Excluded from Scotland's democratic renewal? Civil Society and its limitations in Craigmillar, Edinburgh

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

A new parliament and resulting democratically elected executive marks a symbolic point of hope for democratic renewal in Scotland. The expectations of democratic renewal are found in three forms: (1) in the formal structural changes in governance, (2) in the policy directions of a Labour government and (3) in the push for greater democratic participation from civil society generally. The concept and construct of civil society is not just central to the last of these forms, it also plays a vital role in the governance structures and policy reforms.

Craigmillar – a collection of periphery housing schemes in Edinburgh – is taken as a case of an 'excluded community' in Scotland during the first few years of the Scottish Parliament. This research explores the extent to which the exclusion of the area is reinforced or undermined by the type of changes envisioned in the expectations of democratic renewal.

Literature concerned with social exclusion often mentions 'political exclusion' in passing, but here the concept is developed drawing on notions of citizenship, democracy and power. Silver (1995) provides us with a means of distinguishing different paradigmatic ways of understanding exclusion and inclusion and these are used to understand different notions of political inclusion, all of which in some way have a special role for civil society. By concentrating on three local level civil society organisations in Craigmillar we explore the extent of civil society's capacity for increasing political inclusion in the new institutional environment in Scotland.

This research finds that political inclusion is ultimately hampered by unequal power relationships which are not being addressed sufficiently in most of the approaches to democratic renewal in Scotland today.

DECLARATION

I declare that:

      a) this thesis has been written by me

      b) this work is entirely my own

      c) this work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification

Signed:_____

Date:_____

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CALNET – Craigmillar Adult Learning Network

CBP – Capacity Building Project

CCP – Capital City Partnership

CEC – City of Edinburgh Council

CFS – Craigmillar Festival Society

CHACC – Craigmillar Health and Community Care subgroup

CHDP – Craigmillar Housing Development Project

Cluster Group – the Cluster Group on Violence Against Women in Craigmillar

COT – Craigmillar Opportunities Trust

CSIP – Craigmillar Social Inclusion Partnership

CSO – Civil Society Organisation

CPP(s) – Community Planning Partnership(s)

EDI – Edinburgh Development and Investment

MSP – Member of the Scottish Parliament

NDPB – Non-departmental Public Body

NGO – Non-governmental Organisation

PARC – PARC Craigmillar Ltd, the joint venture company in Craigmillar responsible for regeneration: a partnership between EDI, CEC and Craigmillar residents.

SE – Scottish Executive

SIPs – Social Inclusion Partnerships (speaking of the generic program rather than Craigmillar SIP)

SP – Scottish Parliament

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

According to newspaper articles at the time, I was one of the many young 'professionals' reported to have flocked back to Scotland with expectations of a more vibrant and more democratic Scotland. The referendum on devolution had given the go ahead for the establishment of a Scottish Parliament and I was faced with a decision. I had just spent two years studying (a masters in international development with a thesis on political inclusion) and a year working (jobs in lobbying groups and think tanks in Washington DC) in the USA and it was time to decide whether to extend my visa or move back to Scotland. The opportunity of being a 'community education' worker in Scotland at a time when a new parliament was being established was certainly one reason I did not apply for a further visa in the USA.

Back in Edinburgh I got a job in Craigmillar. I had lived close enough to the area as a teenager to know Craigmillar's bad reputation and I had read about the community activism in the area as a community education student. This job started a year and a half before the first Scottish elections. As part of my job as a 'community engagement worker' I organised workshops on the new parliament structures together with the Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations (SCVO). I visited drop-in centres and parents groups to encourage discussion about the elections and to show what having a second vote was about. One experience stands out clearly in my mind. At the start of the session I asked what people were thinking about the elections, if they were planning to vote, etc. All five women attending said they were not planning to vote because it had nothing to do with them. We discussed what the parliament would have control over and what the parliament might look like after the elections. We also made up election results which we used to work out what impact using the second vote could have on the range of political parties which would end up in Parliament. At the end of the session, I asked if they might vote now. One woman said something to the effect of: 'Nah, if I vote the council tax folk will find me,' and heads nodded around the group.

In spite of the spread of increasing numbers of democratic political structures around the world, international development workers continue to express concern that the poor and other minority groups have no voice and claim that genuine development needs real participation in decision making (by everyone, but especially by the poor and disenfranchised). The experience of talking to these women reminds us that, as Friedmann (1992) suggests, wealthier nations have their own redundant populations and

disempowered poor, or in other words, people whose socio-economic situation combines to 'exclude' them from political influence. My thesis on political inclusion in the USA had led me to understand the term broadly. Political inclusion was about more than the right to vote, or opportunities to attend public meetings; it was also about the power to influence the political agenda, identify your own concerns and have your political actions have an impact. For me one of the key questions in Scotland was therefore whether devolution could have any impact on the political inclusion of an area such as Craigmillar.

The early years of the Scottish Parliament offer what some might consider a 'natural experiment' (Brewer 2001) in democratic renewal. Indeed Crowther, Martin & Shaw (1999) claim that Scotland can be seen as both a 'mirror and a lens' (p.2). Scotland can be seen as a mirror because it reflects wider trends of nationalist or independence movements and the decentralisation of political institutions, which is occurring concurrently with increasing economic globalisation and the strengthening (or at the very least, the expansion) of other multi-national institutions such as the European Union. In addition, Scotland reflects changes in relationships between civil society and the state as states increasingly use civil society to achieve policy agendas.

Scotland can also be seen as a lens because it 'provides an opportunity to see the beginnings of what could be a new kind of democracy at work' (Crowther, Martin & Shaw 1999, p.3). In other words, the establishment of a Scottish Parliament provides us with an opportunity to look closely at what happens in a country when a new political institution is introduced, especially when that new political institution has been brought about by pressure from a well established civil society (see Paterson 1997, 1998, 2001, & 2003). Scotland is thus a magnified example of the way civil society interacts with political institutions. The establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1998 followed a period of optimism and joint working among those of various political persuasions. Paterson (1997) writes about the optimism apparent in Scotland after the Tory defeat in 1997. This optimism was characterised by considerable rhetoric about increasing the accountability and 'inclusive' potential of democratic institutions. This suggested that it was important to capture the experience of an 'excluded' community in this broader setting of change. Could the new institutions really hope to change the experience of exclusion? At the very least, could it change the political aspects of exclusion?

In a sense then, this research is framed in two ways. First, it is framed in the context of interest in democratic renewal in Scotland. Therefore in Chapter Two I present the

literature which proposes and analyses democratic renewal in Scotland from three perspectives. It is presented from the point of view of institutional changes at the level of the Scottish Parliament showing where increased opportunities for engagement were expected, and what the early experience has been in Scotland generally. Additionally, I explore other policy changes which are targeted towards increasing political engagement and finally, I consider literature which documents and argues for the critical engagement of civil society with political issues.

The second frame for this research is more theoretical, understanding exclusion and inclusion which influence the way Craigmillar is perceived. This theoretical frame can also be seen to be central to the expectations of democratic renewal discussed in Chapter Two. Therefore in Chapter Three, I explore the literature to determine what exclusion (and particularly political exclusion) is. Political exclusion is examined in the light of three paradigms of political and social theory. Each have different expectations of what democratic structures and democratic engagement can, and ought to, achieve. The solutions to the problem of political exclusion have led me to also consider literature about the inclusive potential of civil society and the importance of social capital.

Craigmillar is one of Scotland's many urban periphery housing estates and has, according to the media at least, shown signs of social exclusion since its establishment. Craigmillar is therefore the 'type' of area which could be seen to pose the ultimate challenge for those hoping to create an inclusive society. Areas of this type were, in a sense, 'created' out of already existing social exclusion. Craigmillar was created when residents from Edinburgh's crowded tenements were rehoused in new, modern flats on the edge of the city. This relocation was part of government policy to improve housing. Media interest and public policy have continued to be part of the Craigmillar experience, with media interest being mostly negative, and targeting by public policy generally felt to be ineffectual.

Craigmillar residents are represented through official democratic channels in the European Union, UK Parliament, Scottish Parliament and City of Edinburgh Council (CEC), but it is only at the smallest level that 'Craigmillar' is represented specifically. The larger the constituency, the less 'Craigmillar' gets specific representation. However, those governing institutions which are established through democratically elected bodies above the level of local authority still target resources, policy and programmes specifically at this area. More often than not, they use local authority structures to implement and administer such programmes and policies. The CEC is therefore important

to the area, not so much because of work it chooses to carry out as an independent democratically elected governing body, but because of the way it is one of the filters through which programmes and policies initiated at other levels of governing pass. Craigmillar's relationship to governing institutions should therefore not be simplified to a focus on local rather than national government, but must incorporate an understanding of the central position of local authorities.

The relationships between local communities and their governing institutions are therefore multi-layered and complex, and this is one of the underlying reasons for choosing more qualitative research methods. In Chapter Four I explain: 1) why case studies were used, 2) the benefits and drawbacks of using a case study approach, and 3) the issues involved in working on something other than the research as the main means of contact with the case in question. I go into detail about both the reasons for doing this research from the professional standpoint of a community development worker, and the processes used to collect the information.

Chapter Five describes Craigmillar's demography and geography. I show how the area is treated as a community politically, but in order to avoid the politically loaded quagmire of the concept of community, I show how the term 'community' is used by all, and that it is often associated with a particular understanding of the area – namely that the place has problems. I also outline what is meant when the area is called 'excluded' and show particular patterns of behaviour including how the area tends to vote.

Perhaps in response to ineffectual government-provided services, Craigmillar has a large number of social projects which try to provide more than statutory health and education services. I worked for one of these, and was quickly made aware of many more. The existence of such projects does not make the area unique among 'excluded' urban periphery housing estates, but rather makes it a particular 'type' of community amongst those labelled socially excluded. These projects are typically labelled 'the voluntary sector' and are often considered part of civil society. However, given the literature reviewed in Chapter Three it seems important to understand the extent to which Craigmillar has a civil society and what kind of structures can be seen to contribute to it, if it does. Chapter Six provides detailed information about the organisations which could be considered to make up a 'civil' society in Craigmillar and shows how they relate to local residents, to each other, and to governing bodies. This chapter shows that the development of civil society in the area is a combination of organic local activism and a response to policy implementation. This combination has particular implications for the

relationship between the governing institutions and civil society as that relationship is found at the local level, especially in the light of expectations of democratic renewal through the newly established devolved government. Using Craigmillar as a case I capture the experience of an excluded community and determine what this democratic renewal means for both residents and organisations in the area.

Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine present case studies of three of the organisations identified in chapter six. Civil society (as shown in the literature review) is often presented as the key feature of an inclusive and vibrant democracy. These cases therefore provide an opportunity to consider the actual efficacy of local level civil society in achieving the type of vibrant democracy and democratic renewal that is hoped for in the new parliament. Chapter Nine analyses the type of relationships Craigmillar has in order to understand the extent to which the area can be seen to have political power and social capital according to the theories presented in chapter three.

In Chapter Ten I draw conclusions about what these relationships and the more general experience of Craigmillar means for the hopes and expectations for democratic renewal in Craigmillar. I consider tensions in relationships between government and the voluntary sector and point out how it is the exploitation of these tensions which seems to provide the main hope for democratic renewal and political inclusion.

CHAPTER 2
Scotland's Democratic Renewal

The central focus of this thesis is the extent to which democratic renewal, in Scotland generally, has any impact on an area which is seen to be socially excluded. As noted in the introduction, the idea of a democratic renewal in Scotland is mentioned in several contexts. Many argue that the devolution movement was, at least in part, fuelled by a democratic deficit made obvious by the extent to which a nation was governed by people they did not elect. McCrone (1999), Paterson (1998), Hearn (2001), and Shaw & Martin (2000) all talk about the extent to which fighting against Thatcherism created solidarity among civil society and made the lack of democratically accountable political administration obvious. While this may suggest a populist movement for greater democracy, others argue that the devolution settlement is also just the latest negotiated settlement between English and Scottish elites (see, for example, Kellas (1999, 1989)).

Given such a focus, it is not surprising that institutional arrangements for the new parliament focused on providing deeper democracy, but this is only part of the story. In many ways the parliament was just one element of new Labour 'third way' policies which included the reform of the House of Lords, making local government more accountable and increasing user and citizen participation initiatives at the local level. These latter two elements are closely dependent on each other. Craigmillar is a community which experiences the implementation of increased citizen participation initiatives mostly through the policy implementing practices of local government. Thus the way citizens are encouraged to participate is often dependent on the way local government engages with the area. This makes local government essential to democratic renewal.

The Labour government has also given civil society a key role to play in policy oriented towards democratic renewal at both national and local levels. For example, partnership structures, which are a key Labour government policy initiative, explicitly call for the engagement of the voluntary sector. In addition, civil society is engaged in policy development through consultation exercises as well as being the preferred organisational structure for 'experimenting' with social policies.

On the other hand, civil society should not be seen as simply responding to government policies. Those engaged with civil society articulate a need for democratic renewal both through and within the sector. This reflects a somewhat more universal

concern with the overreaching power of governments, and the unresponsiveness of a welfare state.

This chapter uses three categories to divide the type of expectations for democratic renewal: 1) practical changes in governance structures; 2) policy aimed at increasing political participation; and 3) civil society working towards critical democratic engagement. In each of these categories we also find reasons to be sceptical about democratic renewal including the historical legacy of paternalism, some of the institutional arrangements such as those connecting local government with other political institutions and attitudes which reflect global rather than national circumstances.

(1) Practical changes in governance structures

The establishment of the Scottish Parliament is seen as both a practical and symbolic result of concerns for a more inclusive, or at least a more responsive, democratic process. Considering the specific hopes and goals behind the parliament provides us with some idea of what democratic renewal in Scotland is meant to be about.

A new electoral system was implemented to elect the members of the Scottish Parliament and thus also to determine which political party would lead the Scottish Executive. The new electoral system is generally seen to be part of a new and more consensual politics in Scotland. In the UK elections, prior to the establishment of the Scottish Parliament, the country was represented by the Labour Party (with a few exceptions for the SNP and Liberal Democrats). Those voting for parties other than Labour often received no representation in their constituency because of the first past the post system. While the different parties did receive more representation at local government level, changes in Scottish policy were fought over in the UK parliament with Scottish MPs who disproportionately represented Scottish political preferences. Over two elections in the Scottish Parliament, a much wider range of political feeling has been represented. Scottish parliament elections have produced a parliament with six political parties representing the nation instead of three. More importantly, these six parties (and some independents) achieved representation in proportion to the number of people who voted for them. However, while the diversity of political perspectives in Scotland may be better represented, this does not necessarily mean that a greater number of people are 'included' in political activity. While their views may now be represented, they are not necessarily more politically active. Indeed, electoral turnout suggests that the knowledge that votes have more value than in the 'first past the post' electoral system has not encouraged more people to use their vote. Both Scottish Parliament elections have had a

lower turnout than previous UK general elections. Electoral turnout was 58.2% in 1999 and 49.4% in 2003 Scottish parliament election (Scottish Parliament Website). In the 1997 general election, voter turnout was 73% but also slumped in later elections to around 60% in both 2001 and 2005 elections (Burnside, Herbert & Curtis 2003). This suggests that the actual electoral process does not seem to change the levels of voter turnout, although it is possible that those who were already active are now more active than previously because there is campaigning work to do within the political parties who are competing for seats.

The Consultative Steering Group (CSG), set up by Labour politicians after the 1997 elections but including representatives from each political party and key civil society leaders, recommended four key principles which should guide the actions of the parliament and executive:

- the Scottish Parliament should embody and reflect the sharing of power between the people of Scotland, the legislators and the Scottish Executive;

- the Scottish Executive should be accountable to the Scottish Parliament and the Parliament and Executive should be accountable to the people of Scotland;

- the Scottish Parliament should be accessible, open, responsive, and develop procedures which make possible a participative approach to the development, consideration and scrutiny of policy and legislation;

- the Scottish Parliament in its operation and its appointments should recognise the need to promote equal opportunities for all. (Scottish Constitutional Convention 1995)

Thus democratic renewal in Scotland was to be about accessibility of political structures, accountability and the sharing of power.

Accessibility has been dealt with in part by the establishment of 'family friendly' working hours, a development which is credited (along with Labour nomination policies) with ensuring a more gender balanced parliament (McCrone 2001). In addition, the parliament has made considerable use of the internet to improve accessibility. All papers and proceedings are available through the internet, although meetings can be closed to the public when 'sensitive' issues are on the agenda which leads to very short recordings for very long meetings. All MSPs are also accessible through email. Bonney (2003) however, claims that there is little evidence to suggest that that the use of internet has improved the accessibility of the parliament or executive in any significant way and points out that even though both the parliament and Scottish Executive websites get plenty of 'hits', most of these visits are from people working for or studying the institutions rather than exercising a citizen's right to access information. He also reports

that MSPs do not see email taking over from conventional mail, phone conversations and meetings (Bonney 2003 p. 461).

The Scottish Civic Forum (to be discussed in more detail later) carried out an audit of democratic participation in 2002 which 'provides information about some of the ways in which it is possible to participate in the work of the Scottish Parliament and the Scottish Executive, and gives recommendations as to how those ways could be improved' (Scottish Civic Forum 2002).

The general tone of the Audit Report is positive, with some suggestions for improvement. It states that the executive and parliament are showing a commitment to involving the people of Scotland in decision making processes by providing information frequently and in a timely manner (although Bonney (2003) states that the information online or in libraries is rarely accessed by non-professional citizens). In terms of the parliament, the report praises the public petitions committee's work, but claims that it needs to be better resourced and that it needs to consider equalities issues more openly (81% of petitioners were found to be male) and to require follow-up when petitions have been passed to committees. The Executive is acknowledged to consult widely on policy, but is criticised for not always taking responses seriously. This consultation is seen to take place at several stages. The report outlines five stages before the bill is presented to parliament and suggests the type of participation possible at each stage:

1. Having the idea

It is acknowledged here that pressure groups and reports from public enquiries can have influence at this stage (as well as political party agendas).

2. Setting the policy options

A 'Bill Team' made up of people from relevant Executive departments develops policy options for the Bill. They may seek the advice of experts from the relevant field - often organisations identified by the Executive as suitable. It may not be widely distributed. It is not easy for members of the public or civic groups to influence what happens here. If groups or individuals wanted to break into this stage, they would have to know in advance that the policy is about to be developed, and this presents difficulties.

3. Consultation on policy options

The bill team issues a consultation document. Although not obliged to consult, the Executive's Good Practice Guidelines expect consultation. A consultation period not shorter than twelve weeks is expected where responses can be made. These are collated and a summary is passed to the Minister. The Executive's good practice

guidelines also call for a report on the consultation responses to be published. At this stage there are concerns about time for consultation and the clarity of documents.

4. Detailed policy instructions written

The Bill team sets out the detailed instructions as to how the favoured policy option will work, refining ideas based on consultation. During the writing of the detailed policy instructions Bill teams may also draw on outside help, including from community groups. Sometimes a further consultation may be carried out on the draft Bill which may lead to further revisions. This is seen to give people more time to prepare arguments and positions once the Bill arrives in Parliament.

5. Bill finalised and submitted to Parliament

The Bill is then checked by Law Officers and the Presiding Officer of the Parliament, and is submitted to the Parliament with a number of accompanying documents, including the estimated costs of implementing the Bill, explanatory notes summarising what the Bill aims to do, details of the goals of the bills, details of consultation and considered alternatives and the expected impact of the bill on equal opportunities, human rights, island communities, local governments and sustainable development. (adapted from Scottish Civic Forum's audit of democratic participation November 2002 p.39-41)

Once presented to the parliament the bill typically goes through three stages. Which, as outlined by the Executive's website, include:

Stage 1: The appropriate parliamentary committee(s) considers the bill's general principles. The bill is then debated at a meeting of the Parliament. If the Parliament agrees to the general principles, the bill goes on to Stage 2. If the Parliament does not agree to the general principles, the bill falls.

Stage 2: The bill is considered in detail, by a committee or, in some cases, by a Committee of the Whole Parliament. Changes, known as amendments to the bill, can be made at this stage.

Stage 3: Further amendments can be made at this stage and the bill is then discussed by the Parliament. The Parliament votes on whether the bill should be passed or rejected. (The stages of a bill, www.scottish.parliament.uk/vli/publicInfo/hspw/billstages.htm)

Scrutiny by committees at both the first and second stages provide opportunities for elected MSPs to consult with external groups, and to invite witnesses to present information to the committee. These discussions can again lead to amendments being made to the bill before it is again presented to the full parliament for debate and voting.

These structures could be seen to represent the 'participative' approach called for by the CSG.

Much of the academic literature on the new structures focuses on the extent to which the CSG principles of power sharing and participation have been met by the new structures of the parliament. Lynch (2000) claims that although parliamentary committees were to be central to making the parliament 'open, responsive and accessible to the public', there are significant resource limitations in the these committees, especially compared to the resources the Executive has for the development of policy in the shape of the civil service. In addition he suggests that consultation mechanisms such as invited witnesses or moving meetings to other venues in Scotland have not led to broader involvement, but rather to the inclusion of the 'usual suspects', or in other words those already heavily engaged in the policy process (Lynch 2000 p. 70). Hassan & Warhurst (2001) also claim that there is a 'clientistic' relationship between committees and extra-parliamentary interest groups. Writing a couple of years later, Bonney (2003) reiterates this concern, claiming that the type of witnesses invited to committees reflects a style choice in the way participation is carried out. The style is one of 'stakeholder' consultation. Bonney uses this term to refer to 'a relevant and restricted range of organised interests rather than any general public interest' (p. 463) and claims that while this style of consultation suggests cooperative working and coalition building, it reflects successful lobbying by powerful interest groups more than it does the more general public interest.

Well into the second session of the parliament this concern has not gone away. Arter (2006) considers the success of holding committee meetings away from Edinburgh in terms of the ability to get the wider public (defined as individuals or local community groups) involved in giving evidence. He finds that even though there has been a positive increase in the number of meetings which have been moved from Edinburgh, often there has still been greater representation by national rather than local organisations. On the other hand, both Bonney (2003) and Arter (2006) outline positive exceptions to this trend. Bonney describes a two year consultation process including: a convention which brought together learners, learning providers and policy makers (including executive ministers and members of the enterprise and lifelong learning committee) in a debate format, case studies, visits with adult learners and learning providers and consultation papers sent to 'stakeholders'. Arter (2006) points out that when committee meetings for the Rural Development Committee were held in the Highlands in 2002, there were informal meetings held in time slots next to the formal meetings during which 'members

of the public were encouraged to make contributions'. These contributions were recorded as evidence and Arter claims that while the formal meetings were dominated by polished presentations from senior managers from rural development agencies, the informal meetings were characterised by more personal and less scripted accounts which were often critical of those same agencies, suggesting that these informal meetings were reaching beyond the 'usual suspects'.

Arter (2004) argues that committees, through carrying out such consultations, have been the key element in drawing the executive into what could be seen as more power sharing with civil society. Interestingly, Arter (ibid.) claims also that there has not been power sharing between the executive and the parliament mostly because the party whip extends to committee decisions and therefore committees have ended up mostly reflecting executive wishes regardless of the input of other witnesses or any cross-party dialogue. The party whip can undermine the independence of MSPs and thus affect the ability to form cross party consensus which may go against the executive.

The Petitions Committee is often cited as one of the more innovative and inclusive aspects of the 'new politics'. The committee does not take action on petitions itself, but can investigate the issues raised in petitions in order to determine the most appropriate place to refer the petition to. The committee can also follow up on a petition after it has been referred. Arter (2004) claims that it is the principle underlying the establishment of the petitions committee which is most significant: 'Petitions were seen as integral to the new relationship between parliament and civil society and as a means of influencing the policy agenda of parliament' and he quotes the procedures committee report which suggested that petitioning was 'becoming increasingly popular and has the capacity to be a main driver in expanding and deepening participatory democracy in Scotland' (Arter 2006, p. 76).

2) Policy aimed at increasing democratic participation

It should be remembered that even though the Consultative Steering Group's report (and the resulting standing orders of the parliament) were drawn up by a cross party group, the group was headed by the Labour Party through Henry McLeish, and the process of devolution was ultimately part of a new Labour agenda for a more engaged citizenry and a more participatory style of government. In addition, the result of the Scottish Parliament elections was a devolved Executive (government by any other name) dominated by the Labour Party (although in coalition with the Liberal Democrats). The representative democracy structures of both UK and Scottish Parliaments are such that

once elected to power, the dominant party, not the parliament, then determines policy. Thus what the new parliament actually meant for democracy in Scotland was determined by the Scottish Labour Party, and perhaps less directly, by "New Labour". This is already evident in the experience of parliamentary committees mentioned above which, in decisions taken, reflect executive wishes and demonstrate the strength of the party whip.

In addition to the constitutional changes of devolved assemblies, the "New Labour" programme (to which Scottish Labour is still somewhat committed) is seen to have involved placing more emphasis on participatory, or local democracy. Percy-Smith (2000) in a chapter specifically concerned with political inclusion claims that policy aimed at 'political inclusion' has been focused around two things. First, there is the programme of modernising local government. Second, there are concerns with increasing 'community involvement'. Several people suggest that Labour's attitude towards local government has been one of suspicion and claim that there has been a policy of supplementing the representative democracy achieved through regular elections of local authorities, devolved and UK governments with a range of alternative community involvement strategies. For example, Levitas (2005) notes that these come in the form of community forums, citizens juries, public hearings, and referendums. Bonney (2004) adds partnership structures, community councils and neighbourhood management schemes. Burns (2000) gives a succinct summary of the reasoning:

> The simple idea underpinning local democracy is this: councils have long been controlled by councillors who are perceived to be unrepresentative, and by a bureaucratic system which is perceived to be unresponsive, inaccessible, inefficient, and unaccountable and so on. If services were controlled locally and representative committees of local people were able to make the decisions, then the whole system would become far more democratic (p. 963).

According to Bonney (2004) and Burns (2000) these local participation initiatives are often pushed onto local authority or public service structures without clear lines of accountability. In other words, the democratic authority of some of the groups participating is negligible, and they are often given authority without ever having to take responsibility for what they do with that authority. Although some of the literature (Burns 2000 and Percy-Smith 2000) focuses on the experience in English towns, Bonney uses Edinburgh as an example. He points towards the 'plethora' of new Partnership structures each with their own version of 'community involvement'. His argument is that these structures confuse and weaken the already existing democratic structures of local government. The Craigmillar Social Inclusion Partnership is an example of these structures and provides this research with one case.

In addition to these 'general' policy directions concerning local government and community participation, local government is one of the responsibilities of the devolved government in Scotland, and those reviewing the first few years of devolution in Scotland have noted that local government is experiencing considerable frustrations. In order to understand these frustrations we need to understand some of the workings of the local authority.

The referendum in Scotland came just a short time after some significant reforms had already taken place in local government in Scotland. These reforms took away regional councils and gave local authorities responsibility for the things regions previously were concerned with. Local government in Edinburgh has responsibilities which are delegated to them from Scottish and, to some extent, national governments. These responsibilities include housing, environment, education, leisure, social care, transport and development. The local authority has an elected body of councillors, 58 in the case of The City of Edinburgh Council (CEC), who elect the executive which makes strategic decisions about what the council will do. Each member of the executive has a specific responsibility for an area of local authority service provision. Those councillors not on the executive sit on committees which scrutinise the work of the executive and, as part of the full council, decide on strategic directions and overall budgets. The local government can raise income from council tax but has restrictions on the level of council and business taxes it can levy. In addition, the local authority receives grants, now from the Scottish Executive, to achieve particular policy ends. Council meetings are open to the public and local councillors hold regular surgeries where their constituency members can contact them.

In addition to funding and policy connections to the Scottish Executive, the local authority has a parliamentary liaison office which ensures that the local councillors are consulted on any relevant legislation going through the parliament.

In 1998 (after the referendum and before the establishment of the parliament) a Commission on Local Government and the Scottish Parliament reported on the future of local government and the nature of its relationships with the Scottish Executive, the Parliament and its communities. It recommended new ways for councils to work and channels for accountability. The report deals with the following key recommendations:

- Working Relationship – there should be written agreements about the relationship between parliament and the executive and local government and a standing joint conference should oversee and monitor the working relationships between local government, the Parliament and the Scottish Ministers; and all parties' adherence to the Covenant. It would also provide local authorities a forum to meet with the

Parliament on an equal footing and highlight areas requiring legislative change or new legislation.

- Finance – is too complicated for public scrutiny and money for the block grant is too often tied to specific programmes.

- General competence – legislation should be introduced to give local authorities general competence (defined below).

- Electoral reform – a system of proportional representation should be introduced which also takes into account the need for a constituency connection.

- Internal management – cabinet style leadership and committee structures should be arranged to make the local authorities more accountable. Arrangements should also be made to increase transparency.

- Councillors – action should be taken to increase the range of people from different backgrounds who stand for council elections.

- Working relationship with communities – community councils should be supported and funded and should themselves make improvements in their processes of representation and accountability. (Commission on Local Government and the Scottish Parliament 1999)

Mair (2000), reviewing this report, argues that as long as the Executive effectively controls 80% of local government finance, local government cannot be seen as an autonomous political body. A report on the impact of devolution on local government describes the funding relationships in the following way:

> A further element of revenue open to the Parliament is Self-financed Expenditure which includes factors such as Council Taxes and Nondomestic Rates (Business Rates). While self-financed Expenditure is not directly controlled by the Treasury – unlike grant support for local government, which is calculated as part of the DEL – it can still be indirectly influenced from London. Where devolved decisions regarding Self-financed Expenditure impact on UK spending matters, for example on the level of Council Tax rebates paid in Scotland, those decisions would have to be paid by the Parliament from the Scottish Block allocation. If important elements of Scottish Self-financed Expenditure are allowed by the Parliament to grow at rates faster than their English equivalents, for example Local Government Self-financed Expenditure, then the Treasury retains the right to reduce the Scottish DEL by the appropriate amounts (HM Treasury, 1999). Consequently, the Parliament and public bodies in Scotland such as councils, continue to operate under a UK-wide financial system. This operates as an effective constraint on the Scottish Parliament's policy autonomy. (Bennett, Fairley & McAteer 2002 pp. 3-4)

Thus both local authorities and the Scottish Executive are limited by wider UK policies.

Local authorities have asked for the right to 'general competence' for several years (the right to take action on any issue rather than being restricted to issues which national governments say they should be concerned with). The Local Government Scotland Act produced only a watered down version of general competence which limited new initiatives from local authorities to things which were not being done by another agency

and which did not conflict with any statutory obligations. According to McConnell (2006), this essentially puts local authorities on a short leash in terms of being able to respond directly to local pressures for particular services or policies.

The Scottish Executive's response to the report also included that they did not think that community councils were the only way for facilitating community engagement and cited citizen's juries or panels, partnership structures and a range of service providers' community involvement strategies as other possibilities. The Executive in Scotland followed the UK government's implementation of 'community planning', although it took considerably longer to do so. Community planning was about bringing together public service agencies, community organisations, voluntary sector and government at local and national levels to plan the provision of a wide range of services, thus reflecting the Scottish Executive's response to the MacIntosh Commission. A key element of this planning process was to be community participation. Although McConnell (2006) claims the Scottish local government bill was somewhat clearer about community planning arrangements than the equivalent English policy, the community participation element was still not defined in any detail, leaving the paths open for both minimal representation and more participatory arrangements. The expectation of increasing participation at the 'community level' was already evident in social inclusion policy in Scotland which insisted that partnership arrangements included local participation.

Engagement with the voluntary sector in Scotland was seen to be part of this local level participation (including community planning proposals). Partnership structures were to be partnerships which included the voluntary sector in their work, and the community planning structures follow in this pattern. Perhaps symptomatic of the way Labour wanted to engage with the voluntary sector is the development of the Scottish Compact. This was a Scottish response to the Labour government's paper titled 'Building the Future together – Labour's Policies for Partnership between Government and the Voluntary Sector'.

The Compact itself outlines commitments from both the Executive (notably not the Parliament) and the Voluntary sector in terms of their

1. recognition (of each other's importance, limitations, values and commitments)
2. representation (from the Executive this seems to mean seeking representation from voluntary sector bodies on particular issues, and ensuring information is provided clearly, and on the part of the voluntary sector to promote collaborative working with the government and good consultation practice within voluntary sector organisations that are seen as representative)

3. Partnership (which is concerned with including the voluntary sector in policy making dialogue, and that the voluntary sector in turn tries to ensure the widest range of organisations are involved as possible)

4. Resources (which considers the practicalities of funding and accountability for public funds)

5. Implementation (concerned with publicising commitments, and dedicating resources to the actual implementation of the compact). (Scottish Executive 2003)

Reflecting on the original compact (which was accepted with just a few changes in 2003) Burt & Taylor (2002) claim:

> The Scottish Compact (Scottish Office 1998) may not have achieved as much as some hoped or anticipated. Nonetheless, its formal endorsement by both the Westminster parliament and the Scottish Executive lends weight to their acknowledgement, first, that voluntary organisations have a responsibility to speak out on behalf of the communities that they serve, and second, that they should be able to hold governmental and other public sector bodies more readily to account. Even though some civil servants and local authorities have been less quick to embrace the spirit of the compact's message and slower still to practise it, The Scottish Compact nonetheless sets down important markers supporting political engagement by Scotland's voluntary organisations.

Thus the compact represents a policy of formalising the relationship between civil society and government and formalising their confidence in each other's working practices. Lindsay (2001) also suggests, however, that there has been a general trend (started to some extent by Conservative governments) towards increasing use of the voluntary sector in the implementation of policy. The voluntary sector is seen as an appropriate arena for public service provision in the fields of health, housing, and care. As this occurs more and more voluntary sector organisations are drawn into contractual relationships with government and become more and more dependent on government resources.

For many writers about Scottish policy development, the engagement of government with the voluntary sector is not new. Indeed, Paterson (1997, 1998, 1999), Kellas (1998, 1999), McCrone (1999), Midwinter et al (1991) and many others argue that in the absence of elected ministers, or at least in the absence of Scottish ministers with a strong mandate in the country, the Scottish Office turned to civil society or the voluntary sector to develop policies which met the needs of professions operating under Scottish law. This resulted in a policy community which was heavily dependent on the voluntary sector. This is seen to continue as the old Scottish Office becomes the administrative body for the new Scottish Executive. To confuse matters, the same term is used to describe both the collection of ministers appointed by the majority coalition in the parliament, and to the civil servants who carry out work on their behalf. The tradition of policy development with the voluntary sector comes through the administrative angle more than it does through the political angle; however, Lindsay (2001) claims that the voluntary sector has

also been increasingly involved in policy development through campaigning and lobbying aimed at the party policy development also. She states:

> The voluntary sector has played an increasing role in brokering policies and establishing issues. For many major policy areas - international aid, the environment, poverty, discrimination - it is far more likely that it will be the campaigning organisations, not the political parties, which will have brought together people with shared interests, developed public opinion, and promoted reform programmes with public authorities. Political parties, beneath national leadership levels, have become election organisers with only a very marginal role in policy development. (p. 115)

This however leads to the third category of expectations for democratic renewal in Scotland. Lindsay here is suggesting not a government-led engagement with policy structures, but a critical engagement which brings issues to public and private attention and makes them part of a policy agenda.

(3) Critical engagement with policy issues

Considering the situation shortly after the first Scottish Parliament elections, McTernan (2000) reminds us that the principles set out by the CSG (particularly the third) are not easy to achieve alone. She states:

> By definition it requires action and change also in all the other aspects of the political system, including the Executive (ministers and civil service), political parties, individual politicians, the media, civic society and the wider Scottish community. (in Hassan & Warhurst 2000 p. 140)

As mentioned earlier, civil society has been credited with being central to the process of establishing devolved government in Scotland. Paterson states that it was civil society, in the shape of churches, trade unions and professional associations for teachers and doctors which, by contributing to the Scottish Constitutional Convention, helped to bring about the current devolution settlement. Apart from the structural procedures (committees inviting special witnesses for example) and the policy changes (such as the Scottish Compact 2003), some sections of civil society have also taken a position as 'promoter' of participatory democracy or democratic renewal and also the focal point of critical engagement with policy issues (as suggested by Lindsay above).

At the national level the voluntary sector came together both before and after devolution in the form of the Scottish Civic Assembly, which became the Scottish Civic Forum. This loose organisation is open to anyone claiming to represent civil society, and initially was developed to complement the parliament and according to some (see Scandrett 1997) was hoped to be the key to greater participatory involvement in policy development. Scandrett claimed that early meetings moved towards more participatory formats and that even though the structures were far from perfect, there was 'at best' potential for the assembly to become 'an agenda setting' 'second house' to the

parliament, disempowering the party machinery, helping to build hegemony through active consent into the decisions of the state' (p.17).

