

# A Red Road to Regeneration for Scotland?

A Common Weal Approach to Urban  
Regeneration

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# Contents

4

Red Road Revulsion

4

What is Regeneration?

6

Scale of the Challenge

7

Understanding the Failure of  
Regeneration in Scotland

8

Returning to Red Road: Can  
Redirection follow Reversal?

9

Five Common Weal Principles  
for Regeneration

11

Thinking Small is thinking Big:  
Rethinking Regeneration

14

Appendix 1

16

Appendix 2

18

End Notes

# A Red Road to Regeneration in Scotland?

## A Common Weal Approach to Urban Regeneration

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# A Red Road to Regeneration in Scotland?

## A Common Weal Approach to Urban Regeneration

### Red Road Revulsion

On the 3rd of April 2014, the media machine of the Glasgow Commonwealth Games issued a press release to the title of *'Dramatic end of Red Road creates bold symbol for Games' celebration of city rebirth.*(1) Within ten days, the proposal to feature the live demolition of five unoccupied blocks of flats in the north east of Glasgow, which had already been earmarked for dismantling in 2014-15, as part of the Games' Opening Ceremony had been dropped,(2) following an online petition that attracted over 17,000 signatories.(3)(4)

Regeneration rarely enthuses, enrages or engages the national consciousness. More typically, regeneration is a local concern, focused on a particular neighbourhood or locality, initiated or directed by some extra-local regional or municipal agency, working to achieve some overarching national objective. Regeneration defines what has been 'degenerated', in order for a clearly specified programme of 'regeneration' to take place, in its' place. In some respects, Red Road was different. Although a £60million programme of regeneration is envisaged over the next ten years for the area of which it is part,(5) the 'degeneration' was to be promoted as a public spectacle to showcase the wider city and its' direction of travel. The extent to which the backlash to Red Road marks a turning point that opens up the possibility of an alternative Common Weal future for regeneration in Scotland is considered in this paper.

Over the years, there has been no shortage of attempts to regenerate disadvantaged areas in Scotland and there has been no shortage of areas that have been candidates for regeneration. However, in sharp contrast to the ever-changing complexion of regeneration strategies and initiatives is the stubborn persistence of particular Scottish neighbourhoods and localities within each list of those places that are deemed to be in need of regeneration.

In this paper, at the outset, regeneration is defined and the ways in which regeneration has been pursued in Scotland, past and present, are described (What is Regeneration?), before moving on to consider the evidence of multi-dimensional problems in place. The scale of economic, social and environmental challenges facing many localities in Scotland is indicative that regeneration matters,

both to particular localities and to Scotland as a whole (Scale of the Challenge). However, it is important to exercise caution when reflecting on this evidence. In theory, the need for regeneration strategies need not necessarily signify a national problem or a failing of earlier approaches to regeneration. On the other hand, in reality, the enduring status of the Raplochs, Riddries, Craigneuks, Easterhouses, Lincludens, Whitfields, Torrys and the like among Scotland's most disadvantaged areas is suggestive of the need for a bolder approach (Understanding the Failure of Regeneration in Scotland).

### Red Road indicates that not all is well with regeneration in Scotland.

Having reviewed and critiqued the landscape of regeneration in contemporary Scotland, attention returns to Red Road and the lessons that can be learned from those ten days in the spotlight in the Spring of 2014 (Returning to Red Road: Can redirection follow reversal?). Red Road indicates that not all is well with regeneration in Scotland. It is argued that, regeneration in Scotland should take a different tack; an approach is proposed that is grounded in Common Weal principles (Principles for Regenerating Scotland's Disadvantaged Communities). Finally, by way of conclusion, these principles are articulated as concrete strategies and priorities, each of which reflects a concern with the 'undervalued everyday' that makes a tangible difference to the quality of lives as lived in the here-and-now (Thinking Small is Thinking Big: Rethinking regeneration).

### What is Regeneration?

The Scottish Government currently defines regeneration as "the holistic process of reversing the economic, physical and social decline of places where market forces alone won't suffice".(6)(7) Its' regeneration vision is for "a Scotland where our most disadvantaged communities are supported and where all places are sustainable and promote well-being".(8) In short,

regeneration is about dealing with places that are deemed not to be working.

A concern with regeneration is not unique to Scotland. Wales has its Vibrant and Viable Places regeneration framework,(9) the Department for Social Development has responsibility for urban regeneration in Northern Ireland,(10) while the Homes and Communities Agency is responsible for overseeing community-led development(11) and regeneration projects(12) in England. Neither is regeneration a UK pre-occupation: throughout Europe, for example, cities, nations and EU institutions are grappling with the challenges of reinvigorating deprived neighbourhoods.(13)(14) Indeed, the European context is significant for understanding regeneration in Scotland, as this can shape the parameters of regeneration in Scotland when it is funded or co-funded by these European monies.

Notwithstanding external influences, changing priorities and changing responsibilities within government have reshaped Scotland's regeneration landscape through time. Much of the concern for much of the 20th Century was with the provision of adequate housing in new communities on a large scale (New Towns, peripheral housing estates). The key focus of regeneration gradually shifted from place-creation to place-reinvigoration from the late 1960s. For a brief period in the early 1980s, there was a greater focus on commercial and economic regeneration through the mechanism of Enterprise Zones. (15) Since then, successive approaches have pursued a more holistic approach to regeneration (New Life for Urban Scotland, Social Inclusion Partnerships and Community Planning Partnerships). Although Urban Regeneration Companies remain part of the regeneration landscape in Scotland(16), they purport to share this holistic focus.

## The criticisms were more potent as a result of the importance with which regeneration was regarded by the Inquiry.

Achieving a Sustainable Future(17) was published at the end of 2011, following consultation in response to Building a Sustainable Future,(18) the discussion paper that was published earlier in that year. By admission, it was not a radical document; the Foreword by the Cabinet Secretary stating that "this Strategy does not seek to radically change viable development models, but instead looks to build on previous success and encourage innovative ways of working where this can support progress". (19) Regeneration is positioned in terms of the contribution it makes to achieve the overarching National Purpose, with particular recognition accorded to its contribution toward the achievement of the Solidarity (reducing inequality) and Cohesion (reducing regional disparity) Purpose Targets.(20) The vision is one in which "disadvantaged communities are supported and where all places are sustainable and promote well-being",(21) with outcomes articulated to achieve economically, physically and socially sustainable communities.(22) The

multi-dimensional (holistic) and multi-agency approach that is envisaged lends itself to a strong focus on place.(23)

Early in 2014, the Local Government and Regeneration Committee of the Scottish Parliament published the results of their twelve month inquiry into the 'best practice and limitations of the delivery of regeneration in Scotland'.(24) Although acknowledging the success of specific regeneration-focused interventions, the tenor of the conclusions was critical of the Regeneration Strategy and, in particular, the work of Government: the Foreword to the report makes it clear that the Committee was "... disappointed in the lack of central responsibility for oversight and co-ordination of regeneration activity and consider there to be a key role for Government in driving this forward".(25) Among the most significant of the many substantive concerns that were raised were that the Strategy and regeneration work exhibited: (i) an unhelpful preoccupation with place, rather than a sharp focus on people's experiences within the Most Deprived areas; (ii) inadequate community involvement from the earliest stages in developments; and (iii) no sense of the 'added value' of regeneration; the Strategy, for example, was criticised for simply listing contributing policies and stating their importance for regeneration. The critical nature of the Inquiry's findings was not indicative of scepticism toward regeneration per se. On the contrary, the criticisms were more potent as a result of the importance with which regeneration was regarded by the Inquiry. The report was equally concerned to signpost the direction for future regeneration work – the need to shift more funding to 'grassroots' organisations, the importance of Community Planning Partnerships as the main vehicle for delivering regeneration, the key role of Scottish Government in overseeing regeneration at the 'national' scale, and the like were all acknowledged.

