.org/userfiles/files/SAPR_14_Winter1112_FINAL.pdf (accessed 16 January 2014).
- Harkins, C. and Egan, J. (2012a) *The Role of Participatory Budgeting in Promoting Localism and Mobilising Community Assets: but where next for participatory budgeting in Scotland? Learning from the Govanhill Equally Well test site* [online], Glasgow: Glasgow Centre for Population Health, available: http://www.gcph.co.uk/assets/0000/3145/GCPH_Participatory_Budgeting_FINAL.pdf (accessed 3 December 2013).
- Harkins, C. and Egan, J. (2012b) *Partnership Approaches to Address Local Health Inequalities: final evaluation report from the Govanhill Equally Well test site* [online], Glasgow: Glasgow Centre for Population Health, available: http://www.gcph.co.uk/assets/0000/3322/Harkins_govanhill_test_site_final_report.pdf (accessed 22 January 2014).
- Harkins, C., Egan, J., and Craig, P. (2011) *Partnership Approaches to Address Local Health Inequalities: interim evaluation report from the Govanhill Equally Well test site*, Glasgow: Glasgow Centre for Population Health, available: http://www.gcph.co.uk/publications/240_interim_evaluation_of_the_govanhill_equally_well_test-site (accessed 22 January 2013).

- Hart, C. (1998) *Doing a Literature Review*, London: Sage.
- Harvey, D. (2005) *A Brief History of Neo-liberalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, D. (2009 [1973]) *Social Justice and the City* [revised edition], Athens (Georgia, USA): The University of Georgia Press.
- Harvey, D. (2011) *The Enigma of Capital and the Crises of Capitalism*, London: Profile Books Ltd.
- Hastings, A., Bailey, N., Besemer, K., Bramley, G., Gannon, M. and Watkins, D. (2013) *Coping with the Cuts? Local Government and Poorer Communities: Main report* [online], Glasgow: Glasgow University, available: http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_296671_en.pdf (accessed 3 January 2014).
- Haugh, H. and Kitson, M. (2007) 'The Third Way and the third sector: New Labour's economic policy and the social economy', *Journal of Economics*, 31, 973–994.
- Hayton, K. (1997) 'Delivering Promises? The Rise, Fall and Rise of Scottish Community Business', *Scottish Affairs* [online], spring (19), available: http://www.scottishaffairs.org/backiss/pdfs/sa19/sa19_Hayton.pdf (accessed 18 November, 2013).
- Henderson, H., Lintott, J., and Sparrow, P. (1986) 'Indicators of no real meaning', in Ekins, P., ed. *The Living Economy: A New Economics in the Making*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 32-40.
- Henderson, J. (1996) *Normalisation, partnership-working and the worker-user relationship*, [unpublished] MA dissertation, Leeds Metropolitan University.
- Henderson, J. (2004a) *I've a good life; it's a secret; don't tell anyone: stories about life after Lennox Castle*, Edinburgh: Scottish Human Services Trust.
- Henderson, J. (2004b) *Learning into Action: Participatory Action Research Appraisal of West Fife Community Support Service*, Edinburgh: Scottish Human Services Trust.
- Henderson, J. (2006a) *Craigmillar Learning for Community Participation and Action report*, Edinburgh: Craigmillar Capacity Building Project.

Henderson, J. (2006b) *Craigmillar Learning for Community Participation and Action Training Programme – a guide for trainers*, Edinburgh: Craigmillar Capacity Building Project.

Henderson, J. and Weston, J. (2004) *We're still waiting! deaf people talk of their struggles to improve their health and wellbeing*, Edinburgh: Scottish Human Services Trust.

Henry, N. and Craig, P. (2013) *Mind the Finance Gap: evidencing demand for community finance* [online], London: Community Development Finance Association, available: <http://www.cdfa.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/CDFA-Mind-the-Finance-Gap-full-report-WEB-VERSION1.pdf> (accessed 15 January 2014).

Her Majesty's Government (1990) *The National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990* [online], legislation.gov.uk, available from: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1990/19/contents> (accessed 31 March 2014).

Her Majesty's Government (2003) *Local Government in Scotland Act 2003* [online], TSO, available: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/asp/2003/1/pdfs/asp_20030001_en.pdf (accessed 31 March 2014)

Her Majesty's Government (2011) *Localism Act 2011* [online], Norwich: TSO, available: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2011/20/pdfs/ukpga_20110020_en.pdf (accessed 31 March 2014)

Her Majesty's Government (2012) *The Welfare Reform Act 2012* [online], Norwich: TSO, available: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2012/5/pdfs/ukpga_20120005_en.pdf (accessed 31 March 2014).

Her Majesty's Government, Scottish Executive, Welsh Assembly, Northern Island Office (2005) *One Future – different paths: UK framework for sustainable development* [online], London: DEFRA, available: <http://archive.defra.gov.uk/sustainable/government/documents/SDFramework.pdf> (accessed 15 January 2014).

Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO) (1977) *Policy for the Inner Cities*, Cmnd 6845, London: HMSO.

Her Majesty's Treasury (2007) *Meeting the aspirations of the British people: 2007 Pre-Budget Report and Comprehensive Spending Review – October 2007* [online], London: The Stationery Office, available: http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100407010852/http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/d/pbr_csr07_completereport_1546.pdf (accessed 9 May 2011).

Her Majesty's Treasury and Cabinet Office (2007) *The Future Role of the Third Sector in Social and Economic Regeneration: Final Report* [online], London: The Stationery Office, available: http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/d/thirdsectorreview_finalreport.pdf (accessed 25 November 2011).

Herald Scotland (2013) 'Conference Backing for Common Weal', *Herald Scotland*, 19.10.13., available: <http://www.heraldscotland.com/politics/referendum-news/conference-backing-for-common-weal.22463788> (accessed 22 January 2014).

Heron, J. and Reason, P. (2006) 'The Practice of Co-operative Inquiry: Research 'with' rather than 'on' People', in Reason, P. and Bradbury, H., eds. *The Handbook of Action Research: concise paperback edition*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 144-154.

Highland Council (2013) *Community Councils* [online], Highland Council, 21 August 2013, available: <http://www.highland.gov.uk/livinghere/communitiesandorganisations/communitycouncils/> (accessed 23 January 2013).

Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE) (2013) *Highlands and Islands Enterprise Annual Reports and Accounts 2012-13* [online], Highlands and Islands Enterprise, available: <http://www.hie.co.uk/about-hie/policies-and-publications/annual-reports.html> (accessed 27 January 2014).

Hillery, G.A (1955) 'Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement', *Rural Sociology*, vol.20, pt 2, 111-123.

Hirsch, D., Bryan, A., Davis, A., and Smith, N. (n.d.)³⁰⁴ *A Minimum Income Standard: for remote rural Scotland* [online], Inverness: Highlands and Islands Enterprise, available: <http://www.hie.co.uk/regional-information/economic-reports-and-research/archive/a-minimum-income-standard-for-remote-rural-scotland.html> (accessed 9 December 2013).

³⁰⁴ Note: although the report itself is undated, the HIE website indicates it as published in 2013, view: <http://www.hie.co.uk/regional-information/economic-reports-and-research/>

Hoggett, P. (1997) 'Contested Communities', in Hoggett, P, ed., *Contested Communities: experiences, struggles, policies*, Bristol: Policy Press, 3-16.

Home Office, UK Government (2004) *Firm Foundations: The Government's Framework for Community Capacity Building* [online], London: Home Office Communications Directorate, available: <http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/communities/pdf/152480.pdf> (accessed 25 November 2011).

Howe, D. (1987) *An Introduction to Social Work Theory: making sense in practice*, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Hull, A. (2006) 'Facilitating Structures for Neighbourhood Regeneration in the UK: The Contribution of the Housing Action Trusts', *Urban Studies*, 43:12, 2317-2350.

Hunter, J., Peacock, P., Wightman, A. and Foxley, M. (2013) *432:50 – Towards a comprehensive land reform agenda for Scotland: A briefing paper for the House of Commons Scottish Affairs Committee* [online], available: <http://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons-committees/scottish-affairs/432-Land%20Reform%20Paper.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Hutton, W. (2011) *Changing Britain – why we need a fair society*, London: Abacus.