Since these early beginnings the Civic Assembly has changed its name to the Civic Forum. Although it has never been a 'second chamber', it has taken on responsibility for increasing democratic participation. In 2005 the Forum claimed it was:

> Committed to building a new culture of active citizenship, in which the people of Scotland have a genuine opportunity to be involved in influencing the Government policies that affect their lives. We are building links between the people of Scotland, the Scottish Executive, the Scottish Parliament and between different parts of civic society. (SCF Website, soon to be replaced)

Scandrett also claimed that civil society could be an 'honest broker' for lobbying, breaking away from the elitist lobbying model of Westminster. In 2001 the Executive and SCF entered into a 'Concordat' where the Executive agrees to consult with the forum in structured ways meeting principles of participation set out in the Consultative Steering Group's recommendations. The concordat states:

> We recognise that the Scottish Executive is accountable to the Parliament and the people and that, in the case of the people, the relationship needs shape and substance. In this process we recognise that the Scottish Civic Forum has a significant role, as was recommended by the Consultative Steering Group. (Signed October 11th 2001)

The concordat also recognised a joint responsibility for monitoring and evaluating the processes of participation in the Executive and parliament. As part of this commitment, the SCF carried out the audit of participation and access discussed above. However, both before and very shortly after the establishment of the Scottish Parliament, there was an acknowledgement that some elements of civil society were part of the establishment, or indeed part of the decision making elite and that not all of Scotland was represented by the civil society which was engaged (see Hassan & Warhurst (2001)). In fact in 2005 the executive stopped its core funding for the SCF and the organisation was unsuccessful in its appeal to the Parliament. Although the organisation still exists, it has no paid staff. There are however two projects which the SCF successfully secured funding for. The first – the Forum on Discrimination (FonD) – ended in October 2006. The second – 'Sus it Out', a 'sustainable development project' – has funds from the Scottish executive until 2009 and employs a full time development worker and consultants. The SCF continues to seek core funding and is now working on a new website thanks to a corporate sponsor. The SCF however is not the only organisation concerned with linking the voluntary sector to the parliament and executive. The Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations (SCVO), which has until recently provided office space for the SCF, has a policy and

parliament section which offers advice and information to the voluntary sector and promotes parliamentary consultation with the voluntary sector.

In addition, 'elite' civil society (by which I mean civil society which is most frequently seen to be working with established powers) in the form of Canon Kenyon Wright also sponsored a wide ranging research / participation project before the establishment of the parliament entitled 'people and parliament' where groups of people (community groups mostly) discussed how to finish three sentences focusing on what they wanted out of a new parliament and what they hoped for Scotland ten years in the future. Looking at the instructions for how to participate in this project suggests a desire to see genuine open dialogue in Scotland between people of different backgrounds about what political process should look like, and what they hoped for the future. The questions were open enough to allow a broad political spectrum to give opinions, but also encouraged these opinions to be presented collectively rather than as individuals (see Wright 1999).

In some ways the establishment of the parliament provides a symbolic point of departure for a different kind of politics. Democratic renewal was not necessarily a new idea, but the establishment of a new institution was seen as an opportune time to push for change. Those involved in teaching Adult or Community Education in Edinburgh edited an educational source book aimed at encouraging critical dialogue. The introduction to this series of essays on both procedural and policy politics in Scotland states:

> The basic aim of this educational source book is to promote an understanding of democracy in Scotland as a social and cultural process which is sustained through learning, as well as a set of political institutions and procedures. These papers have therefore been written not only to widen understanding of the policies and politics of the new Scottish state but also to facilitate democratic discussion – in the classroom, seminar, youth club or church group. (Crowther, Martin & Shaw, Eds., 2003 p. ix)

One of the contributors to this source book is Stephen Maxwell, who has long been involved with the Scottish Council for Voluntary Agencies. He writes about welfare policy and democratic change and argues that social inclusion policy in Scotland has been shaped by the voluntary sector at both local and national levels. He claims that when the Labour government's social exclusion strategy was translated to the Scottish context, the Scottish Office in 1997 established a social exclusion network made up of various civil service agencies (benefits, housing, area regeneration). This network produced a consultation document. They were surprised by the large response – over 100 voluntary organisations submitted written comments. Maxwell then describes what happened next:

> Sensing that it was out of step with the expectations of a more participatory style of politics, the Scottish Office moved rapidly to convene a renamed Scottish Social Inclusion Network, mixing civil servants and individuals from organisations with a representative role. ... On the recommendation of the [new version of the] network, the largely critical responses to the consultation paper were published and a policy options paper restating existing government priorities was withdrawn in order to allow five working groups with additional members from the voluntary sector, community groups and the universities to carry out wider consultation. (Maxwell 2003, p. 121)

Thus Maxwell is claiming that the pressure for more participatory engagement came from outside formal government institutions. The key civil society players known to have long been engaged with policy making in Scotland were involved here, COSLA, SCVO etc., but there was also an attempt to involve grassroots organisations. Perhaps more importantly, Maxwell claims that 'in the areas of policy in which the network was directly engaged there are some modest signs of a new radicalism' (p.122).

It may be reasonable to expect arguments suggesting that the movement for the parliament was in itself evidence of a democratic renewal in Scotland. However, the turnout rate for the 1997 referendum was lower than that for the referendum in 1979 (60.4% in 1997 and 64% in 1979). In 1975 Gordon Brown edited a collection of papers which had the common theme of making Scotland more democratic. Kirkwood's article on community involvement documented examples of local organisations which were engaging people in democratic ways. He included tenants' associations, residents' groups, community councils, action groups and various 'self servicing' organisations such as playgroups. He stated that these are examples of a type of voluntary collectivism which could be 'the growth points for participative democracy' (p.95). He did however show concern over the extent to which local authorities could come to control such organisations and also about the way certain people may start to dominate the structures and the tendency towards representative rather than participatory democracy in the structures of community councils. However, his review gives an idea of how local level civil society, of both the campaigning and self-servicing kind, is where one would expect a more participatory democracy to find a home.

Taylor (2000) some twenty-five years later considers the level of community involvement in terms of partnerships and local level organisations and seems to be saying that Kirkwood's concern for local authority control of these organisations was somewhat justified and that a 'normative isomorphism' takes place when independent projects work with bureaucratic government structures, leading to the bureaucratic culture taking over. However, the fact that there is still concern about the independence of these organisations

and that there are many concerned to engage these organisations in wider national processes, still seems to suggest there is something of a democratic renewal underway.

A final aspect of the literature around political renewal in Scotland is the debate about citizenship, closely linked to a concern with social inclusion. Martin & Shaw (2000) express concern for the 'third way' cooption of community work. They argue that 'in order to democratise democracy, there is a need to politicise politics' (p. 410) and in doing so are criticising third way policies that seems to suggest that disadvantage is about management rather than distribution or discrimination. They suggest the need to see citizenship 'as a process in which power is something that is claimed, or demanded, through social and political action'. For them democratic renewal must be about 'the actions of communities in pursuit of their own interests (as distinct from the objectives of policy-makers) [which] need to be seen not only as the legitimate expression of active citizenship but also as the essence of democracy itself' (p. 410).

Summary

This chapter has drawn on literature about democratic renewal in Scotland in order to better contextualise the study of political inclusion in one particular community. I have identified three types of expectation for democratic renewal. Each expectation is based on either concrete or hoped for changes in Scottish politics. In the first set of expectations the changes take place at the level of national political institutions in the form of the new Scottish Parliament and resulting executive. The changes here focus on procedures for elections and policy development which, it is hoped, will be more representative of Scotland's people and more accessible for people who choose to take part. In the second type of expectation, changes are focused less on institutional change, and more on policy change. The distinction here is somewhat clouded as institutional changes are of course based on policy, but this type of expectation focuses on policies which call for greater engagement with already existing structures such as local government, public services and particularly with and through the voluntary sector. Finally, I show that the expectations for democratic renewal are also grounded in calls for change from the margins of policy development in the form of a voluntary sector fighting for more influence in political circles.

I have shown in this chapter that literature to date has already started to address the efficacy of some institutional changes at the Scottish Parliament level and of policy change directed at local government. Here we find that there have been both positive and negative outcomes in terms of increasing democratic engagement. In terms of the more

critical engagement of civil society, there is literature which expresses concern about the extent to which engagement extends beyond a small elite group to a more general 'civil' population in Scotland.

The hopes of democratic renewal outlined above reflect a particular understanding of the need for and the efficacy of political engagement by the general population. This suggests that they are based on different theories or paradigms founded on changes which draw their purpose from a range of theoretical constructs, from inclusion and democracy to civil society and power. The next chapter expands on the theoretical constructs which can be (and have been) used to explore the notion of democratic renewal, focusing on those which are particularly relevant to exploring the extent to which residents in Craigmillar are experiencing the expected phenomenon.

CHAPTER 3

Powerful Exclusion

In Chapter Two I established the nature of the expectations for democratic renewal in Scotland, and the extent to which literature finds these expectations fulfilled at a national level. This research explores the experience of democratic renewal in just one community in Scotland by trying to understand the nature of political relationships between Craigmillar and the governing institutions which are related to it. In order to explore these relationships it is necessary to understand the theoretical arguments which suggest the usefulness of such a study, and the conceptual tools which can help us understand those relationships in light of expectations for democratic renewal.

Craigmillar is a geographical community which is labelled 'socially excluded'. This label stems from recently popular theories of disadvantage. This chapter therefore starts by outlining what theories of social exclusion offer in the way of understanding Craigmillar. Silver (1994) reviewed the social exclusion literature and showed that what is meant by social exclusion (and inclusion) is influenced by three different paradigmatic approaches. These three paradigms of social exclusion provide a framework within which it is possible to introduce literature with other themes (citizenship, participatory democracy, and power) in order to expand on the often sparse attention paid to the political aspect of exclusion.

Citizenship debates, in the context of social exclusion, are concerned not only with legal factors which count some people in and others out, but also with the practice of citizenship. Citizenship as practice involves engaging with the society to which legal citizenship gives membership. Literature on participatory democracy and participation generally extend the concern with citizenship as practice by exploring the reasons for and the efficacy of participation as a means of politically including people. The question left by what is labelled the 'monopoly' paradigm is whether or not active participation can lead to genuine inclusion as long as power relationships are left unchanged. However, different understandings of power are linked to each paradigm, suggesting that if we want to know if political exclusion is experienced in Craigmillar in spite of policy aimed at democratic renewal, we will be satisfied or disappointed depending on which paradigm we adhere to.

Throughout all three of these bodies of literature there is a reoccurring theme of the importance of voluntary and collective action to a politically inclusive democracy. It is

this emphasis which theoretically underpins the previous chapter's repeated concern with civil society, and which leads to the need to consider literature concerned with civil society. Literature concerned with civil society gives us an analytic framework for determining whether or not civil society exists in Craigmillar and the extent to which different kinds of civil society can hope to fulfil the expectations presented earlier. Through the literature on civil society it becomes evident that 'social capital' is an important analytical construct which can help us to explore the extent to which people might be expected to become politically active through the institutions of government and civil society and that as such, the theoretical origins of the construct are presented.

This leaves us with many theoretical concepts to consider. The purpose of this chapter is therefore to synthesise the different themes and pinpoint the connections which are most relevant to the study of political inclusion in Craigmillar.

Social Exclusion

In the past fifteen years or so, 'exclusion' has been used to describe and address inequality in the UK. The term *social* exclusion (or inclusion) is the most common term used, but this is seen as a general concept which includes many different aspects – economic, cultural, political, etc. Political exclusion is therefore just one possible aspect of exclusion, but should be understood in the context of the development of the more general concept of Social Exclusion.

Hilary Silver's review article in a special issue, 'International Labour Review' (1994) on social exclusion dates the original use of the term 'exclusion' to 1960's French political discourse; however, she also recognises that the idea of exclusion has more than one empirical referent. Social exclusion is frequently defined as being a collection of different forms of disadvantage (Room 1995, Healey 1998, Scottish Council Foundation 1998, Levitas 1996 & 2005, Barry 1998, Lister 1990 & 1998). In fact Barry (1998) claims that the concept of exclusion is useful exactly because it makes the poverty debate multidimensional. For Barry, social exclusion is a:

> multi-dimensional disadvantage which severs individuals and groups from the major social processes and opportunities in society, such as housing, citizenship, employment and adequate living standards, and may be manifest in various forms, at various times and within various sections of the population. (Barry 1998 p.1)

While she still points to problems inherent in current usage, where the question 'Exclusion from what? or Inclusion in what?' are answered vaguely, Barry nevertheless gives a definition which insists on the breadth of the concept. A further important element of this definition, and of the idea of exclusion, is that lack of access to opportunities such

as decent housing or employment is evidence of social processes which define some people as in and others as out. At the macro level these processes are national laws about citizenship entitlements. At the micro level they are the individual actions of policy implementers such as social workers.

Barry is not alone in linking the term social exclusion to ideas of citizenship. Lister (1990) for example made direct links with Marshall's progressive definition which argued for a citizenship which extended rights and responsibilities beyond a status of legality in the country to issues of welfare and wellbeing (see Marshall 1950). Lister claims that poverty excludes millions from the 'full' rights of citizenship by undermining their ability to fulfil either their private or social obligations. In a later article (Lister 1998), she suggests that one can draw a distinction between citizenship as practice (what we do) and citizenship as status (what we are). Thus while Craigmillar residents may have citizenship in terms of legal status, the actual experience of living in Craigmillar may mean that what citizens do (by choice or as a result of policies) excludes them from many of the benefits of citizenship which other citizens enjoy. For example, because of regeneration policies, many tenants are effectively forcibly re-housed for two or three years. Thus they do not experience the kind of uninterrupted tenure others can reasonably expect.

Hilary Silver's article reviewing social exclusion literature in 1994 and more recently Ruth Levitas' consideration of social exclusion and social policy in 2005 give us two related typologies of three paradigms within which social exclusion is embedded. Silver defines these paradigms by identifying (1) the conceptions and sources of integration; (2) the underpinning ideology; and (3) the roots of the discourse for each paradigm. Levitas on the other hand gives us three types of policy discourse which are based on particular understandings of the problem of and solution to exclusion. Levitas' categories can therefore be seen as describing three types within Silver's roots of discourse. Table 3.1 shows a summary of these paradigms' characteristics which I will go on to elaborate.

Table 3.1: Three paradigms of social exclusion

	Solidarity	Specialisation	Monopoly
Conceptions and sources of integration	Insertion into dominant culture	Open democratic structures	Equality
Underpinning ideology	French republican	Liberal / pluralist	Socialist
Roots of socio-political discourse (according to Silver)	Foucault, Douglas, Mead	Dahl	Weber, Marx
Levitas policy discourse	Moral Underclass Discourse (MUD)	Social Integration Discourse (SID)	Redistributionist Discourse (RED)

Silver's first paradigm is 'Solidarity' which is defined in a strictly Durkheimian sense, where integration (or insertion in much of this literature) means group solidarity brought about by moral integration. This paradigm is the descendent of French republican thought and is represented by writers such as Foucault, Douglas and Mead. In this perspective there tends to be an emphasis on the processes of cohesion and their failure (see for example Lockwood 1998), but the solution is aimed at integration or insertion into dominant culture (Silver, 1994 p.542). This in turn suggests the Moral Underclass Discourse (MUD) in policy terms which blames exclusion on a lack of cohesion with the dominant culture.

The second paradigm is labelled 'specialisation'. This paradigm stems from liberal/pluralist ideologies and stresses the way exclusion is the result of individuals and groups inherently having different specialisations. People stick together and form relationships according to their specialisation and are naturally excluded from those groups or individuals outside of their specialisation. For this paradigm 'inclusion' is equated with free individual choice, i.e., anyone is free to join whichever 'specialist group' best suits them, and 'specialist groups' are free to exchange their skills and abilities with other groups. That which holds back the freedom to choose or access links with your chosen specialisation, or others' specialisations as needed, is what creates exclusion. This paradigm includes both welfare and libertarian liberals who concentrate their discussion of exclusion on problems of discrimination. For example, Jordan (1996) (building on Public Choice Theory) claims exclusion is where rational individuals are prevented from freely choosing which group they belong to. He explores the way people make rational choices about the engagement with social as well as economic goods and that much of the 'exclusion' is the result of choice, except where certain unfair restrictions are in place. Government reports on social exclusion also reflect this

paradigm. For example, the Scottish Council Foundation's report (1998) claims that increased access to work and learning will help people to compete more fairly in accessing social, economic and political 'inclusion'; Kilmurray (2000) also talks about subjective experiences of exclusion in terms of discrimination. This points towards Scottish Executive policy being dominated by what Levitas (2005) calls Social Inclusion Discourse SID where the labour market is seen to be the key to integration. However, the SID discourse is also concerned with using more participatory initiatives for integration into society including into political decision making.

The third paradigm listed by Silver is 'Monopoly'. This paradigm stems from Weber and (according to Silver, to a lesser extent) Marx, where the assumption is that maintaining control over one particular form of social power (such as productive forces) transfers into other methods of controlling power allowing the powerful to maintain their position. For those writing from this perspective 'institutions and cultural distinctions not only create boundaries ... but also perpetuate inequality' (Silver 1994 p.543) Thus Healey (1998 p.55) claims that exclusion is an 'active social process' which reinforces patterns of disadvantage.

The Monopoly paradigm sees culture as a form of domination: by including some, it necessarily excludes others. Where group distinctions reflect inequalities, you find exclusion. In the UK one of the more important contributions to discourse on social exclusion is Ruth Lister's small book on 'The Exclusive Society' (1990) which has already been mentioned. This quite clearly uses this paradigm, locating the problem of social exclusion in 'inequalities of power and resources'. She points to the way the underlying economic inequalities are always described as being due to 'contemporary economic and social conditions' rather than the inherent nature of capitalism (Lister 1990 p.8) thus criticising the nature of policy solutions to problems of exclusion. Likewise, Byrne (1999) claims: 'What is so profoundly depressing is that almost nowhere can we identify coherent political forces which are prepared to attack, even in a reformist fashion, capitalism itself' (1999 p.40). Here he rejects what he calls the 'weak' version of social exclusion which blames individuals, or at least locates solutions at the individual level. For Byrne, exclusion is about inequality on several levels, which intersect. The problem is essentially a structural one that needs to be addressed by changing existing systems of power. The policy discourse here is therefore one of redistribution of both resources and power. The dominant cultural hegemony which accepts inequality as natural justice must be challenged in order for significant, inclusion generating redistribution to take place.

An interesting feature of a collection of writings edited by Madanipour, et al. (1998), is a concern with the geographical nature of exclusion. This is also indicative of a monopoly paradigm approach. While exclusion is not seen to be exclusively linked to geographical locations, the authors argue that certain characteristics of geographical areas (such as a high density of public housing or low incomes and low educational achievement) concentrate to make geographical exclusion a reality.

Atkinson (1999) clarifies this position by describing these excluded spaces as places where people end up 'as a result of powerlessness rather than choice' and goes on to describe one version of such places, namely a traditional working class area, as places which 'contain relatively stable populations who have a distinct sense of 'community', but also a very sharp awareness of their separation from society' (Atkinson 1999 p.1048). Taylor (2000) describes 'partnership areas' in Britain as places characterised by extensive public control – a higher level of publicly owned housing, a higher dependence on public transport, a dependence on benefits for income, etc. In this paradigm the issue is not that personal freedoms are restricted (although obviously they are - a low income rules out many housing options, for example) but more that the choices available are imposed by those who are 'included'. Thus the monopoly paradigm is concerned with the act of domination. This domination occurs at both the macro level, where hierarchical institutional structures dominate one another, and at the micro level, as Jordan describes in his exploration of the implementation of Third Way policies on the ground (Jordan 2000). Here he is concerned with how, what have elsewhere been called 'Street Level Bureaucrats' (See Barker 1999), are important in producing the experience of social exclusion.

Political inclusion

Barry (1998) suggests that one of the dangers of the concept of social exclusion is that it hides the individual characteristics of separate types of exclusion. She states:

> Different forms of oppression cannot readily be subsumed under the blanket heading of social exclusion - even though the term tends to describe a wide variety of oppressions …The term may mask the mechanisms involved in each particular process and may dehumanize the different groups and trivialise the forms of exclusion involved. (Barry 1998 p.6)

By singling out 'political' exclusion, I am not suggesting that the political is more or less important than any other element, rather I am saying it is worth analysing in depth, which is made possible by acknowledging its distinctiveness. This is an attempt to explore rather than 'mask' the 'mechanisms and particular processes' involved in that form of exclusion.

The historical referents for the idea of political exclusion lie in concepts of citizenship, participatory democracy, and debates about power where political decisions taken are seen (in varying degrees) as providing evidence of the exercise of, or lack of, power (see Dahl 1968, Bachrach & Baratz 1970, Lukes 2005). Each social exclusion paradigm understands these three concepts differently and considering each approach provides us with different aspects of political engagement to consider in understanding how political inclusion and democratic renewal can be identified. The literature reviewed thus provides me with a range of analytical tools from which I can choose the most appropriate to explore political exclusion and inclusion in Craigmillar. I also consider how these concepts relate to the different expectations for democratic renewal in Scotland.

Citizenship

As noted above, Lister sees citizenship in two forms: a system of rights, and a practice of participation. Synthesising the two, Lister claims that citizenship rights are constantly pushed further and even maintained by citizenship practice, making the one to some extent dependent on the other. The concept of citizenship as status is linked to political exclusion specifically because citizenship as a status marks one of the founding conditions of basic political engagement. Citizens are allowed to vote and to make claims on the state according to the law. This type of political inclusion is reflected in Dryzek's (1996) claim that the extension of the franchise to different groups in society is evidence of political inclusion. However, practising citizenship is also political because it involves accepting some responsibility for action within the group to which citizenship gives membership. In the different paradigms however, this translates into quite different expectations. For those from the civic republican tradition participation involves (at its most extreme) accepting the expectations of dominant culture. Ellison however suggests that this 'universalist' approach has been challenged by both pluralist and post-modern interpretations. Pluralist (or specialist in Silver's terms) interpretations argue that the universalist approach ignores difference in society and argues that political engagement as a citizen is about engagement with diverse groups which will compete for influence in society. These groups can be seen to be personified in the groups which make up civil society. Ellison's third category however does not necessarily translate into Silver's third paradigm; rather, it takes the pluralist tradition somewhat further by claiming that citizenship is closely connected to identity, but for the purposes of understanding political exclusion, this category seems to simply extend the pluralist concept of competing political interests fighting for influence.

The heavy emphasis placed on civil society in the expectations for democratic renewal, and the decentralisation of representative structures down to the community level can be seen to be partly grounded in traditions which extend citizenship responsibilities in terms of political participation from a specialisation paradigm perspective and in terms of bringing those on the margins of society into full participation in political and social processes.

Participatory Democracy

In Pateman's book 'Participation and Democratic Theory' (1970), she considers the arguments in favour of a more participatory democracy. In spite of those who argued that in a large scale society there was no longer a place for direct political engagement by the general citizenship (Dahl (1968) for example), or that the election of leaders was the most 'democracy' we could hope for, Pateman argued that there were many reasons why such a system would never create a stable or sound society based on what she calls 'classical' participatory democratic theory. In her argument, participatory democracy - where there is not only direct involvement in electing one's leaders but also in challenging them to make decisions in your favour once elected – is the only way to secure the democratic character of a nation. The participation of citizens allows them to understand the interdependence of all citizens and educates them in democratic values and therefore ensures the type of values necessary to ensure oppression never takes hold. In this way, participation becomes a way of getting everyone 'on the same page', recognising that we are 'all in it together', and thus coming to accept some kind of universal common good. This approach to participatory democracy is therefore closely linked to a universalist understanding of citizenship and, as Jordan (1996) suggests, participation for many excluded groups comes to be about 'remoralization', a concept closely linked to Silver's 'solidarity' paradigm of social exclusion and the key identifying factor in Levitas' MUD policy discourse.

There is also literature which approaches participation from a pluralistic 'specialisation' paradigm where competing and diverse interests create the kind of environment in which democratic competition exists. Ideally this should result in a balanced representation of interests. For example in Paul Hirst's writing about 'associative democracy' he argues for democratic involvement in all aspects of life, and especially in civil society, where he claims more uniform democratic governance structures could reinvigorate democracy, make it more meaningful to people and provide a competitive environment for service provisions at the same time (Hirst 1996). For example, this theory is clearly applicable to social policy in Scotland in the pressure to

have local representation in local development partnerships and the funding (although limited) for structures such as community councils.

The monopoly paradigm's main challenge to this specialist or pluralist perspective is reflected in writing from within the pluralist tradition. Walzer (1993) questions the extent to which the pluralist style of democratic engagement is capable of creating a fairer society. He argues that political influence is based on the possession of a range of social goods, and that even though people may have access to democratic structures their influence within those structures is determined by many other factors which are not distributed equally. In a more British setting Taylor (2000) argues that having a say is the only way people who are dependent on public services can hope to have any influence as economic resources leave them with no alternatives. However she also expresses concern for current procedures for public engagement. She claims that those who get involved in partnership or community involvement schemes adopt the attitudes of those with control of the resources through what she calls a process of 'normative isomorphism' so that even though they are expressing their views and trying to have an influence, the process and content of the discussion is dominated by those who were already in a position to control resources. Thus while people may be included in participatory democratic processes, this does not necessarily mean that their views are genuinely included or that they exercise political influence.

Much of the discussion around democratic engagement focuses on the type of participation which is involved and the distinctions made frequently draw on Arnstein's ladder (1969). This describes several different processes or levels of participation. At the top of the ladder are levels of 'citizen control' such as delegated power and partnership, then come levels of tokenism such as consultation, placation and informing, and at the bottom rungs of the ladder one finds levels of 'non-participation' such as therapy and manipulation. Arnstein's message is therefore to be wary of things that claim to be 'participatory'. As in the 'monopoly' paradigm suggested above, Arnstein links 'real' participation with power, a point reiterated by many. Barry, for example, claims:

> Participation processes … are often designed for rather than by those seeking to be involved, thus allowing the powerful to maintain control over the process, and thereby exacerbating existing power imbalances. (1988 p.3)

Nelson and Wright (2000), writing from an international community development perspective, also argue that the underlying issue in participation debates is one of power. They articulate a distinction between those who use 'participation' as a description of the '*means* (to accomplish the aims of a project more effectively)' or as an '*end* (where the

community or group sets up a process to control its own development)' (p.1). Those who are more concerned with participation as the 'end' are paradoxically also those who are most concerned with participation as a *means* of redressing power imbalances. This paradox perhaps stems from the colonial roots of development projects (see Esteva 1992), where participation processes are designed or at least begun 'for, rather than by' those participating. This suggests the need for caution in suggesting that the answer to poverty is participation, even within the monopoly paradigm.

To counteract the potentially reactionary nature of 'encouraged' participation, those from the monopoly perspective would be more likely to call for a 'dissenting' or 'critically, conscious and creative' participant (see Allen 1992 or Patrick 1999). Abbott (1995) claims that community development is a form of community participation which represents a more radical approach to working with the excluded (or whatever label was most used at the time). This approach assumes that people are excluded when others define their problems for them. The community development approach therefore calls on people to collectively identify their problems, thus 'raising their consciousness'. This consciousness raising process brings people to acknowledge the power structures involved in producing the problem, inequality or injustice that they have identified and to collectively take action to change the situation (actively campaigning, designing solutions themselves, etc.) (See Burkey 1993, Nelson & Wright 2003.)

O'Gorman (1998), writing about experience in Brazil, also suggests that there have been attempts to reclaim the design of participation back from development professions, as evidenced by the work of Poulo Friere (1972 & 1995) and community development professionals are often aware of the contradictions involved in attempts to increase participation as evidenced in a long list of articles in the Community Development Journal, (see Constantino-David 1982, Russell-Erlich & Rivera 1987, Barr 1995, Martin & Shaw 2000, Popple & Redmond 2000) and in CONCEPT -Scotland's community education journal (Fitzpatrick 1997, Patrick 1999).

This awareness of contradictions and inequalities of power in service relationships is an essential part of more radical models of community development, but many are concerned that this awareness, and the more radical community development approach generally, are under threat. Shaw and Martin (2000) give a brief account of the history of 'community development projects' set up in the 1960s in the UK. They point out that the radical intentions of the projects were undermined by state intervention, perhaps the result of more and more challenges to government policy and procedure. This gives rise to the

idea that 'real' participation (of the dissenting, critical kind) takes place through organising outside the official political participation structures of political parties and elections. Indeed for many this type of participation takes place in the realms of civil society. It is also based in the expectations of a critical engagement with policy by civil society.

Power

In the literature on citizenship and that concerned with participatory democracy, there are underlying themes of the avoidance of oppression and the ability to have influence, not to mention the personal power individuals have in terms of their abilities (whether due to economic resources or human capacities) to participate in given structures. All of these issues are also present in discussions about power. In fact in each of the paradigms mentioned above, the underlying understanding of power is central to how political exclusion and inclusion are conceptualised.

One of the key distinctions in the literature is between power as an unlimited ability and power as a limited resource, which, when monopolised by one group, results in the domination and oppression of others. This distinction is key to the difference between the specialisation and monopoly paradigms. For those who see power primarily as a positive force or ability, exclusion occurs because the ability to draw on the unlimited resources of power is restricted. This is due to a lack of purchasing power, or perhaps because of a lack of the right social skills. Here exclusion is about lack of personal power. In policy reforms this understanding of power and empowerment is constantly apparent. The politically excluded are to be included through improved democratic skills learnt through practising democracy at the local level or in civil society organisations. They are also to be helped to improve their economic power through a variety of policies aimed at those on low incomes. Those who see power in this way to some extent come from all paradigms, but particularly from the specialisation paradigm which aims to make structures of participation as open as possible so that those who increase their power can then influence all levels. Those who see power as a limited resource are more concerned with its distribution than its generation. Those who are politically excluded in this understanding of power are those who are discriminated against. They may indeed lack skills or resources but this is part of a wider system of domination, which maintains the position of the powerful. Inclusion in this sense, therefore, challenges oppression and the structures which uphold domination.

In an attempt to synthesise these conflicting understandings of power, Steven Lukes has published a second edition of 'Power: A Radical View' (2005). In this book Lukes reiterates his position as someone concerned with power as a limited resource which tends to be concentrated in the hands of a minority and results in domination, but he suggests that the other two understandings of power also have something to contribute to analysis. For Lukes, power is 'being able to make or receive any change, or to resist it' (2005, p.69). This definition is taken from John Locke's (which is concerned with making any change), but Lukes adds the element of resistance. Areas such as Craigmillar are often labelled communities from the outside rather than the inside, and they may generate initiatives internally, but most often they accept and experience the implementation of policy. Therefore the element of resistance is particularly important. Not only would we need to know how such a community can bring about change, but also the extent to which they can resist the imposition of programmes or policies.

In his 1974 edition of the same book he made the argument that power had many different ways of manifesting itself. It could be measured not only in evidence of decisions made (the 'first face' of power), or in the decisions which are not made due to control over agenda-setting (the 'second face' of power), but also in a 'third face' of power which can control expectations and culture, or in other words, the control of consciousness. In the discussion of political exclusion above, this understanding suggests that the opportunity to engage in political structures or political decision making is not sufficient to ensure that one's concerns are addressed. Not only are political decision making structures seen to be organised in such a way that some decisions are deliberately not taken, but also the very culture in which those structures exist is such that some issues (things relevant to the powerless) will never be part of any negotiations.

Control or power is here seen in opposition to the concept of freedom. For Lukes (2005) power debates contain a concern with both external freedom and internal freedom and control. External means of control can be the limitation of resources, skills, education or comfort in society, while internal controls have more to do with culturally accepted norms of behaviour or the much questioned term 'false consciousness'. Control can be exercised by imposing sanctions on those who do not act in correct ways, and perhaps a useful way to understand these sanctions is by seeing what it might cost a person to exercise their will. Wall (2001) suggests that domination is to some extent maintained by controlling the cost of performing certain actions. He claims that 'to hinder someone from doing something is either to prevent him from doing it or to make it more costly for him to do it' (Wall, 2001, p.217). The importance of cost related analysis for a study of

political exclusion is reflected in Clegg's (1989) book *Frameworks of Power* which suggests that one of the many reasons that domination is not (politically) resisted is that the cost of resistance is too high. Likewise, Woliver's (1996) research into what made people want to become actively engaged in 'political redress' considered the negative consequences of political action. This included negative labels given to activists by their peers which made the psychological and social cost of political activism high.

Lukes calls power a 'capacity', or 'a potentiality that may never be actualized' (2005 p.69) thus stressing that it is not just the *act* of domination or control, but also the possibility of that act which is at issue. The exercise of power shows that power has been used, not that it exists; for example, when a government provides funding to ensure that a specific action is taken, the government has exercised power. The power to enforce that action however, existed regardless of the government's actions. This in turn suggests something about the relationship between power and resources. Although they are related, they are not the same thing. Resources act as a tool for those with power. Thus individuals may have power but never use it, perhaps because others are using their power or capabilities.

Walzer's (1993) concern with social goods could also be seen as a concern with 'capabilities'. The more social goods (or capabilities) one has, the more included one is. However many of these social goods or capabilities are not something an individual or group work for, rather they are something which is bestowed on them. For example, family background provides certain networks and privileges that are not earned and cannot be easily transferred. Power as the ability to dominate is therefore something that is not always worked for, cannot always be improved upon, and can be independent of an individual's abilities or skills. This view challenges the specialisation paradigm notion that improving skills or structures for participation is likely to be effective. While power as a generic capacity may be a reality, it is a reality tempered by power as domination.

The solidarity paradigm, with roots in the writings of Foucault (and others), sees power as something that is generated in the relationships of society and is not held by any one person or individual but rather is constructed and maintained through complex networks of relationships (see Nelson & Wright 2000 pp.9-10, or Lukes 2005 p.89-98). This leads to exclusion being both created and maintained by those who are excluded as much as by those who are excluding. Here no one person holds ultimate power as power is something society maintains rather than any individual. Thus, to some extent, the powerless or excluded, are complicit in their exclusion and often act to reinforce the

power of their dominators as much as to achieve their own interests. To some extent this understanding of power has been used to challenge the notion of power as described by both pluralists and socialists. Lukes makes some effort to address these challenges when he suggests that in fact the notion of society-generated power is useful in that it points towards a level of unintentionality in the exercise and maintenance of power relationships. He claims that it improves our ability to understand the third face of power which is not evident in actual decisions taken or not taken.

Drawing on a wide range of discussions of power, Lukes (2005) provides us with what he calls a 'conceptual map'. This is shown in Table 3.2 where he suggests that there are four different aspects to consider when analysing (and measuring) power. First, how many issues can an individual or group have influence over. Where there is only one issue that can be controlled, less power is possessed. Second, in what situations (or how many situations) a person or group can exercise their power. For example, if a group can only influence on an issue through membership of one network, their influence or power is context bound. If, however, the group has influence on an issue through several different avenues (the media, political parties, networks, and influence on clients), then the group's power is increased.

The third issue, intentionality, is somewhat more complicated. Although Lukes (2005) challenges some of the assumptions of Foucault, his analysis of intentionality draws strongly on those who have applied Foucault in their research. Lukes claims that some actions produce intended consequences, but most actions also have unintended consequences. When the unintended consequences of one's actions are greater, one has more power. For example, in an analysis of development interventions in Lesotho, Ferguson (1990) argues that the interventions were not particularly effective in changing the problems of poverty they were initially concerned with, but that the projects produced several unintended consequences such as a dependence on external aid. This was a consequence which gave development agencies (and their initiating structures) considerable power. Those with the least power are able to bring about limited intended consequences, but their actions will rarely change structures in their favour. Those with the most power will be able to not only bring about intended consequences, but also to produce unintended (structural or system) consequences that act in their favour.

Finally, one must consider the amount of effort it takes to exert power. According to Lukes, those who have the most power are those who have to do very little to experience that power. Their power is assumed, is accepted, and is responded to without any action

on their part. Those with less power must work much harder to respond to or receive any change – or even to resist any change.

Table 3.2 A conceptual map of power - Lukes (2005 p.79)

Issue Scope	*Contextual Range*	*Intentionality*	*Activity*
Single – Issue	Context-bound	Intended consequences	Active Exercise
Multi-issue	Context-transcending	Unintended consequences	Inactive enjoyment

This suggests that people can have power, without actually exercising it. In other words, it may be possible for people to be politically included without being politically active. Woliver (1996), who studied groups trying to bring about political change, claims that: 'Dominant groups can exercise power without any overt evidence of doing so … a group's 'reputation for power' can prevent some topics from ever becoming official issues' (p.13). Being a member of a dominant group does not require any political action (such as voting, being a member of a political party, involvement in civil society, etc.). It is logical to conclude then, that just as political power (or political inclusion) does not necessitate political actions, so political exclusion does not necessitate inaction. People can be politically active and still excluded from influencing decision making. This could be due to the way people are prevented from defining problems as political, by bureaucratic barriers which limit the methods available for influencing policy (see Broaderick (2002) on the corporate model in Ireland), or by the culture and consciousness forming institutions which exist in society, as Lukes suggests in his third dimension of power (Lukes 1974 & 2005). This last dimension of power suggests the need to look outside political actions or political involvement to the way inaction produces policy or political interest in their favour.