Important as the Scottish Government's Regeneration Strategy is, it should also be recognised that other bodies are pursuing a strategic approach to regeneration across Scotland. Some of this work is inextricably linked to the Scottish Government, while pursuing their organisations' own missions. For example, the Coalfields Regeneration Trust(26) in Scotland is funded by the Scottish Government, particularly to contribute to its' goal of addressing worklessness. Working to a mission to "champion coalfield communities, generate resources to respond to their needs and deliver programmes that make a positive and lasting difference", the Trust has invested over £21million in 89 coalfield communities in 13 local authorities across central and southern Scotland. More recently, in 2011 the Church of Scotland launched Chance to Thrive(27) a five year programme that it describes as a "radical partnership regeneration programme". This work is directed at eight communities in Cranhill, Maryhill, Tron St Marys, Castlemilk and Drumchapel (Glasgow) Raploch (Stirling), Lochee (Dundee) and Chalmers (Larkhall). With a focus on people, spaces and buildings, this programme uses a five treasures framework (human, social, economic, cultural and physical). The first year evaluation report concluded that 'Chance to Thrive' was "giving a boost of enthusiasm and focus to congregations who were already motivated to make a real difference to their community".(28)

Although there is currently a mood for much more decentralisation in regeneration activity in Scotland and although other agencies are promoting their regeneration agendas, a key role is still envisaged for the local and national State in overseeing regeneration and facilitating community involvement. As the Local Government and Regeneration Committee report of 2014 demonstrates, regeneration is an activity worth pursuing.

## Scale of the Challenge

The enduring persistence of poverty and deprivation in particular neighbourhoods is a feature of every town and city in Scotland. Although examples of transformed environments can be cited, and should be celebrated, these are atypical outliers, rather than indicative cases of the impact of regeneration in Scotland. To our everyday local knowledge, through which we can identify local neighbourhoods with entrenched problems, is an equally powerful objective evidence-base that conveys the scale and nature of the challenge facing Scotland's most deprived areas.

This powerful evidence base stretches back to the early 1970s when UK Census data were used to identify the areas in which multiple disadvantages were particularly prevalent. Urban Deprivation(29), a seminal publication of Strathclyde Regional Council, drew upon social indicators from the 1971 UK census to identify 114 Areas for Priority Treatment (APTs) in the west of Scotland. Many of these areas continue to feature prominently in contemporary rankings of Scotland's Most Deprived Areas, e.g. Ardeer (Stevenston, North Ayrshire), Whitehill (Hamilton, South Lanarkshire), Bonhill (West Dunbartonshire), Gibbshill (Greenock, Inverclyde) and many estates within Glasgow.

Ferguslie Park in Paisley was identified as an APT. It is reported in Urban Deprivation that 22 of the 25 Census Enumeration Districts in Ferguslie Park featured among the worst 5-10% on key indicators then used by the Scottish Development Department to indicate area disadvantage. A broader set of indicators were also used to "... highlight the severity of conditions" in the neighbourhood, with for example 22% male unemployment, 25% unskilled persons, low car ownership (11%) and 97% with no educational qualifications. Relatively speaking, it was graded in the group of deprived areas that were the 'worst of the worst' on both sets of indicators. Forty years further on and Ferguslie Park still ranks among the very most deprived of Scotland's Most Deprived Areas, despite being the focus of a succession of area-based regeneration initiatives, such as being one of the twelve Community Development Projects of the UK Home Office (1969-1977), one of Strathclyde Regional Council's APTs (1976-1994), one of the four neighbourhoods that were the focus of New Life for Urban Scotland (Ferguslie Park Partnership, 1988-1999) and an integral part – with ring-fenced funding – of the wider Paisley Social Inclusion

Partnership (1999-2007). Successive regeneration initiatives have failed even to improve Ferguslie Park's standing among deprived areas, let alone overcome the problems encountered within. (30)

Today, the evidence base for identifying multiply deprived areas is much improved. Since 2004, the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) has been charting the micro-geography of disadvantage across Scotland. In essence, SIMD provides a relative assessment, charting how particular datazones(31) fare in relation to others. It is less concerned with actual improvements (or worsening conditions), although it has some limited analytical potential in this regard. It is, however, an excellent resource for assessing the extent to which multiple deprivation is more (or less) characteristic of some places, rather than others. With four iterations of the SIMD published since 2004 (2006, 2009 and 2012 – a fifth is planned for 2015), it provides the means to assess the persistence of multiple deprivation in particular areas.

## The evidence of persistent disadvantage is damning.

The evidence of persistent disadvantage is damning. 85% of the areas that were judged to be the 'Most Deprived 5%' of areas in 2009 were still considered to be in this group in 2012.(32) Most of the others that were among the very most deprived in 2009 had only shifted into the '10% Most Deprived' group in 2012, with only two of the 325 'Most Deprived 5%' of datazones in 2009 improving sufficiently to move beyond the '15% Most Deprived' in 2012, which is generally used as the threshold to define a 'multiply deprived' area in Scotland. While it might be argued that to find areas occupying the same SIMD banding in 2009 and 2012 is unremarkable, it is the extent to which there is persistence in the very Most Deprived areas that is truly significant. Compared with the 85% that languished in the Most Deprived 5%, typically, only 45% of datazones remained in the same band (vigintile) between 2009 and 2012.(33)

To what extent is the persistence of disadvantage evident across Scotland? In Appendix 1 (see pages 15 & 16) the changing fortunes of the datazone that was judged in 2012 to be the 'Most Deprived' in each of Scotland's 32 local authority areas are documented. Descriptive labels for each datazone are provided in terms of the wider neighbourhood of which they are part (column one). The table provides evidence of the changing fortunes from 2004 through 2012 for each of these areas in terms of (i) its Local Rank, i.e. its standing relative to other datazones in the same local authority, where 1=most deprived; (ii) National Rank, i.e. its standing, relative to all other datazones in Scotland, where 1=most deprived and a rank equal to 976 is considered to be the marker of one of Scotland's Most Deprived (15%) Areas; (iii) Vigintile to which it belongs, where 1 = '5% Most Deprived', 2 = '6-10% Most Deprived' and 3 = '11-15% Most Deprived' and so on; and (iv) the actual percentage of people in the area who were judged to be 'income deprived'.

The persistence of area disadvantage is evident across the length and breadth of Scotland. In almost two-thirds of Scottish local authorities the 'Most Deprived' datazone in 2009, retained that status in 2012, while in almost one third of areas, the same datazone has been the 'Most Deprived' in its local authority from 2004, through 2006 and 2009, to 2012. Enduring deprivation is particularly characteristic of two of these areas; one part of Possilpark in north east Glasgow has never been out of the five 'Most Deprived' datazones in Scotland, while one part of Ferguslie Park in Paisley, Renfrewshire has either been the Most or second Most Deprived datazone in Scotland since 2006.