Independent Budget Review Panel (2010) *Independent Budget Review: The Report of Scotland's Independent Budget Review Panel* [online], available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/919/0102410.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

International Centre of Research and Information on the Public, Social and Cooperative Economy (CIRIEC) (2012) *The Social Economy in the European Union* [online], Brussels: European Economic and Social Committee, available: <http://www.eesc.europa.eu/resources/docs/qe-31-12-784-en-c.pdf> (accessed 25 November 2013).

Jackson, T. (2009) *Prosperity without growth: economics for a finite planet*, London: Earthscan.

Jenkins, D. (1976) *The Contradiction of Christianity*, London: SCM Press Ltd.

Johnstone, C. and McWilliams (2004) 'Urban policy and the city in the 'new' Scotland', in Mooney, G. and Scott, G., eds. *Exploring Social Policy in the 'New' Scotland*, Bristol: Policy Press.

Jones, J. (n.d.)³⁰⁵ *Private Troubles & Public Issues: a community development approach to health*, Edinburgh: Community Learning Scotland.

Jones, K. (1997) *Community as a documentary reality: a case study of Newtown South Aston, Birmingham*, PhD thesis: University of Central England.

Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2012) *Our Plan for 2012-14* [online], York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, available: <http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/strategic-plan-2012-2014.pdf> (accessed 17 January 2014).

Joseph Rowntree Foundation (n.d.) *Austerity in the UK* [online], Joseph Rowntree Foundation, available: <http://www.jrf.org.uk/topic/austerity> (accessed 13 January 2014).

Kagan, C. (2006) *RENEW Intelligence Report: Making a difference: participation and well-being*, Liverpool: RENEW northwest.

Karl Polanyi Institute (2002) *Karl Polanyi: 1886-1964* [online], available: <http://polanyi.concordia.ca/polanyi/> (accessed 21 January 2014).

Kay, A. and Tuffs, A. (2012) *John Pearce: Community Development and Social Enterprise Activist and Thinker* [online], available: <http://www.socialauditnetwork.org.uk/john-pearce/> (accessed 25 November 2013).

Keating, M. (2005) *The Government of Scotland: Public Policy Making after Devolution*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Kindon, S., Pain, R. and Kesby, M. (2007) 'Participatory Action Research: origins, approaches, methods', in Kindon, S., Pain, R. and Kesby, M. (eds.) *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods: connecting people, participation and place*, London: Routledge, 9-18.

Kimmel, A. (1988) *Ethics and Values in Applied Social Research*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

³⁰⁵ Note: the book, although undated, was likely published in the mid to the late 1990s as it recounts Jane Jones' work within the Pilton Health Project from 1984 to 1994.

Kretzmann, J. and McKnight, J. (1993) *Building Communities From The Inside Out: a path toward finding and mobilising a community's assets*, Evanston, Illinois (USA): Asset-Based Community Development Institute.

Laurenson, I. (2007) *Northmavine Tourism Plan 2007*, Northmavine: Northmavine Development Company.³⁰⁶

Law, A. and Mooney, G. (2006) 'The maladies of social capital II: resisting neo-liberal conforms', *Critique*, 34(3): 253-68.

Local Government Association (2013) *Localism Act* [online], available: <http://www.local.gov.uk/localism-act> (accessed 13 January 2013).

Local People Leading (LPL) (2008a) *Summary Position Statement on Community Empowerment in Scotland: 5th draft* [online], Local People Leading, available: <http://www.senscot.net/docs/lplstatementv5.pdf> (accessed 19 November 2013).

Local People Leading (LPL) (2008b) *Definition of a Community Anchor Organisation* [online], available: <http://www.localpeopleleading.co.uk/on-the-ground/> (accessed 19 November 2008 – but no longer available).

Local People Leading (LPL) (2009a) *Empowerment Action Plan lacks momentum* [online], available: <http://www.localpeopleleading.co.uk/policy-talk/policy-articles/707/> (accessed 17 January 2014).

Local People Leading (LPL) (2009b) *Getting community empowerment back on track* [online], available: <http://www.localpeopleleading.co.uk/policy-talk/policy-articles/748/> (accessed 17 January 2014).

Locality and Vanguard Consultancy (n.d.)³⁰⁷ *Public Services, Civil Society and Diseconomies of Scale* [online], available: <http://locality.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/Public-Services-Civil-Society-and-Diseconomies-of-Scale.pdf> (accessed 20 January 2014).

³⁰⁶ Note: Northmavine Development Company and Northmavine Community Development Company (NCDC) are essentially the same ongoing body of staff, activists and volunteers, but the latter name and legal form replaced the former in 2006/2007 as the leading body, although the former is still registered with Companies House.

³⁰⁷ Note: no date of publication is given in the document, but it was published during the course of this thesis (2010-13), and Locality's publication web-page would indicate before 2013, view: <http://locality.org.uk/resources/public-services-civil-society-diseconomies-scale/>

Ludema, J., Cooperrider, D., and Barrett, F. (2006) 'Appreciative Inquiry: the Power of the Unconditional Positive Question', in Reason, P. and Bradbury, H., eds. *The Handbook of Action Research: concise paperback edition*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp.155-165.

Lukes, S. (1974) *Power: a radical view*, London: The Macmillan Press Ltd.

Lynch, H (2010) *Govanhill, what the people say? A map of assets*³⁰⁸ [online], Centre for Community Practice and Scottish Community Development Centre, available: <http://www.scdc.org.uk/media/resources/assets-alliance/Govanhill%20community%20assets%20and%20ownership%20small%20%282%29%20%282%29.pdf> (accessed 3 December 2013).

Mackenzie, F. (2006) '“S Leinn Fhein am fearann” (This Land is Ours): re-claiming place, re-creating community', North Harris, Outer Hebrides, Scotland, *Environment and Planning D*, 24(4), 577-598.

MacKinnon, D. (2002) 'Rural governance and local involvement: assessing state and community relations in the Scottish Highlands', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 18, 307-324.

MacKinnon, D., Cumbers, A., Featherstone, D., Ince, A. and Stone, K. (2011) *Globalisation, labour markets and communities in contemporary Britain* [online], York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, available: <http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/labour-markets-globalisation-communities-full.pdf> (accessed 21 January 2014).

Macmillan, R. (2013) *Working Paper 90: Making sense of the Big Society: perspectives from the third sector* [online], Birmingham: Third Sector Research Centre, available: <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tsrc/documents/tsrc/working-papers/working-paper-90.pdf> (accessed 13 January 2014).

Maher, A. (2013) 'Can grocery stores serve as community anchors?', *Initiative for a Competitive Inner City*, 8 April, available: <http://www.icic.org/connection/blog-entry/blog-can-grocery-stores-serve-as-community-anchors> (accessed 17 January 2014).

³⁰⁸ Note: also referred to within the document as 'Govanhill: community assets and community ownership'.

Making Assets Work: The Quirk Review of Community Management and Ownership of Public Assets [online], London: HMSO, available:

<http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/communities/pdf/321083.pdf> (accessed 6 April 2011).

Markit (2012) *Living Wage Research for KPMG: Current Trends in Household Finances and Structural Analysis of Hourly Wages: October 2012* [online], Henley-on-Thames: Markit Group Limited, available:

http://www.kpmg.com/UK/en/IssuesAndInsights/ArticlesPublications/Documents/PDF/Who%20We%20Are/Living_Wage_Research_October_2012.pdf (accessed 29 January 2014).

Markit (2013) *Living Wage Research for KPMG: Structural Analysis of Hourly Wages and Current Trends in Household Finances: 2013 report* [online], Henley-on-Thames: Markit Group Limited, available:

<http://www.kpmg.com/UK/en/IssuesAndInsights/ArticlesPublications/Documents/PDF/Latest%20News/living-wage-research-october-2013-1.pdf> (accessed 31 January 2014).

Mason, J. (2010) *What is creative interviewing?* [online], University of Manchester, available:

<http://www.methods.manchester.ac.uk/events/whatis/creativeinterviewing.pdf> (accessed 31 December 2013).