This concept of power being 'inactively enjoyed' rather than 'actively exercised' (see Fig 6.1) is something that MacIntosh (1988) considered in an article on 'White Privilege and White Power'. As a white woman she set about 'unpacking the invisible backpack' of privileges which she held but rarely thought about. One of the purposes was to highlight that we talk about disadvantage all the time, but not about advantage. Her list of 'privileges' includes some which I suggest also highlight some of the cultural exclusions experienced by people who live in a place such as Craigmillar, for example:

No. 10 – I can be pretty sure of having my voice heard in a group in which I am the only member of my race.
No. 21 – I am never asked to speak for all the people of my racial group.

No. 22 – I can remain oblivious of the language and customs of persons of colour who constitute the world's majority without feeling in my culture any penalty for such oblivion.

No. 23 – I can criticise our government and talk about how much I fear its policies and behaviour without being seen as a cultural outsider.

No. 27 – I can go home from most meetings of organizations I belong to feeling somewhat tied in, rather than isolated, out-of-place, outnumbered, unheard …or feared.

No. 50 – I will feel welcomed and 'normal' in the usual walks of public life, institutional and social. (MacIntosh 1998 p.2)

MacIntosh suggests here that dominant cultures can never be completely changed unless they recognise the many privileges which come with domination. In doing so, she also reminds us to make reference to what power looks and feels like, as much as to what powerlessness (or being dominated) looks and feels like.

In the solidarity paradigm, the generation of power is social, that is to say it is generated through both formal and informal structures such as family, clubs or workplaces and governing institutions. One of the key purposes of structures seems to be to assign responsibility or obligation. Democratic structures allow us to give a few people responsibility for making decisions for society; within a local authority, structures divide responsibilities for different tasks, from overseeing a range of services, through providing social care, to cleaning your shared stair as part of your local authority tenancy agreement. The ability to make people responsible to do something is perhaps one of the most obvious ways of exercising power over them. However the language of responsibility (and associated synonyms such as accountability or obligation) is much more prevalent than that of power and is sometimes used to express what is seen to be a decentralisation or distribution of power. For example, in the previous chapter we learnt that local authorities are given responsibility for implementing policy, and local authorities give local partnership companies responsibility for regenerating an area. Barnes (1993) for example argues that 'power is an essential prelude to the imputation of responsibility'. Where an organisation can be said to be responsible for the implementation of a policy or decisions about what issues are important, it suggests that they have a certain element of power. However, Taylor suggests that such delegation of responsibility in fact masks control in 'complex requirements for accountability from the centre' (2000 p.1024). Indeed 'responsibility' is also used in every-day language, not just to describe a causal relationship, but also to assign obligation. The concept of responsibility as obligation is important because if someone is obliged to do something, it does not necessarily mean that they are powerful. In this interpretation, the case of local government being given responsibility to provide certain services mentioned in the previous chapter shows higher levels of government such as the Scottish Executive

exercising power rather than sharing it. The structures which allow for the delegation of such responsibility reinforce the power of the delegator, not the delegatee.

Taylor (2000) describes this experience in the context of local political structures:

The complexity of accountability requirements ensures that power remains with those who have the sophistication and resources to understand and cope with these demands… It is the procedures of audit which ultimately decide what can and cannot be done. Partnerships thus become colonised by the requirement that essential processes are undertaken in auditable ways (Power, 1997) while participating organisations are forced to become more formalised in order to negotiate the system, even if there is no explicit requirement to do so. (p.1024)

Structures have the ability to reinforce patterns of power even when they attempt to share power. This can be one of many unintended consequences of the actions of the powerful.

Table 3.3 summarises the relationships between these three bodies of literature and the paradigms outlined by Silver.

Table 3.3 Paradigms of political inclusion: citizenship, democracy & Power

	Solidarity	Specialisation	Monopoly
What type of citizen?	Legally defined and useful	Interested and critical but also accepting of structures	Challenging structures and power bases
Style of participatory democracy	Voting and engagement with the dominant culture	Involvement in civil society more generally, leading to engagement in wider democracy	Radical activism through community development or consciousness raising approaches
What is power?	Socially generated abilities and responsibilities	Abilities and skills which individuals or groups can accumulate	Control
Purpose of power	Maintenance and generation of stable social structures	Influence and ability to live life as you choose	Control of your own life, capture of equal share of resources
What is political inclusion?	Being an active part of the social system, not necessarily equal	Opportunities to contribute and compete for influence	The concrete experience of controlling matters which affect you
Actions and policies for democratic renewal	Government structures engage more people in accepted strategies (decentralisation)	Transparent,accessible political structures and engagement of organised interests in civil society	Radical organised disadvantaged groups challenge established power structures

Civil Society as the home of inclusive participation

One of the re-occurring issues in power debates is the extent of change that individuals or groups of individuals can make. Barnes suggests that changes within structures must be modified not by an individual, but collectively. He states that 'Calculative action is based on knowledge. But individuals do not make their own knowledge. They acquire it from the collective and develop and modify it collectively'

(Barnes 1993 p.210). This does not assume that such 'collective' action is necessarily purposive, rather that change takes place through some kind of joint action, and that those who are seen as powerless, or at least less powerful, are just as important in creating those changes as those who are seen as powerful. Holding all the power may not be as important as is first imagined. Hearn considers the importance of civil society for power debates and suggests that the bi-polar explanations of power (either dominating or resisting domination) miss an important factor:

> . . . Power crucially depends on the intermediate linkages between those at the top and those at the bottom of society's hierarchies. To our habit of thinking of power as either a command from above (critiqued by Foucault 1980) or a reaction from below (cf. Scott 1985), we need to add a sense of how power is also generated from the middle. (Hearn 2001 p.338)

In the following section I review the literature in order to (1) accurately identify a 'civil society', and (2) understand what mechanisms are expected to be used by civil society to achieve political inclusion.

What is civil society?

Over the past twenty years the concept of civil society has aroused increased interest with both academics and politicians. Keane (1998) claims that there are three broad categories of civil society analysis. The first is empirical/analytic and uses the term to understand past and present relationships between political and social 'forces and institutions' (p.36), the second is strategic in that the term is used to conceptualise something which is seen to be politically expedient, and the third is normative in that it attempts to highlight the 'ethical superiority of a politically guaranteed civil society' (p.37). It seems however, that many writers encompass elements of each type of analysis. In the case of Scotland, there is both an empirical analysis of policy process and the maintenance of national identity using civil society as one of the constructs, but there is also (as evidenced in the previous chapter) a concern with civil society as a strategy for increased democratic engagement and, underlying this, a normative understanding of the ethical superiority of what is civil. As many writers remind us (see chapters in Keane 1998 or Deakin 2001) the concept is now globally cited and is influenced by global trends; therefore, understanding the development of the concept more broadly should help us to understand more clearly the use in a Scottish context.

Although the phrase has been used in philosophical and political writing for hundreds of years, the non-violent revolutions in Eastern Europe reawakened interest the idea. Civil society was seen to be the organisational source of political change and the non-market challenge to the controlling state. This conception reiterates what Keane (1998) claims

was the result of civil society debates in the late 17th and early 18th century, namely that civil society is 'institutionally separated from territorial state institutions' (p.6). Although some early writers did not always distinguish the market from civil society, this distinction is often made in more recent definitions where civil society is seen to find place between the state and the market, especially because the market is seen to be the domain of the individual and civil society is seen to be a collective endeavour. Originally, civil society was not only separate from the state, it was also that which protected individuals from the potential domination of the state. Picking up on such a theme, Gellner (1994) claims that civil society is 'a cluster of institutions and associations strong enough to prevent tyranny, but which are, none the less, entered and left freely' (p.103), which clearly reflects his particular interest in understanding the changes in Eastern Europe.

It has become common to claim that democracy is incomplete without this collection of voluntary associations which help to reflect more diversity than representative democratic structures. Certainly, in the discussions outlined above, the engagement of 'civil society' is seen to be central to democratic practices. Thus, civil society or voluntary associations are not only a theoretical concept, but also a practical tool to be used in political processes. Some see concern with the concept as a response to a perceived crisis in society. In the late 18th century it was the crisis of industrialisation which was creating new groups and networks which could challenge the existing social order; in Eastern Europe it was the crisis of failing command economies and emerging from this, a more general concern for the challenge of democratic engagement which fairly represents any given society. In the UK, the perceived problem seems to be a failure of democratic structures in producing a sufficiently engaged or civic minded citizenry with resulting apathy, discontent and exclusion. At the core of these problems is the need to manage different interests within society, without society breaking down into violence or complete dysfunction. This in turn suggests the normative approach to civil society, where people come to cooperate and trust each other as they rely on values such as pragmatism, cooperation, fairness and compromise in order to get along with 'strangers' (see Bryant 1995). Here civil society becomes about organising difference in a 'civil' way.

One of the early criticisms of the concept of civil society as it is outlined above, is that civil society tends to work within existing power relationships, often reinforcing inequalities. Trentmann (2000 p.4) for example reminds us that Adam Smith recognised civil society as a sphere of exploitation as well as sociability and one of Marx's

apparently obvious mistakes (as seen by liberals) is the assumption that civil society was a base of the capitalist bourgeoisie. In spite of the suspicion of civil society evidenced in such perspectives, Gramsci is seen to have claimed back civil society for Marxists by arguing that in the cultural sphere, outside the market, existing power structures can be challenged (see Bellamy 1994). This perspective clears the way for the community development perspective (outlined above) to focus on grassroots organising of social and economic groups. But the fact that such initiatives are often 'encouraged' from above should make us nervous about the potential for changing power structures.

Dryzek (1996) claims that: 'Pressures for greater democracy almost always emanate from oppositional civil society' and that 'a flourishing civil society is the key to further democratization' (p.476). He does not however say what this type of civil society must oppose, and does not rule out the possibility of oppositional civil society fighting for less democracy because it serves their needs better.

A further criticism of the pluralist/civil society model outlined initially is that the oppositional relationship between the state and civil society is overstated. In reality the state and civil society are inextricably linked and in many instances work collaboratively rather than in opposition. Hearn (2001) points out that 'much of what goes on in [civil society] is oriented precisely towards affecting the state, is guaranteed by the state, and at least two of its core components – laws and markets – are substantially artefacts of the state' (p.342), and Martin (1999) claims: 'the boundaries between the state and civil society are both permeable and shifting, and the relationship is often a symbiotic one' (p.9). Civil society is linked to the state through a wide variety of policies such as those governing charitable organisations, the use of public monies, public safety and equal opportunities. In addition there are regulations and rights governing specific services which are determined through laws set by governments. Martin also suggests that many civil society organisations have been developed either as part of policy or as a result of gaps in policies.

Martin (1999) in his review of the relationship between social movements and democratisation suggests that social movements are specifically concerned with changing laws and taking actions which will influence governments. However, he claims that as social movements win their battles, they come to support government programmes, perhaps securing funding, developing policy in partnership with government, or providing services which meet their objectives. Some claim that as states legitimize social movements' or civil society's demands, those organisations or movements become

part of the state apparatus, and at the most extreme can become a 'surrogate state' (Shaw & Martin 2000 p.409). This view is also held by Dryzek (1996) who claims that when civil society becomes so engaged with the state it tends to stop being oppositional, and that although there may be some gains in joining with government, there are losses in terms of future battles which could have been fought, but will not be, because of the need for cooperation on a specific issue.

Deakin (2001) provides us with a diagram showing where civil society is (see fig 3.4). In the accompanying description Deakin does not go into detail about what the 'shadow state' consists of, but based on his review of welfare and charity work in the UK (Ibid. chapter 2) it seems that those organisations which take on activities sponsored or contracted by the state may well fall into this category.

Fig 3.4: The location of civil society (Deakin 2001 p.19)
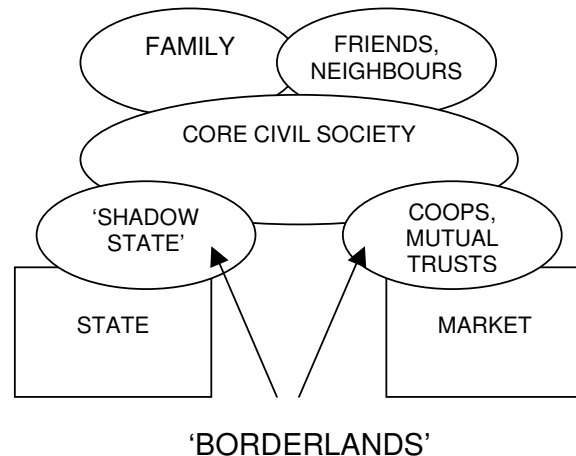
Deakin's diagram above reminds us that there are many different types of organisations which fall under the category of 'civil society'. In order to more easily analyse the category some concentrate on less normative characteristics of organisations. Deakin draws on a definition used by Lester Salamon in his international comparative survey of voluntary associations or 'the non-profit sector'. Here civil society is: organised, private (institutionally separate from government) non-profit distributing, self-governing, and voluntary (Deakin 2001 p.10). Focusing more on defining civil society rather than the non-profit sector, Schmitter's working definition names four characteristics of self-organised intermediary groups. These are:

    (1) independence from both public authorities and private units of production and reproduction, i.e. of firms and families;

(2) the capability to deliberate about and take collective action in defence/promotion of their interests and passions;

(3) that they do not seek to replace either state agents or private (re)producers or to accept responsibility for governing the polity as a whole;

(4) that they agree to act within pre-established rules of a 'civil' or legal nature.

(summarised from Whitehead 1997 p.95)

This definition makes a distinction between civil and uncivil organisations using the idea of legality, or agreed rules. Presumably these rules have many different levels of complexity and formality, but some governing conditions of action seem to be a pre-requisite, reflecting Salamon's requirement for 'organisation'. Within such a definition there is still plenty of scope for difference. Moyser & Parry (1997) survey UK voluntary associations and divide them into five types based on what the organisation's focus is. Others focus on the differences of organisation style or management style, and Deakin (2001) claims that different perspectives or paradigms tend to generate different types of voluntary action and organisation.

Civil society's potential for democratic renewal

Dryzek claims that:

When discussing the prospects for democracy, the politicised aspects of civil society are most interesting, in this political sense, civil society consists of voluntary political association oriented by a relationship to the state, but not seeking any share in state power. (Dryzek 1996 p.481)

Perhaps the most obvious form of voluntary political association is social movements. Martin (1999 p.9) describes social movements as: 'movements of people… which cohere around issues and identities which they themselves define as significant'. Martin also claims that social movements have proved to be particularly effective in terms of pushing for more inclusive and more democratic politics. He claims they are distinctive in that 'They want – indeed, demand – to contribute their specific experience in ways which challenge and extend the universalism on which so much social democratic welfare policy was originally premised.' (p.409). However, we should also be aware that Martin is talking specifically about 'progressive' social movements, and acknowledges that there may be other kinds.

Much of civil society however is made up of what are seen to be 'human service' organisations (see Handler 1996) which take on roles of caring and serving not undertaken by the state. These groups have often turned into more political organisations. Groups originally providing services for people with disabilities, which have become concerned with changing laws on disability access, is just one example. But this is just one way these groups impact policy and become political. The provision of services can

also create a broader awareness of need, and create expectations which the political sphere must then address or ignore (either way a political decision). It may therefore be misleading to concentrate on political differences between social movement and human service type civil society.

In the past few years the government's relationship to civil society has become more institutionalised as evidenced in the previous chapter's discussion of the Labour government's policy. As Marinetto (2003) suggests, the current UK government has promoted a partnership between civil society and the state (p.114). However, in Ireland one finds a concern with a model of governing which means that civil society institutions such as unions, professional associations and community groups are incorporated through engagement in policy making. An issue of the *Community Development Journal* concentrates on this Irish experience and raises some interesting points. Broaderick (2002) describes how policies which made the voluntary sector a 'full social partner' with government went hand in hand with guidelines for how to carry out this partnership. The result was that processes for engagement became regulated in ever tighter ways (and according to Broaderick, often unrealistic ways). In an article with a subtitle 'Dat's outside de terms of d'agreement', O'Carroll (2002) describes the way the 'idea of community writ large' dominated the way partnerships between different groups in Ireland used the concept of community to call for consensus. This overemphasis on creating consensus ignored underlying inequalities. Finally, Meade & O'Donovan (2002) argued that the Irish model of corporatism (where civil society was incorporated into government and business) 'represents a triumph of style over substance' (p.7). This is particularly important when much of what is claimed to be good about the nature of civil society is about style. If the style or processes of civil society become a gloss for ignoring underlying inequalities, then civil society could be seen to have lost its democratising effect (see Dryzek 2000).

As mentioned in the introduction, in Scotland the project of devolution has been seen as a civil society project and since the establishment of the parliament the definition of an inclusive democracy and the practice of democratic renewal has centred on the parliament's relationship to civil society. The literature about the impact of government engagement with civil society suggests that incorporating civil society leads to control and perhaps domination. Forde (2005 p.144) articulates this perspective in his concern about the bureaucratization of the relationship of the state and civil society. He argues that at the very least, the demands of the type of contractual relationship much of civil

society have with the state take time away from mobilisation and more overtly political work.

Chandhoke (2003) argues that civil society must be flexible if it is to be an effective force for political inclusion. When elements of civil society are incorporated into the state, new organisations must develop and alternative struggles must be taken up. She states:

> Civil society thus has to constantly reinvent itself, discover new projects, discern new enemies and make new friends. It is not something that, once constructed, can be left to fend for itself because it is a process. And this is important, for civil society is an essential precondition for democracy. (Chandhoke 2003 p.58)

Civil society's relationship to the state can only promote political inclusion as long as it allows freedom for such changes, however uncomfortable such a free relationship might be. Otherwise, civil society becomes an opportunity for the extension of state power, rather than for the opposition of it (see Chandhoke 2003 p.53).

Finally, it is important to recognise the depth of the links between civil society and the state, or the nation as a whole. Handler (writing of the USA) described the work of human service oriented organisations as 'moral work'. He states:

> Because human service organisations are involved in moral work, they have to constantly seek moral legitimacy. They adopt the moral systems of dominant political leaders, interest groups, and organizations in their environment. Survival depends less on the technical proficiency of their work and more on their conformity with dominant cultural symbols and belief systems. (Hasenfield 1992 p 10, quoted in Handler 1996 p.124)

Thus civil society organisations, even when fighting for social justice in the form of social movements, are guided by patterns of domination within the society in which they operate. This should make us particularly aware of the middle class nature (in terms of who is involved in it) of civil society (see Hearn 2001) and of what else is accomplished through the existence of civil society in terms of the development of cultural expectations. Handler acknowledges that human service agencies can also have a position as 'moral entrepreneurs' in that they try to influence what dominant culture sees as acceptable or unacceptable, and that the systems of influence through which they must work could be as important as the agenda they are pushing. This means that civil society works with the state not only in the realm of actual policy, but also in the forming of dominant ideas. It is in these two roles that civil society finds itself 'a site for struggle between the forces that uphold the status quo and those that battle it in an attempt to further the democratic project' (Chandhoke 2003 p.53). This interpretation of the democratic project suggests an understanding of political inclusion based on a monopoly paradigm and gives us the greatest challenge in terms of democratic renewal for

Scotland. But it also suggests that even overtly non-political voluntary associations are seen to be central to inclusive democracy because they make connections between people which contribute to the establishment of cultural expectations.

Social Capital – a linking concept

To take this notion further it seems important to acknowledge the impact of Robert Putnam's work on civic engagement. Putnam (1993 & 2000), suggests that voluntary associations which are not overtly political are an essential building block in democratic structures. Taking bowling as a metaphor for social engagement, he expresses concern that in the USA, over the last 30-40 years, more people were bowling, but less people were bowling in clubs – they were 'bowling alone' and bypassing a traditional level of association (see Putnam 2000). Taken together with declining voter turnout (among other things), Putnam finds that voluntary associational activity, such as that which is supposed to make up civil society above, is key to democratic engagement. The reason, he claims, is that voluntary associations connect people in ways that increases their levels of social capital. This social capital is then seen to be a resource which contributes to a person's or group's ability to engage politically. In some ways this is a circular argument, as involvement in voluntary associations can be seen as engaging politically too.

The concept of social capital is not new to Putnam. He draws his definition from Coleman who sees social capital as one of at least three forms of capital (the others being human and physical capital). While physical capital is embodied in material form and human capital is embodied in the skills and knowledge of an individual, social capital is embodied in the relations between people (Coleman 1988 p.100) in the same way as power is embodied in the solidarity paradigm. Social capital is seen to be found in relationships with three possible characteristics: 1) obligations and expectations which depend on trustworthiness, 2) information flow within the social structure, and 3) norms and sanctions. Putnam translates this into a more succinct definition, where social capital is 'networks, norms, and trust that enable participants to act together more effectively' (1995 p.664). According to Putnam, voluntary associations seem to be particularly good at creating relationships with these characteristics. In this sense, voluntary associations, or civil society are supposed to create the type of 'inclusion' Silver's solidarity paradigm is aiming to create, i.e., one where consensus is achieved and reinforced by engagement in political processes.

Alejandro Portes (1998), one of Putnam's many critics, prefers to concentrate on an instrumental understanding of social capital (drawing on Bourdieu 1986). Here social

capital 'stands for the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures' (Portes 1998 p.6). According to Portes, Bourdieu claims that it is possible to calculate the social capital of any actor by taking the number of contacts an individual has and knowing what resources those contacts were willing to share on the basis of that contact (in reality a difficult calculation to carry out on any scale). In this perspective, voluntary associations are beneficial to people because, through involvement, a person naturally increases the number of sources through which they can gain economic and cultural benefits. This moves us towards a paradigm which is more concerned with redistribution. Here civil society is useful because it allows those without resources to lay claim on those who have them – a redistributionist approach which is more akin to the monopoly paradigm.

One way that critics try to overcome the moralising nature of some social capital discussions, is to acknowledge that social capital can be used for both bad and good. It exists in groups, such as the mafia, to the detriment of society at large. However, even less extreme examples of groups with large amounts of social capital can be seen to have negative consequences. By binding together certain people, social capital is likely to keep some people out, as does the enforcement of particular norms and sanctions. Several people have thus tried to distinguish between different kinds of social capital. Putnam himself refers to 'bridging' and 'bonding' social capital (Putnam 2002 pp.11-12). Bonding social capital refers to networks and norms which tie people together in closed groups (family or neighbours), while bridging social capital refers to networks and norms that allow people to interact with other groups.

Halpern (2005) accepts the normative definition of social capital, seeing it as 'sanctions, norms and networks', but argues that it is then necessary to add analytical divisions. He starts by adding divisions of level, using the terms micro, meso and macro to refer, respectively, to family and friends, neighbourhood or community, and nation. This allows for strong social capital at some levels and weak at others. This thus allows for exclusion to occur where social capital does not transfer between levels. He also draws on Putnam's distinction of bridging and bonding social capital, but adds extra divisions taken from Woolcock (1998) and Szreter (2002), namely 'linkage'. According to Halpern, linkage refers to 'the extent to which an individual's or a community's networks are characterised by linkage between those with very unequal power and resources' (Halpern 2005 p.25). Thus linking social capital provides a way to analyse inequality within the context of civil society, especially if it is analysed at the different

levels Halpern suggests. Halpern presents this multi-layered analysis of social capital in a diagram with examples as reproduced in Figure 3.5.

Figure 3.5 A conceptual map of social capital with examples (Halpern 2005 p.27)
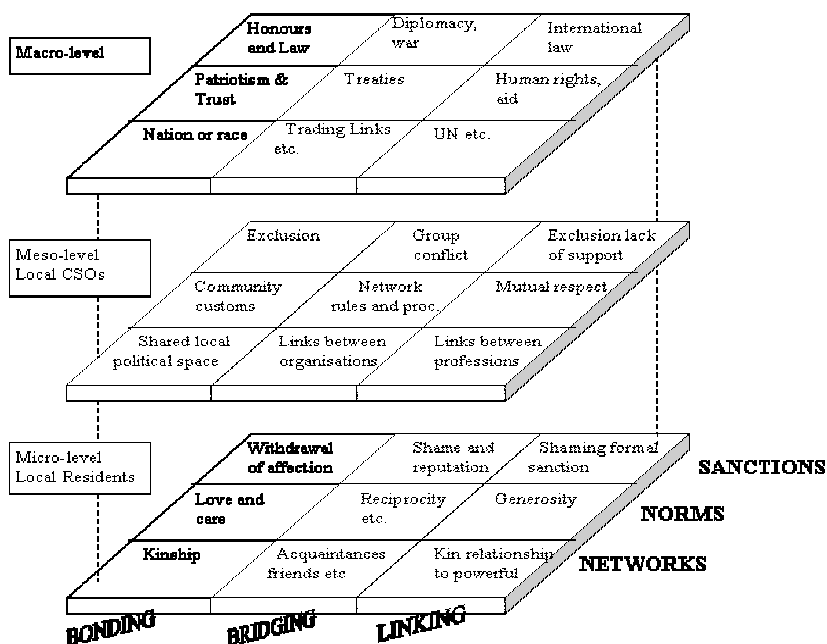
If voluntary associations are to be expected to create greater political inclusion, it could be expected that they promote or create networks for participants which cross over levels and involve linking to those with more power in order to draw on their resources. Where relationships are primarily of the 'bonding' type, political inclusion is likely to be limited. Each extra type of connection (bridging, linking) is thus likely to increase the level of inclusion, both in terms of introducing alternative ideas through those connections and in terms of drawing on the power or resources of others.

Summary

In Chapter Two I outlined the expectations of democratic renewal in a Scottish context and especially in the environment of a new political institution. In this chapter I have focused on debates which challenge and underpin some of the assumptions which lie behind that literature. The need for democratic renewal suggests a lack of democracy and the literature concerned with social, and more specifically political, exclusion explores how that 'lack' is perceived. Understanding that problem definition is to a large extent influenced by broader political perspectives, three paradigms are presented which show the roots of the 'inclusion' as found in the democratic renewal project. Feeding into an understanding of inclusion are the interdependent themes of citizenship, democratic

participation and political power. The three paradigms seem to have greater and lesser expectations of political renewal. For this research then it is particularly interesting to determine whether or not the most difficult criteria for political inclusion are likely to be met. As far as I can make out, the most challenging criteria are those of the monopoly paradigm which call for equal distributions of power as the ultimate measure of inclusion. Because of this, it seems important to be able to measure whether or not 'Craigmillar' has any power of influence in the relationships which exist between the area and political institutions. Lukes' conceptual map of power seems to be a particularly useful tool with which to attempt a measurement of political inclusion – where the costs of action and influence are taken into account as well as the way that social structures create consequences unintended by those engaged in them.

Although each paradigm suggests that part of the solution lies in the concept of civil society, it is no surprise to find that what civil society is, and what it is hoped to do in the context of exclusion is also viewed differently. Already in the monopoly paradigm we find warnings about the overly optimistic view of civil society as some kind of democratic saviour, or means of redistributing wealth or resources. On the other hand there is general agreement that voluntary associations, and the networks they generate in society, play an important role in political processes. Taking on board these cautions, then, it seems that civil society is most important to political inclusion when it generates relationships which provide opportunities for Craigmillar to exercise influence and gain power. The concept of social capital seems to be particularly concerned with describing this type of relationship – relationships which increase access to social, economic or political resources. While Halpern's model of social capital is very complex, it makes distinctions which are useful in analysing the type of relationships found in the case study. Most particularly it gives us a category of 'linking' social capital which identifies relationships between those with unequal resources. This category seems to be that which is of most interest when trying to determine whether or not civil society can actually increase political power or inclusion because of increased relationships with power holders.

CHAPTER 4

Methodology

In this chapter I present both the methodology and methods used to get greater insight into the relationships and theories presented in the previous two chapters. I first look at the ideological and professional background from which this research develops. This is done in order to frame some of the decisions made in the research process and gives context to research. I then explain the decision to use case study methodology and outline the specific data collection methods used, namely gathering secondary survey material and archive material, using participant observation and selecting key respondents for in-depth semi-structured interviews.

Having outlined the methods used I discuss some of the ethical considerations involved in using them and the challenges of being a participant observer and a full time development worker at the same time. Finally I explain how the process of analysis developed and the challenges of choosing the right tools given the large amount and variety of information.

Ideological and Professional Background

I am trained in a peculiarly Scottish profession – Community Education. The training includes 3 disciplines which are sometimes seen as separate in other parts of the UK - youth work, adult education and community work. My personal focus has been on community work or community development, and before working in Craigmillar I completed a master's degree in international rural and community development which concentrated my focus still more.

'Community Education' training in Scotland is not designed to produce cloned workers operating from a single perspective, but there are certain influences which could be seen as common currency among those of us who claim this as a profession. The premise of the 'community education' label suggests that the profession works in less formal 'community' settings and much of the standard literature on which community education courses are based is concerned with radical or popular education (Paulo Friere (1972, 1995) being one of the most frequently cited references which comes from a critical social theory tradition and is concerned with liberating the oppressed. Liberation of the oppressed is to be achieved in part through establishing a learning process which undermines traditional hierarchical values. Learner and teacher are seen as equals, and the knowledge of each (in theory) has equal value. I explain this because this basic understanding underlines a bias in my approach to research, namely one that assumes that

those I am researching have a valid interpretation of their world. This is not to say that all interpretations should be accepted uncritically but rather that I try to acknowledge that my own interpretations may be just as loaded with preconceived ideas and learnt assumptions about the world as the ideas of the people being researched. Of course this is not unique to a community work background; many ethnographic researchers take a similar stand.

I started work in Craigmillar in August 1998. The organisation I worked for - the 'Capacity Building Project' (CBP) – was one of several organisations in the area under the umbrella of the Craigmillar Festival Society. The CBP had previously been the 'Community Development Project' and before that, an Active Citizens Project but had changed name in order to access various European and local authority funding sources. Even though my job title was a 'community engagement worker' on official reports, as far as I was concerned, (and written on most other documents produced by the project) I was a community development worker. For me, community development work is inherently concerned with social justice; it is about challenging inequalities and imbalances in power. I have been heavily influenced by radical perspectives of community work which call on workers to challenge structures which create inequality and injustice. This influenced my paid work in Craigmillar, and is therefore also an important influence in this research which was undertaken while working in Craigmillar. Kane (2005 p. 36-7) suggests that community development work should be both ideological and methodological, for me this meant that as a worker, and hopefully also as a researcher, I had both ideas about justice, and a practice for achieving that justice. However, everyday realities often get in the way of the application of such ideas and practices in both roles.

Choosing a methodology

The question of which methodology and methods to use was thus influenced by my professional background. I wanted to use more interpretive methodology because this encourages more of a dialogue between the subject and the observer and thus allows the subject's understanding of reality to be central, rather than irrelevant, to the analysis of the situation being researched. I was also drawn to a grounded theory approach which encouraged the setting aside of theory (although not throwing it out) in favour of allowing issues to emerge from the data. The methods used are qualitative rather than quantitative because in-depth exploration of a particular case rather than a general survey of the type of relationship could provide greater insight.

Qualitative methods seem best suited to achieving the reflective process community development workers are encouraged to develop. They encourage a certain honesty about personal commitments and biases which could be inherent in the work. Interpretive research and qualitative methodology generally encourage researchers to acknowledge the role of outsiders and insiders and face up to the limitations of observation or participation. I hoped that the rigours of doctoral research would help me achieve a level of critical reflection that it is easy to avoid when in the throes of a busy community work schedule. However, this research does not attempt to use a community development research approach in the way that Graham & Jones (1992) suggest it should be done. They explain:

> Nobody involved in CD would see "problem definition" as anything other than a CD activity – that you cannot have a research problem that is independent of the communities you are working with. The research problem must be generated by people living in these communities reflecting on their own experiences. It should be a community-defined problem. (p. 236)

While the subject studied arose from the 'real life' experience of encouraging people to engage with the new Scottish Parliament, I cannot pretend that the research question was 'community defined'. The 'work' the project engaged in tried to reflect local need (for example, we responded to requests for particular training) but much of the work reflected an agenda which was set either by funders or by our own 'well meaning' ideas of what people should be engaged in or interested in. In the situation described in Chapter One, where I was talking to a group of women about the soon to be established parliament, I had asked to come and talk to them, and from the mood of the meeting it was quite likely they had been 'encouraged' by other community education trained professionals to come along. The research here stems from their reactions, but there was no discussion with residents about whether or not the relationships in question were important or of interest to them.

After starting the research with a specific interest in the Scottish Parliament, other experiences while working in the area suggested that the relationship of the area to governing institutions had less to do with the Scottish executive or parliament, and more to do the local authority with whom resident activists had the most contact. Although the concrete experience and material interests of people in the area were key to developing the research question, the research question was not arrived at through a specific community development oriented process. This research is therefore neither a community development project, nor any kind of 'action research' (Stringer 1996) in the sense that it is not attempting to make a specific group or organisation take action based on the results.

The choice of qualitative research also seems to be appropriate given the issues highlighted in the previous two chapters. The analysis of power in the literature review suggests the need to treat power as multi-faceted. The nature of some aspects of power (for example, privilege and its opposite) involves accepting certain subjective experiences as valid, and accepting the nuances and contradictions of these subjective experiences which can provide insight into the nature of political inclusion and exclusion as much as the degree to which those experiences are shared. In addition, when considering the 'unintended consequences' of particular relationships or actions we must be open to a wide range of possible impacts – this type of range is difficult to capture using techniques such as questionnaires or structured interviews.

Case study methodology

Silverman (2004 p.4) makes a distinction between methodology and methods. Methodology refers to how we will go about studying any phenomenon; broadly speaking this refers to the theories we choose to use in order to gather information about what is and is not a 'true' picture of the phenomena in question. Thus we make decisions about using qualitative or quantitative techniques and about how we will use theory in developing our ideas. Methods on the other hand are concerned with 'specific research techniques'; for example, semi-structured interviews, statistical correlations or participant observation. The methodology of this research has been addressed in the forgoing discussion. I have provided reasons for choosing interpretive or qualitative research and explained the decision to use elements of a grounded theory approach. The next decision to explain is why I choose to use a 'case study' approach, and thereafter to explain which methods were used to collect information about the cases.

Silverman (2004) suggests that methods in themselves are not good or bad (although they can be done well or not so well); rather, they are more or less appropriate for the question being asked, and for the context in which the research is being carried out. This context includes questions of resources as well as of access and the location of the situation one hopes to research. The decision to use a case study was made for both practical and theoretical reasons. Practically, I was in a situation that gave me close contact and good access to a particular community.

Yin claims that case study research is particularly useful where the phenomenon in question is not easily distinguishable from its context (Yin 2002 p.4) and where the question is more about how than why because it allows us to 'retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events' (Yin 2003 p.2). Flyvbjerg (2004) further

claims that case study research is ideally suited to capturing a "nuanced view of reality" (p. 6) and that it can get close to "real-life situations and test views directly in relation to phenomena as they unfold in practise" (Ibid p. 19). This closeness to everyday reality is given particular importance by those who feel that social science research should make the analysis of society more accessible. Flyvbjerg argues that an expert is one who is able to develop rules for action based on knowledge from a wide number of detailed cases. Not everyone can have the same experience but an effective case study can approximate real life experience and therefore allow others to use the description of a context based case to add to their real life understanding.

According to Flyvbjerg (2004) case study research can also be used for testing theories (something that is often not acknowledged). This is true because in any theory, a single case that doesn't fit the theory suggests that the theory has flaws. Flyvbjerg quotes Poppers 'falsification' test and argues that it is one of the most rigorous tests that can be applied to a theory:

> If just one observation does not fit with the proposition it is considered not valid generally and must therefore be either revised or rejected. Popper himself used the now famous example of, 'All swans are white,' and proposed that just one observation of a single black swan would falsify this proposition and in this way have general significance and stimulate further investigations and theory-building. The case study is well suited for identifying black swans because of its in-depth approach: what appears to be 'white' often turns out on closer examination to be 'black'. (Flyvbjerg 2004 p.12)

While this research is exploring the concept of political inclusion in Craigmillar rather than attempting to test a theory directly, it is exploring in the light of some specific – although sometimes well marketed – ideas about expectations of democratic renewal in Scotland. By exploring the nature of relationships between a local civil society and governing institutions I am also in a position to keep an eye out for a black, or perhaps just slightly grey, swan. The case study can show the extent to which existing civil society in Craigmillar can be seen to encourage or generate democratic renewal, but it can also highlight where such an experience is absent. I might not be able to say definitively what causes the absence of democratic renewal, but in identifying any absence, it is thus possible to say that either it cannot be assumed that Craigmillar voluntary sector organisations are in fact civil society or that civil society does not always encourage democratic renewal.