Although there is undoubtedly an urban dimension to multiple deprivation in Scotland – evidenced in Appendix 1 with much lower rankings (equating to relatively higher overall deprivation) for the most deprived areas in urban compared to rural (and particularly island) local authorities – this is not to suggest that there is an absence of deprivation in primarily rural authorities.<sup>(34)</sup> For example, one part of Merkinch in Inverness has been among the most 100 deprived areas in Scotland since 2004.

These numbers of relative standing are not merely statistical artefacts. As the last four columns of Appendix 1 demonstrate, these relative rankings reflect the depth of enduring challenges that are faced in these localities. Notwithstanding some dramatic reductions in the proportion of residents who are judged to be income deprived (e.g. falling from 81% in 2004 to 53% in 2012 for one part of Ferguslie Park), the key conclusion to be drawn from these data are that substantial proportions of people in Scotland's Most Deprived Areas have an income that impairs their ability to eke out comfort in their lives.

## Substantial proportions of people in Scotland's Most Deprived Areas have an income that impairs their ability to eke out comfort in their lives.

Appendix 2 (see pages 17 & 18) summarises the fortunes of one of these datazones in greater detail. Notwithstanding the difficulties in using SIMD to appraise absolute change through time, the appendix uses SIMD evidence to reflect on the Most Deprived datazone in North Lanarkshire in 2012. Through successive iterations of SIMD, the status of this datazone in the neighbourhood of Craigneuk in Wishaw has progressively worsened from the 73rd Most Deprived in Scotland in 2004, through 27th (2006) and 15th (2009) to the 9th Most Deprived datazone in Scotland in 2012.

As might be expected from an area whose relative status has weakened, there is evidence of conditions worsening in Craigneuk over the last decade. Crime counts have increased (more than doubled), the proportion of the population esti-

mated to be being prescribed drugs for anxiety, depression or psychosis has increased, as have hospital stays as a result of alcohol misuse. Yet there has also been signs of improvement and success since 2004; there has been a significant reduction in the proportion of people who are income deprived, the proportion of young people who are not in employment, education or training has reduced, and there are signs of improving performance of school pupils. For most other indicators, performance has fluctuated but not altered dramatically through time (e.g. although falling to 29% in 2009, the proportion of employment deprived people returned to its 2004 proportion of 34% in 2012), or there has been a mix of fortunes (e.g. the time taken to travel by public transport to retail centres has increased, while the time taken to travel to a GP has fallen).

The scale of the challenge – in this part of Craigneuk, as with many of Scotland's Most Deprived neighbourhoods – remains stark, although complex patterns of change can be discerned on closer analysis.

## Understanding the Failure of Regeneration in Scotland

In recognising the depth of problems and their persistence in particular places, there is a risk that simplistic conclusions are drawn, such as 'regeneration is not working' or 'regeneration is not happening' in Scotland. Although not intuitively lacking credibility, it is unhelpful to consider regeneration to have been an outright failure.

First, in theory, it might be contended that the need for regeneration is not, per se, indicative of national failure. Change may be lamented by those whose sense of purpose, identity or well-being was welded to the past that has passed, but change happens. Regeneration should be the transition mechanism through which places (and their people) are assisted with the transformation from one socio-economic state to another. What is often disconcerting is that the collective solidity of the past (the mining community, the fishing village, the neighbourhood in the shadow of the shipyard) is less readily apparent in the future that lies ahead. Although premature demise – particularly that instigated for ulterior political motives, or exploitative economic gain – should be contested, change should not be feared. Glasgow's shift to a post-industrial future and a service-sector economy is no less a failing than its' previous transformations away from a small rural settlement at a crossing point in the River Clyde, an ecclesiastical centre, mercantile centre and industrial powerhouse. Regeneration should not be understood as a means to deal with the failure of the past; rather, it should be conceived as the means through which to usher in a brighter future.

Second, in practice, there is much evidence of successful regeneration work in Scotland. Every year since 1999, the

Scottish Urban Regeneration Forum (SURF)(35) has gathered to celebrate the achievements of those involved in community regeneration in Scotland. According to their annual Awards Publication, over 750 projects have been nominated since the inception of these SURF awards,(36) from an organisation currently comprising over 250 member organisations. In 2013 over fifty projects were nominated for awards, with fifteen short-listed.(37) The award winners were, Orkney Micro Renewables Community Interest Company(38) (Infrastructure and Social Benefits), Stromness Townscape Heritage Initiative(39) (Town Centre Regeneration), Project Search,(40) a programme to help young people with disabilities find and keep a job, (Support to Work), The Portal, Govan,(41) a community arts venue (Creative Regeneration) and Oban Phoenix Cinemax(42) (Community Led Regeneration). Although some concern might be raised at the contraction of the collective in recent years (down from over 300 members in 2009 to over 250 members in 2013)(43) and at the falling number of candidates for SURF Awards over the same period (down from over 100 nominees in 2009 to over 50 nominees in 2013) what cannot be doubted is that there have been, and continue to be, many successful local examples of work to regenerate places throughout Scotland.

Is it a paradox to juxtapose the persistence in place of deprivation in Scotland and the annual celebration of the achievements of successful community regeneration? Rather than seek to determine which of these narratives of place has greater validity, it might be argued that their juxtaposition highlights the limitations of both, i.e. evidence of the persistence of deprivation fails to acknowledge the positive work that is being undertaken to regenerate communities throughout Scotland, while the success of regeneration projects is not of the ilk or the order to achieve wholesale area transformation. What cannot be denied is that successive regeneration initiatives have failed to transform the fortunes of the collective experiences of life in what remain Scotland's Most Deprived Areas.

### Returning to Red Road: Can Redirection Follow Reversal?

There are few contemporary advocates of high-rise housing complexes such as those better known as Red Road in Barmulloch in Glasgow. Some may argue that Le Corbusier's vision of 'streets in the sky' was never achieved, others may criticise the way in which this particular resource and neighbourhood was managed, others still may acknowledge that these environments have 'had their day', but are no longer fit for 21st century living. The first of the eight blocks was demolished in 2012, the second in 2013 and by the Spring of 2014, only one block was occupied, the other five being prepared for deconstruction.

The issue with Red Road in the context of this paper is its fundamental failing in the planning and purpose of a regeneration project.(44)

First and foremost, the Commonwealth Games' proposal sought to make an exhibition of regeneration. No-one would deny Glasgow the opportunity to make bold statements at the Opening and Closing Ceremonies of the Games that projected a positive vision of the city's past, present and future. However, in attempting to make an act of city degeneration a centre-piece in this performance, it conveyed a sense that regeneration is not primarily about the people directly involved (if you like, it is not community-centred regeneration), but rather is something to be showcased and championed by city elites to a wider audience. The press release announcing the plan to demolish the five tower blocks conveyed these sentiments, through statements such as (emphasis, added):

... [the demolition is] a bold and *dramatic* statement of intent *from a city* focused on regeneration ...

The blow-down ... at one time the tallest residential structures in Europe ... the biggest demolition of its kind ever seen in Europe.

This *spectacular event* will be beamed live ... [with an] estimated television audience of 1.5 billion people around the world.

We are going to *wow the world*, with the demolition of the Red Road flats set to play a starring role. (Leader of Glasgow City Council)

It's such a privilege *to be able to share* this historic and dramatic moment *with the people of Scotland and the watching world*. (Head of Ceremonies and Artistic Director for Glasgow 2014)

Second, the proposal represents a gross overstatement of the likely outcomes of regeneration. As has been demonstrated in this paper, although there are many examples of successful regeneration initiatives in Scotland, the persistent and enduring problems in particular localities should urge caution when making claims for the anticipated outcomes of regeneration. Perhaps unsurprisingly for what was planned as a spectacle, the expected achievements of regeneration did not err on the side of caution, encapsulated in the headline to the press release, 'Dramatic end of Red Road creates bold symbol for Games' celebration of city rebirth'.