Matthews, P. and Hastings, A. (2013) *Local communities and service distribution in an era of austerity* [online], available (via): <http://bigsocietylocalismhousing.co.uk/seminar-1/> (accessed 14 January 2014).³⁰⁹

Maxwell, S. (2008) *The Demise of Community Empowerment* [online], Social Entrepreneurs Network³¹⁰, available: http://www.senscot.net/view_art.php?viewid=7229 (accessed 14 January 2014).

Mayo, E. and Moore, H. (2001) *The Mutual State: How local communities can run public services* [online], London: New Economics Foundation, available:

http://s.bsd.net/nefoundation/default/page/file/4e64e47c5e7f9a738d_bem6iivr6.pdf (accessed 21 January 2014).

³⁰⁹ Note: a draft paper presented at a Big Society, Localism and Housing Policy seminar, March 2013 – view at: <http://bigsocietylocalismhousing.co.uk/seminar-1/>, and cited with the authors' agreement.

³¹⁰ Note: originally published by the Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisation's Third Force News (TFN).

Mayo, E. (2013) 'Nudged out: this is mutualism but not as we know it' [online], *The Guardian*, 3 May, available: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/may/03/nudge-unit-mutualisation-but-not-as-we-know-it> (accessed 13 January 2014).

McCabe, L. (2010) 'Capacity-building for activism: Learning from the past for the future', in Emejulu, A. and Shaw, M. (eds.) *Community Empowerment: Critical Perspectives from Scotland: The Glasgow Papers* [online], Edinburgh: Community Development Journal, 65-70, available: http://www.iacdglobal.org/files/TheGlasgowPapers_1.pdf (accessed 12 November 2013).

McCartney, G., Myers, F., Taulbut, M., MacDonald, W., Robinson, M., Scott, S., Mitchell, R., Millard, D., Tod, E., Curnock, E., Katikireddi, S.V., and Craig, N. (2013) *Making a bad situation worse? The impact of welfare reform and the economic recession on health and health inequalities in Scotland (baseline report)* [online], Edinburgh: NHS Health Scotland, available: http://www.scotpho.org.uk/downloads/scotphoreports/scotpho131002_impactofwelfarereform.pdf (accessed 13 January 2014).

McHugh, N., Sinclair, S., Roy, M., Huckfield, L. and Donaldson, C. (2013) Social impact bonds: a wolf in sheep's clothing? *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice*, 21(3), 247-257.

McKee, K. (2008) 'Transforming Scotland's Public-sector Housing through Community Ownership: The Re-territorialisation of Housing Governance?', *Space and Polity*, 12:2, 183-196.

McKee, K. (2010) 'The future of community housing in Scotland: some thoughts and reflections', *People, Place and Policy Online*, 4/3, 103-110, available from: http://extra.shu.ac.uk/ppp-online/issue_3_081210/article_3.html (accessed 22 November 2011).

McKee, K. (2011) *Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations' Response to the Scottish Government's Regeneration Discussion Document: Building a Sustainable Future* [online], Glasgow: Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Association, available: <http://www.gwsf.org.uk/uploads/GWSFregenmay2011webversion.pdf> (accessed 25 November 2011).

McKee, K. (2012) *Housing Associations and the Big Society: lessons from Scotland's community housing sector* [online], St. Andrews: Centre for Housing Research, University of St. Andrews, available: http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/dept-of-geography-and-sustainable-development/pdf-s/gsd/McKee_Carnegie%20Report.pdf (accessed 17 January 2014).

McKendry, D. (2010) 'By the community, for the community', *Scottish Planner* [online], 137, October 2010, 11, available: <http://www.rtpi.org.uk/download/10302/Issue-137-101022-Scottish-Planner-Oct-2010-e-version-final.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

McKnight, J. and Kretzmann, J. (1984) 'Community organising in the eighties: towards a post-Alinsky agenda', *Social Policy*, Winter 1984, 14(3), 15-17.³¹¹

McKnight, J. (1995) *The Careless Society: community and its counterfeits*, New York: Basic Books.

McKnight, J. (2009) *Community Capacities and Community Necessities* [online]. Evanston, Illinois (USA): Asset-Based Community Development Institute. Available from: <http://www.abcdinstitute.org/docs/McKnight%20Speech%207-09.pdf> (Accessed 30 March 2011).

McLean, I., Gallagher, J., and Lodge, G. (2012) *Scotland's Choices: The Referendum and What Happens Afterwards*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

McMillan, D.W. & Chavis, D.M. (1986) 'Sense of Community: A Definition and Theory', *Journal of Community Psychology*, vol.14, January 1986, pp.6-23.

Merriam, S. (2009) *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation*, 2nd ed., San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Merrifield, A. (2013) 'Intervention – "Whose City? The Parasites", of course...' , *Antipode Foundation.org*, (18 June 2013), available: <http://antipodefoundation.org/2013/06/18/intervention-whose-city/> (accessed 7 January 2014).

Mooney, G. and Fyfe, N. (2006) 'New Labour and Community Protests: the Case of the Govanhill Swimming Pool Campaign, Glasgow', *Local Economy*, May 2006 21(2),136-150.

Mooney, G. (2009) 'The 'broken society' election: class hatred and the politics of poverty and place in Glasgow East', *Social Policy and Society*, 8(4), 437–450, available: http://oro.open.ac.uk/18562/1/broken_society_Mooney.pdf (accessed 16 January 2014).

Mooney, G. (2010a) 'Anti-welfarism and the making of the 'problem' community', in Emejulu, A. and Shaw, M., eds. *Community Empowerment: Critical Perspectives from Scotland: The*

³¹¹ Note: this article is reproduced in McKnight, J. (1995: 153-160).

Glasgow Papers [online], Edinburgh: Community Development Journal, 8-12, available: http://www.iacdglobal.org/files/TheGlasgowPapers_1.pdf (accessed 12 November 2013).

Mooney, G. (2010b) 'The disadvantaged working class as 'problem' population: The 'Broken Society' and class misrecognition', *Concept*, 1(3), Winter, 1-5, available: <http://concept.lib.ed.ac.uk/index.php/Concept/article/view/88/98> (accessed 16 January 2014).

Moore, T. and McKee, K. (2013) 'The Ownership of Assets by Place-Based Community Organisations: Political Rationales, Geographies of Social Impact and Future Research Agendas', *Social Policy and Society*, (first view article) January 2014, 1-13.

Murray, R. (2012) 'A different way of doing things', *Red Pepper* [online], May 2012, available: <http://www.redpepper.org.uk/a-different-way-of-doing-things/> (available 16 January 2014).

Mutuals Taskforce Report (n.d.)³¹² *Public Service Mutuals: the Next Step* [online], UK Government, available: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/61776/Public-Service-Mutuals-next-steps.pdf (accessed 13 January 2014).

National Association of Local Councils (2013) *Sustainable Communities Act 2007* [online], available: http://www.nalc.gov.uk/About_NALC/SustainableCommunitiesAct2007.aspx (accessed 13 January 2014).

National Association of Local Councils (NALC) (n.d.) *About us* [online] National Association of Local Councils, available: http://www.nalc.gov.uk/About_NALC/About_NALC.aspx (accessed 23 January 2014).

National Audit Office (2012) *The Introduction of the Work Programme* [online], available: <http://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/10121701es.pdf> (accessed 20 January 2014).

National Council for Voluntary Organisations (2006), *UK Voluntary Sector Almanac: the State of the Sector 2005*, London: National Council for Voluntary Organisations.

NeighborWorks America (n.d.) *About Us*, NeighborWorks America, available: <http://www.nw.org/network/aboutUs/aboutUs.asp> (accessed 17 January 2014).

³¹² Note: the Mutuals Taskforce is recorded in the report as having its first meeting in February 2011.

Neil, A (2010) MSP [letter] *Letter to: Convenor of Scottish Parliament's Petitions Committee*, 23 July 2010, available:

http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/S3_PublicPetitionsCommittee/Submissions_08/08-PE1189Q.pdf (accessed 23 January 2014).