With these points in mind it is important to acknowledge possible weaknesses in the case study method. The main concern in case study research is that it is not possible to generalise. For this research this means that: (1) it is not possible to say something about all communities from the experience of Craigmillar, (2) it is not possible to say how the

Scottish governing institutions relate to all local level civil society organisations, and (3) one cannot say what the impact of government funding is on all such organisations.

This research is also concerned with a 'community' and as this is a difficult entity to define, let alone to measure, the case is also broken down into more manageable units. Thus, the actual case is not the community but organisations operating below the local authority level within a particular locality. Generalisations about how 'people in Craigmillar' feel or experience things are therefore also risky because I sample only a small specific section of the population. These are people who are active in voluntary organisations in the area, and they are chosen because they are more involved than most local residents. If there was to be some kind of increased influence for local residents because of voluntary sector organisations in the area, it is most likely that this influence or power would be found among the people at least interested in, and at most working for, those organisations.

Although generalising from a single case is 'generally' considered a bad idea, some have suggested that the problem of generalisation from case studies is often overstated. Stake (2000) for example considers the flaws of generalising, but then states:

> Generalization may not be all that despicable, but particularization does deserve praise. To know particulars fleetingly of course is to know next to nothing. What becomes useful understanding is a full and thorough knowledge of the particular, recognizing it also in new and foreign contexts (Stake 2000 p. 22)

Thus when a case study is thorough enough it enables the generalisation process to begin because one can recognise similarities with other situations much more clearly.

Methods

One of the reasons case studies can be seen to be holistic is that they do not rely exclusively on evidence gained through just one method but rather draw on diverse sources of available information. This research has drawn on a variety of methods including secondary survey material, archive material, documentation from organisations, observations and recordings of public events and semi-structured interviews.

Secondary surveys

Although it was not practical for me to carry out a survey of the attitudes or circumstances of a large sample of Craigmillar residents, surveys of the population have been carried out in the past five years. These secondary sources of material have asked at least some appropriate questions. Through taking part in subgroups of the Craigmillar Social Inclusion Partnership (CSIP) I became aware of two household surveys carried out locally. The first was a Mori household survey commissioned by CSIP which interviewed individuals in 500 different households in the Craigmillar area. This survey was concerned with employment, health, housing and community participation and therefore provided some interesting statistics. The second survey was carried out in order to use the Craigmillar community as a 'control' for a study of the impact of an anti-smoking project in Wester Hailes (a similar community in southwest Edinburgh). This survey also considered housing, employment and health, and provided useful comparisons with Wester Hailes, Pilton and the whole of the city of Edinburgh.

Three other sets of data have also been used. The 2001 census information was available by 2004 for Scottish comparisons. Census information is now available on the internet but it is broken down into groupings which are either too large or too small to cover Craigmillar with much accuracy. Several postcodes cover the area, and some postcodes are both in and out of the various Craigmillar boundaries. This also applies for the Scottish Neighbourhood statistics, and the 2004 Scottish Index of multiple deprivation. However by choosing those postcode areas which are completely or mostly within Craigmillar SIP boundaries working out means for the group of postcodes can show emerging patterns of difference between Scotland as a whole and Craigmillar.

Secondary statistical information can bring with it bias from the assumptions of the research being carried out. While basic census information is reasonably neutral, things such as the index of deprivation start with an assumption that there is deprivation. Although measuring deprivation also measures advantage (one person's lack is most evident when compared with another's plenty), the focus of the Scottish Index of Deprivation is on variables which can be easily measured through monitoring of public service provision thus potentially ignoring aspects of privilege or deprivation which have little to do with public services.

In each of the two surveys of Craigmillar, the research was produced because of already established characteristics in the area such as high levels of public housing or low incomes. In the case of the survey sponsored by the SIP, it would not have been in the

SIPs best interests to show Craigmillar as a healthy place with a good economy as the money the SIP receives is based on the existence of deprivation. As a result the figures available may simply reflect inherent biases in the collection of data. However the companies and organisations are reputable and presumably also try to avoid bias. Even if there is bias it does not reduce the usefulness of such statistics for reflecting official perceptions of the Craigmillar area.

This research is also concerned with political institutions outside of Craigmillar. In particular it is interested in the Scottish Parliament and Executive, and with local government (although local government became more relevant during the research period). As a result survey material related to these institutions is also useful. In particular, and as already mentioned, a survey carried out by the Scottish Civic Forum in 2002 entitled 'Audit of Democratic Participation' provides useful information. The aim of this survey – or more specifically of the 'audit' project is: 'to provide a systematic evaluation of the ways in which it is possible for members of the public to take part in the processes of governing'. The report considers public access issues, information services and petitions work, as well as considering the consultation processes involved in the Scottish Executive Bill-making process and the opinions of civil society members of the Scottish Civic Forum.

Archive material

I am by no means the first person to do research in or write about Craigmillar. Academic research (see Mieklejohn 1970, Burgess 1980), government reports (Lothian Regional Council produced two reports in Hunter 1983 and Lothian Regional Council 1990) and local residents' published accounts of particular organisations and the area in general including Helen Crummy's account of growing up in the area and establishing the Craigmillar Festival Society (CFS). Thanks to the CFS, a local newspaper has been published for the past thirty years, although with an inbuilt bias because the paper was both edited by CFS leaders, and had a self-proclaimed goal of presenting positive news about Craigmillar. Edinburgh newspapers have also carried stories on the area which supplement accounts of individuals on the history of the area. At least two local history groups have gathered such information which shows what interests local residents about the area. There are also organisational records, annual reports, meetings of minutes, reports they commissioned themselves.

As mentioned earlier, my job at the CBP put me in a position to receive meeting minutes for several organisations (including those chosen as cases) and brought me into

contact with people who could provide further written documents from related organisations. However, it also became clear that official recordings of events in the community were produced for a particular purpose and edited to make sense of a process which professionals producing the minutes were invested in continuing. In the case of meeting records, minutes are often edited several times after an administrator takes and writes up notes. The result is an end product which reflects the perspectives of those doing the editing. Such minutes are accepted by others at later meetings. This acceptance gives minutes a certain validity and power, to the extent that careful wording of a recording can be more important than any atmosphere or discussion which took place before a decision is recorded. The minute can be more powerful than the meeting itself as it is the minute which determines subsequent events. On the other hand, minutes are often produced (and read) several weeks after the actual event, and therefore do not necessarily provide a careful observation of an event, and even at times provide a reflection of the situation several weeks on rather than that at the time of the meeting itself. When minutes are presented for acceptance at a meeting, any suggested changes can act as a delaying tactic as the newer version of minutes may take weeks to be written and distributed. In the field of community change and regeneration, delays are an important political tool. Where possible I took personal recordings of meetings rather than relying on minutes, but where I was not in attendance, the official recordings can only be taken to reflect an account of proceedings from a particular perspective.

In terms of the political institutions studied in this research, archive material is invaluable. As noted in chapter 2, transparency and openness were founding principles on which the Scottish Parliament and related institutions were established and most meeting minutes are available on The Scottish Parliament website. Although executive departments are not available in the same way, the Scottish Executive's website also contains consultation documents and legislative material. Through both the Scottish Parliament the Scottish Executive websites one can therefore search for key words (including people and places) and find all related information. This is now also true for the City of Edinburgh Council's (CEC) proceedings which are online at www.edinburgh.gov.uk. Obviously there are issues about choosing the right key words to search for and identifying cross cutting issues, but other methods such as interviews and observation suggest a good variety of common terms.

Observation and Recording

Working as a community development worker with the CBP put me in a position to observe the voluntary sector in Craigmillar. Although my observation was from just one perspective (that of a worker in the CBP) the nature of the project brought contact with a wide range of community experiences, including social events, formal meetings with officials, and strategy meetings with local activists.

I started recording experience with Craigmillar voluntary sector organisations well before I started research as a PhD student. I had been employed by the Craigmillar Capacity Building Project (CBP) for a little over a year before starting the PhD and during that time had established good connections with at least 20 local voluntary organisations. I was introduced to most of the projects through a colleague who had lived and worked in the area for some time. He had been a miner in local pits, as had his father, and had been a local youth worker for five years before starting at the CBP. He was a key informant before, during and after the main data gathering period. I kept a work journal at this time which notes my first impressions of the area.

The Craigmillar Festival Society (CFS) claimed to be a representative body in the community because of structures which allowed all areas and all organisations to be represented in decision making structures. CBP had several responsibilities for running CFS meetings (including pouring the tea) and these two factors brought me into contact with much of the voluntary sector and many public sector officials. As a community development worker I was also engaged in several projects. This included engagement on local partnership subgroups, adult education networks, management boards of other projects. In addition we often distributed publicity materials by hand, 'dropping in' on projects throughout the area in order to keep abreast of developments and opportunities for joint working in the area. As a project we also organised social events such as regular community lunches and quiz nights and we ran courses for both workers and residents in the area. Our challenge was always to engage as many local residents as possible in events and training opportunities.

To make the most of my position in the area, I chose to keep a field diary over a period of one year. This was done between October 29th 2001 and September 30th 2002. Wherever possible I used at least twenty minutes after each working day to record what had happened, who I had talked to and any general impressions. In addition to these notes, and where it was possible, I took more detailed recordings of meetings I attended. If I was chairing a meeting, or if I had a larger role in the meeting, this was often difficult;

however, I offered to take minutes wherever possible to provide me with a good reason for taking notes. As the project coordinator was aware of my interest, I was given assignments to attend many extra meetings often filling in for colleagues. I was also allowed time to attend meetings that were particularly relevant to this research; these included national and city wide meetings of SIP community representatives, private meetings between community representatives and CSIP directors, CFS meetings, and Womanzone special events. While I made no attempt to try and record on particular themes during this year, the nature of the work meant that certain developments fitted well with the timescale of this note taking. For example, a 'cluster group' on violence against women was developed, and concerns about the spending of a Scottish executive grant came up again and again.

Robson comments that observations are inevitably influenced by the biases of the person observing and that our observations are almost always selective (1993 pp. 203-4). As an insider, and one who had been 'in' for three years, one of the challenges was being aware of things which, because of their 'every day' nature seemed mundane or irrelevant. Much of the day's work was routine and even though I was aware that what seemed irrelevant at the time could be significant, there are doubtless many things that were missed just because they were part of everyday experience. I would argue that the range of experiences available to me provides some balance to the problems of being a native. However, I was also a relatively new 'native'. In our project I was the one with the least personal connections to the area. While I had worked there for three years and lived about two miles away, others had grown up in the area, lived there for much longer or worked with the project for more years than I had. There is a limited extent to which I was really a native to the area, but at the same time having worked there for three years, I felt considerable loyalty to the area and especially to the project and colleagues. The problems of working with the project while at the same time observing the experience stem mostly from the extent to which the experience of work clouded the way I observed what was going on.

In the case studies of organisations in chapters 7-9 it becomes clear that the organisations often feel under attack. Indeed much of the media attention Craigmillar receives is concerned with the use of public funds which are often used by the voluntary sector. Such media attention can have negative effects on the extent to which the projects can achieve their aims, local residents begin to mistrust the workers, other projects who are also under threat seem more aware of the competition for scarce resources and public officials seem to want to distance themselves from the area. In recording events in

Craigmillar, the experience of this suspicion has probably made me over-cautious about saying anything negative about the area or the projects in question. As this caution was a part of everyday life, it shows itself not just in analysis and writing up, but throughout the observation period of this research.

At public meetings and conferences (where it felt appropriate) I used minidisk recording equipment to capture speeches and public questions; however this was not appropriate in all situations. For example CFS meetings and CSIP meetings – although public – were considered sensitive affairs, and there was a sense that people did not want to be recorded directly. Here my detailed note taking seemed sufficient. However in a few situations I asked to record proceedings of a meeting. For example, some residents from a different part of the city asked to come and interview some local residents in Craigmillar as part of an activists' training project they were engaged in. They were willing to let me record the meeting if I sent them a transcript later on. A community development workshop attended by different workers in the voluntary sector was also recorded after getting permission. In most meetings however, recording would have seemed intrusive. When attending public conferences I was able to record proceedings unobtrusively, and because it was a public conference, felt it was all right to record without asking for permission. These recordings are used to assist my observations but are not made public in any other way.

Interviews

During the research period there were mainly two different styles of 'interview' used. The first style was somewhat more informal than the second. It involved phone calls or brief, unplanned conversations with people from a variety of organisations to collect factual information about details such as when the organisation started, changed name, or closed; where they received funding from, and which organisations they were connected to or affiliated with. This type of interview provided details which were recorded in a database about the voluntary sector in the area (see appendix 2). These conversations were held where information was not available in other sources such as annual reports or other available project documentation. During this time period I also identified key people to interview in more depth.

The second type of interview used a semi-structured interview schedule (see Appendix 1) and was recorded digitally and then transcribed. These interviews had several purposes. First, I hoped to get different perspectives from my own on Craigmillar and its voluntary sector. As a voluntary sector worker who did not, and had never, lived

in the area I expected that my understanding of the area would be different from those who worked for public services, those who had grown up in the area, those who worked for different projects, those who volunteered for projects and those who used the projects. The aim was thus not to understand what everyone in the area's experience was, but to grasp the range of perceptions. I wanted to understand the perceptions of problems and what solutions different individuals might suggest so as not to rely on my own 'community worker' perspective. In asking such questions I hoped to identify the extent that there was agreement between people fulfilling different roles in the processes of participation and democracy. Second, I wanted to know how local residents interacted with political representatives and institutions and how those institutions interacted with local residents which led to me wanting to hear people from those institutions speak outside of official documents. Finally I used them to clarify and expand on knowledge about the three case study organisations.

The wide range of contacts made through my work provided a list of potential interviewees who experienced the Craigmillar voluntary sector in different ways. These ways can be categorised as follows:

1. People who worked in the voluntary sector and lived locally (or had lived locally).
2. People who worked full time in the local voluntary sector but lived elsewhere.
3. People who lived in the area and were closely engaged with voluntary sector organisations in terms of management and direction.
4. People who lived in the area and could be considered clients of the voluntary sector.
5. People whose work in public agencies brought them into contact with the local voluntary sector occasionally.
6. People who claimed to be representative of the community especially in a political capacity.

The initial list included around 30 names. Some on the list had very similar backgrounds to each other (for example, there were three different organising secretaries for the CFS, several community activists and several community workers who either lived or did not live in the area). Others on the list were in a category of their own, the MSP, local councillor and certain key activists, for example. Recognising the limitations of time, I did not intend to interview everyone on the list, but rather hoped to interview around 20 and thus expected to interview less from some categories so that I could create more balance in the collective response to certain questions. These twenty interviewees were in the end selected in several different ways. In the first few months I took advantage of day

to day contacts to arrange interviews with those who were easier to pin down. In some cases this meant taking advantage of time to fill between meetings, and in other cases, taking advantage of the regular contact to arrange another time to meet. I had soon completed interviews with around 4 local voluntary sector employees and four key activists in the area (people who were involved in several voluntary organisations as something other than clients).

I used the next six months to contact people from the other categories – local residents who were not as engaged with the voluntary sector, and officials and political representatives from Local Government, Scottish Parliament and Executive. This was a somewhat more complicated process. I tried to get an interview with the minister for communities but was redirected to the NDPB Communities Scotland and to someone who was particularly concerned with the Social Inclusion Partnership program. I was aware that the Green Party list MSP had helped with a local event and that he was therefore aware of the area, successfully secured an interview with him and, with several months advance warning, also managed to secure an interview with the constituency MSP. It seemed important to have at least one of each. The local MP was on the longer list of potential respondents; however, as his involvement in the SIP decreased significantly it became more difficult (and perhaps less important) to find time to interview him. From the local authority I interviewed the current local councillor (which actually also gave an opportunity for getting more information about the CFS as he had been organising secretary of the organisation for several years), one of his predecessors (also engaged in local voluntary agencies and one of the most 'key' activists in the area, in that he was involved in many organisations and was named as being involved by most other respondents in interviews), and a local authority official who was also involved in the Social Inclusion Partnership.

Even though each person interviewed represents a particular type of engagement with the voluntary sector, they also each have unique backgrounds. Selection was based on the broad local knowledge I already had of the area. To have not used this knowledge may have provided me with a tidier methodology, where I might have randomly selected workers or local residents from a list, but I think this would have been a waste of the insider knowledge that I gained by being engaged in the area. Of course, this does mean that those interviewed often have contact with those organisations I was aware of, but this also makes sense in light of the concentration on the three specific organisations within the Craigmillar community.

Any interview will hold a certain amount of bias based on the interview relationship. An interviewee tends to want to please the interviewer and therefore responds in ways that they think the interviewer wants. As I knew all but two of the respondents (the list MSP and the Communities Scotland respondent), this relationship is complicated because my relationship with each person was different. They were colleagues, employers, clients, and even people who knew me outside of my work. It may be that because I interviewed people that I was connected to in several different ways, the influence of any one bias on the conclusions drawn is minimised. However, I suspect that in nearly all of the interviews people were aware that I worked for a project which provided services locally, and certainly that that project was connected to the CFS and may therefore have been more careful about saying anything negative about either the specific project I worked for, or the CFS more generally. For example, most respondents, when asked to talk about the extent to which local organisations could deal with local problems, mentioned the project I worked for by name.

Sometimes it was difficult to leave my community worker role behind. Interview respondents sometimes claimed to know nothing about a particular organisation or method of communication, and would ask me to explain. Passing on information about what was going on in the community felt like part of my job, and therefore a few interviews had me giving explanations of things like the Craigmillar Social Inclusion Partnership. There were times when it felt like I was working on consciousness raising when doing interviews. For example, in early interviews it became clear that local residents tended not to name poverty as one of the main problems, while workers did. This seemed to have something to do with seeing poverty as a culturally negative trait and therefore something that people did not want to associate themselves with. Thus when a local woman said she wasn't poor, but then talked about having a job that paid just enough to stop her housing benefit and that now, paying her full rent, she was left with four pound per week, it seemed appropriate to ask why that wasn't poverty.

When in a community setting it is difficult to promise complete confidentiality. The key players in Craigmillar voluntary sector life are well known to each other, and the stories told here will be easily recognised, thus changing names, or leaving names out, does not guarantee anonymity. Even certain opinions can give away who it was I was talking to for many local residents. However, for the sake of a level of confidentiality, I have identified those involved at the local level through their role rather than their name and also by generalising their role (local worker, local resident, etc.). In some situations it is important to know what position the respondent holds, but in disclosing that, it is no

longer possible to offer anonymity. For example, there is only one local constituency MSP, one local councillor, and four community reps; these people are, however, also elected representatives. They are in a position that makes them particularly aware of what they say to other people, and one assumes that they are already prepared to say things in a way which supports their political or party position, and also that they are generally more aware of the effect their statements have.

To encourage people to be as open as possible I let them know that those they talked about would not be named directly in the research. At times, what respondents said about community members could have been considered slanderous, and this seems as good a reason as any to repeat accusations only in general terms.

The cases

There are two levels of case study which both drew to different extents on the methods outlined above. The first level involved mapping the Craigmillar area, its voluntary organisations and the relationships between those organisations, local residents and external political institutions. This provides a general picture of Craigmillar as a case. The second level involved more in depth analysis of three 'civil society' organisations.

The mapping of Craigmillar drew heavily on a database of public services and organisations created in order to produce a directory for local residents in 1999. The database created in this process gave a foundation on which to build more detailed information about associational life in Craigmillar. The database originally contained addresses, contact information and a brief description of each organisation. In 2000, I used casual conversations and archive material to add information about funding, management, staffing, changes in direction and name, network membership and national affiliations.

Through this database I have identified common themes among voluntary sector organisations, shared allegiances to networks, connections through funding and to some extent the level of local resident involvement. In 1998, the project had also been asked to find out who was involved in managing projects in the area because the CEC was calling for a 'more representative' voluntary sector structure in the area. We contacted most voluntary sector projects in the area and asked for a list of people who were involved in voluntary management or direction of projects and initiatives. We included community education centres which, although publicly funded, had local resident management committees. Most projects provided us with a list of names, which were collated into a

further database, enabling me to identify key people involved in several different organisations and to get a picture of the breadth of local engagement.

The second aspect of the research involved detailed studies of three voluntary sector organisations. The three organisations were identified through the mapping process as organisations which represented a particular type of organisation. The Craigmillar Festival Society (CFS) is a grassroots organisation which is more than 30 years old and runs social projects and political campaigns. The Craigmillar Social Inclusion Partnership (CSIP) is a new organisation established to take advantage of social inclusion policy resources for areas such as Craigmillar. Womanzone is a women's health project with a focus on campaigning.

Flyvbjerg (2004) suggests that cases should be selected because they are either typical or a-typical of the category they are trying to represent. With the typical case, one would expect the case to have characteristics similar to many others in the same category; with the a-typical case, one chooses the case because it is an extreme example of the category. In this research the three organisations are each 'extreme' cases in different ways. The CFS was extreme in its age, in the breadth of issues it was interested in, and in the representative structures it had developed. The CSIP was extreme in that it was a 'voluntary sector' structure which was policy implemented to a deeper level than other local organisations. Finally, Womanzone was extreme because it was overtly political and probably the organisation most involved in traditional campaigning type activities on a specific issue. In each of these cases it seems reasonable to expect that those engaged with these organisations would be more politically included already, and would experience the benefits of a democratic renewal which had so much to do with the voluntary sector. If not true for these organisations it is also reasonable to suggest that it is unlikely that other organisations could have that effect.

From early on in the research it became clear that the CFS was experiencing financial difficulties and that there was some uncertainty as to its future. By 2002 the organisation had ceased to exist. Therefore, not only was I engaged in the organisation's day to day work, I was also on the receiving end of the uncertainties caused by the closure. I cannot be described as an uninterested participant in any of the case study organisations, but this is particularly true in the case of the CFS. My job was threatened, and the uncertainty affected the type of work we were engaged in at all levels. It also affected the role I played in meetings. As the closure was one of the key events in the community at the time of research, I chose to focus the study of the CFS on the process of closure and the

relationships evident through that. In this organisation my access included staff meetings, organisational reports and recordings, attending public meetings and informal conversations with staff and volunteers.

Womanzone (like the CBP) was one of the organisations under the CFS umbrella. My access for observation of this organisation occurred because the CBP provided several courses for Womanzone and as the only female development worker in CBP I was unofficially the key contact. Before the research period I taught groups about the voting system for the new parliament and Womanzone were keen to have a session in their premises. This pointed towards an interest in political education within the project. Womanzone was also regularly involved in consultation work which the CBP undertook. In 2001 a city wide (nationally sponsored) initiative identified both the CBP and Womanzone as key agencies to be involved in a 'Cluster Group on Violence Against Women'. The cluster group was one of four in the city and, as the only woman in the CBP, it fell to me to work with Womanzone on this project.

The development of the CSIP occurred just before the research period, making the organisation the youngest of the three. It is a government sponsored agency. It has independent status, but draws validity from policy rather than from local efforts. My engagement with the organisation included supporting community representatives on the partnership board, thus bringing me into contact with local representatives and with the regular work of partnership subgroups. Eventually the CBP employed a full-time support worker for the community representatives, but before this I was assigned to attend meetings with local representatives and travelled with them to conferences and on exchange trips. I was also assigned to attend two of the CSIP subgroups as part of my regular duties and worked closely with the CSIP support team and community representatives on several projects.

Working for and in the case – ethical considerations

The methods described above were developed to take advantage of the opportunities I had from working in the CBP and in Craigmillar generally. Although employed by the CBP, more generally I felt that I was working 'for' Craigmillar as an area. As an employee, I had a somewhat more complicated relationship to the subject than some 'participant observers' might be expected – or want – to have.

Robson (1993) suggests the term 'practitioner researcher' for those who are engaged in research within their professional field – such as teachers researching classroom behaviour for example. As Robson suggests, there can be considerable disadvantages in

being a practitioner researcher in the human services field, not least that the 'practitioner' element often takes over. As a part-time PhD student, I was given half a day a week off to concentrate on my studies, but it was quite typical that I might work extra hours on other days so that it was rare for me to do less of the 'practitioner' role in order to do more of the 'researcher' role. I found no problem with using my practitioner access to the researcher's advantage; however, I suspect that had my 'research role' come to take priority over my role as a community worker, I may have experienced less cooperation from both resident respondents and colleagues. I was, after all, paid to work full time in Craigmillar, and although I felt the research was part of the work I was involved in, it was not what I was employed for. As a result, time pressures constantly restricted the amount of research work I could realistically accomplish. On reflection, I can see that this led to analysis being pushed to the side during data collection, and ultimately to a clumsy first attempt towards making the data fit a relationship between the Parliament/Executive and Craigmillar when the key relationship most people were discussing was that of Craigmillar to the local authority. It would have been more effective to refocus the analysis while collecting data, but the pressures of fulfilling full-time work obligations made it difficult to follow advice about ongoing analysis.

My particular job was such that both the more active local residents and other colleagues in the voluntary and statutory sector saw me as someone they could gain assistance from. I did not personally have anything to do with the distribution of grants, but was involved in providing courses, training and support for other projects as they requested it. The CBP helped other projects to meet requirements for staff training, produced a community directory, provided meeting space and the use of a minibus and often provided administrative support to joint projects. For individual residents we provided access to computers, computer training, opportunities for travelling to conferences, the opportunity to borrow a minibus and general information about what was going on in the area. I become reasonably good with computers and people often called for basic support (both projects and individuals). People seemed to be willing to help me with research questions because they seemed to see it as a returned favour. In addition, my role as community development worker was very flexible. Although I was given assignments, I was also 'left alone' to develop new initiatives, and generally 'engage' the community as I saw fit. This freedom was invaluable in situations such as extending the community directory database or getting more involved with community representatives; many research opportunities could be linked to the general work of

finding development and engagement opportunities in the community. Thus some of the 'time' disadvantages of being a full-time practitioner were minimised.

Abram (2001) points out that, as a researcher who is a qualified professional in the field one is studying, one experiences "the advantages and disadvantages of the ethnographer 'at home'". One of the clear advantages was that I was already accepted by both colleagues and local activists. The community generally were quite suspicious of people coming in to 'research' them, as one of the early reports on the CFS noted. Mieklejohn writes:

> The Society, and especially those in power, showed a measure of hostility to being 'researched' yet again. They felt that Craigmillar had too often been a guinea pig and received nothing in return. In order to establish ourselves and gain confidences we had to tread warily and show that we were willing to give help as well as accept it. We participated in a few things and did some knitting and sewing in order to earn the co-operation which we received. (Mieklejohn, 1970 p.15)

Therefore the access I had was invaluable, especially later on when it came to setting up interviews with key political figures in the area. In addition, as a worker whose role was to support both organisations and individuals in the community, I was in a position to do things for those I was researching as a matter of course. O'Neill claims that this sense of reciprocity with the subjects one is studying is an important element of any ethnographic study:

> We, as researchers, are parasites on our subjects…The question that researchers need to ask themselves, reflexively, is What's in it for them? If we just stand back and observe for our own purposes then we are failing to address these concerns. Lofland [1971: 98] talks of the need for 'immediate reciprocities': the need for the researcher to make a contribution to the informal social network in order to be accepted and to be able to observe and record what people are doing. In other words, reciprocity is necessary in order to achieve one's practical ends. However, I would suggest that ethnographers, in considering such reciprocities with their 'subjects', should address the question of ethical reciprocity as well. (O'Neill 2001 p.229)

The ethical reciprocity which is discussed by Lofland here is an important concern and leads into the question of the ethics of being a practitioner researcher. Silverman (2004) suggests that ethical questions can be addressed by considering any negative impact one may have on respondents' lives or on the social setting and the impact on wider society.

In the earlier outline of the interviewing methods used, I pointed out that the nature of my 'practitioner' role meant that I had other ethical relationships to consider than those of researcher and researched. I felt an ethical obligation to support the development of the community and to support rather than bring down those who were working to accomplish positive change in the area. This meant that I was nervous about uncovering anything that might show those I was paid to support in a negative light.

Unfortunately, negative information about community activists and community organisations both in the media and in the form of gossip in the area are in ready supply. There have even been court cases and investigations leading to resignations which are well documented in official papers. Craigmillar, and more particularly, Craigmillar politicians and the organisations they associate with, have been accused of corruption and the misuse of public funds. These accusations have been particularly public and well documented. As a worker in the area, I was aware of the impact of such accusations, both when they were proven and when they were not. The accusations seemed to increase divisions and mistrust in the area, an issue which will be explored in more detail later, especially in relation to the idea of social capital. However, the experience of this also impacts on the type of issues I want to explore in this research. To further explore corruption or inappropriate behaviour for example, seemed to be most likely to exacerbate conflicts and mistrust in the area, which for me would have been unethical. On the other hand to ignore the experience of the accusations is to ignore the reality of living in the area and what those engaged with the area experience. I have tried to balance the ethical commitment to those I was employed to support with honesty about the nature of the suspicions and the resulting mistrust that exists among activists, projects and public services and politicians. In some cases I have changed situations slightly in order to preserve some confidentiality without compromising the reality of the problem.

As Robson (1993) suggests, my role as worker provided extra knowledge of the situation and easy access, however it is important to acknowledge that my status in the community hierarchy (I was not a local, did not employ anyone, and was not in control of any large scale resources) was quite low. I imagine that this had some influence on how long it took me to arrange some interviews, but on the other hand, because my position was not one of authority, the people I was interviewing and studying did not seem to be threatened by the research.

My research subject was only indirectly related to my work; although the subject is of interest to the voluntary sector generally (and to some extent to the CBP more specifically) the purpose of the research was not to bring about organisational change. I am not suggesting that the research is irrelevant to practise in the project, but that the purpose was not understood (by me or my colleagues) as one where I would tell them how things should or could be different. Related to this is that the choice of research subject was not dictated by some other professional within my work environment. As a result, problems of hierarchical relationships were somewhat minimised in that my

position in the community hierarchy dictated people's response to me and to the work I was doing, but did not bring me under any overly restrictive constraints.

A further challenge of being a part of the case in question is that there is potentially no end to the experiences with the case. While writing up information about Craigmillar and the organisations in question there were constant changes which I was still aware of. These had a direct impact on the way analysis developed as each change gave further information about the relationships in question. However, I tried to set some limits. For the last two years of the study period I have been mostly away from the area, occasionally taking short term contracts to teach courses or do participatory research projects. I have also maintained contact with my colleagues and employers and attend social events with them, but I am not in regular meetings as I was earlier and do not have the same breadth of informants telling me their perspectives on the partnership, on splits in the 'organised community' or on the latest government policies. Significant events after 2003 are therefore not described with the same depth of analysis as the period between 1999 and 2003. Even within this four year period, the greatest depth is available for the time between 2001 and 2002 when I was keeping a field diary and starting to interview.

Analysis

In ethnographic research it is often expected that theory develops from the experience of the researcher in the field. As suggested previously, this research has been developed from a particular ideological standpoint, one which is overtly concerned with social justice and with allowing the voice of marginalised people to have more say in society. In addition there is a built-in ideological bias regarding the importance of the distribution of wealth (i.e. a more left oriented politics). It seems inappropriate to claim that a 'grounded theory' approach has been used because of this inherent ideological bias. On the other hand, the bias only takes the research so far. It assumes an injustice where there is inequality, and points us towards an analysis of power to show how such inequality is maintained or brought about.

The proposal for this research was to 'explore' the relationship between the relatively new Scottish Parliament and a 'community'; however, over time this became a more general interest in the relationship between a community, its civil society, and the governing institutions with which it has a relationship. The nature of exploratory research is that one becomes aware of the many different disciplines which have something to say about the different entities one is studying. An initial literature review covered a much wider range of issues than those covered in the previous chapter, including literature on

communities, citizenship and adult education. As the data gathering continued, questions about the role of civil society in political inclusion became the most prevalent and suggested a research problem which focused on the pivotal role that civil society was meant to play in the democratic renewal in Scotland.

Thus although the research did not start out with a particular hypothesis, questions and problems arose from field experience. Some of the questions which arose came from a more careful consideration of power relationships, but others came from issues that respondents or those being observed brought up themselves. For example, at a presentation during a policy officers' conference, a civil servant stressed that government wanted to consult with the 'regular' folk but was unsure how to contact them, and was aware that many voluntary organisations – pushed for time – employed policy officers to develop their perspective but did not necessarily consult with their 'public'. This comment leant validity to a growing concern within the research about how voluntary organisations use their position to engage clients with political processes.

Silverman (2004) suggests that when using grounded theory a type of analytic induction should be used to develop hypotheses which can then be tested for falsification through the data (as Flyvbjerg suggests is possible with good case studies). Analytic induction should consist of both the 'constant comparative method' and 'deviant case analysis'. He also suggests that when doing a single case study the comparisons to be carried out could be between different data sets. In this research there is an element of comparison built into the study of voluntary sector organisations in that three different organisations – each representing a type – are considered, and thus ideas about voluntary organisations in Craigmillar generally can be more carefully assessed.

The initial research question about the Scottish Parliament and Craigmillar was ultimately found to be much less relevant to the issues of political renewal than relationships between Craigmillar and local authorities, and Craigmillar and the Scottish Executive. However, even though this was becoming clear in the early stages of the research it was not something that was developed until a re-write of the dissertation. As mentioned above, this could have been avoided if I had taken more time during data collection to engage in analytical activities, such as trying to develop themes from field notes and interviews, much earlier on. As it happened, the pressures of working full time led to my avoiding analysis until the writing up stage – and then feeling it was too late to change the focus of the research. A useful lesson is therefore if the data really points

towards changes in direction, I should follow that course, and not to be so concerned with my original purpose.

In the early stages of this research I attempted to use NUDIST in order to code material; however, it became apparent that learning the programme was not an effective use of my time, when the same results could be achieved by searching for key words through a simple word processing programme. This way, I could familiarise myself again and again with the material, and was then able to cut and paste significant sections from interviews and field notes into a database created in Access which allowed for further searching but also allowed me to code material, using check boxes and key word notes. Two connected forms were used in coding using access. One held an annotated bibliography coded with themes and keywords, and ultimately by the chapter in the thesis that each article was particularly associated with. These references were linked to a second form which allowed for the collection of quotes from interviews, field notes, articles or documents used in the research. Using checkbox type fields I was able to code significant passages and then create queries for different combinations of code. For example, in order to find passages that related to the CFS and funding, both CFS and funding boxes could be selected providing me with a selection of all the passages related. As I became more and more familiar with the material it was also possible to find passages more specifically by searching for a particular interview, event or article. The sorting capabilities of Access also allows for easy browsing of the material in order to get to a specific quote which is vague and needs reviewing.

Flyvbjerg (2004) suggests that when writing a case study one should be concerned with creating as full an account as possible – one which others can come to and draw different perspectives from. The idea is to create for the reader, as close as possible, a real life experience. He states:

> First, when writing up a case study... I tell the story in its diversity, allowing the story to unfold from the many-sided complex, and sometimes conflicting stories that the actors in the case have told me. Second, I avoid linking the case with the theories of any one academic specialization. Instead I relate the case to broader philosophical positions that cut across specializations. In this way I try to leave scope for readers of different background to make different interpretations and draw diverse conclusions regarding the question of what the case is a case of. The goal is not to make the case study be all things to all people. The goal is to allow the study to be different things to different people. . .

> It is a 'virtual reality' so to speak. For the reader willing to enter this reality and explore it inside and out the payback is meant to be a sensitivity to the issues at hand that cannot be obtained from theory. (Flyvbjerg, 2004, p.23-24)

In the following chapters I have chosen to keep a theoretical analysis somewhat separate from the case studies themselves. In this way it is hoped that the cases are valuable in their own right, regardless of analysis.

One of the key methods of analysis used here was the process of writing. Reading and coding field notes, interviews, documentation and literature, provided insights, potential theoretical reasoning, and a picture of the case (both generally and specifically). However, it was in writing about each case, making coherent sentences in a framework which could be communicated to others, and doing so in a way that allowed them to both experience the case and to see it through the lens of power distribution and the concepts of inclusion and exclusion that most analysis took place. When writing I found myself constantly asking 'is that really true given everything else that I know, or think I know?' I often found myself looking for new literature which could provide insight into emerging themes.

Flyvbjerg also suggests four questions which social science should be asking in order to make sense of the social realities we find ourselves in, and it is these questions which were used to analyse the data and bring some conclusions and suggestions for what the data might mean. He describes the process of detailed research as 'phronetic':

> What identifies a work in social science as a work of phronetic social science is the fact that for a particular area of concern, it focuses social analysis on praxis in answering the four value-rational questions to which we have returned repeatedly in this book: (1) where are we going? (2) Who gains, and who loses, by which mechanisms of power? (3) Is it desirable? (4) What should be done? (Flyvbjerg 2001 p. 162)

In this research I ask the first question about Scotland's democratic renewal generally, but also about the case of Craigmillar more specifically. The second question is then the key to the analysis of relationships in chapter 10 and the last two questions are considered in Chapter 11.