**The plan demonstrates an example of the worst kind of regeneration, i.e something that is 'done to others' by city elites.**

Although exhibitionism and overstatement should not have a place in regeneration work, it is perhaps understandable (although not excusable) that they feature prominently in a press



release that introduces this event to a wider world with interests beyond regeneration. Other criticisms are more damning.

Third, the plan demonstrates an example of the worst kind of regeneration, i.e. something that is 'done to others' by city elites. Notwithstanding that this proposal would have been devised with best intentions, it falls far short of what is required of regeneration in Scotland. Of particular note is the following (emphasis, added):

Local residents living in 887 homes nearby the Red Road site will be *temporarily evacuated* during the event and will be invited to join in the Commonwealth Games opening celebrations, either by soaking up the atmosphere at the fantastic Commonwealth Games Live Event within Glasgow Green or *by attending local welfare facilities that will be open to them throughout the evacuation period.* Glasgow City Council Leader Gordon Matheson has written about the plans to each household affected.

There should have been no need for the Council Leader to have written to the thousands of people affected, as they should have been consulted, at the earliest opportunity in the process. Even setting aside the insensitivity that many of the people who are to be temporarily evacuated for a demolition have fled to Glasgow from troubled parts of the world, or that the City Fathers deemed that it was appropriate to decant people to a welfare facility to enjoy the spectacle of their neighbourhood being transformed, it is hugely disappointing that the 'top down' model of regeneration imposed upon the people by municipal elites continues to prevail. The debacle of Spring 2014 would have been avoided had a truly community-led approach to regeneration been pursued.

## The debacle of Spring 2014 would have been avoided had a truly community-led approach.

Finally, and related to the previous point, Red Road demonstrated that partnership working per se, is not a panacea to insensitive regeneration. Described as "key supporting stakeholders .. working in partnership to present the plan for the Games' demolition" were Glasgow City Council, Glasgow 2014, Glasgow Housing Association, demolition contractor Safedem, NG Homes, Police Scotland, British Transport Police, Network Rail, First, ScotRail and the Health and Safety Executive. No-one is suggesting that any of these organisations should have been omitted from any partnership. However, it is incredulous that it might have been deemed acceptable for these bodies to speak on behalf of local people directly affected by the plans (which is to give benefit of the doubt that this assumption was even made at all). It is unacceptable that contemporary regeneration initiatives do not have direct representation of people directly affected by the plans and that 'partnerships' can be

formed without adequate local representation.

The fundamental failings of these early stages in the Red Road regeneration project – its exhibitionism, overstatement, top-down approach and skewed partnership of external agencies – provides a well-worked example of what regeneration should not be. In this sense, by striving to avoid these failings, it points the way ahead for regeneration in Scotland.

## Five Common Weal Principles for Regeneration

The Common Weal project<sup>(45)</sup> – envisaging a distinctly Scottish version of Nordic society – is conceived as a blueprint for a progressive Scotland. The six societal transitions<sup>(46)</sup> that are envisaged in Common Weal amount to a reconfiguration of our national priorities, with a firm rejection that social development should be subsidiary to enabling the market to generate profit. Furthermore, the fifty key ideas<sup>(47)</sup> that are articulated offer a smörgåsbord of what life could be like in an alternative Scotland. Although the Common Weal will appeal most to those whose inclinations are for a more welfarist state, what is proposed should not unduly concern all but the most ardent neoliberalists. What is envisaged is a model for mutual development and benefit, elements of which are being pursued with positive results within some of the most successful advanced economies in Europe.

Embedded within the Common Weal project, are the means to achieve a more progressive and effective regeneration of Scotland's most disadvantaged communities. One core concern is to avoid the greater inequality that lies ahead if current economic models are pursued; another concern is to correct the scaling back of collective public services that are the backbone of an inclusive, stable and prosperous society. Taken together, it is clear that regeneration of our most disadvantaged communities has a pivotal role to play in realising the Common Weal. Here, five principles are proposed that would constitute progressive regeneration in the mould of the Common Weal and which, if properly resourced, would also amount to an effective regeneration:

### *Regeneration as part of the fabric of society*

Regeneration should not be viewed as a time-limited programme to eradicate a problem. Of course, where problems are evident, then regeneration should address them; in these instances, time-limited programmes may be an effective way to harness energy and achieve outcomes. However, we should also accept that there will be flux and changing fortunes for neighbourhoods, localities and regions. There will always be a need for Scotland to re-generate places whose fortunes are changing as a result of new technologies, emerging opportunities and external forces. Although realising wider aspects of the Common Weal project – such as community ownership of key assets<sup>(48)</sup> – might make places less vulnerable to

the vagaries of the market or the whims of predatory corporations, it is inconceivable that the future will be one in which area change (and therefore the need for regeneration) is consigned to history. The key point here is that regeneration should be adequately funded and central to the purpose of government. It should also be understood to be a mechanism through which we can drive up standards, and not conceived merely as a means to address entrenched problems. Regeneration must be part of the transformation for the better of the places in which we live. Regeneration should be central to achieving a Common Weal society.

### *Aspire for family-friendly communities*

The key ideas of the Common Weal make reference to 'supporting life enhancing activities';(49) 'transforming the places in which we live';(50) 'housing for people'(51) and the like. Together, these key ideas amount to what might be described as an aspiration for 'family friendly communities': not only 'family' in the sense that it provides for parents and dependent children, but as also 'family' in the sense that it provides for all throughout the life course (from cradle to grave) and 'family' in the sense that there is collective outlook and sense of purpose (which extends beyond the nuclear 'family' unit). The Common Weal vision of regeneration must be one of fashioning communities that provide a high quality of life, rather than fixing the deprivations that are encountered within.

### *Truly participatory democracy*

Many of these ideas for improving our neighbourhoods are predicated on a participatory local democracy, which allows local people to articulate their preferences and then facilitates their active participation in realising their ambitions.(52) In 'giving voice' to community concerns, there is an initial risk that what transpires is a forum for community interests to fracture, as groups are pitted against each other and the problems of and in a neighbourhood are levelled at Other groups in the neighbourhood. As Red Road pitifully demonstrates, our regeneration work falls far short of providing structures and partnerships which allow for genuine community voices to be heard. Empowered citizens are the key to successful regeneration. There is a need for structures and mechanisms to engender genuine community involvement. The concerns of all residents – older adults, working aged adults, youth and children – must be accorded equal significance in regeneration. Of course, much regeneration work already aims to 'consult' or purports to bring together all interest-groups within a community. The Common Weal approach to regeneration must be a model of best practice that fosters greater understanding of the needs and perspectives of marginalised and majority populations.

### *Downscale regeneration*

There is already much concern with empowering communities and of working toward community-focused regeneration, e.g. the Local Government and Regeneration Committee of the Scottish Parliament, contend that: "... regeneration must

involve the people in the communities from design to delivery; our evidence shows regeneration can only be truly and long lastingly effective if 'done by people'".(53) However, there is a risk that downscaling regeneration is understood as a step-change from national responsibility to municipal responsibility, an interpretation that seems to be shared by COSLA.(54) Community Planning Partnerships, the existing mechanism for much regeneration work in Scotland, is something of a misnomer in this regard in that they suggest that 'community' can be defined at the level of the local authority. The Common Weal vision of regeneration is one in which the central state should have responsibility for adequately resourcing, the local state should have responsibility for supporting and enabling, and neighbourhood-based community partnerships should be at the heart of envisaging, planning, decision-making, implementing and achieving regeneration. If community-grounded regeneration is to be achieved, then the Common Weal position is that a bottom-up approach to regeneration is required.