Nichol, V (2013) '£32m bid to end slum hell in Glasgow's Govanhill: a £32 million plan will transform one of Glasgow most rundown area' [online], *Evening Times*, 4 December 2013, available: http://www.eveningtimes.co.uk/news/32m-bid-to-end-slum-hell-in-glasgows-govanhill-144324n.22824353?utm_source=headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=email_alert (accessed 6 February 2014).

Northmavine Community Development Company (NCDC) (2008) *Research into the New Gate Areas within Shetland: a report compiled for Community Planning Board – Shetland*, (unpublished) Shetland Islands Council³¹³.

Northmavine Community Development Company (NCDC) (2012a) *Northmavine Community Development Company Business Plan 2012-15*, [unpublished] Northmavine Community Development Company.

Northmavine Community Development Company (NCDC) (2012b) *NCDC: Issue 13: December 2012*, Northmavine: Northmavine Community Development Company.

Northmavine Community Development Company (NCDC) and Highlands and Islands Enterprise (2012) *Base Report: Area – Northmavine, Shetland*, [unpublished] Northmavine Community Development Company and Highlands and Islands Enterprise.³¹⁴

Northmavine Development Company³¹⁵ (2005) *Northmavine Development Plan 2005*, Northmavine: Northmavine Development Company.

North East Edinburgh Social History Group (2011) *Never Give Up: A community's fight for social justice*, Edinburgh: Community Development Journal Ltd and North East Edinburgh Social History Group.

³¹³ Note: the researcher holds an electronic copy, courtesy of Northmavine Community Development Company.

³¹⁴ Note: this version, marked as November 2012, was kindly made available to the researcher by NCDC.

³¹⁵ Note: Northmavine Development Company and Northmavine Community Development Company (NCDC) are essentially the same ongoing body of staff, activists and volunteers, but the latter name and legal form replaced the former in 2006/2007 as the leading body, although the former is still registered with Companies House.

Nussbaum, M. (2002) 'Love, Care and Women's Dignity: The Family as a Privileged Community', in Alpers, P., ed. *Diversity and Community: An Interdisciplinary Reader*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 209-230.

O'Donnell, A. (2010) 'Oor Mad History: Community history as a way of revitalising mental health collective advocacy', in Emejulu, A. and Shaw, M. (eds.) *Community Empowerment: Critical Perspectives from Scotland: The Glasgow Papers* [online], Edinburgh: Community Development Journal, 33-38, available: http://www.iacdglobel.org/files/TheGlasgowPapers_1.pdf (accessed 20 October 2010).

Office for National Statistics (2013a) *Full story: The gender gap in unpaid care provision: is there an impact on health and economic position?* [online], Office for National Statistics, available: <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census/detailed-characteristics-for-local-authorities-in-england-and-wales/rpt---unpaid-care.html> (accessed 8 January 2014).

Office for National Statistics (2013b) *Statistical Bulletin: Experimental Statistics: Personal Well-being Across the UK* [online], Office for National Statistics, available: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171778_328486.pdf (accessed 3 February 2014).

Office of the Deputy Prime Minister and Home Office (2006) *Communities Taking Control: Final report of the Cross-sector Work Group on Community Ownership and Management of Assets – a joint report by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) and the Home Office*, London: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, available: <http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/localgovernment/pdf/144878.pdf> (accessed 9 May 2011).

O'Leary, T., Burkett, I. and Braithwaite, K. (2011) *Appreciating Assets* [online], Dunfermline: Carnegie UK Trust, available: <http://carnegieuktrust.org.uk/CMSPages/GetFile.aspx?guid=aedb15fb-a64a-4d71-a2d6-e8e6e865319b> (accessed 15 January 2014).

Ollaberry Community Enterprise Ltd (n.d.³¹⁶) *Ollaberry Community Coop: About the shop* [online], available: <http://www.ollaberryshop.co.uk/about.html> (accessed 27 January 2014).

³¹⁶ Note: no date is given of publication of the web-page material but Ollaberry Community Enterprise Ltd website is recorded as established from 2011.

Painter, J. (2009) 'Egalitarianism', in Gregory, D., Johnston, R., Pratt, G. Watts, M.J., and Whatmore, S., eds. *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 5th ed., Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 187.

Painter, J., Orton, A., Macleod, G., Dominelli, L., and Pande, R. (2011) *Connecting Localism and Community Empowerment Research Review and Critical Synthesis for the AHRC Connected Community Programme*, available:
<https://www.dur.ac.uk/resources/sass/research/ConnectingLocalismandCommunityEmpowermentFullReport.pdf> (accessed 1 December 2013).

Panel on the Independence of the Voluntary Sector (2011) *Voluntary Sector Independence* [online], London: The Baring Foundation and Civil Exchange, available:
http://www.independencepanel.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Independence-Panel_Report-webcopy.pdf (accessed 13 January 2013).

Paterson, L., Simpson, L., Barrie, L. and Perinova, J. (2011) *Oxfam Law into Practice Project and Govanhill Law Centre Report: Unequal and Unlawful Treatment: Barriers faced by the Roma Community in Govanhill when accessing welfare benefits and the implications of section 149 of the Equality Act 2010*, Glasgow: Govanhill Law Centre, available:
<http://www.govanlc.com/UUTR.pdf> (accessed 2 December 2013).

Paxton, W. (2013) 'Juncture interview: Kathleen Thelen on liberalisation', *Juncture* [online], 16 December 2013, Institute for Public Policy Research, available:
<http://www.ippr.org/juncture/171/11680/juncture-interview-kathleen-thelen-on-liberalisation> (accessed 21 January 2014).

Pearce, J. (1993) *At the heart of the community economy: community enterprises in a changing world*, London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

Pearce, J. (2003) *Social Enterprise in Anytown*, London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

Pearce, J. (2009) 'Social economy: engaging as a third system?', in Amin, A., ed. *The Social Economy: international perspectives on economic solidarity*, London: Zed Books Ltd, 22-33.

Peck, J. (2008) 'Remaking laissez-faire', *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(1), 3-43.

Philo, C. (2009) 'social theory' in Gregory, D., Johnston, R., Pratt, G. Watts, M.J., and Whatmore, S., eds. *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 5th ed., Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 698-700.

Plunkett Foundation (2013) *A Better Form of Business 2013: community-owned village shops* [online], Plunkett Foundation, available: <http://www.plunkett.co.uk/newsandmedia/news-item.cfm/newsid/687> (accessed 21 January 2014).

Polanyi, K. (1968) *Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies: Essays of Karl Polanyi*, Boston.³¹⁷

Poole, L. and Adamson, K. (n.d.)³¹⁸ *Report on the Situation of the Roma Community in Govanhill*, Glasgow [online], available: <http://www.bemis.org.uk/resources/gt/scotland/report%20on%20the%20situation%20of%20the%20roma%20community%20in%20govanhill,%20Glasgow.pdf> (accessed 2 December 2013).

Post-Keynesian Economics Study Group (n.d.)³¹⁹ *About the Post-Keynesian Economics Study Group* [online], Post-Keynesian Economics Study Group, available: <http://www.postkeynesian.net/about.html> (accessed 30 January 2014).

Power, A. (2011) 'Small is Beautiful: Can Big Society Advocates Learn From Experience?', in Stott, M. ed., *The Big Society Challenge*. Thetford, Norfolk (UK): Keystone Development Trust Publications, 43-51.

Project for Public Spaces (n.d.)³²⁰ *Civic Institutions as Community Anchors*, available: <http://www.pps.org/reference/initiative-civic-centers/> (accessed 17 January 2014).

Putnam, R. (1995) 'Bowling alone: America's declining social capital', *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 6, pp. 65–78.

Putnam, R. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks.

³¹⁷ Note: David Harvey's (2009 [1973]) citation of Polanyi also records the publication as 'edited by G. Dalton' – presumably after Polanyi's death in 1964.

³¹⁸ Note: no date given in the report, but referencing suggests it was published in 2007 or 2008, as would the context of A8 Roma migration to Govanhill.

³¹⁹ Note: web-page is undated, but Post-Keynesian Economics Study Group is noted as starting in 1988 and is still active to date.

³²⁰ Note: on date is given for the material on the Project for Public Spaces website and the organisation is long-standing, forming in 1975.