Having maintained a connection to CBP, I was able advertise and hold a lunchtime seminar in the area in order to present findings to the community. All those interviewed were invited to a short presentation and to ask questions and give feedback on accuracy. Although not many people attended the formal meeting, the regular contact with the area has provided opportunities to talk about findings with many different people. This allowed for some dialogue between those being researched and the information presented here, and helps to ground the research in actual experience.

Summary

This research uses ethnographic techniques such as participant observation and self observation as well as interviews and a review of official documentation to research Craigmillar and three organisations within Craigmillar. Although there are acknowledged drawbacks in having been so closely involved in the subject matter, I claim that there are significant advantages in terms of access and insight. I note that there have been ethical challenges about how to deal with information which could be harmful to the area, or to individuals working in the area, and explain how conflict is considered in light of its impact on the area, rather than in light of its validity, in order to avoid a harmful rehashing of the actual situations.

The use of case studies suggests that context is important to the phenomena being studied and is the reason that the organisations studied in detail are placed within the context of the nature of Craigmillar generally (see chapters 5 and 6), and also in the context of the expectations for democratic renewal outlined in chapter 2. It is hoped that readers will find enough detail in the cases presented to allow comparison with other experience, but also that the presentation of three organisations rather than one provides the reader with the opportunity to make comparisons between those organisations also.

By analysing the material in light of power relationships and in terms of what this might mean for the future in Craigmillar and Scotland, it is hoped that this research can also contribute to much wider theoretical questions.

CHAPTER 5

Craigmillar Context

In this chapter I set the scene for the more detailed case studies of voluntary sector organisations in the 'community' of Craigmillar. Before going further, it is important to clarify the use of the term 'Community' in this research. Community is a loaded term which is used in a variety of moral settings. It is often used to imply a place with shared values or shared interests, things which are often promoted when conflicts and differences are unwelcome or ignored. However some of those who write about community remind us that diversity and conflict may be part of any community. Brint (2001) suggests that the variables that are used to describe community (territory, identity, common ideas and values, experiences of social control, social capital and networks) should not be aggregated to determine whether or not community exists, but that they can be used independently to explore the types of relationships that exist between people who live in a similar place or share common interests. In doing this it is possible to avoid some of the pitfalls of an assumption of community. This chapter explores aspects of these variables by explaining the following categories:

(1) The demography and geography of Craigmillar
(2) Perception of 'community'
(3) Common ideas
(4) Excluded Craigmillar
(5) Political participation

In this list the first four variables describe things which render the Craigmillar community more and less cohesive as a locality. The demographic and geographic make-up of Craigmillar identifies who we are concerned with when talking about Craigmillar and the nature of the physical environment. The perception of community shows the extent that local people see the area as a cohesive entity and suggests levels of 'bonding' social capital. Equally important, however, is the way people not living in the area perceive it as 'different' or distinct and from this emerges a picture of shared problematisation of the area. This is argued to be the main 'common idea' about Craigmillar. In each of these three variables I put the experience of the area in historical context which shows the extent to which political institutions have defined the area. Today public definitions focus on the concept of exclusion and so, under the heading of 'excluded Craigmillar', I present the statistics which are used to describe this.

Having shown that there are things which both unite and divide those living in the area, I then turn to focus on one of the central issues being examined in this thesis,

namely political engagement. Although the main focus of the research is inclusion through civil society organisations, under this heading I show the formal political participation of the area in terms of voter turnout and in order to understand the background to less formal engagement through civil society.

(1)   Demography and Geography

In early reports about Craigmillar, the area is described as having a population of around 15-20 thousand, however during the past 20 years there has been significant change in the population as part of the housing led regeneration process which has led to many people being re-located. Many of the housing schemes replacing the old tenements contain fewer homes which also contributes to a smaller population. The 2001 census provides statistics for the Craigmillar local authority ward (see Appendix 2). These identify a 2001 population of 7100 living in 3427 households. The population is 52% female (similar to the rest of Edinburgh) but has 7% more under 16 year olds than Edinburgh as a whole. This accounts in part for the fact that the Craigmillar ward in 2003 had the lowest electorate out of all 58 local authority wards, but this is possibly also in part due to the regeneration process which re-houses people while they are waiting for new homes to be built, possibly leading to re-registration in a different area.

Comparisons with Edinburgh also show slightly more single occupancy households (which are not occupied by pensioners) and 10% less households with two adults and no children than the rest of Edinburgh. There is also more than double the percentage of households with one adult and children in Craigmillar ward than there were in Edinburgh as a whole (suggesting single parent families) and 5% more overcrowded homes in Craigmillar. While Edinburgh as a whole shows that 39% of households have no car, in Craigmillar 63% have no car. As the census also shows, the area is actually less ethnically diverse than Edinburgh as a whole with every 'non-white' ethnic population represented less in Craigmillar than they are in Edinburgh as a whole.

In the mid 1900s the area was home to a large number of miners who worked in around 5 pits which surrounded the area, and in a local brewery and creamery. Today, in Craigmillar, only 1.2% work in primary production, and 6.9% in manufacturing (both of which are within 1% of the figures for Edinburgh as a whole). However, in Craigmillar, employment in construction, retail, hotels and restaurants, health and social work or transport and communications are more common than in Edinburgh as a whole. Those in this type of employment have mostly routine, semi-routine or low level supervisory jobs (all between 3 and 6% higher levels in Craigmillar than in Edinburgh as a whole).

Considering Edinburgh's booming financial services sector, the fact that only 5% in Craigmillar, as opposed to 11.3% in Edinburgh as a whole, work in finance is perhaps unusual, but it should be remembered that much of the financial services sector has located on the opposite side of the city. Rates of long term unemployment and of those who have never worked are also over three times those of Edinburgh as a whole.

Frazer (1994) claims that one of the issues with using the term 'community' for a location is that physical boundaries are rarely universally agreed.

> There will also be disagreement between people who live closely together about the boundaries of the area they 'identify with'. In any case, these boundaries will not necessarily coincide with political boundaries. (p. 103)

This is clearly true of Craigmillar which is the name given to a collection of around 15 different neighbourhoods, or perhaps more accurately, housing schemes. In 1983, 4000 out of 4415 residences in 'Craigmillar' were council owned – approximately 90% (Hunter, 1983 p. 6). Over the past twenty years this has changed significantly. A Mori household survey carried out for the CSIP interviewed people in 500 households and found that only 50% were renting from the local authority and 21% from housing associations. 22% owned their own home. In the past many of the schemes were almost 100% local authority owned and managed, but now most areas now have a mix suggested in the Mori survey. Fig 5.1 below shows a map of the Craigmillar area and how different neighbourhoods relate to each other physically. That these neighbourhoods are also known as 'schemes' represents the fact that they were built all at once as a project to fulfil external needs (for a better quality town centre in Edinburgh for example) rather than being built organically to meet local needs.

Figure 5.1 Neighbourhoods in Craigmillar
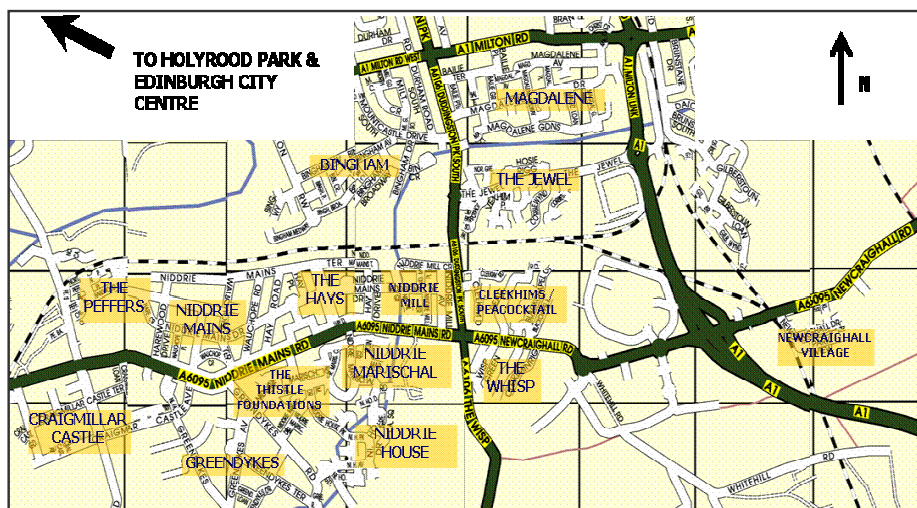
Most urban areas are classified according to a variety of definitions. Many larger areas can be broken down into the neighbourhoods that are in it and this is also true in Craigmillar where roughly 15 neighbourhoods or schemes can be identified. These neighbourhoods roughly correspond to different styles of housing, built during different stages of social investment. Each building or renovation project identifies a period of government intervention in Craigmillar, and also a period of uncertainty where residents were moved from their homes in order to facilitate rebuilding. It shows a constant flow of change in people's environments over the past 70 years. Table 5.2 lists these areas and gives a description of the style of tenure in each area. People associate themselves with both Craigmillar or Niddrie (as it is also called) and the smaller scale schemes, but one common characteristic of both neighbourhood schemes and the broader Craigmillar area is instability because of the significant changes in the physical environment.

Of particular interest in this research is what Jonathan Barker calls 'political settings'. He defines these as places (actual localities in most cases) where political interaction is both public and observable. He goes on to state:

> These units, or 'political settings', then, are all the gatherings of people in specific places at specific times to discuss questions, make decisions, and undertake other actions about matters of common concern for the locality. (Barker 1999, p.7)

Political settings are important because they show places where collective action becomes formalised, and therefore moves into the type of action considered to be 'civil'. In Table 5.2 I take each of the neighbourhoods identified in Fig 5.1 and identify 'political settings' which exist within that neighbourhood. These political settings were identified through a consultation exercise (carried out for community purposes, not specifically for this research) with the Craigmillar Community Council. The Community Council and others (the wider community was invited to attend) were given maps of the area and asked to list and locate a variety of different community facilities; the 'political settings' listed below were all listed under with the heading 'places to meet'. However, it is interesting to note that in spite of the existence of 'places to meet' in most areas, some active tenants and residents express concern that they don't have their own community centre, suggesting that the 'community centre' is seen as the most appropriate place for civil society type action. During the consultation process, participants were also asked to note positive and negative aspects of each facility. Although there were many 'places to meet' listed, there were also problems identified with access or control of places.

Table 5.2 Area descriptions for Craigmillar

Name of Area	Date of Build	Current Housing Stock	Comments	In CSP	Comm Centre	Other Places to meet or 'political settings':
Craigmillar Castle	1930s & 2000	Council, Housing Association and Private	Some council housing, most is replaced with new build, or sold to and renovated by housing associations.	Yes	Yes (past review)	Bristo Church, Kirkry, CSP offices, CEC office, Primary School
The Peffers	1980s & 1990s	Private owned and rented, Housing Association	No plans for changes in this area, tenements were probably related to the old brewery that used to be across the road.	Yes	No	Police Station, Castlebrae Business Centre Holyrood School
Niddrie Mains	1930s	Tenement stairs 6 flats per stair, council owned.	Stock transfer due to housing associations and due to be demolished within 10 years	Yes (CFS)		Womanzone, Richmond Church, Hearts Supporters Club
The Hays	2000	Mixed tenure, housing ass & privately owned.	Built at the same time as Niddrie Mains, demolished between 1995 and 2000 and rebuilt in last 5 years.	Yes	No	Hays Community Business Centre (rentable for meetings)
The Thistle Foundation	1950s	Private Charitable organisation	This (hedged in) development was built for war wounded in 1950s, now it provides homes & services to families including people with disabilities – due to be renovated.	Yes	Yes (Resource Centre)	Robin Chapel, Wauchope House (young peoples sexual health project, Hopetoun Hall
Greendykes	1970s	Council	Mostly demolished since 2000, remaining flats are council but transferred to housing associations for renovation or rebuild.	Yes	No	Craigmillar Community High School
Niddrie House	1970s	Housing association and private ownership	Given architectural awards when built, renovated and rebuilt in 1990s, now a mix private, housing association and council.	Yes	No since 2002	Greengables
Niddrie Marischal	1950s	Council, private and some housing association	Several streets demolished and rebuilt in the last five years. Some council properties bought and resold privately	Yes	No	Jack Kane Centre, Library
Niddrie Mill	1960s	Housing Association	Stock transferred to housing associations in 1990s.	Yes	No	Niddrie Huts
Bingham	1980s	Council	Originally post-war prefabs, late 1970s replaced by tenements, in 1990s replaced with terrace houses	Some of Yes	Yes	Church, Bingham & District 50+
Magdalene	1960s	Private and council	Council housing, limited renovation. Many bought privately.	No	Yes	
The Jewel	1980s	Private	Previous mining village now private homes and flats.	No	No	Jewel Miners Club
Cleekimes/ Peacocktail	1970s	Private	Privately owned, no renovation planned	No	No	
The Whisp	1970s	Private	Privately owned, no renovation planned	Yes	No	
Newcraighall	1930s & 1970s	Private, council Housing Association	No renovation planned, cut off by A1 from rest of Craigmillar – but part of partnership areas - has 'former coalfield' status.	Yes	Yes (arts centre)	Miners Club, Bowling Club

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Name of Area	Date of Build	Current Housing Stock	Comments	In CSP	Comm Centre	Other Places to meet or ´political settings´
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Newcraighall	1930s & 1970s	Private, council Housing Association	No renovation planned, cut off by A1 from rest of Craigmillar – but part of partnership areas - has 'former coalfield' status.	Yes	Yes (arts centre)	Miners Club, Bowling Club

The spurious nature of 'a community' is clear when one considers the different definitions of Craigmillar. Not all of the areas listed in Table 5.3 and Fig 5.2 are always considered part of 'Craigmillar'. At various points Magdalene has been considered part of the area, as has The Jewel. Definitions today go by local authority ward or by boundaries of 'partnership' areas which are negotiated between local projects and local authorities. Craigmillar has been a partnership area for 15 years or more and boundaries have changed considerably in that time. The latest boundaries are shown in figure 5.3. Table 5.3 also notes which areas are now included in the CSIP.

Figure 5.3 Craigmillar Social Inclusion Partnership area
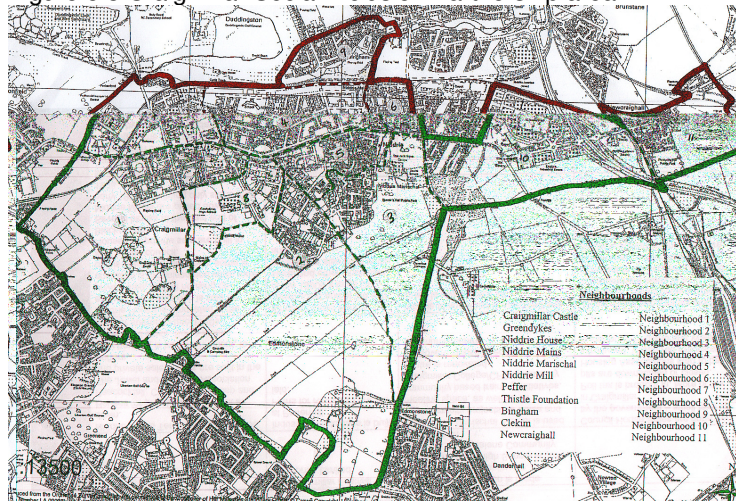
Two other maps, the first of council wards and the second of school catchment areas, show (unfortunately without detail) that the shapes do not match for the different defined areas. The community council boundary (Fig 5.4) for example has much more to the North and south. The high school boundary (Fig 5.5) does not include much of Bingham or Magdalene.
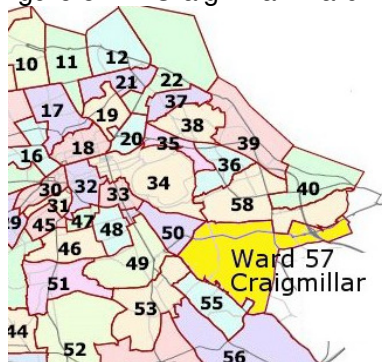
Figure 5.4   Craigmillar Ward

Figure 5.5 High School Catchment Area

In addition to housing and community facilities, private and public businesses are also part of the area's make up. Since the first large scale housing scheme was built in the 1930s, businesses in the area have come and gone. There were originally around five mines, a large brewery and a creamery in the area which are said to have provided considerable employment. These mostly closed down in the 1970s and now businesses in the area are mostly small scale and predominantly in the retail sector. Edinburgh's main hospital moved to the south side of Craigmillar in 2003.

(2)   Perception of 'community'

It is obvious from the maps shown above that there is a locality called Craigmillar (albeit a locality of flexible definition) and perceptions of the area also include the idea that this locality is a 'community'. However, although the previous section shows Craigmillar as a place created through a variety of public investments, and defined by policy delineations of an area, the perception of Craigmillar as a community is also held independently of these definitions.

The 700 year old Craigmillar Castle in the area was the focus of the first Craigmillar Festival which was started by voluntary local action in 1967. This became a yearly event and in many ways a ritual which formalised a sense of community distinct from that of the officially defined Craigmillar. This reclaiming of the community by local residents could reflect a struggle about public perceptions of the area between local civil society and powerful governments, and perhaps also a struggle against cultural impositions of desires and therefore against dominant powers found behind or within the media and governments in Scotland.

In interviews I did not ask people what they thought made up the community; everyone I spoke to however, was aware of Craigmillar as a place and some people identified a strong community spirit in the area. Family networks are seen to be central to this. The local councillor claims that in spite of high mobility in and out of the area there is a core network of multigenerational families which contribute to the 'community spirit':

> There is an awful lot of indigenous people extended families that live in Craigmillar and have done for ages and that gives a form of stability to the area… with all the changes there are a lot of people who are not born and bred here, [but] there is still a very strong community spirit in the area and I think that has been fostered by these families that through the generations still stay here …

However, one long time resident in the area sees the idea of there being a strong community spirit as something from the past, and argues that today things are different:

> There's a lot of new people coming into the area, and it's still ok… but it's not the same anymore. People are fighting more because they don't know who their neighbours are, what they are going to be like, and especially new folk coming into the area, they dinni ken what they are going to be like, they've got the folk from Niddrie 'you canni trust them' and folk from Craigmillar 'you canni trust them'.

Thus the 'form of stability' mentioned by the councillor is equated with a 'sense of community', but some find both stability and community lacking. This means that the idea of there being 'bonding' forms of social capital (as discussed in Chapter 3) which local residents can use to increase their resources is in itself a matter for disagreement among local residents. What this may suggest however, is that while there are informal networks in Craigmillar, they do not necessarily include everyone who lives there.

On the other hand that even some people are very connected with many people in the area may be significant. Among local residents who were interviewed were people who I knew through their connections to the local voluntary sector suggesting that they were people who were perhaps more connected than others, but two of the local residents said they knew only a small number of people in the area. One woman who had lived in the area for around 30 years claimed to only know 12 people by name. On the other hand one of those people she claimed to know said that she knew 'nearly everyone'; thus, even though the first woman could be seen to have only few informal connections with the area she lived in, the fact that she had someone within her circle who was seen to have many more connections is important. Perhaps a handful of acquaintances is all it takes for some people to connect to the wider community.

One of the features it would be reasonable to expect of a perceived community is the ability to share information. A long term community representative suggests that channels of communication in Craigmillar are particularly effective:

> …there never seems to be any shortage of consultants coming in here and telling us that the problem with Craigmillar is the problem of communication. I've seen the funding panel taking decisions about funding in confidence and in secret, and minutes later on the streets I can be told what the decisions are. There is a kind of network, I refer to it as the Craignet, or the Craigvine, there's a system of communication …

Another community rep talks about how a walk to the local post office – a trip that would normally take about 20 minutes – can take over two hours, because she meets so many people she knows along the way.

It is worth pointing out also, that in spite of their identification with Craigmillar as a community, local residents are quick to make distinctions amongst themselves. Conflicts between different neighbourhoods and different groups in the area are both readily

acknowledged and easily identified. Writing about the time when her family first moved to Craigmillar, Crummy points to what she saw as one of the first examples:

> Tenants who came from condemned property paid 7/1d a week for rent and rates for a three apartment house, while ex-homeless and overcrowded paid 9/1d. This divided the community. And no more so than among us children whose parents paid the higher rents. We felt superior and to our shame acted accordingly. No need to tell us who paid the low rent. We knew it by the street they lived in, with the result that these streets became stigmatised." (Crummy 1993, p. 31).

A more current example is local activists who say that young people from one end of Craigmillar – Craigmillar Castle for example – do not like to attend youth clubs at the other end – for example at the Jack Kane Centre. Examples of racist behaviour have also been seen in the area which suggests that simply living within the boundaries identified above might mean that you are part of a 'community' but it does not necessarily mean that you are part of the positive and dense social ties which are often associated with the term. While local residents draw on the imagery of the latter kind of normative community, they also acknowledge the lack of it. In some ways, the fact that Craigmillar is not a village, but part of the City of Edinburgh, means that people need some term to describe the area they live in.

The sense of community in the area is also emotive. In 2000, the project I worked for organised a European Conference and a local children's club put on a sketch for the opening. They finished with a sort of chant that went something like:

> We're fra Craigmillar
> An' we couldni be prouder!
> If you canni hear us
> Then we'll sing a bit louder!

There was something incredibly affecting in their repeated claims that they were proud of being from Craigmillar - bringing at least one colleague to tears. This suggests that the sense of Craigmillar as more than a collection of houses is strong, at least among voluntary sector workers (after all, it was workers who helped local young people with the sketch). It would be difficult to imagine a similar chant for neighbouring Portobello or other more affluent areas having a similar impact.

It is interesting that some of the more significant private investment in the area over the past 20 years chooses a title other than Craigmillar. For example what was once Craigmillar Park – a retail development that local activists lobbied to have located in the area – is now known as Fort Kinnaird; and the new hospital – built just a few hundred meters from the Craigmillar neighbourhood known as Greendykes (and included in the CSIP area) – advertises itself as being in Little France. Even much of the newer private

housing is given distinctive names such as The Jewel, or Blackchapel. The Craigmillar which evokes the emotive response may be independent of the policy created Craigmillar of social exclusion programmes, but it is also closely tied to a social action understanding of the area rather than an economic development one.

(3)   Common ideas

One of the reasons the chant of the Craigmillar kids was so moving was that being proud of Craigmillar as a place is not expected. The emotion stemmed from the understanding that these were young people who were stigmatised because of where they lived and because, in spite of this, they expressed pride in where they were from and chose to reclaim their sense of belonging as a positive rather than a negative thing.

When discussing common ideas in a community setting such as Craigmillar, one often finds a list of 'working class values' or commitment to place. Here I want to concentrate on a somewhat different version of the variable of 'common ideas', namely, the common idea of Craigmillar as a problematic place. This perception is held both by those within the community and by those acting on the community and is related to the notion that Craigmillar is 'socially excluded'.

Reports on the area, including newspaper articles going back to when the first social housing was built in the 1930s, indicate problems. It did not seem to be too presumptuous, therefore, to ask respondents in interviews what they thought the problems were. Although the local MSP questioned the 'language of problems' (preferring to think of opportunities), everyone was able to identify a list of things that were a problem in the area. This is not to say that everyone agreed on the same list, but rather that it was possible to assume that people had a list, or at the very least knew they should have one. Problems, and improvements (which implicitly suggest problems), were discussed in all the public meetings I attended and were recognised by those working in the area, including those who were long term heavily engaged activists as well as those who were only slightly involved.

Only 20 people were interviewed but it is still revealing to read the kinds of problems people identified with. Figure 5.6 shows a list of the problems and what type of respondent named them. The problems are categorised into things to do with attitude (both within and towards the area), crime or various kinds of criminal behaviour, drug misuse, and things to do with the physical environment including traffic, poor quality housing or litter. While those who work in and with the area are less likely to use terms

which suggest internal problems related to resident's behaviour, other problems are identified as readily by local residents as by workers.

Figure 5.6 Problems in Craigmillar

Live in the area n=6	unemployment (on prompt - poverty) *2 drugs *4 teenage pregnancy / violence a lot of antisocial behaviour a lot of bad parenting *2 forgotten piece of land bad environment, potholes in roads, no lighting / litter lack of shops and post offices / shops too expensive traffic *2 not enough for children to do *3 / kids hanging round the street *3 an attitude problem parents can't afford leisure activities
Live & Work in the area n=4	imbalance in population types health problems *2 / mental health issues *2 / despair disability problems *2 unemployment *4 poverty*4 / low or fixed incomes / inequality criminal behaviour / crime*2 drugs*3 / alcohol negative perception pace of change too slow / the need for total regeneration lack of good facilities poor quality housing *2 / No council maintenance of public spaces traffic *2 too much politics in the area
Work in offices in the area n=6	lack of income (poverty deliberately avoided) / low incomes / Poverty*4 / deprivation unemployment lack of opportunity culture of dependency because of living on benefits / benefit system designed to keep people in poverty / black economy work drugs housing / regeneration / poor environment / dumping ill health *2 education *2 apathy / poverty of aspiration violence neglect by the council / housing moves in people with social problems young people nowhere nice to meet a friend for coffee
Work in connection with the area (n=4)	opportunities not problems - regeneration drugs misuse *2 / drink crime / vandalism / violence / fear of crime transport school serious disadvantage over a long period of time *2 / a lot of poor people / social exclusion / deprivation / higher unemployment than average / gradual disappearance of jobs poor environment / state of the streets / lack of investment

Voluntary sector workers seemed to want to identify problems which reflected what local residents thought – some asked 'did I miss one?' or would say 'oh I forgot one'

when another issue was mentioned. But concern for the area and an ability to identify multiple problems with the area was true throughout the interviews and in my experience as a community worker. When working with the community council, people could readily identify problems with community facilities; when working with a group on adult education, people readily identified concerns about access and funding.

With such a small sample size it is of course not valid to suggest that these views are broadly representative of the Craigmillar population, and even those not working in the area were interviewed because they were engaged with civil society organisations to varying degrees. However, the Mori survey initiated by the Craigmillar Partnership in 2000 asked people in 500 different households what the main problems in the area were and these were identified as unemployment, crime, vandalism, drug use, problems with young people, housing standards and problems with the roads and only 2% of respondents said there were no issues that they considered to be particular problems. This therefore strengthens the argument that residents generally share the idea of Craigmillar being a place with problems. The problems identified are not necessarily problems which are only found in Craigmillar or places like Craigmillar.

(4)   Excluded Craigmillar

One of the more recent labels that areas such as Craigmillar have been associated with is 'Socially Excluded'. This is linked to the shared perception of the area as one with 'problems'. People who live in the area tend not to talk about themselves as socially excluded or included, regardless of how government perceives them. This is after all just the last in a long line of definitions and policies aimed at the area.

There have been programmes targeted at low income areas since the UK-wide experiment with community development projects (CDPs) in the late 1960s and through housing projects since long before that. Although there were only twelve communities targeted for CDPs, the ideas about community development and government involvement inherent in these programmes were found in other local authorities. As will be shown in the next chapter, the Craigmillar Festival Society used a mixture of European 'Combat Poverty' and national Urban Programme grants from the local authority to engage in community research to resolve local problems. This reflected the action research orientation of the original CDPs at that time. Urban Programme funding was the main way for local communities to get money for projects. The funding was made available to local authorities so that they could develop projects in the 10% most deprived areas in Scotland - based on census figures (Scottish Executive Central Research Unit, Ch. 2. 2.1).

In 1988 a programme called 'New Life for Urban Scotland' set up partnerships in four urban periphery housing estates. Craigmillar was not one of them. However, the 'success' of these programmes led to a policy approach which strongly encouraged the establishment of partnerships in any area using urban programme funding. By 1996, the policy label for areas in receipt of regeneration or anti-poverty funding became 'Priority Partnership Areas', reflecting the emphasis on partnership working. The Scottish Executive Central Research Unit (2001) reports that:

> The emphasis switched to encouraging the formation of city/district wide partnerships in parts of Scotland where there were significant concentrations of deprivation in order to deliver comprehensive regeneration strategies that could either take the form of a Priority Partnership Area or a Regeneration Programme. (ch 2, 2.12)

Craigmillar became a 'Priority Partnership Area' through these 1996 policies. In 1999 the label changed again to reflect the latest twist in policy, and Craigmillar became a 'Social Inclusion Partnership Area'. Many of the changes in Craigmillar's boundaries reflected the manipulation of statistics so that 'Craigmillar' was deprived enough to receive funding according to the latest policy formulations.

Government approaches tend to count individual experiences of deprivation as determinants of exclusion. For example, the Scottish Executive's report on Experiences of Social Exclusion in Scotland (1999) claims that:

> A wide variety of inter-related events and characteristics shape the extent to which individuals feel included or excluded from participating in society, and a multiplicity of physical, social, economic and attitudinal barriers impede the full movement of individuals in society. (p.1)

However, civil servants and academics seem to agree about the key features of social exclusion areas. These include: concentrated low levels of income, poor health, high levels of crime, low levels of educational achievement, and high unemployment. In Scotland there has recently been a concerted effort to bring together statistics that measure key features of social exclusion, in the form of Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics (SNS). Part of this is an index of deprivation in which Craigmillar is rated at the level of 1, where the least deprived was rated over 6000. It is possible to compare any one postcode with Scottish and local authority averages and by taking an average of postcodes which would be included in the Craigmillar Partnership area we can then compare the Craigmillar area with both the city generally and Scotland as a whole. Together with some other surveys that have been done of the area, including the Mori survey mentioned earlier, we can see that the problems identified in interviews are reflected in statistics.

Craigmillar has always had higher unemployment levels than other areas of the city. In 2001, while Edinburgh as a whole had official unemployment figures at about 2.9% Craigmillar had around 6% but this tells only part of the story. The Mori survey which listed this figure in 2000 also found that only 18% of households contained someone who was in full time employment and 17% were unable to work due to ill health or disability suggesting that most homes had no contact with the formal labour market. The SNS website lists two kinds of statistics to consider unemployment and low income. In table 5.7 we can see the stark contrast between the Craigmillar areas and the city of Edinburgh as a whole and with Scotland as a whole. For example, those in receipt of three different benefits reflect what SNS claim is an indicator of employment deprivation; in this case we can see that Craigmillar as a whole has almost three times as many people claiming the three benefits than the Scottish average and four times the city of Edinburgh's average. Some neighbourhoods were as much as four times the national figures and more than five times the city's. The same is true of figures in the 'income deprivation' category which combined figures for those on any kind of low income benefit, and provided figures which show some areas of Craigmillar as having almost as much as 70% of households with incomes so low that they receive benefits, compared to less than 14% in Scotland as a whole and less than 12% in Edinburgh. Figures from the Mori survey show a high percentage of residents living in publicly owned homes and SNS statistics show that homes have less value even when publicly owned based on the value assigned by local authority taxes.

The figures also support concerns about ill health and low educational achievement, particularly the repeated concerns about drug use. The figures for admissions to hospital for drug or alcohol misuse and related problems are always at least twice as high as national averages, although this is also the only indicator where Craigmillar areas actually fair better than the constituency as a whole. This is perhaps less surprising considering that the constituency also includes a well known 'red light district'. The figures for alcohol related admissions to hospital are particularly startling for one particular neighbourhood, although one must remember that this statistic is given as a proportion rather than actual numbers.[1]

Educational figures also follow the pattern of being around 3-4 times worse than national and city averages. The breakdown by post code also shows that there are differences between neighbourhoods. This is especially true in the case of indicators such

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[1] Table 5.7 shows that in one area there were over 8000 admissions, but there are probably only around 1000 residents, so we must bear in mind that this is a proportional figure.

as hospital admissions related to alcoholism, which are mostly located in as few as six different street names in a very small population, and also represent streets which are wholly in local authority control and are the least popular housing in the area which leaves them more open for emergency housing needs. This suggests that the geographical exclusion we can identify here is policy induced.

These figures aggregate individual circumstances, but also suggest structural features of the area. It becomes obvious that there is a heavy dependence on public services for income, with at least 70% of the population in receipt of some kind of benefit. In the case of some services such as education, providers seem to be unable to produce results equivalent to other areas. In the case of health, services are used disproportionately.

In the Mori survey, residents were asked about problems in the area. Respondents were given options based on the type of things that were regularly suggested in previous street surveys. Low income was not one of the options for problems although unemployment was. This points towards reluctance on the part of residents and surveyors to identify poverty with low income. Yet this seems like an obvious concern given that questions about actual household incomes in the same survey found that 88% of respondents[2] had incomes of under £16,000 per year. If we take a lower income level, the results are still shocking. Just over 70% of those who responded cited household incomes under £10,400 per year which is below the national median income as reported in Scottish Executive statistics (2005). At least one third of these households included children. In spite of these figures, partnerships and projects concentrate on unemployment rather than low incomes as the main problem.

Hugh Frazer (1994), a leader in the Irish Combat Poverty Agency, also outlines how exclusion produces demoralisation and depression, and in this table we see that the estimated percentage of the population who are prescribed anti-depressant drugs is significantly higher in Craigmillar than average. Two local health project workers interviewed locally stated that it was a depressing place to live and that mental health issues were typical consequences of disadvantage.

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[2] Only 286 out of 470 respondents chose to answer questions about their income in this survey – a 39% refusal rate.

Table 5.7 Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics for Craigmillar

Statistics from Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics website www.sns.gov.uk	% of working age population on unemployment incapacity or Comp new deal payments	% of adults & children in households in receipt of key income benefits and credits	Average tariff score of all pupils on s4 roll 2003	% of s4 that attained over level 3 SCQF in English and Maths 2003	Emergency Hospital admissions 65 plus per 100,000	Hosp admissions for alcohol misuse rate per 100,000 pop 1999-2002	Hospital admissions for drugs misuse rate per 100,000 pop 1999-2002	Hosp admissions for coronary per 100,000	% in council tax A	% in council tax F-H	Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2004
EH16 4NX	46.40	51.60	62.00	55.60	26,761.00	8,175.80	708.88	549.00	26.53	-	1.00
EH16 4BG	41.80	62.30	69.00	73.30	40,385.00	3,048.48	251.28	370.00	15.88	-	1.00
EH16 4DP	50.80	69.60	81.00	72.70	43,210.00	4,720.09	548.85	1,473.00	7.59	0.21	1.00
EH16 4LL	44.70	55.00	103.00	76.90	15,909.00	2,569.44	625.00	3,093.00	14.64	-	1.00
EH16 4NB	25.70	33.30	129.00	88.90	14,085.00	950.57	126.74	-	19.51	-	2.00
EH16 4EG	34.90	54.70	85.00	77.80	25,862.00	1,729.77	652.74	1,059.00	12.85	0.07	1.00
EH16 4UY	35.20	49.90	153.00	100.00	19,565.00	2,522.64	679.17	1,195.00	22.07	0.14	1.00
EH16 4AQ	36.30	56.50	79.00	71.40	37,121.00	3,113.21	534.58	426.00	8.36	-	1.00
EH15 3HS	12.00	10.30	156.00	86.90	14,563.00	900.00	60.02	658.00	3.20	0.23	4.00
EH15 3LZ	38.90	49.20	118.00	82.40	40,625.00	2,290.75	506.61	761.00	3.90	0.19	1.00
Average of all EH16 4	39.45	54.11	95.13	77.08	27,882.25	3,353.50	515.90	1,020.63	18.05	0.05	1.13
Craigmillar as a whole	36.65	49.24	103.50	78.79	27,808.60	3,001.88	468.38	978.40	13.55	0.08	1.40
Scottish Averages	13.80	15.00	168.00	91.00	23,557.00	734.48	121.46	471.00	24.75	10.72	
City of Edinburgh averages	9.80	11.80	166.00	89.80	21,154.00	736.70	131.18	319.00	11.14	19.44	
Constituency scottish parl	13.60	16.00	156.00	88.20	22,955.00	157.60	886.59	406.00	12.19	12.52	

Frazer points out that: 'the process of social exclusion in disadvantaged urban areas not only impacts on individuals but also undermines the community's own infrastructure' (1994 p. 6). There are two key aspects to this quote; the first is that exclusion is a process. It is something that happens over and over again through systematic events within institutions and organisations in society. The second aspect is that the collective experience of many individuals in the same area experiencing disadvantage has an impact on the 'community' or those relationships between residents of a particular neighbourhood and the social and material resources held in that locality. Government particularly seemed to take this on board when they created the latest version of anti-poverty initiatives in the form of Social Inclusion Partnerships[3]. These programmes focus on providing better services and encouraging local involvement in decision making. The second case study in Chapter 8 considers the work of the local social inclusion partnership in more detail.