### *Scale up support for community-led regeneration*

There is no doubt that there is an appetite for grassroots approaches to regeneration. However, this appetite has existed for quite some time.(55) If the potential of community-led regeneration is to be realised, then there has to be a significant upscaling of investment, which in part must mean a shift in resources away from large-scale programmes that pander to the interests of those primarily concerned to generate profit toward smaller-scale programmes that support community-based regeneration. Clearly, social enterprises have an important role to play in achieving this. However, supporting the social economy is not an end in itself. Positive outcomes will not necessarily result if they are used merely a vehicle to transfer responsibility away from the local State and regressive outcomes will result if their viability is to be achieved at the expense of well-paid work, conditions of service and quality of service provided. Social enterprises do not, per se, lead to 'better outcomes'. Assuming the social enterprises are a panacea for all ills is irresponsible.

**If the potential of community-led regeneration is to be realised, there has to be a considerable upscale in investment.**

These five principles should underpin regeneration work in Scotland – it should be adequately resourced if the avowed aims are to be achieved; it should be driven by the needs, interests and energies of those belonging to areas in need of regeneration; it should be focused on collective gain, which is achieved by actively contributing stakeholders; it should strive for quality, rather than seek to fix problems; and it should be an on-going process for ever-improving neighbourhoods.

It might be argued that elements of what is envisaged are already evident in regeneration work in Scotland. For example,

there are many strengths in what Scottish Government and the Local Government and Regeneration Committee are proposing for regeneration in Scotland and these should be supported, i.e. an assets-based approach, preventative spend, a commitment to Community Empowerment,(56) mainstreaming capacity building, improving joint working and supporting local delivery. These aspirations are to be welcomed. However, what they do not amount to is a coherent vision for the Common Weal. The Common Weal vision is for regeneration that is at the heart of our 'National Purpose'.

## Thinking Small is Thinking Big: Rethinking Regeneration

The scale of the challenges facing Scotland's most deprived neighbourhoods – and therefore the cumulative challenge for Scotland, as a whole – means that regeneration is not an objective that should be underestimated. Similarly, the dynamics of place are such that regeneration should not be viewed as a task with a discrete end-point; as argued above, regeneration must be viewed as an integral part of a well-functioning society. The challenge, to which this paper has risen, was to define some core principles for regeneration that will serve Scotland well whatever lies ahead. We also need a framework for evaluating regeneration that is not forever doomed to fail from the outset and, most importantly of all, we need to implement regeneration strategies that can make serious inroads into ameliorating and reducing, if not overcoming, the persistent disadvantage encountered in Scotland's most deprived neighbourhoods. This paper concludes with a ten-point plan to improve regeneration in Scotland.

## The scale of the challenges facing Scotland's most deprived neighbourhoods means that regeneration is not an objective that should be underestimated.

**1. INVEST OR 'GET REAL'** We do not invest enough to tackle the problems we face. Consider the stated goals of regeneration in Scotland: "Regeneration is about people, the Regeneration Strategy is aimed at reducing poverty, inequality and decline with a clear focus on people in the most disadvantaged communities".(57) Consider the evaluation of this activity. "There are a number of regeneration strategy specific activities outlined in the strategy, however, on their own they cannot achieve the vision the strategy sets out to achieve".(58) Consider the redefinition of purpose that is envisaged: "We see regeneration not as a 'strategy' or policy as such, but more a vision-delivered through a focus of effort and strategic approach, across all public policy areas, to reduce deprivation, inequality and long term decline".(59) To be blunt, regeneration as currently conceived by Scottish Government, and as envisaged for by the

Local Government and Regeneration Committee for tomorrow, will fail. Insufficient resources are being directed to achieve the stated goals of wholesale area transformation. Indeed, as the 'future vision' argues, these stated goals cannot be achieved through regeneration-specific activity alone. What we currently understand as 'regeneration' is better understood as 'National Purpose'. We need a more specific set of tangible and achievable goals for regeneration work, on which its contribution to the 'National Purpose' can be assessed. Regeneration must be held accountable, but only for what it can realistically achieve. At the heart of the Common Weal project is a belief in the value of public investment.(60)

### 2. PRIORITISE THE 5% AND THE MOST DEPRIVED AREAS THROUGHOUT SCOTLAND.

Notwithstanding the efficiency of universal benefits(61) and the importance of mainstreaming regeneration-related activities, there continues to be a role for targeted intervention of supplementary resources and support at the Most Deprived Areas – at the very least as an interim measure to redress the imbalances that have emerged to date. As has been evidenced in this paper, the areas identified by the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation as the 5% Most Deprived in Scotland are not only, by definition, the areas with the greatest problems; these areas are also the ones with the most entrenched problems – their deprivations are persistent. Although the long-term aim of a Common Weal should be for a more equitable distribution of resource based on universal provision, equity can only be achieved in the shorter-term if there is disproportionate investment in favour of our Most Deprived Areas. To avoid an over-concentration of resource on a limited number of authorities in Scotland and to ensure Scotland-wide engagement in regeneration activity, it is acknowledged that alternative approaches to targeting may be more appropriate in local authorities that do not have any areas within the 5% Most Deprived Areas in Scotland (primarily rural local authorities).(62)

### 3. CELEBRATE ACHIEVEMENT AND ACKNOWLEDGE 'ASSETS'.

Avoiding pathologising disadvantaged neighbourhoods must be at the fore of Common Weal regeneration. The Common Weal project, quite correctly, encourages the cultural participation of all(63) and extols the value of partaking of life-enhancing activities(64). This desire to broaden Scots' horizons, to encourage participation in the nation and to provide opportunity is to be welcomed. However, there is an inherent danger that a concern to widen the worlds of those living in our Most Deprived communities inadvertently de-values the rich texture, 'assets' and strengths that are already part of the fabric of their everyday lives. The Common Weal should equally be concerned to celebrate and showcase the wide range of achievements, past and present, of people living in our most deprived neighbourhoods. There is no shortage of talent and success to celebrate, e.g. Drumchapel Table Tennis Club(65) and Raploch's Big Noise Orchestra.(66) Far too commonly there is (at worst) a focus on the problems of place or people-in-place, or (at best) a focus on the successes of regeneration-specific activity for place. Although there may be dangers in showcasing individual's successes if the subtext is that 'this can be achieved by

them, what is the problem with you, there is positive value that can be gained by demonstrating the pathways to success that were followed by peers and predecessors. Indeed, there is also need for wider Scottish society to rethink their understanding of Scotland's most deprived areas and the showcasing of success and talent can assist in the process. Achievements should be defined broadly to include all manner of local successes and achievements and should not be limited to that activity funded by regeneration-specific projects.