Ridley-Duff, R. and Bull, M. (2011) *Understanding Social Enterprise: Theory & Practice*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Reason, P. and Bradbury, H. (2006) 'Preface', in Reason, P. and Bradbury, H. *The Handbook of Action Research: concise paperback edition*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd, xxi-xxxii.

Raison, T. (1977) *Inner Cities: The Right Programme?*, (Working Paper Series) Centre for Studies in Social Policy.³²¹

Raleigh Yow, V. (1994) *Recording Oral History: a practical guide for social scientists*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Richardson, L (1998) 'Writing: a method of inquiry' in Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y., eds. *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*, London: SAGE Publications, 345-371.

Riddell, N. (2013) 'SIC agrees a £12.4m budget cut' [online], *Shetland Times* (20 February 2013), available: <http://www.shetlandtimes.co.uk/2013/02/20/sic-agrees-12-4-million-budget-cut/> (accessed 10 December).

Robson, C. (1993) *Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner-Researchers*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Robson, K. (2013) *SPICe Briefing: Public Bodies (Joint Working) (Scotland) Bill* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Parliament Information Centre, available: http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefingsAndFactsheets/S4/SB_13-50.pdf (accessed 14 January 2014).

Roma-Net (2011) *Roma-Net Glasgow Baseline Study*, available: http://urbact.eu/fileadmin/Projects/Roma_Net/outputs_media/Roma_Net_Glasgow_Baseline_-_FINAL_MAY2011.pdf (accessed 2 December).

Ross, P. (2013) 'Govanhill: Glasgow's Ellis Island' [online], *The Scotsman*, 10 February 2013, available: <http://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/govanhill-glasgow-s-ellis-island-1-2783217> (accessed 22 January 2014).

³²¹ Note: the Centre for Studies in Social Policy would no longer seem to exist, or has changed name, and the paper copy gained through inter-library loan does not provide full referencing detail.

Sampson, A. and Weaver, M. (2010) 'Community Anchors: securing their position', *Rising East Essays: making regeneration our business* [online], University of East London: Vol. 2, Series 1, No. 3 February 24th 2010, available: <http://www.uel.ac.uk/risingeast/essays/2010-02-24.htm> (accessed 21 January 2014).

Sandel, M. (2009) *Reith Lectures 2009, A new citizenship: Lecture 1: Markets and Morals*, available: http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/rmhttp/radio4/transcripts/20090609_thereithlectures_marketsandmorals.rtf (accessed 20 January 2014).

Sandel, M. (2012) *What Money Can't Buy: The Moral Limits of Markets*, London: Allen Lane, Penguin Group.

Satsangi, M. (2013) *Community Land Ownership in Scotland: retrospect and prospect* [online], available: <http://ggsrv-cold.st-andrews.ac.uk/chr/events/NewSolSeminar.aspx> (accessed 19 November 2013).

Sayers, M. and Follan, E. (2010) *Vulnerable Communities and Community Ownership in Scotland: A review of literature, policy and practice*, Oxford: OXFAM GB, available: http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/policy/right_heard/downloads/community-ownership-071210-en.pdf (accessed 25 November 2011).

Schumacher, E. (1973) *Small is beautiful: a study of economics as if people mattered*, London: Blond and Briggs.

Scott, A., Gilbert, A. and Gelan, A. (2007) *The Urban – Rural Divide: Myth or Reality?* [online], Aberdeen: Macaulay Institute, available: <http://www.macaulay.ac.uk/economics/research/SERPpb2.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Scottish Community Alliance (SCA) (2011a) *Response to the Scottish Government's regeneration discussion paper – Building a Sustainable Future* [online], available (via): <http://www.localpeopleleading.co.uk/> (accessed 23 June 2011 – no longer online).

Scottish Community Alliance (SCA) (2011b) *Community-led regeneration needs investment* [online], available from: <http://www.scottishcommunityalliance.org.uk/policy-talk/policy-articles/1234/> (accessed 28 November 2011).

Scottish Community Alliance (SCA) (2012a) *The People and Communities Fund: stakeholder feedback*, [unpublished consultation response]³²².

Scottish Community Alliance (SCA) (2012b) In advance of local council elections in May 2012: A call to build a new relationship with the community sector, [discussion paper]³²³.

Scottish Community Alliance (SCA) (2012c) *Key principles of community empowerment which should underpin the forthcoming Community Empowerment and Renewal Bill* [online], available: <http://tinder.cazinc.co.uk/t/r-l-huhilyl-jtalunl-o/> (accessed 21 January 2014).

Scottish Community Alliance (SCA) (2013a)³²⁴ Scottish Community Alliance: Local People Leading bulletin [online], available: <http://tinder.cazinc.co.uk/t/ViewEmail/r/5FB1550313A8B0CB2540EF23F30FEDED/A3B76A71CF7E1A86C67FD2F38AC4859C> (accessed 20 January 2014).

Scottish Community Alliance (SCA) (2013b) *£100 and counting ...* [online], available: <http://www.localpeopleleading.co.uk/policy-talk/policy-articles/1604/> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Scottish Community Alliance (SCA) (2013c) *Delivery of Regeneration in Scotland inquiry – Response from Scottish Community Alliance* [online], available (via): <http://www.localpeopleleading.co.uk/policy-talk/consultation-responses/> (accessed 20 January 2014).

Scottish Community Alliance (SCA) (n.d.[a]) *Community Anchor Organisations* [online], available: <http://www.localpeopleleading.co.uk/on-the-ground/anchor-orgs/> (accessed 31 December 2011)

Scottish Community Alliance (SCA) (n.d.[b]) *Scottish Community Alliance: local people leading*: bulletin [online], available: <http://tinder.cazinc.co.uk/t/ViewEmail/r/5FB1550313A8B0CB2540EF23F30FEDED/A3B76A71CF7E1A86C67FD2F38AC4859C> (accessed 14 January 2014).

³²² Note: the document is undated, but the Scottish Government consultation took place in March/April 2012, and, although unpublished, the researcher holds a paper copy.

³²³ Note: was published online via Scottish Community Alliance e-bulletin, circa April 2012, but the researcher can't currently find web-page address; he holds a paper copy.

³²⁴ Note: the web document is undated but the Scottish Community Alliance e-bulletin is recorded as 05.06.2013.

Scottish Community Development Centre (n.d.) *Creetown Initiative* [online], Scottish Community Development Centre, available: <http://www.scdc.org.uk/what/community-led-action-research/scarf/community-facilities/creetown-initiative/> (31 March 2014).

ScottishElections.org.uk (2012) *Glasgow City 2012* [online], ScottishElections.org.uk, available: <http://www.scottishelections.org.uk/scotland/112/glasgowcity.php#southside> (accessed 6 February 2014).

Scottish Executive (2006) *People and Place: Regeneration Policy Statement*, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Scottish Housing Regulator (2013) *Early Impacts of Welfare Reform on Rent Arrears: Research Report* [online], Glasgow: Scottish Housing Regulator, available: http://www.scottishhousingregulator.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/SHR%20Welfare%20Reform%20Survey_Final%20-%20October%202013.pdf (accessed 30 December 2013).

Scottish Government (2007) *Government Economic Strategy* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/202993/0054092.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2008a) *Equally Well: report of the ministerial task group on health inequalities*, Edinburgh: Scotland, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/229649/0062206.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2008b) *Equally Well Implementation Plan*, Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/254248/0075274.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2008c) *Enterprising Third Sector: Action Plan 2008-11* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/228582/0061861.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2008d) *Achieving our Potential: a framework to tackle poverty and inequality in Scotland* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/246055/0069426.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2009a) *Good Practice Guidance for Local Authorities and Community Councils: version 2* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available (via):

<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Government/local-government/CommunityCouncils/GoodPracticeGuidanceVer2> (accessed 23 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2009b) *National Planning Framework for Scotland 2* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/278232/0083591.pdf> (accessed 27 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2010a) *Equally Well Review 2010* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/315880/0100454.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2010b) *Scotland's zero waste plan* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/314168/0099749.pdf> (accessed 20 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2010c) *Scottish Planning Policy* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/300760/0093908.pdf> (accessed 27 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2011a) *Building a Sustainable Future: Regeneration Discussion Paper* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/340876/0113159.pdf> (accessed 16 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2011b) *Achieving a Sustainable Future: Regeneration Strategy* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/364595/0123891.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2011c) *Child Poverty Strategy for Scotland* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/344949/0114783.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2011d) *Homes Fit for the 21st Century: The Scottish Government's Strategy and Action Plan for Housing in the Next Decade: 2011-2020* [online] Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/340696/0112970.pdf> (accessed 17 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2011e) *2020 Routemap for Renewable Energy in Scotland* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/917/0118802.pdf> (accessed 20 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2012) *Consultation on the Proposed Community Empowerment and Renewal Bill* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/0039/00394524.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2013a) *Welfare Reform (Further Provision) (Scotland) Act 2012: Initial Report – 2013* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/0042/00426405.pdf> (accessed 31 December 2013).