(5)   Formal political participation

Voting is of course one of the key methods by which people engage with democracy. It is also one of the easiest to measure. Voter turnout in the area since the establishment of the parliament has been low in Craigmillar. In 1999 it was the lowest turnout of any Edinburgh council constituency and in 2003 it was 4th lowest, in both cases at around 40%. Although these figures are for local authority elections, turnout for the whole Scottish Parliament constituency of Edinburgh East and Musselburgh was 51% which equals the mean turnout of council wards within that constituency (including Craigmillar). Therefore it seems reasonable to take turnout for council elections to be indicative of that for the parliament. It is important to note that the general election turnout for the constituency which includes Craigmillar ward was 7% higher in 2001 and over 10% higher in 2005 than that of SP constituency turnout. However, these UK election figures are not disaggregated to the council ward level, so it is not possible to say whether or not the Craigmillar electorate votes more in UK than in local or Scottish elections.

Craigmillar traditionally votes Labour, and indeed has had Labour or Scottish Labour councillors, regional councillors and MPs for the past 30 years, and indeed a Scottish Labour MSP since the Scottish Parliament was established. Part of what some consider 'Craigmillar', however, is also covered by a council ward which elects Conservative

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[3] Social Inclusion Partnerships in Scotland are roughly equivalent to Social Exclusion Zones in England.

candidates, and in the 1999 elections and 2003 the Scottish Nationalist Party gained significantly more votes in both wards.

Perhaps more significantly, in 2003, across the whole of Edinburgh, more parties put up candidates for local authority elections than the previous year, and more 'independents' stood for election. Craigmillar was exceptional in that it was the only council ward to have 7 options on the ballot sheet. The Scottish Parliament elections in 2003, however, had 5 options on the ballot sheet which was average for the other Edinburgh constituencies, where the most on any ballot was 6 candidates. Of course, in the Scottish Parliament elections there are also second vote candidates who stand on a regional level. For the Lothians region there were 17 options, 12 of which were political parties. There were therefore 5 independent candidates, where in the 1999 elections all 15 options represented a political party or organisation. The 1999 elections for the SP Edinburgh East and Musselburgh constituency had 6 candidates, including an independent.

In interviews, one community worker talked about how there was a general feeling in the area that the Labour Party was in control. This assumption could be considered reasonable when one realises that the CFS had Labour Party councillors and MPs as chairs or on management structures for most of its existence, and that ex-regional and local councillors continue to be involved in many community based organisations. However, the nature of involvement cannot be said to be that everyone in the area is a member of the Labour Party. The support for candidates seems to occur without party membership. For example, the respondent noted that all of the partnership activists helped to deliver campaigning leaflets for Labour Party candidates, even though none of them were party members. This suggests that there is at the very least a connection between the Labour Party and local organisations. However, the decreasing votes for the Labour Party and increasing SNP votes suggest that there is not necessarily satisfaction with the Labour Party control of the area. In addition, independent local authority candidates show dissatisfaction with political party engagement with the area.

Summary

In this chapter I have presented Craigmillar as a geographical area with changing boundaries, but an area which has been the target of local and national government policies since the first public housing projects in the 1930s. The area consists of many different neighbourhoods which residents see as distinct from each other, although they

also acknowledge the existence of Craigmillar as an area in itself, as distinct from the city of Edinburgh.

Both residents and those associated with the area through other means such as work share a common understanding that the area has problems. As these problems are identified with the geographical area, they, to some extent, act as a unifying element among those involved in the area. On the other hand, external labels such as 'socially excluded' seem to have less meaning for those who live in the area, even though they may identify with the characteristics of an excluded area.

The statistics suggest that, while Craigmillar is not unique, residents experience lower incomes, worse health, poorer educational achievement and greater crime levels than most areas of Edinburgh, although it comes out only slightly worse than three other areas which are also awarded 'social inclusion area' status by the government.

Politically, the area is predominantly Labour supporting, but although turnout at elections is seen to be low relative to the rest of the city and country, evidence of political engagement in the shape of competition for representative positions at the local authority and Scottish parliament elections suggests that engagement may be deep if it is not broad. In the next chapter I consider the extent to which levels of voluntary association in 'civil society' show evidence of political engagement outside of these formal representative structures.

CHAPTER 6

Civil Society in Craigmillar

In chapter 2 I noted that civil society and community level organisations are seen to be one of the keys to democratic renewal in Scotland. In Chapter 3 I addressed the questions of the definition of civil society and the way in which civil society is supposed to promote political inclusion. Having presented the character of Craigmillar as it is perceived publicly and privately in chapter 5, this chapter questions whether Craigmillar has a civil society.

The definition of civil society provided by Gellner (1994) suggests we should be looking for institutions which are freely entered into, and Keane (1998) reminds us that these organisations should in some way be distinct from the state. In looking for 'civil society' in Craigmillar, it is perhaps easiest to use the definition which represents a distillation of debates on civil society for the purpose of measurement, namely that used by the Johns Hopkins international comparative study. In this case we are therefore looking for collective action which is 1) organised, 2) private (institutionally separate from government) 3) non-profit distributing, 4) self-governing, and 5) voluntary. In this chapter I want to not only locate what can be considered 'civil society' but also show where the grey areas lie (as described by Deakin 2001).

The database of public service organisations in the Craigmillar area that I compiled as part of my job provides the basis for the information available about Craigmillar's civil society. Each organisation provided a description of their work (written by those within the organisation) and identified the sources of their funding, the style of their management, size and history. In addition, the organisations they were connected to were mapped by asking about which networks they were members of. The original survey did not include smaller interest or hobby groups such as racing pigeons or baton twirling clubs. However, my work in the CBP gave me access to information about the distribution of a small grants fund specifically targeted towards such groups, and thus made it possible to identify most of these organisations, although less information was gathered about them. These were incorporated into the main database.

Craigmillar Service Providing institutions

There are 112 organisations listed in the database. When collecting the information for my job our team at CBP discussed whether or not it was necessary to include all services in the survey; for example, supermarkets and entertainment facilities provide

important services to the area, and even create important meeting places in some situations. However, it was determined that we were most concerned with public services. As a result, those organisations interested in making private profit were not included. This means that one distinction of civil society organisations (i.e. that they are not for private profit) was addressed in the data collection process. Deakin (2001) suggests however that some cooperative structures are not completely 'not for profit' in that any gains made are returned to members rather than to the general public. In Craigmillar, the local credit union, a housing cooperative, food co-op and perhaps even some of the public housing associations taking over from local authorities may be found in the grey area between private, for profit institutions and 'core' civil society. In Table 6.1 these organisations are listed and we can see that even though they are all organised and not purely working from a profit motive, they represent organisations which have some form of public involvement in their management, but are implemented, either locally or nationally, independent of any kind of local authority or Scottish executive input.

Table 6.1 Organisations which may distribute profits purely to members

Organization Name	Private	Voluntary	Local Input	Closed Now
Bingham Enterprise Company	don't know	don't know	don't know	yes
Craigmillar Credit Union	with local	grassroots implemented	yes	no
Handrolled Productions	with local	grassroots implemented	yes	yes
Hearts Supporters Club	don't know	national org branch	yes	no
Hunters Hall Housing Co-operative Ltd.	with local	grassroots implemented	yes	no
Jack Kane Centre (Sports Wing)	no residents	national org branch	yes	no
Niddrie Bowling Club	with local	grassroots implemented	yes	no

On the other side of the 'grey areas' are organisations which are not completely distinct from the state. Obviously, public services include those which are not provided on a voluntary basis, like, for example, schools, local council offices, social work departments, the local medical centre and police station. 24 organisations in the survey can be classified as being under local authority management or control (although 2 of these no longer exist). This means that they are provided through local authority structures and with local authority funding and management. However, even this distinction has become clouded as health care, at the time of research, was provided through three health care trusts operating under a regional (Lothian) National Health

Service board. In 2003-4 these three trusts have been 'streamlined' and there are now 'local health partnerships' and 'community health partnerships', each of which puts forward a representative to the Lothian NHS Primary and Community Partnership Committee which also includes head staff from hospitals, elected local authority representatives and even a voluntary sector representative which overseas the work of all the committees (NHS Lothian). On the other hand, this organisation is responsible for meeting national government's commitment to health care and is therefore directed by government policy, even though they are one step removed from direct local authority or Scottish Executive management. Even schools, which are managed by local authorities, have some level of democratic engagement in the form of school boards and parents groups, and community centres are managed by local management committees which determine programs and manage some of the funding. Although local engagement is important to this research, these organisations do not fall under Salamon's definition of civil society (see Deakin 2001) because they can not be seen to be private (in that they are separate from government).

Table 6.2 also shows organisations which, even though they are described as being under direct government management, are in some senses voluntary. Some organisations which are seen to be completely under local authority management now were started through grassroots initiatives such as Instep or the family centre side of Greengables nursery. After initial temporary funding and local management, these organisations became mainstreamed which means that they secured permanent local authority funding, with the condition that they were incorporated into existing local authority management structures (although groups of users or interested parties are involved in steering groups). In the case of the Advice Shop, the local authority social work department decided to provide this service. In some senses this action was voluntary, i.e. it was not something the department was strictly required to do. More and more public agencies can be seen to exhibit characteristics which are sometimes associated more with civil society, and perhaps most importantly, 18 out of these 24 organisations try to have local input, although this input is of varying degrees of depth of engagement. Only two of these organisations (the Advice Shop and the Travellers Project) did not exist at the time of writing, perhaps suggesting a certain longevity associated with government management or control.

Table 6.2 Service Providing, not for profit, under government management

Organization Name	Self Managing	Voluntary	Local Input
Advice Shop	no	gov dep initiative	no
Brunstane Primary School	no	gov dep initiative	no
Castlebrae Community Education Office	no	gov dep initiative	yes
Castlebrae Community High School	no	gov dep initiative	yes
Castlebrae Community High School - Community Office	no	gov dep initiative	no
Castleview Centre	somewhat	gov dep initiative	yes
Children's House Nursery School	no	gov dep initiative	yes
City of Edinburgh Council - Craigmillar Local Office	no	gov dep initiative	yes
Community Care Team, Greendykes Road	no	gov dep initiative	no
Craigmillar Children's Centre	no	gov dep initiative	yes
Craigmillar Community Library	no	gov dep initiative	no
Craigmillar Police	no	gov dep initiative	yes
Craigmillar Primary School	no	gov dep initiative	yes
Greendykes Children's Centre	no	gov dep initiative	no
Greendykes Primary School	no	gov dep initiative	yes
Greengables Nursery (family center)	no	grassroots implemented	yes
Instep	somewhat	grassroots implemented	yes
Jack Kane Centre (Community Wing)	somewhat	gov dep initiative	yes
Lismore Primary School	no	gov dep initiative	yes
Magdalene Community Centre	somewhat	gov dep initiative	yes
Newcraighall Primary School	no	gov dep initiative	yes
Niddrie Mill Primary School	no	gov dep initiative	yes
Pefferbank Adult Training Centre	no	gov dep initiative	no
Peffermill Primary School	no	gov dep initiative	yes
St. Francis	no	gov dep initiative	yes
Travellers Project	no	gov dep initiative	no

Table 6.3 and 6.4 show 76 organisations which can be classed as 'core' civil society according to Salamon's definition. Table 6.3 presents us with a list of voluntary associations which are small and unfunded. Here we can see 25 organisations which represent the type of voluntary association Putnam takes great interest in. Although there are no bowling clubs listed here, the sports and interest groups as well as the self-help groups represent pure associational activity which is not dependent on government departments for resources and are not run by external professionals. Instead, they rely on voluntary labour. One of the key features of these organisations seems to be that they are not particularly well networked and they are also much harder to gather information on. They tend to meet on a less regular basis and are set up to meet particular needs. Resources are also limited to their particular aims. These organisations do however work

with better resourced local services. For example many of the sports groups work with and get support from staff at the Jack Kane Centre sports wing. The pensioners group, Wednesday family club and Margaret Sinclair Group are all supported by what was the CFS social welfare section, and the Men's Health Group uses premises in Be Well and is supported by staff from that project. Thus nearly all of these organisations have some connection to the voluntary associations listed in Table 6.4.

Comparing the list of residents and neighbourhood associations with the number of neighbourhoods listed in the previous chapter it should be clear that some neighbourhoods do not have a residents' association. These tend to be in those areas where there is a greater proportion of privately owned properties, and are also areas where there has been less housing led regeneration (such as Peacocktail or The Whisp). Residents' or neighbourhood associations are focused on collective issues which frequently concern local authorities and get some minimal support from local authority housing departments in terms of resources for stationary and in the case of one organisation, a meeting place on the ground floor of one of the high rise blocks in the area.

Residents and neighbourhood associations in the area also have a long history of support from better resourced voluntary associations. The CFS worked closely with the local authority to develop the Craigmillar Housing Development Project which is now known as the Craigmillar Neighbourhood Alliance. This organisation actively worked to establish tenants' and residents' associations, often providing training and resources to help them on their way.

Table 6.3 Core Civil Society

Organization Name	self managing	Management Committee	Locals	Voluntary
Sports and Interest Groups				
Georgette Twirlers	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Duddingston Mull AFC	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Edina Hibs Kids Soccer School	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Craigmillar Premier Racing Pigeon Club	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Craigmillar Multi-media Group	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Holyrood Amateur Boxing Club	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Instep School of Dance	don't know	yes	yes	don't know
Jack Kane Gymnastics	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Craigmillar Thistle Amateur Football Club	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Musicians Group	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Thistle Wheelchair Basketball Club	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Debra Anne School of Dance	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Self Help Groups				
Craigmillar Heart to Heart Group	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Margaret Sinclair Group	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Men's Health Group	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Special Needs Action Group	yes			grassroots implemented
Wednesday Family Club	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Niddrie Pensioners	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Tenants' / residents' associations				
Bingham Residents Association	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Craigmillar Castle Regeneration Group	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Greendykes Neighbourhood Association	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Niddrie House Tenants Association	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Niddrie Mains Residents' Association	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented
Niddrie Mill Residents' Association	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented

Table 6.4 shows the extent to which 'core civil society' also has elements of 'grey' in that 1) not all organisations are completely self managed and 2) some of them are implemented in response to government policy. Those which are only 'somewhat' self managed are often involved in complicated funding arrangements which require shared management structures. For example, in the case of Adult Student Link, the organisation was funded through the Craigmillar European Program; however, European funding only ever funds half the costs of a project. To make up the other half, the organisation used 'funding in kind' from the local high school in terms of premises and from the council's adult basic education service in terms of tutoring staff. This meant that even though the organisation had its own management committee, many staff were not controlled by the organisation and the management committee had only limited control over the premises the project used.

In the second situation, I make a distinction between the extent to which organisations are set up and maintained 'voluntarily'. Many organisations could be said to be set up in response to policy; at the very least they are set up within a particular policy context. This is particularly true for the organisations in Table 6.4 because most of them are in receipt of some kind of financial support from government departments or agencies. In some cases organisations are the direct result of finance being made available, and it may be that if the organisation was not set up in that way, some other group of individuals or organisations would have stepped in to use those targeted finances in another way. Thus these organisations are voluntary, but potentially manipulated. In other situations, it may be the lack of policy which influences the establishment of organisations. In this database I made a distinction between whether organisations were set up by 'grassroots', i.e. through local initiative or through the implementation of policy, but in reality this is not always an easy distinction to make.

'Grassroots implemented' may mean that several different agencies working in the area came together to discuss problems which existed. Only in a small number of cases (for example the original CFS, the Venchie Children's Project or some of the other smaller initiatives) could we claim that these associations were the result of local residents' concerns and actions. Often professionals from government departments and even from other voluntary organisations (who work in but do not live in) the area are responsible for new associations. The influence of available funding on these initiatives is therefore important. The three case studies which follow each show a different element of this category. The CFS was started through a group of parents meeting together and identifying social concerns which were not addressed by policy. Womanzone was

brought about because professionals (from the CFS as well as social work departments) working in the area saw a need to address women's health issues and sought funding based on those issues. Both of these are categorised as 'grassroots implemented'. The CSIP on the other hand was organised to enable existing associations to receive government finance for 'excluded' areas. It was established according to policy guidelines under the direction of local authority officials. This organisation is seen to be a 'response to funding available'.

Table 6.4 also notes whether or not there is local involvement in management of these projects. This distinction shows that even though organisations may be implemented in response to particular policy, there is some degree of 'local' independence in the management of these initiatives. The distinction of 'national organisation branch' also makes clear that some organisations in Craigmillar exist because of national level organising around social issues which have particular relevance in Craigmillar. Thus Brenda House is a charitable organisation concerned with providing drug and alcohol rehabilitation for women with children, and the Brook Advisory service in Craigmillar was concerned with young people's sexual health. Where drug and alcohol abuse and teenage pregnancy are relatively high in Craigmillar, it makes sense for these national or city organisations to locate some of their services in the area. Likewise, the Thistle Foundation provides housing for people with disabilities and their families providing a 'client pool' for organisations working with people with disabilities such as St Helens in Craigmillar.

The final two columns in Table 6.4 identify when projects started, and any significant changes they have experienced over their existence (including their closure). The table thus shows that there has been a considerable increase in this particular type of voluntary association in the area over the past twenty years, although this should be qualified by saying the mapping exercise was not a thorough investigation of associational activity over the past 100 years, and associations may have existed which are not listed here. These organisations represent the collective memory of interview respondents and the documentation of the area since the 1960s.

The type of voluntary association listed below is oriented towards service provision and increasing political voice, but is also largely sponsored by external funds and relies on paid staff as well as volunteers.

Table 6.4 Core Civil Society by start date with management structures and changes

Organization Name	Self Managing	Management Committee	Locals	Voluntary	Started	Changes and Reasons
Niddrie Mission	yes	no	no	national org branch	1900	
Bristo Memorial Church Craigmillar	yes	no	no	national org branch	1930	
Richmond Craigmillar Church	yes	no	no	national org branch	1935	
St. Teresa's R.C. Church	yes	no	no	national org branch	1935	
Robin Chapel	yes	no	no	national org branch	1944	
Thistle Foundation	yes	yes	yes	national org branch	1944	
Venchie Children & Young People's Project	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1961	
CFS Arts	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1967	2000 CFS closure became Craigmillar Community Arts
CFS Social Welfare	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1968	2002 CFS closed – went independent
Craigmillar Festival Society (umbrella)	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1968	Closed 2002
Greenscheme	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1968	1997 finished due to lack of funding and internal staffing issues
Craigmillar Chronicle	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1970	previously CFS news, community news funding required independence
CFS Training Department	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1980	Ended 2001
Link In	somewhat	no	no	grassroots implemented city org branch	1982	2000 changed name from Craigmillar Mental Health Project
St. Helen's in Craigmillar	somewhat					
McGovern House	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1984	2002 closure loss of funding
Bingham & District 50 + Project	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1986	1992, 2001 expanded geographical catchment area

Organization Name	Self Managing	Management Committee	Locals	Voluntary	Started	Changes and Reasons
Be Well	somewhat	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1988	Changed name in 2003 from Craigmillar Health Project
Castle Drugs Project	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1989	
Capacity Building Project	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1990	1991 and 1997 changes in funding required re-orientation
CFS Children & Youth	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1990	2001 became CCS, CFS closed
Brenda House	yes	no	no	national org branch	1991	
Craigmillar Adventure Project	somewhat	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1991	
Craigmillar Neighbourhood Alliance	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1991	2002 changed from Craigmillar Housing Development Project reflecting new directions
Cre8te	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1991	2001 new name changed direction for company
Share Scotland	somewhat	no	no	national org branch	1991	
Business Community Connections	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1992	2000 changed from Friends of Craigmillar, increased geographical area of interest
Craigmillar Adult Learning Network	yes	yes	no	grassroots implemented	1992	
Craigmillar Out Of School Project (COOSP)	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1992	2001 became part of CCS
Health Opportunities Team	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1994	2000 went independent from Edinburgh's Brook Advisory
The Learning Centre	somewhat	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1994	2000 from CALAC to The Learning centre when merged with LA adult learning services, 2003 to Adult Learning Link merged with ASL
Craigmillar Community Information Service	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1996	2000 started new elements and changed name, 2003 closed due to lost funding
Adult Student Link (ASL)	somewhat	yes	no	grassroots implemented	1997	2003 joined with The Learning Centre

Organization Name	Self Managing	Management Committee	Locals	Voluntary	Started	Changes and Reasons
Craigmillar European Programme	yes	no	no	response to funding available	1997	
Craigmillar Partnership	yes	yes	yes	response to funding available	1997	2000 closed
Come and See Group	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1998	
Craigmillar Books for Babies	yes	yes	yes	response to funding available	1998	
Craigmillar Literacy Trust	yes	no	no	gov dep initiative	1998	
PhoneLink	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1998	
Third Age Learning Project	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1998	closed 2002 funding ended
Womanzone	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1988	
Work Track	yes	yes	no	grassroots implemented	1988	
Community Regeneration Forum	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1999	
Craigmillar Community Council	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1999	
Craigmillar Regeneration Forum	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	1999	
Craigmillar Partnership Support Team	yes	no	no	response to funding available	2000	
Craigmillar Social Inclusion Partnership	yes	yes	yes	response to funding available	2000	new structures replaced old CP
Kintry Housing Partnership	yes	yes	yes	gov dep initiative	2000	
Craigmillar Childcare Services	yes	yes	yes	grassroots implemented	2001	
Craigmillar Disability Project (CAN)	yes	yes	yes	response to funding available	2001	Changed name 2002

Name changes are significant because of the reasons they change. In some cases projects needed to re-brand in order to become eligible (as a new project) for funding. The CBP for example, was originally the 'Active Citizenship' initiative under the CFS. After a short time, funding became available which led the project to change its name to the 'Community Development Project'. In 1997, the opportunity of European Funding for 'new' projects led to further changes. The project took on extra areas of work and changed its name again in order to become eligible. A further example of the need to change in order to maintain financing is the way organisations have been dropping geographical labels in order to tap into funding for a broader client base. The Bingham and District 50+ Project was previously the Bingham Older Peoples Project, and Friends of Craigmillar was the previous name of Business Community Connections which now offers its services to south Edinburgh as well as Craigmillar. In some cases, local members are just bored with the project name and want something catchier, thus the Craigmillar Health Project became 'Be Well'. In all cases, the name change represents other organisational change. In the table we can see that most name changes actually occurred in the past 10 years suggesting a period of considerable change for civil society organisations in the area. Whereas earlier periods showed new projects starting, this period shows existing projects adapting to mostly external pressures.

From the details in the database we can also see that many organisations work jointly with government or have several different functions. This creates many ambiguities in Craigmillar's civil society. For example, The Learning Centre (TLC), included workers paid and managed by Family Learning and Adult Education – a local authority initiated programme. It is interesting in this case to note that eventually the local authority community education service ended up taking control of the premises provided. This is not necessarily a story of takeover, however. In reality, there was no longer a sufficient level of funding available to support the 'voluntary' side of the project through social inclusion partnership funding (the source of funding over several years). There was, however, pressure on the local authority service not to close the 'shop' which offered advice and information on learning opportunities and the 'takeover' could thus be seen as a victory, rather than a defeat for local civil society.

What does civil society in Craigmillar do?

In the information above we can already see that civil society in Craigmillar performs different functions. Those organisations in table 6.3 are divided into the types of interests they organise around. In their case, their purpose seems to be to organise activity and

ensure continuity in the support for those interests. However, there are also other distinctions which I think are useful. The organisations in Tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.4 can also be divided into four different categories 1) strategic, 2) representative, 3) service, and 4) network organisations.

Twelve organisations can be classed as strategic. This means they are concerned with shaping strategy for the area's wellbeing. In some cases, such as the CFS social welfare, they are concerned with shaping strategy around a particular issue such as social care.

One of the key players in change in 'strategy' for Craigmillar over the past 10 years has undoubtedly been EDI. Because this is a private, for profit development company, it is not included in the lists above; however, it is sponsored by the council and has been involved in drawing up proposals for how to change and improve the area. Other organisations that are strategic and more locally based include the Craigmillar Festival Society (which was involved in developing proposals for improvements well before the appearance of EDI) and the Craigmillar Social Inclusion Partnership (and all its precursor partnerships). Many other organisations are strategic in their particular field, for example Bingham 50+ Project is strategic in terms of planning long term services for older people.

Nine organisations could be classed as 'representative'. Representative organisations are closely related to strategic organisations, in that their aim is to represent the views of their constituents locally concerning changes in the area. The Craigmillar Festival Society for example, considered itself both strategic and representative for much of its 30 plus years of existence. The Craigmillar SIP is primarily a strategic body but has a board which represents different interests in the area – including local people and representatives from some of the key public service institutions operating in the area (education, health, etc.). Both the Craigmillar Community Council and the Community Regeneration Forum are better examples of purely representative bodies; the former consists of 20 members nominated by their peers and voted in during community council elections; the latter has an open membership, but is generally made up of representatives of tenants' and residents' associations in areas experiencing housing regeneration. These organisations are the type that one would expect to be directly responsible for increasing democratic inclusion – they bring people together specifically to identify collective issues and present them to government bodies.

It is also interesting to note that a large number of voluntary sector organisations claim to work in 'community development'. A 'community development' approach (as outlined in the literature review) suggests that organisations are concerned with

empowerment, helping local residents to identify issues, and encouraging groups to organise and take direct action to change policy or structures or solve the identified concern collectively. The CBP held such a perspective, and around four years ago started holding 'community development workshops' where workers from many different projects came together to discuss common issues. From this it was clear that although working in different projects, there was some shared understanding of what was meant by a community development approach. This common perception among workers stems from a common professional background, but also seems to be something that is learned from an awareness of the history of self-help and political participation in the area.

Service providing organisations

Service providing organisations are clearly the largest section of voluntary organisations. At least 75 of the organisations which were included in the database provided services. From the list in figure 6.5 we can see that services focus mostly on education. However, many organisations provide education on only one issue and may provide other services as well. As mentioned above, the community development style 'service' is also popular among voluntary service providing associations, but this, in many cases, is a style of education.

Figure 6.5 Type of services provided

Networks

111
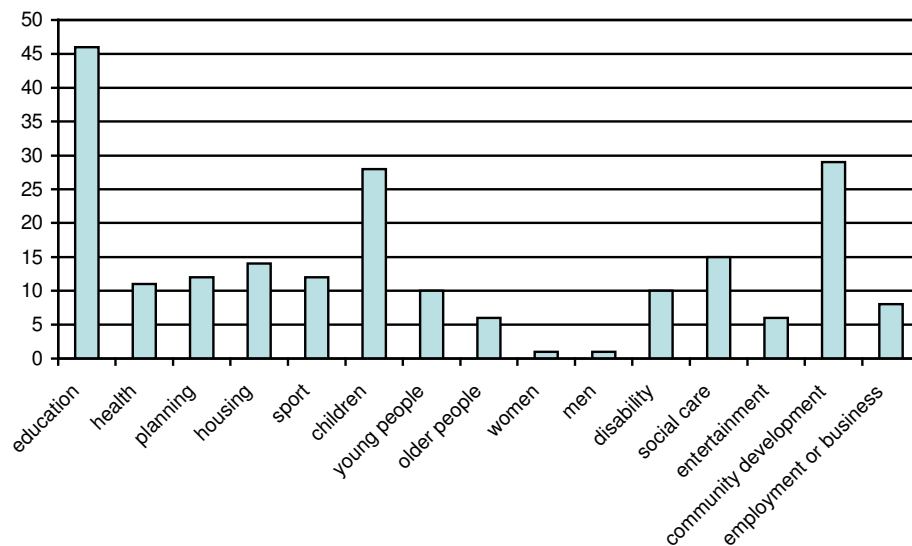
Networks form an important part of the organisational structures in Craigmillar. While there is only one organisation which is funded specifically as a network (the Craigmillar Adult Learning Network, or CALNET), there are several other organisational structures which perform the functions of a network; categorising those which are also seen to be 'organisations' we end up with 7 of them including the CFS, the current and previous partnership structures, community council and regeneration forum. All of these are also seen to be representative and somewhat strategic organisations. Each of the three case studies presented later are engaged in, or support, other forms of network. The CFS itself was a network as an umbrella organisation, but also initiated issue specific networks which still exist in the form of CALNET and a regular social welfare meeting, which brings together voluntary and statutory organisations which provide services for vulnerable people in the community. The subgroups of the Craigmillar Social Inclusion Partnership also act as networks on at least six different issues. In fact it could be suggested that the term partnership is misused in connection with this organisation in that people attend meetings more to stay informed and to coordinate the work already being carried out than to contribute on an equal basis towards a particular project – functions of a network rather than a partnership. Finally, Womanzone was involved in a network called a 'cluster group on violence against women', which focused on one specific issue. Other networks include a 'Youth Service Providers Forum' and the 'Council of Craigmillar Churches' or the 'Craigmillar Childcare Forum'.

Regardless of their name, these networks share the following characteristics:

- They bring people from different organisations together
- Information is exchanged
- Opportunities for communication and the building of relationships between disparate groups are created
- The network itself might take on extra work, but will not take on service provision roles competing with members of the network.
- The organisations share some kind of common concern or interest.

Of the 112 organisations identified in the database, at least 62 were known members of, or attendees of internal Craigmillar networks (i.e. not including any international, national, city wide or regional networks that organisations may be involved in). This suggests that civil society in Craigmillar is internally connected and it follows that these connections provide a source of 'bonding' social capital at the level of local organisations. However, for the most part, these connections are between organisations, which mostly means between professionals working for the organisations. Not all networks include non-professional residents, and the non professionals who are included

could best be classed as 'professional' activists or people who are involved in many civil society groups. Having had positions on some of these networks (and therefore being privy to the mailing lists used) it is clear that networks can contain many inactive members who get reports on meetings but rarely attend. This means that information sharing is not necessarily as complete as it could be because many organisations do not to take part in joint activities. In addition, the personal connections that come from face to face contact are lost when meetings are poorly attended and changes in staff can often weaken network relationships.

One of the key features of the new Labour policy agenda is the concept of partnership between voluntary sector and statutory organisations. Networks, meetings, or cluster groups are all ways for organisations to at least have the appearance of connectivity which is so important to policy rhetoric. It is not surprising then that projects and statutory services like to publicise their engagement with networks and partnerships.

Funding

Another way the database can be organised is by the type of funding organisations receive (see appendix 3). Craigmillar's civil society is funded through a variety of sources which are mostly external to the area. Often resources pass through several institutions before they arrive in Craigmillar, and once in Craigmillar are then distributed through some of the 'civil society' organisations we have listed above. Figures 6.6 through 6.9 show some of these routes and the institutions involved. The black arrows to the left indicate the administrative route of the money or resources. On the right hand side, the grey arrows indicate the routes of reporting, or in other words, the paths of accountability.

1. Scottish Executive resources directed towards social exclusion programmes

Thirty three of the civil society organisations listed above receive, or have received, money through Scottish Executive resources which are directed towards social exclusion programmes. The route the money takes is noted in Figure 6.6. The NDPB Communities Scotland administers the Social Inclusion Programme. In funding terms this means that they make decisions about applications for funding (based on policy criteria) and distribute the money to applicants. However, the applicants are local authorities, not partnerships or local projects. Local authorities put together applications on behalf of (and sometimes in conjunction with) local 'communities', determining which areas are most likely to be deemed appropriate recipients for this policy solution and the funding attached. Social Inclusion Partnerships are then awarded money based on these applications, and the partnerships themselves distribute money to local projects. As

discussed in the CSIP case study, local residents take on responsibility for making judgements about the extent to which local voluntary sector organisations meet Scottish Executive aims and objectives.

Figure 6.6 Scottish Executive funding to Craigmillar

Scottish Executive – Social Exclusion Programme

Communities Scotland

Local Authority Corporate Services Department

Craigmillar Social Inclusion Partnership

Craigmillar Projects in receipt of Grants

The path of reporting / accountability

The path of funding
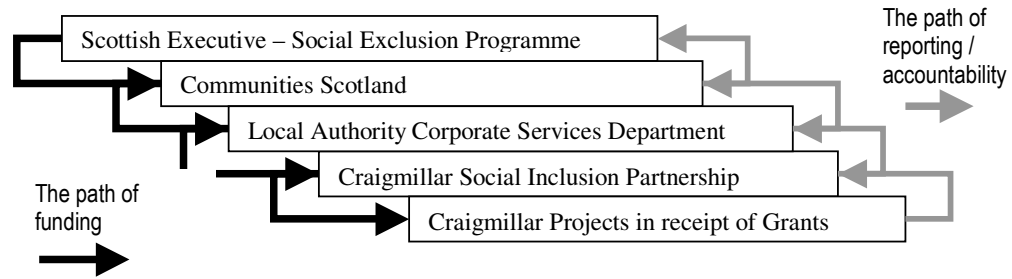
2) Direct Local Authority Funding

Sixty three organisations receive at least some funding directly from local authority departments. This funding comes in a variety of forms. Some organisations, such as Caring in Craigmillar (which was previously the CFS social welfare department), have a 'service level agreement' where the funding represents payment for services provided. Share Housing (providing housing for people with disabilities) on the other hand, has a somewhat more contractual arrangement with social services where funding for an individual's care and housing is given to the charity. This payment for services then supplements their own resources from private fundraising to provide services over and above what the council pays for. Other organisations receive funding in kind in the form of subsidised rent of local authority premises, and still others receive a block grant from a particular department. It is worth remembering, however, that even though local authorities have some tax raising powers, as noted in Chapter 2, most local authority income comes from central government rather than from local tax raising, and requirements on local councils to provide specific services from national government take up the bulk of revenue raised from taxes. Willingness to fund organisations in Craigmillar is therefore often dependent on the extent to which doing so meets CEC's responsibility to national government (see Figure 6.7).

Figure 6.7 Local Authority funding

Scottish Executive

Local Authority Departments

Craigmillar Projects and Social Services
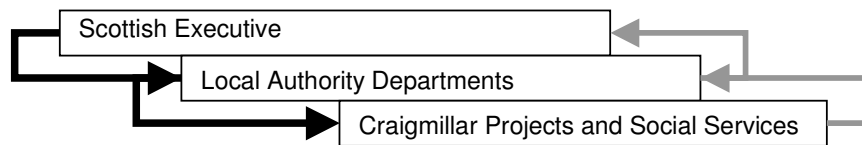
3. European Funding

Fourteen service providing organisations in the Craigmillar area receive funding from the European Union. Figure 6.8 shows just two sources of European funding which Craigmillar draws on. The Scottish Executive officially has little to do with European funding. It is the UK government which applies for European funding on behalf of particular areas (it is the UK not Scotland which is a member of the EU). However, in eastern Scotland, the East of Scotland European Programme (ESEP) is run with commitments from a number of different councils to distribute funds to eligible areas. Regarding funding, the ESEP is in many ways like the Communities Scotland of the European Union. It determines whether projects are eligible and distributes the income once it has been received from Europe.

European money is never awarded to fund initiatives for the total amount needed. It is always awarded as 'match funding'. Projects must show evidence of this match funding and governments must accept the match funding arrangements and apply for the funds. The funding is however again channelled through the local authority which passes it on to projects. For seven organisations in Craigmillar, the resources come first to a central management point (the European Programme now being part of the CSIP), and are then distributed to individual initiatives.

Figure 6.8 Funding from the European Union
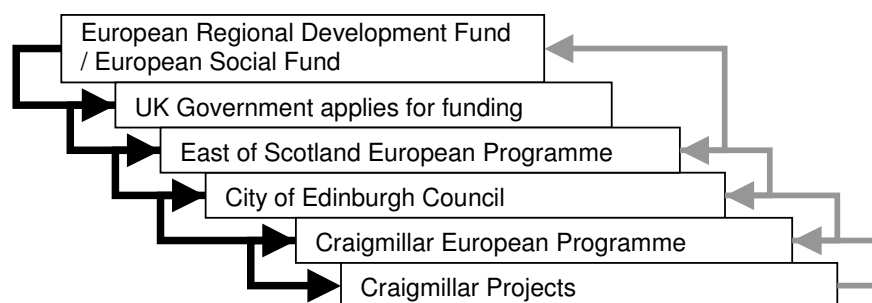
4. Private Foundations

Craigmillar projects have received sporadic resources from independent grant foundations: 6 have received money from the National Lottery, and 8 from other independent foundations. This money is often time limited and is awarded on conditions that the foundations set. Foundations do not necessarily reflect government policy. Thus projects can potentially continue or start programmes that trends in policy would not allow. Figure 6.9 shows that there is a more direct link between projects and funders.

However, it also shows that although they are independent of government, some foundations ask for guarantees or sponsorship from other bodies such as local authorities which gives the project extra reporting responsibilities.