**4. ACKNOWLEDGE THE IMPORTANCE OF ALL WORK.** The Common Weal project outlines a framework to facilitate participation in the paid labour market through initiatives such as public investment to create jobs,(67) encouraging a four-day working week,(68) and transforming childcare provision.(69) Furthermore, a Citizens Income is proposed as a means to provide a 'basic level of life' for those not in paid work.(70) Clearly, these wider Common Weal goals would make significant contributions to addressing the entrenched problems that are faced in multiply deprived neighbourhoods. However, a Common Weal regeneration must go beyond a focus on paid work and adequate welfare. There is for a focus on 'full engagement' (rather than full employment), which acknowledges the unpaid work of child-raisers, carers and volunteers, all of which is critical to maintaining and enhancing the quality of life of vulnerable groups and the wider population alike. Positive contributions to neighbourhoods do not only result from wages earned and spent locally; to fail to acknowledge this, is to fall victim to the fallacy of 'trickle down' thinking that neoliberals use to justify high earnings of the few to support the well-being of the many. A Common Weal regeneration must embrace an inclusive definition of what constitutes 'work' and must embrace and reward the unheralded and unpaid contributions which sustain quality in neighbourhood life.

**5. ACTIVE ENGAGEMENT AS A 'RIGHT' NOT AN OBLIGATION.** Fundamental to the Common Weal project is the education of its young people as engaged citizens,(71) and facilitating participatory decision-making among locals for matters of local importance.(72) Common Weal regeneration would flourish when these are achieved. On the other hand, it is important to respect the right of people to live private lives within their community and not to oblige them to give over more than they desire to community participation. In this regard, strategies for engagement should be inclusive, but community investment should not be contingent on it. The provision of a neighbourhood that supports life-enhancing activities(73) should be a fundamental right and a primary objective of Common Weal regeneration, not a reward for participation.

**6. PRIORITISE HUMAN SECURITY.** One of the key ideas of the Common Weal is that resources would be better spent on human security than state security.(74) The wider issue of defence spending is not directly relevant here. On the other hand, prioritising human security must be a primary goal of Common Weal regeneration. Citizens must feel safe in their

own home(75) and in their everyday environment. A consistent finding of social surveys in Scotland has been the higher levels of everyday fear, lack of opportunities and environmental incivilities that are experienced in our most deprived neighbourhoods.(76) If citizens are to be expected to be more actively engaged in the wider life of their neighbourhood, then fundamentally they must feel safe and secure as they undertake their everyday business. This should be the substantive priority for regeneration work in Scotland.

**7. STRENGTHEN COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY.** The desire to strengthen the 'voice' of disadvantaged communities(77) - evidenced, for example, through the Community Empowerment Bill of 2014(78) - should be dovetailed with a concern to strengthen the responsibility of those within. This is not to promote a neo-liberal 'rights and responsibilities' agenda, or to ignore the substantial challenges that must be met in supporting many people in our most deprived communities to engage in debates about change, let alone manage it. However, if disenfranchised people are to prosper, then they must be trusted and enabled to take responsibility for addressing local problems. Notwithstanding the dangers of uncritically embracing a social enterprise model (where this is used as a vehicle for lowering workers' terms and conditions), there may be merit in decentralisation of responsibility for delivery and management of locally-facing environment and youth services.

**If disenfranchised people are to prosper they must be trusted and enabled to take responsibility for addressing local problems**

**8. COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS IN THE MOULD OF COMMUNITY CHAMPIONS.** The need for partnership working to avoid duplication of effort and to effectively harness the complementary skills is widely acknowledged and should be embraced. Beyond this, the Local Government and Regeneration Committee were strongly in favour of community placements and secondments not only for the local focus and energy provided, but also for the insight into the decision-making process that resulted. However, the Common Weal vision of regeneration as a collective endeavour should encourage more than effective working across partners and short-term placements to make expertise and insight readily available. There may be merit in developing the vision of 'National Academies' that is envisaged as part of Common Weal's 'open government'(79) to encourage the formation of longer-term regional partnerships between Higher and Further Education institutions and multiply deprived neighbourhoods. Higher Education Institutions are increasingly concerned to provide placements and 'real world' learning opportunities for students. Examples of longer-term commitment of HE institutions already exist, e.g. GCU's Caltonian Club which aims to raise and sustain the aspirations of young people from five school clusters in Glasgow in which

progress to advanced post-school education is at levels far below the local (let alone national) average.(80) The emphasis should be of mutuality and long-term partnership (rather than short-term projects).

9. COMMUNITY INTELLIGENCE. The concern to 'give voice' to local people to identify the local concerns of local people should not divert attention from the need to maximise the use of 'external' intelligence in regeneration. Although this requires a level of expertise that should not be underestimated, challenging questions must be asked of SIMD datasets, local authority spending regimes, Scottish Government spending allocations, and the like to ensure that an equitable, proportionate and realistic level of resource is being made available to achieve stated objectives. There is a need to value and harness the expertise of experienced regeneration practitioners if the vision of a Common Weal regeneration is to be achieved. Similarly, Scotland's academic community continues to deploy much energy to better understanding the nature of regeneration in Scotland, e.g. Gill Scott(81), Alex Law,(82) Chik Collins,(83) and Stephen Sinclair,(84) Gerry Mooney,(85) to name but a few.

10. NATIONAL SHARED RESPONSIBILITY FOR REGENERATION. Currently, concern is expressed over the lack of strong national focus on regeneration. The Local Government and Regeneration Committee were damning in their criticism of the Scottish Government's role for co-ordination of regeneration activity in Scotland: "... nobody seems responsible for general oversight and co-ordination of activity, sharing of best practice and determination of impact across Scotland".(86) On one hand, this might be an unfair sleight on the work of organisations such as SURF, which do a power of good work in promoting a shared sense of national purpose in regeneration. On the other, this desire to hold the central state to account seems out of kilter with the vision of a community-led regeneration that is so favoured by all. The Common Weal's visions of 'open government'(87) and 'real local democracy'(88) might provide the framework for a more democratic and participative national regeneration project. Rather than conceive of 'national responsibility' in terms of a strong central state marshalling and monitoring progress toward its' vision, the Common Weal approach would devolve responsibility and involve the full breadth of available talent in shaping this vision. The facilitating state does not imply an abdication of responsibility for progress made (or not). The state should be held to account for its contribution to nurturing, financing and supporting community-led regeneration in Scotland.

## Regeneration in our most deprived neighbourhoods that is truly, for and by its' people.

In summary, Scotland has a rich tradition in regeneration work. Although not without success, there is a need for a sharpen-

ing of focus, greater accountability for investment and, above all, an approach to regeneration that acknowledges that more positive outcomes will result when an effective system is developed to enable active participation of people living in Scotland's most deprived neighbourhoods. In effect, a regeneration in our most deprived neighbourhoods that is truly, for and by its' people.