Scottish Government (2013b) *Consultation on the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Bill* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/0043/00437584.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2013c) *Scottish Planning Policy: consultation draft* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/0042/00421076.pdf> (accessed 15 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2013d) *Scotland's economy: the case for independence* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/0042/00422987.pdf> (accessed 15 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2013e) *Council tax freeze continues for sixth year in a row* [online], Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2013/02/Counciltaxfreeze21213> (accessed 29 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2014a) *Ambition, Opportunity, Place: Scotland's Third National Planning Framework: proposed* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/0044/00441850.pdf> (accessed 15 January 2014).

Scottish Government (2014b) *Scottish Planning Policy: Scottish Government Position Statement* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/0044/00441852.pdf> (accessed 15 January 2014).

Scottish Government (n.d.[a])³²⁵ *Supporting Social Enterprise* [online], Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/People/15300/SocialEnterprise> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Scottish Government (n.d.[b])³²⁶ *Capital Investment for Regeneration* [online], Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Built-Environment/regeneration/investment> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Scottish Government (n.d.[c]) *People and Communities Fund: Guidance for Applicants* [online], Scottish Government, available (via): <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Built-Environment/regeneration/community/pcf/PCFGuidance> (accessed 17 January 2014).

Scottish Government and COSLA (2007) *Concordat*³²⁷ [online], Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/923/0054147.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014)

Scottish Government and COSLA (2009) *Community: Scottish Community Empowerment Action Plan* [online], Edinburgh: Scottish Government, available: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/264771/0079288.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2012 (SIMD) (2012) *SIMD Results 2012* [online], Scottish Government, available: <http://simd.scotland.gov.uk/publication-2012/simd-2012-results/overall-simd-results/key-findings/> (accessed 23 January 2014).

Scottish Labour (2007) *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto* [online], available: http://www.politicsresources.net/area/uk/ass07/man/scot/Labour_Manifesto_Final.pdf (accessed 15 November 2014).

Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics (SNS) (n.d.) *Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics: Welcome* [online], Scottish Government, available: <http://www.sns.gov.uk/default.aspx> (accessed 29 January 2014).

³²⁵ Note: undated web-material, but the Scottish Government is recorded as making the relevant announcement on 27 March 2012.

³²⁶ Note: this is the home web-page for 'Capital investment for regeneration' with links to three Scottish Government funding sources; information on the Regeneration Capital Grant Fund is reached via the 'Capital Grant Fund' web-page, or directly via: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Built-Environment/regeneration/investment/capitalgrants/rcgf>.

³²⁷ Note: the document is actually untitled but begins "This concordat ..."

Scottish Parliament Public Petitions Committee (2008) *Public Petitions Committee: Tuesday 7th October 2008* [online], Scottish Parliamentary Corporate Body/ RR Donnelly, available: <http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/parliamentarybusiness/28862.aspx?r=3124&mode=pdf> (accessed 3 February 2014).

Scottish Parliament (n.d.) *PE1189* [online], Scottish Parliament, available: <http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/parliamentarybusiness/40023.aspx> (accessed 23 January 2014).

Scottish Planner (2010), *Scottish Planner* [online], Issue 137 October 2010, Royal Town Planning Institute in Scotland, available from: <http://www.rtpi.org.uk/download/10302/Issue-137-101022-Scottish-Planner-Oct-2010-e-version-final.pdf> (accessed 16 November 2010).

Scottish Public Health Observatory (2010) *Health and Wellbeing Profiles 2010: Spine Pack: South Glasgow* [online], Edinburgh: ScotPHO (Scottish Public Health Observatory) Team, available: <http://www.scotpho.org.uk/web/FILES/Profiles/2010/South%20Glasgow%20spine%20chart%20pack.pdf> (accessed 2 December 2013).

Scottish Urban Regeneration Forum (2011a) *Delivering Community Regeneration in Hard Times* [online], Scottish Urban Regeneration Forum, available: <http://www.scotregen.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/2011-Manifesto.pdf> (accessed 13 November 2013).

Scottish Urban Regeneration Forum (2011b) *A SURF response to the Scottish Government Regeneration Discussion Paper: Building a Sustainable Future* [online], Scottish Urban Regeneration Forum, available: <http://www.scotregen.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/SURF-Response-Regeneration-Discussion-Paper-June-2011.pdf> (accessed 17 January 2014).

Scottish Urban Regeneration Forum (2012) *Community Empowerment and Renewal Bill: SURF consultation response* [online], Scottish Urban Regeneration Forum, available: http://www.scotregen.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/SURF_SCOTCERB_Response.pdf (accessed 14 January 2014).

Scottish Urban Regeneration Forum (2013) *The Delivery of Regeneration in Scotland* [online], Scottish Urban Regeneration Forum, available: <http://www.scotregen.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/SURF-Response-to-Delivery-of-Regeneration-in-Scotland-inquiry.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Seaman, P. and Lyon, A. (2008) *For a Resilient City: Insights from a Civic Conversation in Glasgow* [online], Glasgow: Glasgow Centre for Population Health, available: http://www.gcph.co.uk/assets/0000/0432/Civic_Conversation_v_250609_final_report.pdf (accessed 20 January 2014).

Seal, Mike (2008) 'Saul Alinsky, community organizing and rules for radicals' [online], *the encyclopaedia of informal education*, available: www.infed.org/thinkers/alinsky.htm (accessed 15 January 2014).

Seale, C. (1999) 'Quality in Qualitative Research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, December 1999, vol. 5, no. 4, 465-478.

Sheppard, E. (2009) 'Political economy' in Gregory, D., Johnston, R., Pratt, G. Watts, M.J., and Whatmore, S., eds. *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 5th ed., Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 547-549.

Sherraden, M. (1991) *Assets and the Poor: A New American Welfare Policy*, Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Shetland Charitable Trust (n.d.) *History of Shetland Charitable Trust* [online], Shetland Charitable Trust, available: <http://www.shetlandcharitabletrust.co.uk/history-of-shetland-charitable-trust> (accessed 24 January 2014).

Shetland Islands Council (2006) *Deprivation and Social Exclusion in Shetland: Executive Summary* [online], available: <http://www.shetland.gov.uk/communityplanning/documents/Dep.andsocialexclusionexecsummary-eperring.pdf> (accessed 23 December 2013).

Shetland Islands Council (2011a) *Shetland in Statistics* [online], Lerwick: Shetland Island Council (Economic Development Unit), available: http://www.shetland.gov.uk/economic_development/documents/29523statisticpages_001.pdf (accessed 29 January 2014).

Shetland Islands Council (2011b) *Fairer Shetland: a framework for tackling poverty, deprivation and social exclusion in Shetland* [online], available: http://www.shetland.gov.uk/communityplanning/documents/Framework_FINAL201112.pdf (accessed 10 December 2013).

Shetland Islands Council (2011c [2009]) *Shetland Community Regeneration Policy [online]*, available: no longer available online³²⁸

Shetland Islands Council (2012) *Shetland Local Development Plan 2012 [online]*, available: http://www.shetland.gov.uk/planning/documents/ShetlandLocalDevelopmentPlanv22FORMATTED28-11-12_000.pdf (accessed 10 December 2013).