One of the main foundation funders is now the national lottery, but this is not quite as independent. Lottery bodies can award significant amounts of money, but in some cases (such as the Healthy Living Centre applications the CSIP subgroup applied for) they must have local authority validation and show that the initiative will work with public service bodies. Government is quite involved in setting the lottery distribution body's policies. The Scottish Executive influences things like the broad headings under which lottery money can be distributed, and the kind of reporting that the company responsible for the lottery must make. As parliament is the body with direct accountability to the people, it perhaps makes sense that it has influence over organisations such as lottery awards bodies which are not democratically accountable to the country or community. However, this control over lottery awards also affects the freedom of the organisations receiving the funds.

Figure 6.9 Funding from foundations
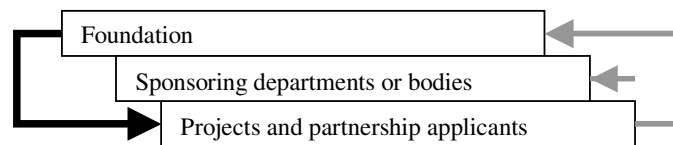
Although reporting almost always flows in a mirror image of resource flows, this should not be seen to be a way local organisations influence or give voice to experience on the ground. While doing a 'social audit' for the Capacity Building Project we tried diligently to contact all our stakeholders – including funders. But funders replied that they did not know enough about the project to make comments on its effectiveness. On the other hand, Communities Scotland made changes to monitoring requirements in response to complaints from projects, but complaints were aimed at the frequency of reports, not the levels of funding, or the frequency of changes in funding policy (concerns that are frequently expressed by local workers).

5) Local Fundraising and private sale of services

In addition to these four ways of raising money, organisations also use direct fundraising techniques. For some organisations this means raffles, ticketed social events, or membership dues and in the cases of some clubs (such as the Hearts Supporters Club or the Niddrie Bowling Club) the sale of drink or entertainment. Some of the service

providing organisations above have also included the sale of some of their services in the packet of fundraising tools at their disposal. The Capacity Building Project for example, acted as a local consultant for a regional project to determine how paths were used in the area. The project charged the private consultants carrying out the work for the services they provided. Craigmillar Childcare Services (the new company which emerged from the CFS children and youth services) charges for their out of school services. These charges are subsidised, but there is still a charge. The money raised in this way, however, is money that has the most flexibility. Projects, having raised the funds themselves, have the right to use the money on anything that meets their organisation's aims. However, where organisation aims have been written to attract funding from sources which are more directed by policy than local residents' interests, these very organisation aims can also be restrictive.

Handler (1996) claimed that the origin of resources was the key to whether or not local organisations could gain power. Organisations which were in receipt of resources from external sources were always likely to be controlled by those external sources. Those organisations which were able to generate their own resources were able to maintain their purposes in spite of external influences. In Craigmillar, resources available to civil society tend to be generated from outside the community which is unsurprising considering the low levels of income in the area. Thus the independence of Craigmillar civil society (and therefore the ability of civil society to increase power and inclusion) can be seen to be limited by the direction of resource flow.

Resources often influence other types of relationships between institutions. For example, most voluntary organisations have management which is independent from their funding institutions; however, funding institutions still maintain management relationships. For example, Be Well (previously the Craigmillar Health Project) as mentioned above, has a local management committee who employ staff, but the staff also have line managers from their funding organisations, in this case Lothian Health.

Conclusion: Is Craigmillar Civil Society Civil?

Thus far I have shown the existence of institutions or organisations which can be seen to fit the definition of civil society as given by Salamon and others. However, as noted in the literature review, sometimes organisations which are not for profit, private, self governing and voluntary can still appear quite 'uncivil'.

Drawing on the literature on civil society, it seems that the idea of 'civility' is closely related to legality. In this case, Craigmillar organisations are civil in that they are

organised under legal frameworks. Each organisation has some kind of formal structure which is legally recognised, be it as a charity, association, company or partnership. They also contain within them rules for interaction. The rules of their organisation (which make them formal institutions) require regular meetings, proper control of finance, and decision making structures. This means that there is a formal structure to the way people are expected to interact. This requirement does not insist on any particular format for organisations. Some organisations may not have democratic decision making, others may meet only once every two years, but their formal or rule based structures still make them 'civil'. There also seems to be a significant number of organised non-profit organisations in the area which can be labelled voluntary, but it is also here that the biggest question about the validity of Craigmillar's voluntary sector as 'civil society' really exists. Funding relationships show a heavy dependence on policy driven resources and, although many organisations were initiated voluntarily (from the grassroots), it is often as much in response to available resources as it is to local need.

The literature review also notes that 'civility' can be seen as politeness. Bryant (1995) argues in favour of the view of civil society as a space where one can expect to find respect for different views (at least on the surface), where private connections and commitments (such as kinship relationships) are set aside in the interest of some public purpose and where, generally, unwritten rules of engagement govern how people can interact with each other. Understanding whether Craigmillar's civil society is in fact 'civil' thus requires that we do more than list the organisations in the area, but also that we understand how those organisations react to difference both internally and in their relationships with other organisations. In the latter case we can already note that the existence of networks suggests that there is civility between organisations, although it could be argued that civility is breaking down when people do not attend meetings. However, the case studies which follow allow me to explore in more detail the extent to which Craigmillar Civil Society is internally civil. I therefore return to this question in Chapter 10 where the possibilities of civil society generating greater political inclusion and democratic renewal are explored in relation to the extent to which they generate social capital and the extent to which they allow for collective exercise of power from a local level.

CHAPTER 7

Case study 1

Craigmillar Festival Society

Within one year of starting work with the CBP it became evident that the CFS was under threat, and in April 2002 the Craigmillar Festival Society ceased to exist. The events, procedures and happenings leading up to the closure are the core of this case study. This analysis therefore covers not only the history and the structural characteristics of the CFS, (which is also context for the following cases) but an account of structural changes in the local voluntary sector as well. In many ways, the changes to the CFS, are representative of the changes in relationships between the government and the voluntary sector more generally.

This case study shows how professionals within local civil society organisations act in what they see to be the community's best interests, and how this often means buying into particular policy and procedures. Considering the actual changes that came with the closure of the CFS shows the resilience of the voluntary sector and the influence of external rather than internal forces.

This chapter first outlines the history and development of the CFS which goes back more than thirty years. It shows the activist oriented foundations of the organisation and considers the early structural and procedural decisions made within the society especially in its relationship to external organisations. Secondly, it goes into detail about the events leading up to the closure of the CFS. The events are outlined as a type of journal of what local residents and workers in the CFS saw as the key in the closure of the organisation. The reasons which those involved give for the closure are considered separately and are grouped into categories suggested by respondents. Finally, the CFS legacy is considered. The project I worked for did not close down along with the CFS and in fact many CFS functions continued after the closure. The transition of projects is therefore considered in order to determine what the impact of the closure was.

History & Development of the Craigmillar Festival Society (CFS)

This is by no means the first time the Craigmillar Festival Society (CFS) has been studied or written about. There is substantial written documentation about the CFS, including project publicity and academic reports. Three key reports form the basis of the history presented here. The first is written by Frances May Meiklejohn in 1970, just seven years after the first festival was organised. It charts project development in the early CFS

– an organisation which was concerned primarily with the arts. The second account is written in 1980 by Steve Burgess who researched and worked for the CFS. Burgess was an advisor for the CFS and used his research to make suggestions for improvements in organisational structures throughout the time of the CFS's first receipt of major European funding. Finally, there is a publication called "Let the People Sing". In this book, the founder of the CFS – Helen Crummy – gives a personal account of her experience as activist and organising secretary of what became one of the largest employers in Craigmillar. She writes at the point of her retirement from the organisation in 1992. Internal reports on the organisation's work include a report titled 'The Gentle Giant' (1978) which outlines over 400 recommendations for improving Craigmillar life. This report gives an interesting point of reference in terms of the organisation's goals in light of its accomplishments.

The often re-told story of the CFS's beginnings is that, dissatisfied with the provision of arts education in the local high school and affronted by the attitude of professionals towards the ability of their children, a group of mothers first expressed their concern and then took action to improve the accessibility of the arts in the area. They organised a Craigmillar Festival to bring music and drama to the community. Crummy (1993) claims that this was accomplished in spite of struggles with existing power structures. She claims that the institutions around at the time were resistant to the idea of local people taking the initiative. Crummy describes how the association set up their own subcommittee for organising a festival and co-opted two of the mothers on to it while appointing a man as the Festival Convenor. After a year, the festival was still a concept, and Crummy describes how the women felt frustrated at the obstacles put in their way. Ultimately however, she recalls:

> The local head teacher of the high school who was supportive of the women's group persuaded the Association to give the women the freedom to run the festival on their own, and the first festival planning committee was born. The only proviso was that the Association's Officials should be on a platform party at the opening. Tongue in Cheek we agreed – they'd find out soon enough that people's festivals don't have platform parties! (Crummy 1993, p. 44)

The Festival Society's voyage was initially a stormy one. Before long the representative of the Mothers' Club was asked to leave the Joint Council, but Crummy found a way to return as a delegate of the local Labour party.

The first festivals the organisation set up created a political space which brought council officials into the community on conditions set by people within the community. Community musicals to which council officials were invited allowed residents to voice

their concerns. These musicals had titles such as 'Castle, Cooncil and Curse' in 1974 (a musical publicising the problems local people faced with their council landlord); or 'UB 43%' in 1981 (referring to the level of unemployment). Songs from the shows demonstrate how the arts were used to raise awareness among the community, to encourage political action, and express community sentiment to those in power. The musical in 1975 'The Time & Motion Man', features a song about the 'rehabilitation man' who is a caricature of 'experts' sent to help local residents:

> Along came a man with a long degree REHABILITATION MAN
> He said, I bet you're glad to see me REHABILITATION MAN
> I've come to put your house to rights REHABILITATION MAN
> Rip out the bath and put out the lights REHABILITATION MAN

The 1975 musical included a character called 'Wattie Deans' who is encouraged to take action!

> Wattie Deans over to you
> You've got the power to take your cue
> Don't leave it to the men at the top
> It's your future we're talking about.

And in 1980 a musical about people being re-housed and ignored by the system called 'The Bridge of Shoo' ends with the lines:

> The system is to help the people, yeah!
> But what goes wrong?
> It seems that the
> Poor get weaker while the rich grow strong.

The 1974 musical was still being sung at community conferences in the 1990s:

> The powerful in the land
> Can't bring a change of heart
> But history will be made
> When the People Play their Part

Also evident is a particular experience of government as in the lines: 'the government owns his soul' and the relationship to 'experts' who are brought in to change the face of Craigmillar. In addition we can see the affirmation that local people can make changes and the need for those changes to be at a national level and the system of administration rather than just in local attitudes or behaviours.

Over several years the Festival committee became the catalyst for community action on issues such as community facilities, social welfare issues and unemployment. In 1970, seven years after the first festival was organised, Craigmillar received funds from the Urban Aid Programme for a Neighbourhood Workers scheme, local people (many of whom were those on the festival organising committee) were employed to research and try to address local problems. They received only a small stipend and payment towards

their telephone bills and by 1973 further money was awarded through the Lord Provost's Pilot Scheme to develop the local plan. In 1975 the European Community introduced a programme to fund pilot schemes of initiatives set up to combat poverty, and the CFS was successful in securing money to expand their services.

Aims and Structures

In the early days of the CFS most of those involved were engaged in the organising and production of events for the annual festival which involved two weeks of events including musicals, street parades, children's events and fair days. However when Mieklejohn writes in 1970, there had been around 7 annual festivals and the organisation had started to organise projects beyond the festival including youth clubs, meals for the elderly and campaigns on local issues.

Mieklejohn reports that there were 70 people on the festival society committee, including festival event organisers and a range of people with professional roles in the community or who represented other voluntary organisations. She interviewed 16 of the committee plus five people from outside of the community. Most of those interviewed identified the aim of the organisation as both cultural and social action. The social action element however had three strands, the first was concerned with bringing the community together and creating a sense of community spirit, the second was associated with creating a more positive image of the area. Mieklejohn says the festival 'attracts outside attention and projects a different image of Craigmillar, in turn proving that something organised can emerge from a community hitherto regarded as totally unorganised' (Mieklejohn 1970 p. 29). The third strand of social action work was political and included acting as a representative pressure group for the area. This social action element led to discussions about the direction of the CFS.

Some of the committee wanted to concentrate more on the direct provision of services in the area, while others felt this was not their remit. The definition of representation or pressure was not clear enough to allow direct action through the society itself. According to Mieklejohn, these discussions were in part started through discussions with the local council about the CFS's campaign for a community centre. Although the council agreed to fund the CFS's 'neighbourhood workers project' with £1000, the society's ability to manage a community centre was questioned and the council suggested the CFS should be incorporated more into council systems and structures before any such responsibility be given. Those Mieklejohn interviewed did not agree about whether incorporation was a positive move to take.

Two of the key characteristics of the CFS from around the 1970s onwards, were 1) the attitude towards statutory organisations working in the area, and 2) the open nature of meetings and decision making. Firstly, all the written accounts state that the CFS recognised that government departments and social security structures had the power to help the community, even though there were negative aspects to the type of control that such agencies could utilise. In a report on the CFS fifteen years after its inception Crummy quotes an application to the European Community for funds to develop a comprehensive local plan and action programme. This states that they were aiming for a relationship between 'ordinary people' and 'those they have elected to be in power' as a 'new government/community partnership which could make real inroads into the problem' (CFS, 1978, p.2). The CFS called this 'shared or liaison government' (CFS, 1978 p. 1). Thus, Schools were part of the annual festival and head teachers, social workers and councillors were involved in meetings and festival events.

In the late 1970s the society put together an ambitious (but successful) grant application for separate but connected projects in training, welfare, and citizen participation. On establishment of these projects, workshops moved to controlling projects and away from defining issues and solutions. Projects now had to meet funding criteria and this commitment to external objectives could be said to have compromised the 'organic response to local need' (Ibid.). For local needs to be met, the needs must be translated into some kind of European or national objective. These changes in structures led the society to become a collection of services as well as a pressure group.

That there was considerable tension inherent in working both with, and against statutory bodies becomes evident early on. As discussed above, the CFS was encouraged to conform to council ways of structuring the organisation in order to qualify for grants, and the CFS conformed by introducing a more structured constitution. Crummy's description of the formal constitution adopted in the early 1970s suggests these tensions:

> The constitution says that the Society believes that the condition of life in Craigmillar ward and the social welfare of the people will be greatly improved if the facilities it provides and the actions of the members bring about the following public benefits:
>
> • The creation and development of an interest in music, drama, dancing and the arts among local organisations and individuals;
> • The fostering of a greater understanding by the community as a whole of the importance and scope of cultural and social action and of full public discussion of new ideas for such action;
> • The initiation of projects designed to develop community interest and participation and to enhance the general level of the physical, social and cultural environment of Craigmillar Ward. (1993 p. 106)

The structural form of the 'co-operate' approach had nine workshops or working parties which discussed issues and made recommendations to the CFS executive about what the CFS could do or what the council should do. The issues included childcare, social welfare, employment, training, housing, environmental improvements, arts, education, communications and finance. Each workshop or working party was open to anyone with an interest. The CFS executive was elected by annual general meetings and did not include any staff so that the CFS employees, according to Crummy, were 'the servants of the community' (p. 106). Executive meetings were held monthly and their discussions were fed back to workshops so amendments or changes could be made to their programmes or ideas. According to Burgess (1980), before European grants were secured, these meetings were long and lively. When the first EEC grant was awarded to the CFS, part of the grant was to employ new staff including local trained activists and 'professional planners' to help in the development of the local plan. Burgess claims that these outside professionals introduced a new dynamic to the working parties. He states:

> . . . The first year of the EEC programme represented an invasion which went to the core of the Festival society itself. The new staff was originally intended to be largely local Craigmillar people but many eventually were outsiders . . . The result was a lot of internal friction and the failure of the key participation strategy . . . This resulted in a diminution of wider participation, the very opposite of the effect intended. The first evidence for this was the tendency of working parties to become staff meetings - moving at a pace which did not take the trouble to accommodate an increasing number of Craigmillar folk through convenient meeting times and slower simplified procedures which all could understand ... The second main evidence was the diminution of the number and role of the neighbourhood workers (pp. 23-24)

Burgess claims that over the five years of the first EEC programme, many workshops stopped making recommendations to the CFS executive (which was the key 'representative' body of the community compared to staff based committees), and instead started to act almost independently, making contacts with appropriate officials and lobbying for change through other channels. This suggests that the centralising tendency Burgess discusses is about professionals and key CFS leadership joining forces to achieve particular ends on behalf of, rather than with, local residents. The concept of the staff serving the community came to have less to do with direct inclusion of the community in decision making, and more to do with acting as paternal advocates for Craigmillar. Meetings took on a more bureaucratic procedural role which, according to Burgess, kept local residents away from meetings rather than drawing them in. This was particularly true in the field of housing, where council staff moved ahead with a new local housing association without taking it through the CFS executive. Discussions took place between key players in the Scottish Office, a councillor, and key local figures, about funding for improvements to local housing not in the CFS executive.

As workshops came up with new ideas, the CFS acted as an incubator space for projects (each with their own unique funding package) to develop. Table 7.1 lists the different organisations under the umbrella of the organisation, the sources of their funding and the type of constraints on each funding resource. Organisations which were started by CFS groups did not always come within the CFS management umbrella. For example, the Craigmillar Opportunities Trust (COT), was set up to make an income from property rental and to feed that money back into the community. It was in the interests of the CFS to be a recipient of the trust's community investment, rather than a distributor. Projects dependent on any source of European funding had delayed funding procedures to deal with which made the CFS umbrella invaluable. European grants only ever cover 50% (at the most) of a project's running costs. To ensure that the other 50% is in place for a project, European money can only be drawn down after 100% of the quarterly costs have been spent (with invoices and receipts as proof). Thus projects must spend twice their income (from other sources) in the first quarter, in order to get their full income in the next quarter. As a result, projects receiving money from Europe must find over-draft facilities. The CFS umbrella structure provided this by pooling project resources. Bureaucratic backlogs often created funding delays, which only creative accounting (late payments, different accounts etc) could solve.

In addition to financial responsibilities, the central CFS was also the official employer of staff within most projects. Organising secretaries were line managers for project coordinators. At one point the CFS had over 100 staff (including trainees) and had all the policies that went along with that level of staffing including conditions of service, redundancy, conditions of dismissal and union memberships. The central CFS was also ultimately responsible for the maintenance of premises, although projects took on much of that day to day work.

The structures of the CFS were changed again in the early 1990s. The old workshop system was replaced with a general management structure for existing projects and issues. The 'organising secretary' explained that there were too many meetings; thus, instead of workshops and working parties, the CFS re-organised on the basis of committees concerned with groups of issues. Figure 7.2 is a copy of the structures as produced by the CFS in an information brochure.

Table 7.1 CFS project funding sources and constraints

Project	Funding Sources	Timing / restrictions
CFS Arts & Arts and Environment project (formerly Greenscheme)	Scottish Arts Council / Lottery grant funding	The arts council's is a regular grant but occasional money has also been awarded from foundations and lottery.
	Partnership (PPI & SIP)	Awarded for an arts / environment worker and reviewed on a yearly or 3 yearly basis.
	Church of Scotland – cheap rent for arts centre	At the whim of the church – in 1998 the church said they were interested in alternative use.
CFS Social Welfare	Social Work department service level agreement	Awarded on the basis of a service level agreement which pays wages but not running costs.
Craigmillar Out of School Club (s)	European Funding (ESF)	Must be matched by local funding, awards grants after they have been spent and reduces proportion of payment as funding comes to a close.
	SIP / PPI funding	Limited time periods for SIP and PPI funding.
	Payments from parents	Limited local incomes set limits on the revenue the project can raise from payments. If set too high parents will not use services.
Craigmillar Adventure Project	Community Education funded	Reasonably stable as long as Community Education funding was stable.
	Fees for services provided	Services mostly provided for organisations, local residents tended to join as volunteers.
Capacity Building Project	European ERDF grant	European funding is only paid after it is spent, and is time limited, decreasing in the proportion paid as the life of the funding comes to a close.
	SIP / PPI grant	PPI funding was limited to seven years, however the SIP programme was then introduced but again only lasted for 7 years.
CFS News/ Craigmillar Chronicle	SIP	Recent grant to help upgrade facilities, one off.
	Community Newspaper	This is an annual payment subject to review each year, but reasonably stable, although at the close of the CFS the funding was given on condition that the
Craigmillar Training Schemes	Scottish Enterprise Lothian Enterprise Edinburgh & Lothian (LEEL)	Per student rather than running costs made payments arrive in retrospect thus limiting the flexibility of the project.
	Manpower Services Commission	Through a special agreement at the will of the commission which in fact no longer exists.
	European Funding (ESF)	Funding limited to a particular period.
Womanzone	Corporate Services Dept of Council	At the whim of departments and external programmes, funding frequently threatened over the years.
	SIP	
CALAC / The Learning Centre	Community Education Department partnership	Community education provided workers to support the centre, but they remained in council employment.
	SIP/PPI	Time limited grant finished in 2000.
	Lottery through national adult learning group	This grant supported employment of one worker to support a network.
Phonelink	SIP	Time limited grant
Craigmillar Housing Development Project	Housing Department funded	Supported through council housing department Urban Aid, SIP (independent 2000).
CFS umbrella	mixed	The CFS umbrella structures received payments from each of the constituent parts of the project as an 'administration fee'; this maintained the community centre as well as at least 6 full time staff. It was precarious because it was based on the funding for other projects.

Figure 7.2 CFS structures in 1992

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

- Open to all residents in the area,
- Will hear reports on the past year's work and finance.
- Will agree in a policy for next year's work.

- Will elect the

NON-EXECUTIVE

This team comprises managers / project co-ordinators who are responsible for the day to day running and management of the Society. Through the Organising Secretary, the management team will assist in ensuring that the Executive Committees and General Committee receive all necessary reports to enable them to make informed decisions

ADVISORY GROUP

Made up of office bearers of the Society, this group will act as an advisory group to the General Committees, its Executive Committee, the Organising secretary and the Management Team. It is also the body which will form the Appeals Committee in relation to staff grievance and disciplinary procedures. It will ensure liaison between the Society and other professional bodies operating in Craigmillar i.e. social work, community education, health service, City of Edinburgh Council etc. Will be able to co-opt professional assistance where required.

GENERAL COMMITTEE

- Will meet three times a year. Is the main policy-making body of the Society.
- Will hear reports from the Executive Committees.
- Will endorse all major applications for funds.
- Will ensure that the wider community are kept fully aware of the Society's work.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

- Will meet each month there is not a General Committee.
- Each Executive Committee will consider one area of the Society's work

ARTS, RECREATION, CHILDREN & YOUTH E.C.

Will receive reports on the manangement and development of all aspects of the above work and will make recommendations to the General Committee as appropriate.

The committee will include for example:
Arts Workshop
Youth Forum
Festival Planning
Children and Youth Workshop
Drama Group etc.

EMPLOYMENT TRAINING & ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT E.C.

Will receive reports on the management and development of all aspects of the above work and will make recommendations to the General Committee as appropriate.

The committee will include for example:
Scheme management
Community Business Support Group
Employment Initiatives
Training, Development, Staffing etc.

SOCIAL WELFARE, HOUSING & PLANNING E.C.

Will receive reports on the manangement and development of all aspects of the above work and will make recommendations to the General Committee as appropriate.

The committee will include for example:
Housing
Neighbourhood Work
Development and Support
Social Welfare Workshop
Planning etc.

Projects are seen to connect to different committees within the CFS's executive structure. Instead of nine separate committees, the structures allowed for monthly meetings which rotated between the three subject committees and the general committee, thus providing meetings of each committee three times a year. These committees grouped together more issues than any one of the previous workshops was concerned with. Reporting from each of the CFS projects was fitted into one of the three subject committees, but this does not mean that the projects were necessarily directed by the committees; rather it gave a way for local projects to present their work to the community. Some projects had further levels of local involvement within their own projects. For example, the CHDP had a separate management committee.

By the time I was employed by the CFS, the relationships between statutory organisations and the CFS had changed in many ways. Initially the relationships tended to be more bi-lateral than unilateral. Council departments had relationships with projects within the CFS (based on their own concerns) rather than with the CFS as a whole. Statutory bodies (such as council departments) tended to engage with CFS projects, on two levels (1) they worked as colleagues, attending a monthly social welfare meeting for example, referring clients and trying jointly to solve local issues, and (2) statutory bodies were connected to projects as funders and project sponsors. This put them in the position of both defenders and critics of projects because they defended original arguments to insert money into a project, but at the same time experienced pressure to cut budgets, pressure to ensure that projects met departmental goals and pressure to act in a particular way towards funders, clients and colleagues.

Successes and Challenges

The report 'The Gentle Giant' was produced by the working party structures between 1972 and 1979. It pointed out problems with the area and drew attention to them nationally through a television documentary. The key recommendations are interesting in light of what is currently underway in Craigmillar. For example, the housing workshops' plans included more mixed tenure in the area, less centralised control of public housing, and a central school. Although there were small attempts at suggestions such as mixed tenure with a local housing association being set up, it is only in the 1990s that national housing policy has changed, making mixed tenure a concrete reality, and one which some feel is being overzealously pursued.

A further example is the development of community space in the area. As mentioned above, the community had long campaigned for a locally controlled community centre

and more community facilities. A community and sports centre facility was built in the mid 1970s. It is called The Jack Kane Centre, named after the first Labour Lord Provost who had grown up in the area. However, it has always been run by the local authority, not by local residents (with the required local management committee). A CFS leader claims "I mean the JKC sports and community wing would not have been built without CFS campaigning"; however, the CFS was never directly involved in managing the facility, and colleagues and local residents have continued to fight for more say in how sports and community centres are run. The CFS did however come to control facilities around the community through European funding. The first of these was the old high school. The CFS had offices in the building for some time and fought for the facility to be maintained as workshop space for training, local businesses or organisations. This is now managed by the Craigmillar Opportunities Trust (mentioned above - independent of the CFS, but with CFS leaders on the board).

The CFS was also allowed to take over the building which had been built by Edinburgh University Settlement. By the time I started work there, the building had been significantly renovated by the CFS and was the administrative centre as well as the focus for CFS social welfare activities. During the 1980s the CFS took over the lease of a church on the outskirts of the area for a seed-corn grant. The church was renovated by work-parties of young people in training programmes and is still in use. Other venues (including the Jack Kane Centre) were used for CFS run child care and youth activities.

In addition, the CFS successfully established projects to combat unemployment which ran for almost twenty years and was involved in encouraging retail developments at either end of the area, business units in place of demolished homes around the old high school, and ultimately in the 1990s, encouraging the new hospital to be built in Little France – an area which, although not traditionally in Craigmillar, was seen to be close enough to encourage development.

Although never stated as such, much of the rhetoric from those involved with the CFS suggests that one of their goals was to ensure local control of the resources that came into the area. The CFS became one of the largest employers in the area and instead of being run mostly by volunteers, was administered by professional staff, who controlled a significant budget from European and council structures. Many of the structural and constitutional changes in the CFS seemed to be made in order to cope with this growth and increased bureaucratic reporting requirements. These changes can be characterised as a change from a local democratic visioning organisation, to a centralised hub for service

provision with local input. Through the planning process of workshops, the CFS hoped to influence statutory services and policy towards the area. However, as noted above, the workshops became to some extent redundant as the relationships between professionals within the workshops extended beyond the meeting times and became part of a network available to key staff to influence policies out with strictly democratic structures. Although some local people gained more influence on how money was spent within the area, disengagement with the organisation meant that these local people lost some of their democratic legitimacy.

It should also be noted that the CFS became the focus of campaigns, in that when one project was threatened with closure because of funding cuts, the project users marched to the CFS offices to demand that CFS leadership do all they could to ensure funding would continue. In fact many of those who were involved in the CFS in the 1990s could no longer remember campaigns to talk about during interviews. Thus when the organising secretary made the claims above I asked 'who did you campaign with?', and he outlined that it was a campaign on a variety of levels, that it included public meetings with more than a hundred people attending, but also private words with public officials, and many conversations and letters in between. While they 'campaigned' the council on things like schools and community centres, they 'lobbied' the Scottish office on things like European Funding, and this lobbying included more quiet pressures than public meetings, suggesting that much of the influence the CFS exerted was done on behalf of the local community rather than with the local community.

It is interesting that the council has not gained any democratic legitimacy through engagement with the CFS. Two events suggest this. The first is a participatory appraisal exercise which aimed to determine what local residents needed in terms of local facilities (physical buildings, etc.). One of most popular suggestions was that local residents needed more information and faster responses from the council (not a new community centre, or better opening hours for the sports centre). The second event was an adult education conference which used participatory appraisal techniques to gauge what could be done to improve the control adults had over their own learning. One of the most popular suggestions was that adult education should 'get rid of the suits'.

CFS Closure

The time leading up to the CFS closure covers a period of around four years, during which time I was working with the Capacity Building Project. My position meant that (1) I was regularly in contact with the CFS administration, and (2) our project manager was

involved in most, if not all, discussions leading up to the CFS closure and reported on the latest developments in team meetings. A variety of meetings also brought me into contact with most local voluntary sector employees, as well as many of their clients and activists. The key events or happenings as they are evident from this experience are summarised chronologically in Table 7.3.

1998: In 1998 the voluntary sector in Craigmillar felt that it was under attack from the combined forces of local media and local council. This was brought to a head in the CFS AGM in 1998 where the Evening News, with the knowledge that there would be agitators at the meeting, sent reporters. Almost two hundred people attended, and accusations were made against the chair, vice chair and organising secretary about abuse of position, corruption and cliques. It seems significant that this was a very public dissatisfaction and that there was a forum for people to make their accusations – however inappropriate that seemed at the time. One worker described the meeting as being more open than other similar 'community' meetings which she claimed were more 'stage managed'. She said 'at least in Craigmillar these people were allowed to have their say.'

Although only two people were named in most news reports, the implication was that the whole community, or at least the whole voluntary sector, was corrupt, (including the CFS). One of the reasons there were so many projects implicated in the accusations was that the key people being attacked were involved in many voluntary organisations, often in some kind of voluntary management position.

A meeting for all local voluntary sector workers was held in 1998 where the feeling that the whole Craigmillar voluntary sector was under attack led to suggestions including picketing the Evening News or distributing leaflets to set the story straight with the community. In the end none of these actions were taken, which is interesting given how many organisations were affected. Instead, both the people accused at the AGM stood down from positions in the CFS, and the CFS determined to take the moral high ground by not responding.

1999: Early 1999 saw changes at the local council. The long standing Craigmillar councillor stood down and, in his place, the CFS organising secretary stood for election and won the seat. There was increasing concern about the CFS at the council level, and several CFS projects were encouraged to become independent. The first was Craigmillar Housing Development Project (CHDP). The funding CHDP received from priority partnership structures was due to come to an end and when the organisation applied to council departments for their future income, it was agreed to (at a much reduced rate) on

the condition that the project broke its connection with the CFS. Funding for the training section was also becoming more difficult to sustain – Scottish Enterprise stopped bulk funding, and European Social Fund grants came to a close. At the 1999 AGM the financial report declared the CFS to be in debt. The organising secretary however, claimed that the CFS could work itself out of the debt by the end of 2000 based on projected cuts and redundancies.

In what colleagues suspected was a response to media and political pressure, the council called in private management consultants (PIEDA) who specialised in the voluntary sector, to make a report on the situation in Craigmillar. The Craigmillar councillor at the time claimed the brief was written to ensure a rushed and unfair consultation:

> …that report was commissioned during the Christmas holidays, during the Christmas break, no consultation with anybody, they were given a predetermined brief from which to operate, the report they did was an absolute disgrace, as I say they based their report on a predetermined brief that was given to them by the council too … They didn't speak to any managers apart from myself, they didn't speak to any of the staff, but they had this two hundred page report on the activities and work of the organisation, and as I say they had written the report before they spoke to anyone, because they had the brief.

He also claims that the report was heavily influenced by the political situation in the council at the time. As 'new Labour' gained seats on the council, the councillor claims there was a certain amount of political ambition involved:

> [the private consultants] had meeting[s] with community 'disaffected people' they called them, who were nothing more than trouble makers and agitators and a lot of them had strong links with the SNP so they had political motives to get rid of organisations that they thought were in the hands of Labour . . .Unfortunately one or two of the new Labour Edinburgh councillors got caught up in that and they were I think, sought their revenge on our councillors and you can call it old Labour if you like, by doing us in Craigmillar.

The PIEDA report was commissioned towards the end of 1999 and much of the following year was taken up with attempting to address the report's conclusions and proposals. This meant some of the CFS projects (which were seen to be duplicating work) continued to operate on too low a budget and other organisations were encouraged to become independent of the CFS umbrella structures. The resources of the CFS umbrella diminished at the same time as its validity was challenged. One councillor linked changes to the situation of the new Scottish Parliament, saying that there was a new push from the Scottish Executive that said funded organisations should become limited companies – a structure the CFS was reluctant to accept. Such a structure is supposed to protect organisations from situations such as the one the CFS found itself in where, in effect, local volunteers on the executive of the CFS could be held accountable for debt. It is also therefore important to recognise that UK policy and its Scottish mirror for area based

programmes was changing. The Priority Partnerships programme was being transformed into 'Social Inclusion Partnerships' with company structures.

2000: The PIEDA report was first made public and presented to the council and the Craigmillar community in early 2000. There were several suggestions included in the report. Some had to do with the need for greater centralisation of administrative functions for projects with similar remits; other projects were singled out for their poor financial management. However, for the CFS the most important point was that it should not be a representative organisation when it was also an organisation heavily involved in service delivery.

In 2000 more projects went independent of the CFS. The CFS News was told by funders that unless it became independent of the CFS it could not properly claim to be an independent community newspaper. Other projects such as Craigmillar Adventure Project (CAPRO) were given the chance to be 'mainstreamed' or in other words, given long term departmental funding from the education department. Finally, the funding for training section projects came to an end and redundancies were made.

Between 1998 and 2000 the cash supply situation in the CFS worsened. The central administrative and representative structures of the CFS had never received direct funding; rather they had charged each project which used CFS financial management structures a small fee for the CFS's administrative core staff. As fewer organisations were dependent on these central structures, income to the CFS decreased and it became increasingly difficult to pay suppliers and eventually more difficult to find suppliers who were willing to take orders from the CFS.

CFS projects were encouraged not to make pay rises while the financial situation was poor. The council claim that they first came to know of the situation with the CFS when one project reported that they might not be able to pay wages because of what was going on with the CFS. The funding departments for that project started an investigation into the situation and found that the balance sheet for 1999/2000 showed debt of £109,000.00 which was described in a council report as 'the result of non-recurring losses following the cessation of specific project funding, along with un-funded community centre running costs'.

Also in this year, the Craigmillar Social Inclusion Partnership was established and the Craigmillar Initiative which administered the previous partnership resources closed down. Key CFS employees were involved in many discussions about the level of community representation to be on the new CSIP board. Ultimately the CFS was awarded two seats

on the partnership, with the recently created Community Council and the Craigmillar Regeneration Forum being awarded one seat each. This meant that local residents were outnumbered by professionals unless the local councillor and local MP (invited to chair the organisation) were included as local residents.

2001: After the council became aware of the financial difficulties they agreed to fund existing projects on the condition that administrators (not the CFS) would make suggestions for the future of the organisation. The administrators – a private firm of accountants – made a report to the council in December 2001. Their report gave the council three options in terms of their action towards the CFS.

1. No financial assistance to the CFS. The organisation would be wound up. Projects would continue as separate entities and additional costs might be incurred which the management committee of the CFS would be liable for.

2. Financial Assistance to the CFS but with no changes to the CFS meaning that contributing issues such as the lack of funding for the community centre would not be addressed.

3. Financial Assistance to the CFS on condition of the CFS being reorganised along the lines suggested by administrators which included
   - Changing the CFS to a company limited by guarantee
   - Appointing a single chairperson to give leadership and hold responsibility
   - Having a board of directors meet quarterly and be presented with management accounts which should be attached to the minute. Each board meeting to have a financial section on its agenda.

The clear recommendation here is that the CFS be restructured; however, when the council executive accepted this recommendation the conditions seemed to be expanded, in that the council executive saw certain ultimate conclusions, including that the CFS would cease to be an umbrella organisation providing direct services, and instead would concentrate on its representative role in the community.

The social work and corporate services departments (two of the key departments funding organisations in Craigmillar) were assigned the task of determining what changes the CFS needed to make. They would not fund CFS organisations until the CFS accepted the conditions the council set. In order to appear committed to community involvement, decisions about how the representative role of the CFS was to continue were to be made in consultation with the Craigmillar partnership thus according the partnership control over a previously independent body.