# Appendix 1: Most Deprived Datazones in Scottish Local Authorities, 2004-2012 (A-M)

Local Authority & Locality	Local Rank 2009	Local Rank 2006	Local Rank 2004	Overall SIMD Rank 2012	Overall SIMD Rank 2009	Overall SIMD Rank 2006	Overall SIMD Rank 2004	Vigintile (SIMD 2012)	Vigintile (SIMD 2009)	Vigintile (SIMD 2006)	Vigintile (SIMD 2004)	% of Income Deprived People 2012	% of Income Deprived People 2009	% of Income Deprived People 2006	% of Income Deprived People 2004
Aberdeen City - Torry East	4	3	3	221	249	136	394	1	1	1	2	33	38	39	42
Aberdeenshire - Peterhead Harbour	1	2	2	569	304	286	769	2	1	1	3	25	34	31	24
Angus - Arbroath Wardy/Kes	1	1	1	509	440	351	717	2	2	2	3	34	41	41	38
Argyll & Bute - Helensburgh East	1	1	1	170	115	222	436	1	1	1	2	36	40	36	41
Clackmannanshire - Alloa South & East	1	2	2	107	92	217	275	1	1	1	1	41	51	42	45
Dumfries & Galloway - Lincluden & Lochside	1	2	3	101	189	182	502	1	1	1	2	38	45	41	40
Dundee City - Whitefield	1	2	4	54	57	85	184	1	1	1	1	46	55	48	52
East Ayrshire - Shortles	2	1	2	28	67	30	124	1	1	1	1	51	53	58	61
East Dunbartonshire - Hillhead	1	1	1	152	262	212	446	1	1	1	2	36	40	42	42
East Lothian - IZ Eight	3	3	1	658	926	1070	995	3	3	4	4	34	32	30	33
East Renfrewshire - Dunterlie, E. Arthurlie and Do'hall	1	1	1	66	56	78	284	1	1	1	1	41	53	53	49
Edinburgh, City of - Niddie	1	3	5	40	31	39	95	1	1	1	1	40	51	49	55
Eilean Sear - Stornoway West	1	2	10	1692	1605	1752	2089	6	5	6	7	18	20	15	19
Falkirk - Dunipace	3	6	6	200	311	449	583	1	1	2	2	37	35	34	38
Fife - Kirkcaldy Gallatown and Sinclairtown	1	1	3	82	149	161	385	1	1	1	2	47	50	42	38
Glasgow City - Possil Park	3	2	3	2	4	2	3	1	1	1	1	52	62	59	58
Highland - Inverness Merkinch	1	1	1	32	23	48	77	1	1	1	1	38	52	44	55
Inverclyde - Port Glasgow Mid, East & Central	2	4	10	115	75	122	365	1	1	1	2	34	42	37	32
Midlothian - Dalkeith	1	1	1	585	380	596	730	2	2	2	3	27	34	30	33
Noray - IZ Sixteen	1	1	1	1221	756	987	1857	4	3	4	6	21	23	18	22

## Appendix 1: Most Deprived Datazones in Scottish Local Authorities, 2004-2012 (N-Z)

Local Authority & Locality	Local Rank 2009	Local Rank 2006	Local Rank 2004	Overall SIMD Rank 2012	Overall SIMD Rank 2009	Overall SIMD Rank 2006	Overall SIMD Rank 2004	Vigintile (SIMD 2012)	Vigintile (SIMD 2009)	Vigintile (SIMD 2006)	Vigintile (SIMD 2004)	% of Income Deprived People 2012	% of Income Deprived People 2009	% of Income Deprived People 2006	% of Income Deprived People 2004
North Ayrshire - Adrossan Central	1	1	1	21	34	44	128	1	1	1	1	47	49	50	50
North Lanarkshire - Craigenuk Wishaw	2	2	2	9	15	27	73	1	1	1	1	48	61	51	65
Orkney Islands - West Kirkwall	6	3	7	2253	2682	2765	3698	7	9	9	12	16	13	11	13
Perth & Kinross - Muirton	1	3	2	137	177	593	979	1	1	2	4	37	45	31	38
Renfrewshire - Paisley/Ferguslie	1	1	2	1	2	1	20	1	1	1	1	53	74	66	80
Scottish Borders - Burnfoot and area	2	1	1	279	410	302	415	1	2	1	2	36	36	34	44
Shetland Islands - Lerwick South	3	4	9	2447	2606	2353	3942	8	9	8	13	16	18	19	14
South Ayrshire - Lochside, Braehead & Whittets	1	1	1	39	59	133	260	1	1	1	1	44	55	50	49
South Lanarkshire - Whitlawburn & Greenlees	1	3	3	31	48	71	194	1	1	1	1	48	54	50	50
Stirling - Raploch	2	2	2	63	118	145	222	1	1	1	1	41	39	38	38
West Dunbartonshire - IZ Thirteen	1	1	1	104	17	29	220	1	1	1	1	36	55	43	43
West Lothian - Bathgate East	2	2	4	440	529	640	1631	2	2	2	6	33	30	23	23

Source: SIMD annual reports for 2004, 2006, 2009 and 2012: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Statistics/SIMD/DataAnalysis>

## Appendix 2: Changing Fortunes of Datazone S01004569 (Craigneuk, Wishaw, North Lanarkshire), 2004-2012

Issue	Trend	Evidence
<i>Overall SIMD Rank</i>	V	Progressively worsened from the 73rd Most Deprived in Scotland in 2004, through 27th (2006) and 15th (2009) to the 9th Most Deprived datazone in Scotland in 2012
<i>Crime: Annual Crime Count</i>	V	Up from 56 incidents in 2006, through 108 in 2009, to 126 in 2012.
<i>Health: Estimated population prescribed drugs for anxiety, depression or psychosis</i>	V	0.12 in 2012, up from 0.0774 in 2004.
<i>Health: Emergency stays in hospital (standardised ratio)</i>	V	175 in 2012, up from 131.7 in 2004.
<i>Health: Hospital stays due to alcohol misuse (standardised ratio)</i>	V	180 in 2012, up from 158 in 2004.
<i>Health: Hospital stays due to drug misuse (standardised ratios)</i>	<>	35 in both 2004 and 2012
<i>Health: Live singleton births of low birthweight</i>	<>	Fluctuating between 0.04 and 0.1
<i>Transport: public transport to GPs and Retail Centres</i>	<>	Reduced travel time for GPs (from 11.36 minutes in 2006 to 7.51 minutes in 2012), but increased travel time for retail centre (from 2.4 minutes in 2006 to 4.4 minutes in 2012).
<i>Employment: employment deprived</i>	<>	Following a drop for 148 to 125 between 2004 and 2009, this returned to 150 in 2012.
<i>Education: school pupil absences</i>	<>	Stable from 2006 through 2012 (between 11.8 to 12.2)
<i>Education: Proportion of 17-21 year olds entering Higher Education</i>	<>	Negligible throughout.
<i>Education: Pupils performance at SQA Stage 4</i>	^	Dramatic improvement in 2012 to 230 points, from totals between 63 and 103 from 2004 to 2009.
<i>Education: People aged 16-19 not in employment, training or education</i>	^	Fall from 47.1 in 2004, through 31 in 2009 to 25 in 2012.