Shetland Islands Council (n.d. [a])³²⁹ *Shetland Local Plan: Northmaven Community Council Area Statement [online]*, available: <http://www.shetland.gov.uk/developmentplans/documents/NorthmavenCommunityStatement.pdf> (accessed 9 December 2013).

Shetland Islands Council (n.d. [b])³³⁰ *North Mainland Community Profile [online]*, available: no longer available.³³¹

Shetland Times (2013) 'Blueshell Mussels expansion aided by £150,000 investment' [online], *Shetland Times* (22 October 2013), available: <http://www.shetlandtimes.co.uk/2013/10/22/blueshell-mussels-expansion-aided-by-150000-investment/> (accessed 9 December 2013)

Shucksmith, M. (2012) *Future Directions in Rural Development [online]*, Dunfermline: Carnegie UK Trust, available: <http://www.carnegieuktrust.org.uk/CMSPages/GetFile.aspx?guid=545a7523-4da8-4ff7-95e6-dd912abc6373> (accessed 26 November 2013).

Silverman, D. (2005) *Doing Qualitative Research: a practical handbook*, 2nd ed., London: SAGE Publications.

³²⁸ Note: this document had been available as a committee paper on Shetland Islands Council Information web-pages at: <http://www.shetland.gov.uk/coins/default.asp>. The researcher holds a copy kindly provided by SIC Economic Development Unit. The Policy document was originally agreed in 2009, and was then revised in 2011.

³²⁹ Note: although this element of the Shetland Local Plan is undated, the associated web-page indicates it was published in 2006; view via: <http://www.shetland.gov.uk/developmentplans/LocalPlanContents.asp>

³³⁰ Note: material included within the profile document indicates that it was published during 2006 or shortly after.

³³¹ Note: researcher retains an electronic copy of this document even though it is no longer available online.

Skerratt, S. (2011) *Community land ownership and community resilience* [online], Rural Policy Centre at the Scottish Agricultural College, available:

http://www.sruc.ac.uk/downloads/file/16/community_land_ownership_and_community_resilience-full_report_low_resolution (accessed 19 November 2013).

Skerratt, S., Atterton, J., Hall, C., McCracken, D., Renwick, A., Revoredo-Giha, C., Steinerowski, A., Thomson, S., Woolvin, M., Farrington, J. and Heesen, F. (2012) *Rural Scotland in Focus 2012* [online], Edinburgh: Rural Policy Centre, Scottish Agricultural College, available:

http://www.sruc.ac.uk/downloads/file/470/rural_scotland_in_focus_2012_web_version (accessed 3 December 2013).

Skeffington Report (1969) *People and Planning*, London: HMSO.

Slim, H. and Thompson, P. (1993) *Listening for a Change: oral testimony and development*, London: Panos Publications Ltd.

Smith, M.K. (2001a)³³² ‘Chris Argyris: theories of action, double-loop learning and organisational learning’ [online], *the encyclopaedia of informal education*, available: <http://infed.org/mobi/chris-argyris-theories-of-action-double-loop-learning-and-organizational-learning/> (accessed 31 January 2014).

Smith, M.K. (2001b) ‘Communitarianism and education’ [online], *the encyclopaedia of informal education*, available: <http://www.infed.org/biblio/communitarianism.htm> (accessed 7 January 2014).

Smith, M. K. (2011) ‘Ivan Illich: de-schooling, conviviality and the possibilities for informal education and lifelong learning’ [online], *the encyclopaedia of informal education*, available: <http://www.infed.org/thinkers/et-illic.htm> (accessed 15 January 2014).

Sneddon Economics Ltd (2010) *Community Survey Report: Northmavine, 20th July 2010*, [unpublished report]³³³ Highlands and Islands Enterprise.

SNP (Scottish National Party) (2007) *Manifesto 2007* [online], SNP, available: <http://www.politicsresources.net/area/uk/ass07/man/scot/snp.pdf> (accessed 14 January 2014).

³³² Note: Smith would seem to have updated this material since Ridley-Duff & Bull’s (2011) citation of his work, and it is now dated as (2001, 2013).

³³³ Note: the researcher holds a copy kindly provided by NCDC.

Social Audit Network (n.d.)³³⁴ *Who we are* [online], Social Audit Network available: <http://www.socialauditnetwork.org.uk/about-us/> (accessed 27 January 2014).

Social Enterprise UK (2012) *Public Services (Social Value) Act 2012* [online], London: Social Enterprise UK, available: http://www.socialenterprise.org.uk/uploads/files/2012/03/public_services_act_2012_a_brief_guide_web_version_final.pdf (accessed 13 January 2014).

Social Entrepreneurs Network Scotland (Senscot) (2012a) *The Code: Voluntary Code of Practice for Social Enterprise in Scotland* [online], Social Entrepreneurs Network Scotland, available: <http://senscot.org/docs/VoluntaryCodeofPractice.pdf> (accessed 16 January 2014).

Social Entrepreneurs Network Scotland (Senscot) (2012b) *Social Investment in Scotland: a discussion paper* [online], Social Entrepreneurs Network Scotland, available: http://www.senscot.net/view_art.php?viewid=12660 (accessed 16 January 2014).

Social Entrepreneurs Network Scotland (Senscot) (2012c) *Senscot bulletin: 13.04.12* [online], Social Entrepreneurs Network Scotland, available: http://www.senscot.net/print_art.php?viewid=12197 (accessed 20 January 2014).

Social Entrepreneurs Network Scotland (Senscot) (2013) *Scottish Community Bank Trust report: July 2013* [online], Social Entrepreneurs Network Scotland, available: http://www.senscot.net/view_art.php?viewid=16013 (accessed 15 January 2015).

Social Research Association (2003) *Ethical Guidelines* [online], Social Research Association, available: <http://the-sra.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/ethics03.pdf> (accessed 7 January 2014).

Social Return on Investment Network (2012) *A Guide to Social Return on Investment: January 2012* [online], Social Return on Investment Network, available: http://www.thesroinetwork.org/publications/cat_view/29-the-sroi-guide/223-the-guide-in-english-2012-edition (accessed 20 January 2014).

Soteri-Proctor, A. (2012) *Little Big Societies: micro-mapping of organisations operating below the radar* [online], Birmingham: Third Sector Research Centre, available: <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tsrc/documents/tsrc/working-papers/working-paper-71.pdf> (accessed 8 January 2014).

³³⁴ Note: publication date not given, but the Social Auditing Network website was established in 2011.

Spittal, F. (2012) *People & Communities Fund* [online], Social Entrepreneurs Network Scotland³³⁵, available: http://www.senscot.net/view_art.php?viewid=12798 (accessed 17 January 2014).

Stacey, M. (1969) 'The myth of community studies', *British Journal of Sociology*, 20(2), 134-147.

Stake, R. (1995) *The Art of Case Study Research*, London: SAGE Publications.

Stewart, C. (2012) 'Big Noise Orchestra is lined up for new spot in Glasgow' [online], *Evening Times*, 21 September 2012, available: <http://www.eveningtimes.co.uk/news/big-noise-orchestra-is-lined-up-for-new-spot-in-glasgow.18934035> (accessed 23 January 2014).

Sustainable Shetland (n.d.) *Sustainable Shetland* [online] Sustainable Shetland, available: <http://www.sustainableschetland.org/about.htm> (accessed 6 February 2014).

Tallis, R. (2013) 'Introduction', in Davis, J. and Tallis, R., eds. *NHS SOS: How the NHS was betrayed – and how we can save it*, London: Oneworld Publications, 1-16.

Tarling, R., Hirst, A., Rowland, B., Rhodes, J. and Tyler, P. (1999) *An Evaluation of the New Life for Urban Scotland Initiative: research findings* [online], available from: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/1999/10/bcbfcd4d-e692-4001-a5a9-aa74ec5d5d2d> (accessed 13 January 2014).

Taylor, P. (2006) *Healthy Communities: A Shared Challenge: Final Report of the Community-led Supporting and Developing Healthy Communities Task Group* [online], Edinburgh/Glasgow: NHS Health Scotland, available: <http://www.healthscotland.com/uploads/documents/2880-HealthyCommunities%20TaskGroup.pdf> (accessed 13 January 2014).