COMMONWEAL

<i>Income Deprivation: income deprived</i>	^	Dramatic fall from 2004 to 2006 (305 to 249) and stable thereafter (260 in 2009 and 255 in 2012).
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Source: SIMD annual reports for 2004, 2006, 2009 and 2012: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Statistics/SIMD/DataAnalysis>



## End Notes

- (1) Glasgow 2014 (2014) 'Dramatic end of Red Road creates bold symbol for Games' celebration of city rebirth'. Mimeo. April 3rd. Accessible at: <http://www.glasgow2014.com/press-releases/dramatic-end-red-road-creates-bold-symbol-games-celebration-city-rebirth>
- (2) Grevemberg, David (2014) 'Statement on Red Road'. Mimeo. April 13th. Accessible at: <http://www.glasgow2014.com/press-releases/statement-red-road>
- (3) Leckie, Carolyn (2014) 'Stop plans to blow up tower blocks as part of Commonwealth Games opening ceremony'. Mimeo. Accessible at: <http://www.change.org/en-GB/petitions/glasgow-city-council-and-the-scottish-government-stop-plans-to-blow-up-tower-blocks-as-part-of-commonwealth-games-opening-ceremony>
- (4) Officially, the decision was reversed on the grounds of 'public safety'. Of course, the issues are inextricably linked – without the online petition and groundswell of public dissent, the 'safety issues' would not have emerged.
- (5) Visit: <http://www.cubic-design.co.uk/osler-cubic/gha/index.html>
- (6) Scottish Government (2011) Achieving a Sustainable Future: Regeneration Strategy. Edinburgh. Para. 9, p.2. Available at: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2011/12/09110320/0>
- (7) For an administration that purports to celebrate positivity and to foster a focus on assets, rather than deficits, this headline statement of purpose for regeneration is out of kilter with the way that other Scottish Government strategies are presented.
- (8) Scottish Government (2011) Achieving a Sustainable Future: Regeneration Strategy. Edinburgh: Scottish Government., Para. 36, p.9. Available at: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2011/12/09110320/0>
- (9) Welsh Government (2013) Vibrant and Viable Places: New Regeneration Framework. Cardiff. Available at: <http://wales.gov.uk/topics/housing-and-regeneration/publications/regeneration-framework/?lang=en>
- (10) Visit: [http://www.dsdni.gov.uk/index/urcdg-urban\\_regeneration.htm](http://www.dsdni.gov.uk/index/urcdg-urban_regeneration.htm)
- (11) Visit: <http://www.homesandcommunities.co.uk/community-led-development>
- (12) Visit: <http://www.homesandcommunities.co.uk/ourwork/regeneration>
- (13) Wassenberg, F. and van Dijken, K. (2011) A Practitioner's View on Neighbourhood Regeneration: Issues, approaches and experiences in European cities. The Hague: Eurocities;
- (14) European Economic and Social Committee (2010) OPINION of the of the European Economic and Social Committee on the need to apply an integrated approach to urban regeneration. ECO/273 Urban Regeneration: Integrated Approach. Brussels: EU. Available at: <http://www.eesc.europa.eu/?i=portal.en.eco-opinions.10006>
- (15) It should be acknowledged that EZs were less significant as a means to achieve regeneration than many other schemes and programmes. They did not introduce any new money; rather they targeted and privileged particular areas for particular funding priorities.
- (16) Visit: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Built-Environment/regeneration/casestudies/URCCaseStudies>
- (17) See footnote 6
- (18) Scottish Government (2011) Building a Sustainable Future: Regeneration Discussion Paper. Edinburgh. Available at: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2011/02/07095554/0>
- (19) Neil, A. (2011) 'Foreword' in Achieving a Sustainable Future: Regeneration Strategy. Edinburgh: Scottish Government. p.ii
- (20) See footnote 6. Para. 12-14, pp. 3-4.
- (21) See footnote 6. Para. 36, p.9
- (22) See footnote 6. Annex A, pp.39-40.
- (23) Although nothing new, it is significant that there is a broad consensus in favour of these partnership approaches at the current time, as evidenced for example, by European Economic and Social Committee (2010) OPINION of the of the European Economic and Social Committee on the need to apply an integrated approach to urban regeneration. ECO/273 Urban Regeneration: Integrated Approach. Brussels: EU. Available at: <http://www.eesc.europa.eu/?i=portal.en.eco-opinions.10006>
- (24) Local Government and Regeneration Committee. 1st Report, 2014 (Session 4). Delivery of Regeneration in Scotland. SP Paper 476. Edinburgh: Scottish Parliament. Available at: <http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/parliamentarybusiness/Current-Committees/73168.aspx>
- (25) Stewart, K. (2014) 'Foreword from the Convenor' in Local Government and Regeneration Committee. 1st Report, 2014 (Session 4). Delivery of Regeneration in Scotland. SP Paper 476. Edinburgh: Scottish Parliament. See footnote 24.

(26) Visit: <http://www.coalfields-regen.org.uk/where-we-work/scotland/>

(27) Visit: <http://www.carnegieuktrust.org.uk/changing-minds/people---place/chance-to-thrive>

(28) Animate and Blake Stevenson (2014) *Chance to Thrive Evaluation: March 2013 – December 2013*. Edinburgh. Available at: <http://www.carnegieuktrust.org.uk/publications/2014/chance-to-thrive---first-year-evaluation-report>

(29) Strathclyde Regional Council (1976) *Urban Deprivation*. Glasgow.

(30) Collins C. (1999) *Applying Bakhtin in urban studies: the failure of community participation in the Ferguslie Park Partnership*. *Urban studies* 36.1: 73-90.

(31) There are 6505 datazones in Scotland. Typically, they comprise populations of between 500 and 1000 people. All datazones belong to a single local authority and are designed to respect physical and built environment boundaries. By necessity, most of Scotland's better known neighbourhoods comprise multiple datazones.

(32) All data in this paragraph are derived from Table 2.5 from: Scottish Government (2012) *Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2012*. Edinburgh. Table 2.5, p.22. Accessible at: <http://simd.scotland.gov.uk/publication-2012/>

(33) 76% of the '5% Least Disadvantaged' areas in Scotland retained this status between 2009 and 2012. The band with the next least movement of areas was '10% Most Deprived' (64% of areas retained this status between 2009 and 2012). Source: see footnote 4

(34) The SIMD is not a particularly effective tool for evidencing rural deprivation, as this tends to be more dispersed. McKendrick, JH, C Barclay, C Carr, A Clark, J Holles, E Perring and L Stien (2011) *Our Rural Numbers Are Not Enough: An independent position statement and recommendations to improve the identification of poverty, income inequality and deprivation in rural Scotland*. Glasgow: Rural Poverty Indicators Action Learning Set. Available at: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/94257/0120769.pdf>

(35) Visit: <http://www.scotregen.co.uk/>

(36) Sources: SURF annual awards publications from 2006 through 2013. Visit: <http://www.scotregen.co.uk/surf-awards/awards-by-year/>

(37) SURF (2013) *The SURF Awards for Best Practice in Community Regeneration 2013*. Glasgow. Accessible at: <http://www.scotregen.co.uk/surf-awards/>

(38) Visit: <http://orkneymicrorenewables.com/>

(39) Visit: <http://www.orkney.gov.uk/Service-Directory/S/Stromness-THI.htm>

(40) Visit: <http://www.sclcd.org.uk/sclcd-projects/project-search/what-project-search>

(41) Visit: <http://www.getintogovan.com/projects/the-portal/>

(42) Visit: <http://www.obanphoenix.com/>

(43) See footnote 36.

(44) Readers should also consider Gerry Mooney's reflections on Red Road, which also focuses on regeneration issues, and the significance of regeneration in the context of flagship sporting events: Mooney, G. (2014) 'Nae Mair Skyscraper Weans? The Glasgow Red Road Controversy' OpenLearn. Available at: <http://www.open.edu/openlearn/people-politics-law/politics-policy-people/nae-mair-skyscraper-weans-glasgows-red-road-flats>

(45) Visit: <http://allofusfirst.org/what-is-common-weal/>

(46) Jimmy Reid Foundation (2013) *The Common Weal: A model for economic and social development in Scotland*. Glasgow. Available at: <http://reidfoundation.org/common-weal/>

(47) Visit: <http://allofusfirst.org/the-key-ideas/>

(48) Visit: <http://www.allofusfirst.org/the-key-ideas/land-for-people/>

(49) Visit: <http://allofusfirst.org/the-key-ideas/supporting-life-enhancing-activities/>

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