Thake, S. (1995) *The Effect of Community Regeneration Organisations on Neighbourhood Regeneration: Housing Summary 10: October 1995* [online], York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, available: <http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/h10.pdf> (accessed 28 April 2011).

Thake, S. (2001) *Building Communities Changing Lives: the contribution of large, independent neighbourhood regeneration organisations* [online], York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation/York

³³⁵ Note: originally published as a blog on the Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisation's website.

Publishing Services Ltd, available: <http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/1842631446.pdf> (accessed 19 November 2013).

Thake, S. (2003) *Primed for Growth: Adventure Capital Fund Baseline Report*, London: New Economics Foundation.

Thake, S. (2006) *Community Assets: The Benefits and Costs of Community Management and Ownership* [online], London: Department of Communities and Local Government Publications, available: <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120919132719/http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/communities/pdf/151999.pdf> (accessed 19 November 2013).

Thake, S. (2009) *A New Settlement for the Community Sector* [Presentation] [online], TAB Centre, London, UK, 4 June 2009, University of East London, available from: <http://www.uel.ac.uk/cis/documents/CommunityAnchorsStephenThake.pdf> (Accessed 10 May 2011).

The Jimmy Reid Foundation (2013) *The Common Weal: a model for economic and social development in Scotland* [online], Biggar: The Jimmy Reid Foundation, available: <http://reidfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/The-Common-Weal.pdf> (accessed 2 December 2013).

The Ownership Commission (2012) *Plurality, Stewardship and Engagement: the report of The Ownership Commission: March 2012* [online], Borehamwood: Mutuo, available: http://www.ownershipcomm.org/files/ownership_commission_2012.pdf (accessed 2 December 2013).

The Poverty Truth Commission Scotland (n.d.) *The Poverty Truth Commission Scotland*, The Poverty Truth Commission Scotland, available: <http://www.povertytruthcommission.org/> (accessed 22 January 2014).

Third Force News (2013) 'More action needed on living wage' [online], *Third Force News* (7 November), Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations, available: <http://www.thirdforcenews.org.uk/2013/11/more-action-needed-on-living-wage/> (accessed 3 December 2013).

Thomas, S.A. (1999) *Multiculturalism in practice: a study of Govanhill, Glasgow* [online], PhD thesis: University of Glasgow, available: <http://theses.gla.ac.uk/4414/> (accessed 2 December 2013).

Thompson, J. (2001) *Rerooting lifelong learning: resourcing neighbourhood renewal*, Leicester: the National Institute for Adult Continuing Education (England and Wales).

Thomson, G. (2014) '500 apply for just 11 new jobs in city supermarket', *Evening News*, 21 January 2014, available: <http://www.eveningtimes.co.uk/mobile/news/500-apply-for-just-11-jobs-in-citys-new-supermarket-148988n.23229808> (accessed 27 January 2014).

Thomson, H., Morrison, D. and Petticrew, M. (2007) 'The health impacts of housing-led regeneration: a prospective controlled study' [online], *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 61, 211–214, available: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2652910/pdf/211.pdf> (accessed 27 January 2014).

Trebeck, K and Stuart, F. (2013) *Our Economy: Towards a New Prosperity* [online], Oxford: Oxfam GB, available: <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/our-economy-towards-a-new-prosperity-294239> (accessed 21 January 2014).

Viking Energy (n.d.) *The Project* [online], Viking Energy, available: <http://www.vikingenergy.co.uk/the-project> (accessed 6 February 2014).

Wadhams, C., Carter, M., and Coburn, J. (2011) *Working for Communities – experiences from partnerships, transforming neighbourhoods* [online], London: Housing Associations Charitable Trust, available: <http://hact.org.uk/sites/default/files/uploads/Archives/2011/11/A5-T-for-C-web.pdf> (accessed 20 January 2014).

Walker, A., Johns, T., Hardie, A., Dawson, J., Burns, B. (2010) *A Guide for Community Groups on Investing for Community Benefit: a report for Community Energy Scotland and the Scottish Community Foundation* [online], Edinburgh: The Pool (Development Trust Association Scotland), available: <http://www.communityenergyscotland.org.uk/userfiles/file/Investing%20for%20Community%20Benefit/Investing%20for%20Community%20Benefit.pdf> (accessed 28 November 2011).

Waterhouse, P. and Scott, M. (2013) *Here We Stand: Inquiry into local activism and dissent*, National Coalition for Independent Action, available:

<http://www.ioe.mmu.ac.uk/caec/docs/NCIA%20Here%20We%20Stand.pdf> (accessed 23 January 2014).

Weaver, M. (2009) *Principles, paradigms and practice as barriers to 'sustainable independence' for community anchors* [online], University of East London, available: <http://www.uel.ac.uk/cis/documents/CommunityAnchorsMaxWeaver.pdf> (accessed 19 November 2013).

Wenger, E. (1999 [1998]) *Communities of Practice: Learning, meaning and identity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Westbrook, S. (2011) *North Roe Primary School: Socio-economic study: a report for Shetland Islands Council* [online], available: <http://www.shetland.gov.uk/education/documents/H-Socio-Economic.pdf> (accessed 10 December 2013).

White, L. (2002) 'Connection matters: exploring the implications of social capital and social networks for social policy', *Systems Research and Behavioural Science*, 19: 255-69.

Wightman, A (2011) *Land Reform: the way ahead* [online]. Edinburgh: Scottish Community Alliance, available: http://www.andywightman.com/docs/lrap_review_FINAL3.pdf (accessed 28 November 2011).

Wilding, N. (2011) *Exploring community resilience in times of rapid change* [online], Dunfermline: Fiery Spirits Community of Practice, supported by Carnegie UK Trust, available: <http://carnegieuktrust.org.uk/CMSPages/GetFile.aspx?guid=75a9e0c4-8d75-4acb-afac-6b1cbd6f2c1e> (accessed 15 January 2014).

Wilkinson, R. (1996) *Unhealthy Societies: The Afflictions of Inequality*, London: Routledge.

Wilkinson, R. and Pickett, K. (2009) *The Spirit Level: Why more equal societies almost always do better*, London: Allen Lane, Penguin Group.

Williams, Z. (2012) *Shadow State: A report about the outsourcing of public services* [online], London: Social Enterprise UK, available: http://www.socialenterprise.org.uk/uploads/files/2012/12/the_shadow_state_3_dec1.pdf (accessed 13 January 2014).

Woodin, T., Crook, D., and Carpentier, V. (2010) *Community and Mutual Ownership* [online], York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, available: <http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/community-mutual-ownership-full.pdf> (accessed 19 November 2013).

Woolcock, M. and Sweetser A.T (2002) Bright Ideas: Social Capital—The bonds that connect. *Asian Development Bank Review* 34 (2) 26-27.

Wyler, S. (2009) *A History of Community Asset Ownership* [online], London: Development Trust Association, available: <http://www.dta.org.uk/resources/publications/historyofcomassets> (accessed 14 April 2011).

Wyler, S. and Blond, P. (2010) *To Buy, to Bid, to Build: Community Rights for an Asset Owning Democracy* [online], London: NESTA and ResPublica, available: http://www.respublica.org.uk/documents/rri_To%20Buy%20To%20Bid%20To%20Build.pdf (accessed 13 January 2014).

Wyler, S. (2011a) 'Building the Big Society: Solid Foundations or Shifting Sands', in Stott, M., ed., *The Big Society Challenge*, Thetford, Norfolk (UK): Keystone Development Trust Publications, 36-42.

Wyler, S. (2011b) *A New Moral World: the lost socialism* [online], Locality, available: http://locality.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/A-New-Moral-World_Steve-Wyler.pdf (accessed 1 February 2014).

Wyler, S. (2012) *Nudge theory* [online], Locality, available: <http://locality.org.uk/blog/5815/> (accessed 14 January 2014).

Wyler, S. (2013) *A powerful engine with its pieces lying about on the floor* [online], Locality, available: http://hosted.verticalresponse.com/907123/1d09d9589c/TEST/TEST/%7BVR_HOSTED_LINK%7D (accessed 14 January 2014).

Yin, R. (2009) *Case Study Research: design and methods*, 4th. ed., London: SAGE Ltd.