Leaders of the CFS presented the council plans to a general committee meeting and suggested that all the projects within the CFS should go independent except for the CBP and the CFS arts project. The process of becoming independent involved canvassing

clients or members of their project to determine if there was support for their independence and then writing to both the Charities Commissions and Companies House to establish new charitable companies. New constitutions, and memoranda and articles were written and boards of directors were recruited. The most difficult issue was the transfer of resources from the CFS to these local projects because there was already considerable mistrust between CFS projects and each was worried about getting their fair share. In reality, many of the CFS' 'assets' were liabilities, for example old photocopy machines bought on contracts which had to be fulfilled in spite of machines being obsolete. Within the CBP the concern was less about claiming assets and more about ensuring that there was no debt transferred from the CFS to newly independent projects.

The Capacity Building Project (CBP) coordinator reported to our staff meetings on the latest negotiations. In one such meeting it became clear that even though the council was happy to have the CFS maintain a representative role, there was no clear role for such a representative body, especially with the community council already being in place. At one point I suggested that the nature of the CFS – that it was a community based organisation with its own goals – might suggest that it could outlast all the other imposed structures such as community councils and partnerships, and that we should be out on the streets explaining what the CFS stood for and encouraging people to support it again, but colleagues, who had considerably more experience than me in the area, said this could open up a can of worms, and that it was better to simply move away from the CFS. This again shows that mistrust and suspicion were rife in the community following the reports of corruption. Colleagues felt that there was considerable bad feeling against the CFS name and organisation and that continuing to use the name was not necessarily a way to ensure support from the community. Those who were engaged with the organisation were engaged because they were closely attached to particular projects or issues within the community. With many of these projects going independent, the CFS would lose this purpose and would be in competition with other representative community organisations. There were also no offers of charismatic leadership from CFS staff or membership to restore the CFS's earlier reported vitality.

2002: Many of the issues discussed above were of particular concern to the Capacity Building Project (CBP) because it was CBP that would be left with the responsibility for ensuring the organisation was running and effective. Instead the CBP also went independent and concentrated on community engagement within partnership structures and other forums, and issue based networks. The CFS arts initiative had been seen as core to the CFS operations and it had been planned that it would be part of the CBP's

responsibilities. The CBP saw this as a negative responsibility because the project was under-funded. Ultimately CFS arts project users also determined that they would be better off as an independent organisation. There was therefore no role left for the CFS umbrella and it was determined that it should be completely closed down.

A general meeting of the CFS committee was held where projects discussed how assets were to be distributed. No one project was able to meet the cost of maintaining the building but the CBP agreed to take on the management of the building and became the landlord for projects that used the space. Running the building was expensive and so rents were increased to ensure costs were covered and needed maintenance could be carried out. 'Caring in Craigmillar' (formerly the social welfare section) were unhappy with the stated costs, as were their council sponsors who, in spite of funding the project, had not been paying for building costs at all up to this point. In the end the CBP's financial reckoning was accepted by the council and the social work department found a way to pay the higher rent requested.

The last event in the official life of the CFS was a low key 'party' on the last day of its existence. This started around 2pm with mostly workers in attendance, and gradually committee members arrived and made an evening of it. When I was there, workers were discussing what it meant for the organisation to close. Both the MSP and MP turned up and the arts organising secretary – the longest employed of all CFS staff at that point, made a small speech. The local MSP was keen to understand what was going on, and spent time talking with staff to get their perspectives on what this meant for the area.

Table 7.3 Summary of the final years of the CFS

Year	Events directly related to Craigmillar	Concurrent Events
1998	▪ Political scandal concerning an Edinburgh councillor and former councillor moving relatives up in the housing lists. Both parties were involved in the CFS, one was chair, another vice chair. ▪ Edinburgh news papers and the SNP publish reports about 80 million pounds being spent in Craigmillar with no visible changes in the area. ▪ AGM this year had over 200 people in attendance, but several came to make personal attacks on leadership (especially those named in the media) and some were asked to leave. ▪ Craigmillar Regeneration Forum is established as a body representing all local residents' organisations (changing from ACTION which was within CHDP, and set up by/with CDP/CBP). ▪ December 1998 voluntary sector meeting is held to discuss what to do about the negative publicity. (letters written but no real attempt to do something big – didn't want to feed the fire)	SIP programme introduced in Craigmillar as PPA's come to a close.
1999	▪ Councillor Brown (chair of the CFS) prevented from standing at election. ▪ One of the organising secretaries employed by the CFS decides to stand for election. And in May 1999 is elected to the city of Edinburgh Council. ▪ DTZ Pieda published report criticising local voluntary organisations for mismanagement. The report claims there is duplication of work among voluntary projects. Also states that a representative organisation could not also be a service provision organisation; as a result, the CFS was not allowed (got no council support) to apply for funding for training sections work. There were also a lot of suggestions for centralisation of administration and merging of similar initiatives. ▪ Local workers discuss what to do about the report, public meetings are held and a small group of community workers meet to discuss wider political implications of such an attack on local communities. ▪ The PIEDA Report is discussed at CFS committee meetings ▪ Craigmillar Community Council is established on request from local resident (who is against the CFS). CBP (part of CFS) helps to publicise and encourage people to become members (friendly people).	▪ April 1999 the government starts to implement the new Social Inclusion Partnerships. ▪ Scottish Parliament (and local council elections) in May 1999
2000	▪ Several projects are warned that their funding is in jeopardy if they continue under the CFS umbrella, CFS Training section is cut back and then closed. Staff are made redundant and receive statutory redundancy. ▪ The CFS is taken before the scrutiny panel in the local council. ▪ SNP MSP calls for investigation into Craigmillar voluntary organisations. ▪ Following PIEDA recommendations and new SIP funding requirements, a new partnership is established and receives the SIP grant. Craigmillar Initiative closes down & former councillor is thus made redundant. ▪ CFS campaigns for community representation which is at least equal to public body/private sector representation on the CSIP board. ▪ CSIP is established and CFS is awarded two representatives, the Community Council is awarded one and the Craigmillar Regeneration Forum is awarded one.	
2001	▪ Summer 2001 the CEC became aware of financial problems at the CFS. ▪ CFS requested help from the council in order to get out of the debt they were in, and the council agreed on condition that an administrator would be put in place and structures of the CFS would be changed. ▪ Each project in the CFS discusses possibilities for independence. Gets support from CBP and EVOC to do so, and starts collecting local clients or supporters to be on management committees. Resources are divided, and the CFS Arts and CBP are seen to be left with the CFS. ▪ A committee including staff, key council department representatives, and voluntary CFS exec representatives meets to determine the way forward. ▪ Nov 2001 organising secretary (now local councillor) is made redundant.	▪ Empowering Communities Grant made available from executive through Communities Scotland. ▪ General elections in the UK
2002	▪ It becomes clear that while the CFS exists there is a possibility of debt. The last two CFS projects become nervous and choose independence. ▪ February meeting of the CFS determines how best to distribute assets before CFS is closed down and Arts and CBP both determine that they would rather be independent than carry on the CFS name. ▪ April 2002 the CFS ceases to exist. CBP takes over management of the building. Each project becomes an independent limited company.	

Reasoning and Rationalisation – What made the CFS close?

So far I have described events and procedures in the closure of the CFS; however, there were many different ways of explaining how these events affected the closure. There were four broad categories of rationalisation offered: 1) problems of image – negative perceptions, 2) problems of management, 3) problems of political manoeuvring, and 4) problems of funding. In the background outlined above there is evidence of contradictions in the organisational structures and ideals expressed by the organisation, as well as constant pressures from outside the organisation. The closure of the CFS is sometimes traced back to those pressures and is seen as the natural result of an underlying conflict between engaging with powerful civil service departments, and campaigning against practices by those same organisations. However, none of the respondents suggest that any one of these categories was the main cause for the closure of the CFS, in fact most point towards there being a complex set of circumstances leading to the closure.

Funding Cuts:

By the middle of the 1990s the Craigmillar Festival Society was in receipt of funding from a wide variety of sources. The diversification of funding was seen as a strategy to protect the organisation from being dependent on only one other external organisation. Money was applied for where it was available, and often projects were bent to fit funding requirements. One local development worker claimed that the structures of the CFS were never sufficient to cope with even the first round of funding in the 1970s and that the CFS was doomed to failure because of that. Others however point towards the level of complexity in funding arrangements more generally, and to specific examples of controlling arrangements by Scottish Enterprise which paid for training on the basis of the number of completed courses – a problem when the population you are working with take longer than expected to get through a course. In many ways the problem was that the CFS was committed to providing services whether or not it received funding for them. The core CFS services were never funded directly and leadership attempted to provide core services and some project services beyond available funding.

As Burgess points out in his analysis of the CFS in 1980, insecurity of funding was typical for the CFS, but in spite of threatened cuts, projects continued to be run and organised as if funding would be available, and a major role for the central CFS organisation was to juggle the incomes of various projects to make this possible. In a sense, the maintenance of projects in spite of precarious funding was a way for the CFS

to maintain an 'organic response to community needs' in spite of policies within external bodies which did not support those needs.

Political Manoeuvring

Some respondents played down the role of political manoeuvring while others claimed it was the main cause of the CFS' closure. The difference of opinion follows the distinction between observers and key people involved directly in the organisation; this includes the CFS organising secretary and a key council worker.

The accounts of how political manoeuvring resulted in the close of the CFS came in a variety of versions, some of which are verifiable and some of which are not. The first account goes back to the close ties between the Labour Party and the CFS. Two or three councillors who had been closely involved in the organisation for the best part of twenty-five years were seen to be people who kept the CFS ahead of political developments. These councillors had different positions in the council and had had considerable power with one leading the social work department in the region. They had gained this power in the 'old Labour' camp, but the Labour Party was changing and losing power in CEC. As part of these changes intransigent Labour Party members were no longer as important. Thus some described the conflict as one of old and new Labour.

Some say that developments in Scottish politics had an impact on the CFS. The Scottish Parliament was expected by the mid- 1990s and by 1998 elections were imminent. The SNP and other parties were looking for opportunities to gain support. Local newspaper articles quoting SNP agitators complained that expensive projects in Craigmillar were producing no changes and some local workers blame such articles for the 'independent' report on the voluntary sector in Craigmillar produced by PIEDA.

According to one council worker involved, the atmosphere in the council was one of 'wanting to clear up the mess' and not particularly one of political vendetta. But this suggests that in fact there was a concern that Craigmillar was a political embarrassment because of the accusations as much as any concrete mismanagement. The council officer suggested that the organisation was full of good intentions, but spending money that it did not have; interestingly, there was never a suggestion that the money was not needed, or that the services provided were not appropriate, but rather that they were not funded.

A more structural explanation for the decrease in power was also given, namely that the restructuring of regional and local councils led to there being less representation for Craigmillar as a constituency. When regional councils were disbanded there was only one

council seat left representing Craigmillar, where before there were three (two local and one regional). These changes meant that there was a vying for position within the Labour Party as well as within the council itself. The long standing Craigmillar councillors are seen to have lost in this competition. The CFS lost important political connections with the decreasing influence of these three councillors. At the same time other institutions were being restructured and increasing their influence in areas such as Craigmillar. For example, Scottish Enterprise, Scottish Homes and a variety of other NDPBs were being asked to implement particular policy programmes which did not always fit with the style of working in Craigmillar. In many ways you could say that the CFS's faith in having political influence was misplaced. The majority of their influence was focused at local level when in fact it was possibly national level (both Scottish and UK) policy changes which made the most difference. In the case of the training section it was in fact Lothian Enterprise Edinburgh Ltd (LEEL, which in turn became Scottish Enterprise Edinburgh) and Lothian (SEEL – part of the NDPB 'Scottish Enterprise') which made such a big difference. Scottish Enterprise operates in structures outside of the democratic political framework and therefore to influence them realistically one must also have connections in wider civil society.

Locally there was also a level of political manoeuvring to gain control of local organisations. There were some in the community who felt that leaders of the CFS left the rest of the community with no voice and they therefore supported moves which challenged CFS authority. Non-CFS voluntary organisations also recognised that resources were scarce and therefore were not always enthusiastic about taking part in collective campaigns for the CFS' survival which would effectively maintain the opposition in a competitive funding environment.

Negative perceptions:

Many people cited the public attitude towards the CFS as one of the factors leading to its closure. This category is linked to political manoeuvring and to funding cuts and management issues because each contributed to the negative stories about the organisation. Many of these stories were closely linked to the production of the PIEDA report, but although many saw this report as related to the closure of the CFS, they did not think it was the only reason. One worker explained:

> The CFS was drowning anyway. I think the CFS would have gone under irrespective of the bad publicity ... I think it was on a you know, it was bobbing up and down, going under more often than not, you know it got bailed a couple of times.

Thus even though bad publicity is acknowledged, often the underlying causes are explained in terms of funding.

Negative stories in the papers often went together with images of half demolished tenement blocks with boarded up windows. Some development workers discussed how ironic it was that these empty buildings were, in some ways, a sign of progress, because they were empty in preparation for being pulled down and replaced by more modern houses which should have made for a better living environment – something which the CFS itself had been involved in lobbying for. In the media's eyes, however, these half destroyed buildings were evidence of neglect and inaction.

A further negative perception was that the CFS was run by a small group and was not for regular local people. This negative perception was inferred in discussions about how the CFS was originally, and about how the CFS had had its time, but it was time for something else. Towards the end, activists clearly felt disengaged from the organisation as CFS meetings were frequently inquorate so that few decisions could be taken.

Management Issues

During the time of the PIEDA report there was concern expressed by the CFS executive members about the way things were being done in CFS meetings, and the threats on CFS jobs. A meeting was arranged for all those interested on a Saturday morning so that those who worked could also attend. None of the organising secretaries turned up at the meeting and those who attended were understandably angry about being left to discuss something without the key workers being there. I helped them write a letter to the organising secretary about their concerns, but when I presented this to one of the leaders the following week, the letter was put aside without a consideration.

This is an example of the way community organisations see themselves as synonymous with the community. One worker said:

> I think [the CFS] had reached the stage where it had lost that kind of enthusiasm of the early expansion into all sorts of new areas and getting European funding and had become a bureaucracy concerned with its own survival, because … but through its own survival with the good of Craigmillar, I mean I think it felt you know that the two were the same.

This also meant that for CFS leaders, they were acting *on behalf of* the community, rather than *with* the community. This is not to suggest the CFS' actions were wrong, but rather that the paternalistic type of community programmes the CFS had been against in the past, had been replaced by a more local version of the same. There was a certain sense of secrecy about many things that went on at the CFS; meetings behind closed doors were a

regular occurrence in our office, although of course they may simply have been discussing the weather, or more likely, the football.

Post – CFS

It is interesting that any negative consequences of the closure were played down by all respondents and that some people were even unaware of the closure. This is perhaps because many projects continued providing the same and sometimes better resourced services. Some of these services are provided directly through government departments while others (the majority) are still under voluntary sector management. Table 7.4 lists the different services provided over the years and how those services are now provided. This shows that in fact it is only the training schemes that have been lost to the area, although there are also considerable cuts in some areas of service.

It could easily be suggested that the CFS forced council and national organisations to subsidise its activities for as long as it was possible, (at least beyond the agreed funding period), and ultimately negotiated for the services to be continued, and indirectly for the functions of community representation to be continued also. The public support for each project was evident in the well-attended meetings for the soon to be independent projects. CFS committee meetings previously had often been inquorate.

The projects involved have moved forward. In at least three cases the projects have secured additional annual funding. The new Caring in Craigmillar project persuaded their council funders that there was a need for updated computer facilities, a training officer, and higher 'rent' payments. The new Community Arts project also successfully applied for a lottery grant. The CBP secured funding for managing a 'community business centre' (what was previously the CFS headquarters) by providing reception staff and extra administrative staff. They also administer a grant for support of community representatives and community engagement which (as will be shown in the next case study on the Craigmillar Partnership) was only granted on condition that the project would be independent of the CFS. This 'empowering communities' money has also enabled the project to apply for European funding to match Scottish Executive funds. With these resources the project carried out community based research about the regeneration process on behalf of a campaign group with the community council. Not all projects were so successful – The Learning Centre lost independence when it was taken over by the local authority adult education services when a new voluntary sector coordinator antagonised council staff.

The key activists have moved from involvement in the CFS to being engaged in user groups or are now boards of directors for ex-CFS projects; however, of the three councillors who were seen as powerful in the earlier days of the CFS, only one is still engaged in project management and is in fact on the board of directors for at least three previously CFS projects. Approximately five CFS employees were made redundant. There were also some who took early retirement or found other jobs.

The representative functions of the organisation have been assumed by both the Craigmillar Regeneration Forum (representing the different areas through residents groups) and the Craigmillar Community Council. The community council includes many of the key activists involved in the CFS as well as representatives from organisations and has in some ways become more overtly political than the CFS was in the last few years. It is also interesting to note that in 2005 the community council established a campaigning subgroup called 'Craigmillar First'. The CBP worked for (and with) 'Craigmillar First' in carrying out a wide-ranging community consultation on the regeneration plans for new housing in the area. Regeneration is being led by a 'joint venture company' called PARC Craigmillar Ltd. This was established as a partnership between the Edinburgh Development and Investment company (EDI), (a 'market led', council owned, for-profit company) the local authority (CEC), and the people of Craigmillar (in the shape of CSIP). Craigmillar First however felt that PARC had not incorporated community opinion sufficiently in their plans and were disappointed in the level of ongoing community participation in the PARC Craigmillar project.

Craigmillar First engaged the CBP to train local residents in carrying out a participatory appraisal of the plans for the area. Local residents set the questions and organised discussion groups and street surveys to get responses. More than 300 people responded and almost 95% indicated dissatisfaction with the plans. As a result the group published the 'Craigmillar Declaration' which challenged the regeneration company's proposals for the area. Drawing on support for the declaration Craigmillar First (with CBP support) has also challenged national policies which allow PARC to use public funds without giving due attention to local input. Although one local representative has been allowed on the PARC's board of directors, this concession was granted on condition that they could not vote and must abide by commitments to confidentiality. Therefore they are there to represent the community but can say nothing to the board, and nothing to the community (except for what the board would have them say).

Table 7.4 CFS Projects after closure

SERVICES PROVIDED	CFS PROVISION	CURRENT PROVISION (POST CFS)
Holiday Clubs & Out of School Clubs	COOSP Huts Childrens Clubs	These organisations came together under Craigmillar Childcare Services which makes use of tax breaks for working parents and lottery funding through a New Opportunities Fund. There are now approximately 5 clubs.
Clubs for the elderly, housebound & special needs groups	Through the social welfare section of the CFS	This section became 'Caring in Craigmillar' with a service level agreement with the social work department. They have a local management committee.
Phone support for vulnerable residents	Phonelink	Now has the same funding, but is managed through Caring in Craigmillar rather than CFS.
Information advice & advocacy	CFS social Welfare	Part of Caring in Craigmillar. In the same premises with extra administrative staff from CFS central administration. Provides payroll for other x-CFS organisations.
Women's Health Project	Womanzone project	Womanzone is now independent with the same funding, same staff and same premises as before.
Capacity Building / support for activism and campaigning	Active Citizenship, Community Development, Capacity Building	Capacity Building Project is now independent, with its own management committee, same staff, but larger premises within the same building, also now manages the whole building and receives rents from other projects.
Community Arts provision, festival etc.	CFS Arts	Craigmillar Community Arts has the same funding, staff and premises (the church renovated by the CFS).
Arts/Environment initiatives	Greenscheme CFS arts & environment	The arts and environment worker continues under the Craigmillar Community Arts structures.
Adult Guidance	CALAC which became part of The Learning Centre	Staff formerly with CALAC continued to work under The Learning Centre, but the project did not secure extra funding and its work was assumed by community education. Two former CFS staff are funded through CSIP.
Adventure Learning	CAPRO	Now a mainstream education provision, although using the same staff and management committee structures.
Youth Training	CFS Training	Services came to an end for two schemes by 2001.
Adult training schemes	VTU	The first of the training programmes to close down.
Local Newspaper	CFS News	Before CFS closure CFS News had already become an independent local newspaper called the Craigmillar Chronicle. Secured funding for modernisation from CSIP.
Project development	CFS generally (workshops)	This was a function that was waning for the CFS. Partnership subgroups have since initiated some joint initiatives. The CBP also supports developing projects such as an older people's forum and youth café.
Representative functions	CFS (generally)	No longer exists in that form; however, many involved in the CFS committees are now involved in the Craigmillar Community Council, in Craigmillar Regeneration Forum, or in management committees for the new organisations.
Community Centre / Facility Management	CFS generally	All premises the CFS previously managed are still used for the same purposes, but in some cases are managed by council structures (in the case of The Learning Centre for example) and in others cases by the new independent projects. The CBP manages main CFS building.
Campaigning and negotiating on behalf of the community	CFS management and CFS generally	Not a function taken on by any one group specifically but in many ways something the CBP is regularly engaged in its work supporting the Craigmillar Community Reps.

In disgust at this situation, the community council began to question the freedom such urban regeneration companies have to operate without public scrutiny and without legal obligations to adhere to local plans in spite of their receipt of public funds (among other issues). As a result the community council submitted a petition (PE911) to the parliament concerned with the ability of private regeneration companies to impose a certain style of regeneration on a community without proper consultation. In early 2006 the petitions committee invited Craigmillar Community Council to present and respond to questions on the submission. Those who attended as witnesses were all people who had been involved with the CFS for well over 10 years. Not all of the community council were in favour of this petition. In fact the CRF representatives (seen often as a rival faction to the CBP) sent a letter to the committee indicating that they did not agree with the community council's concern, but they were not invited to attend the meeting.

The CFS was at one point an organisation which brought together local people to identify and work out solutions to the problems addressed locally. It campaigned on issues of local interest both with the local authority and the Scottish Office. The Community Council and the Community Regeneration can be seen to carry on this tradition. Although some of their work is more reactive than proactive (responding to planning applications, consultation documents, and regeneration proposals), the campaigning group has given Community Council a more politically active, and perhaps a political inclusion promoting role. These organisations do not however involve professionals in discussions about the best way to provide services as in the 'workshop' approach used in the CFS. This function is carried on through the 'Social Inclusion Partnership' structures. The next case study considers the Craigmillar Social Inclusion Partnership in more detail, and outlines the extent of local involvement in the partnership structures which could be seen to parallel the CFS workshops.

In summary, the CFS name has been lost but its functions still exist in a variety of independent organisations. However, there is a gap in terms of the functions of the older versions of the CFS, but these gaps also existed in some ways in the CFS just before the organisation was disbanded. Thus the CFS closure represents the conclusion of a process of disengagement with local residents, and a switch to engagement with local projects. This theme is continued in the next case study.

Case Study

Craigmillar Social Inclusion Partnership

The Craigmillar Social Inclusion Partnership (CSIP) is one of many partnerships set up under the Scottish Government's social justice agenda. It is an organisation at the local level engaged directly with both the Scottish Parliament and the people who live in the Craigmillar area. However, the type of organisation lies in the grey area between core civil society and government provision because it – on paper at least – is an independent structure, even though its very independence is government directed. CSIP offers an opportunity to see how policy (and procedure) at national level has a role in forming relationships between city and local level structures. In this case study I present the organisation using the following headings:

      1)   Background to the partnership – including policy and local context

2)   Structures – including institutional arrangements and leadership

    3)   Who is involved? Or who fills what roles within the structures

    4)   Partnership aims and their relationship to community concerns

    5)   Decision making within the Partnership – including examples and perceptions.

Through this we can see how government-encouraged 'voluntary organisations' engage a broad range of people, and even go through the motions of more consultation, but have difficulty maintaining enough independence to follow through on community wishes which do not match centralised policy and process.

Background to the Craigmillar Social Inclusion Partnership (CSIP)

The ultimate nature of the CSIP is already evident in its background. CSIP is the last in a long line of interventions into areas like Craigmillar. Craigmillar became a 'Priority Partnership Area' in 1996 but there had in fact been a partnership structure in place since 1988 – since 'New Life for Urban Scotland Partnerships' began. Previous partnership structures in Craigmillar were supported and largely developed by an Urban Programme funded project called 'The Craigmillar Initiative'. The director of The Craigmillar Initiative says that these partnership structures were forced on Craigmillar:

> We never wanted the initiative in Craigmillar, it was imposed on us by the city of Edinburgh Council. At the time, people . . .didn't consult us very much about it and it was all sort of agreed and a council employee was to run it and we says – what initiative? and we says 'well we will take the initiative and just take it'. So we never wanted the initiative, but it was there so we just took it.

The result was to have a former CFS employee and chair in a position that was previously intended for council officers.

The Craigmillar Initiative remained in place from 1988 until 2000 and acted as an administrative arm for groups set up around specific issues of concern to the community. Each group involved people from the voluntary, statutory and private sector and were involved in setting up, and sometimes running, projects and initiatives (such as developing a country park). In 1996 areas which received urban aid funding were required to work in a partnership model. The Craigmillar Initiative became the administrative body which coordinated this new partnership. In 1998/9 the Craigmillar partnership (run by the initiative) involved twenty-four individual members of the partnership plus 25 members of six partnership subgroups including:

1. Monitoring and Evaluation
2. Lottery Working Group
3. LBI Strategy Group
4. Urban Funding Panel
5. Craigmillar Urban Forest Steering Group
6. European Project Managers

All of these 49 individuals had a professional role in local projects or public services. CFS leaders and other voluntary sector project workers represented the community.

Taylor (2000) suggests that most of the intervention programmes in the 1980s were targeted at economic aspects of community regeneration but that the 1990s saw increasing concern with political and social aspects. The previous case study shows that in fact political and social aspects were a concern in Craigmillar long before government created policies reflecting the issues of social and political exclusion.

The Labour government in London set up a social exclusion unit in the Cabinet in 1997 and in Scotland the Social Exclusion Network was established. After the first Scottish Parliament elections, the resulting Labour Executive established a 'Ministerial Taskforce' which took on the social exclusion agenda and in 1999 announced the creation of Social Inclusion Partnerships (SIPs). These partnerships were …

> …designed to evolve from the existing Priority Partnership Areas and Regeneration Schemes. The SIPs were to focus on promoting inclusion and preventing social exclusion from developing. A holistic approach was necessary that "worked across the board; worked in partnership; took a long term view and developed joined-up solutions to joined-up problems". (Scottish Executive – Central Research Unit 2001, Ch.2)

One reason for change in policy was to recommit the public sector to addressing the needs of excluded communities. The Social Inclusion Strategy (Scottish Executive 1999) acknowledged that statutory and voluntary organisations were doing things to improve

communities by providing services and influence public sector policy. But the strategy suggests that practise was lacking coordination.

> It is essential that the action taken by the various agencies across Scotland should "fit together" to form a truly comprehensive and coherent programme to promote social inclusion. Those agencies, including Government, should seek to ensure there are no gaps or conflicts between their programmes, and to identify and make the most of beneficial links – synergies – between programmes. (Scottish Executive 1999 p.1)

There is a sense in this policy that if service providing agencies worked together, problems faced by excluded areas would disappear. Partnerships were clearly about efficient strategising as much as they were about changing places.

If the first aim of SIPs was to ensure that different public agencies coordinated their actions, the second aim was to 'bend the spend' of large public bodies. Although each SIP was awarded a budget to target specific needs within their area, there was also an expectation that 'partner' agencies would increase this investment by committing some of their budgets or resources to the specific needs of the most deprived areas. 'Locality budgeting' (which was in fact less to do with local budgeting than with department spending) was a key term used to describe what the SIPs hoped to achieve.

Craigmillar's statistics met the criteria for becoming a SIP, and the local authority applied for the area to have SIP status. However, being poor was not enough. To be granted the money, 'partnerships' had to show they had convincing strategies, would work together, and could do the job the community deserved (op cit. Ch. 2). For a variety of reasons, (including the PIEDA report's suggestions about how a partnership should look and the mistrust of the current partnership leadership who were connected to the negative publicity in the previous case), the Local Authority did not accept that the existing partnership structures met the guidelines for SIPs and more 'appropriate' structures were negotiated. In practise this meant closing down the Craigmillar Initiative and making its staff redundant (coincidentally removing the controversial ex-councillor). Following SIP guidelines the CSIP was created as a limited company. The previous Initiative leader argued that a limited company structure was inappropriate for a local regeneration initiative and wanted to see at least a 'cooperative' structure, but this was never seriously considered by the local authority. As a limited company the CSIP needed a board of directors. Negotiations took place between CFS, CCC and CRF leaders (which still included the ex-councillor) and CEC councillors and officers about having sufficient community representation on the CSIP board. Eventually the board included four community representatives: one from CFS, one from the Community Regeneration Forum (CRF) and two from Craigmillar Community Council (CCC). This did not give

these community representatives a majority on the board, but the argument given by CEC was that if the local MP (who initially chaired the board) and the local councillor (former CFS organising secretary) could be seen as community representatives, then the community had a majority.

Structures

As a charitable company limited by guarantee, CSIP has a voluntary board of directors. Those on the partnership board are nominated by organisations they represent. There are different procedures for each organisation. Craigmillar Community Council is made up of 16 people who are nominated and, if necessary, elected (when more than 16 are nominated). In addition there are eight places on the community council filled by voluntary sector organisations. After elections (managed by the local council), officer bearers are selected by individual members including the 2 CSIP reps.

CRF is set up to bring together tenants' and residents' associations concerned with housing-led regeneration in the area. Each residents' association nominates two people to attend regeneration forum meetings and these people in turn elect office bearers to the CRF including a representative for the CSIP board. Even though there are only two representatives from each association put forward to the CRF, meetings are open to all. At these meetings local residents discuss concerns and call on public officials to attend and respond to complaints. Reports from CSIP are always on the agenda for the community council and CRF meetings (although often written by supporting staff).

From visiting other SIP areas, it seems unusual for partnerships to include the 'community' in the form of representation from two different organisations. In Craigmillar this has created a situation where different, sometimes conflicting, interests, cliques or informal groups are represented. The partnership support team manager explains his concerns about this situation:

> When I first came here I preferred the idea that there would be the community of Craigmillar represented by an organisation. I always felt that if there was a CFS and a community council and a CRF…it represented a sort of riven community, or I thought it could send out that signal …I was wary about it when I first came here but I'm not so much now.

Although the partnership manager does not say why he is less wary of the situation, it is clear that it does not present the type of problems he expected at the time of the interview. Initially different community perspectives were only rarely presented at board meetings, perhaps because the old CFS activists managed to maintain control. Indeed after the CRF gained more influence, divisions have arisen and by 2005 the two community groups were clearly in conflict. Other organisations on the board nominate people according to

internal structures, which mostly means by assignment. Their performance on the board is in no way assessed or controlled by the community. These members are not really voluntary because their organisations or departments have policy obligations to be involved in SIPs.

The board is responsible for setting the aims and objectives of the partnerships, in line with Social Justice Milestones set by the Scottish Executive. They also have responsibility for spending (or sharing out) the Social Inclusion Partnership award of almost £2 million. The community is represented on the board by four volunteer directors from representative community organisations. In addition, the local councillor is on the board and could be said to represent the community. The 'community' is not in a majority position, but it takes only one other supporting member to make that possible.

The board is only one element of CSIP. As shown in Figure 8.1 the partnership board has seven subgroups. These are thematic, as can be seen by their nominal titles:

- Craigmillar Health and Community Care (CHACC)
- Housing and Environment Subgroup
- Community Safety Subgroup
- Economic Development subgroup
- Education Strategy Group
- European Strategy Group
- Funding Panel

Some of these subgroups evolved from previous meetings of concerned individuals, for example the former partnership had a housing strategy group and the CFS had a housing workshop. Others reflect the social justice agenda which SIPs are supposed to address, such as the Health and Community Care and Community Safety groups.

Subgroups are made up of a much broader range of organisations than the board. Most service-providing agencies (public and voluntary) send staff to attend at least one subgroup. The community reps try to attend at least one subgroup each but while other local resident involvement is often suggested, it rarely occurs. Subgroups occasionally set up smaller working groups to tackle particular issues. My involvement in the Craigmillar Health and Community Care Group (CHACC) started through a working group on information and access to health services. Subgroups occasionally take on concrete work (rather than discussion of policy or sharing of information) but there is a limit to what group members can offer in terms of time and services. In two experiences of doing projects through subgroups, I found that only two people did the work. While professionals such as midwives, alcohol councillors, etc., might find time to attend meetings, their schedules do not allow flexibility for alternative projects.

Subgroups report their work to partnership board meetings, but this seems to be the extent of communication. Subgroups were invited to set their own agendas and to arrive at policies and strategies which the board could be invited to accept but only after they complained that they needed more direction about what they should be doing, and more opportunities to give direction to the board. In practise this invitation seems to have little impact. The achievement of greater political influence through subgroups with voluntary sector involvement still fails because subgroups do not have much influence on CSIP board decision making processes. The voluntary sector may engage, as may local residents, but this does not necessarily lead to influence. Although the CSIP is tied into external organisations through several channels few offer opportunities for the CSIP board to influence policy. Both CEC and Communities Scotland monitor the CSIP, but each of these has a specific task in terms of monitoring. CEC is concerned with the spending of public money for which they will be held to account and Communities Scotland is concerned with compliance with policy guidelines procedure.

The 'Capital City Partnership' (CCP) which is under the local authority asks for representation from the CSIP allowing the CSIP to influence city policy. However, the CCP translates Scottish Executive milestones into social justice goals for the city and CSIP signs up to these milestones which means that central government still sets the agenda. Since there have been attempts to bring together all community representatives in the city in order for them to share experiences at one meeting of this group, it is clear that some felt they needed to join forces to gain influence at the city level.

At the national level a Community Representatives Network (CRN) was originally supported by both the Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations (SCVO) and Communities Scotland. Although a community representative acted as chair of the organisation, agendas at the conferences dealt with government agendas rather than local ones. However, although issues seemed not to be set by local representatives, conferences were a forum for local representatives to voice their opinions. At one conference, Craigmillar local reps expressed concern about public/private partnerships being used to build new schools, and about private companies milking profits from regeneration programmes. In another, a representative expressed concern about the type of consultation they were invited to participate in and the lack of control they had over council actions in their community.

Fig 8.1 CSIP organisational structures

Community Representatives 4 | **CEC councillors 2** | **Private sector Rep** | **Other pub sect reps 2**

Craigmillar Health & Community Care
One resident attends from time to time, plus around 5 vol sector organisations and between 5 and 10 public sector. Open meetings.

Funding Panel
All four community reps are on this subgroup, plus other board members. No other organisations are represented.

Community Safety Subgroup
Attended by two local residents (one of whom is a community rep), the police, womanzone,

Economic Strategy Group
Attended by voluntary sector orgs – Worktrack, BCC & others

Education Strategy Group
Attended by head teachers, INSTEP, nurseries & com ed staff and childcare groups, plus vol sec. projects and one community rep.

European Strategy Group
Managers of European Programme projects and programme manager staff.

Housing & Environment Subgroup
Attended by CRF reps, com reps, local housing department, Kintry and other housing associations plus JVC council coordinators.

Info Info & access

Drugs & alcohol

Many meetings of reps & support

Closed circuit TV

Managers Fund

Com. Learning Plan

Groups to plan next applications

WORKING GROUPS

Who is involved?

The Craigmillar Social Inclusion Partnership board is made up of: the Local councillor, City of Edinburgh Council, Four Community Representatives, Scottish Enterprise, Edinburgh and Lothian, NHS Lothian, South East Edinburgh Local Health Care Co-op and the Private Sector. Thus it brings together people who represent the different levels of political institution involved in Craigmillar as shown in Table 8.2.

MP - For the first two and a half years CSIP was chaired by the local MP, Gavin Strang. He did not formally represent UK-wide structures in this position; as for the most part, local development issues are not the concern of Westminster. On the other hand, as the MP for the area he was an important figure in the local Labour Party, and as such was part of the policy making and policy implementing machinery in Westminster and Edinburgh. The local MP stepped down from the position of chair in 2003. Officially this was due to the difficulty of committing so much time to just one area in a much larger constituency. Unofficially it may have had more to do with conflict over the empowering community's money as described later in this chapter.

MSP - Although Susan Deacon (local MSP) does not sit on the partnership board as a voting member, she started to attend board meetings regularly after she was no longer Health Minister in the Scottish Executive. The local MSP claims that she made a conscious choice not to take a 'voting' position on the partnership board because it might have appeared to make her partial to constituents in other parts of Edinburgh. In fact she claims to turn down all requests for her to be on boards or management committees for similar reasons. The MSP has no official bureaucratic authority over the partnership, or over any of the partnership funded projects. Therefore, although she is called to use her status to influence others, she is not targeted as someone whose opinions or decisions must be changed in order to get the community view accepted. The MSP provides a further link to the Labour Party and has been asked by partnership board members to intervene with public bodies when decisions seem to be going against the community.

Scottish Executive - Closer to the administration of the Scottish executive are those who represented the NDPB – Communities Scotland. The board member representing Communities Scotland previously represented Scottish Homes. However, even though the representative came to represent an organisation with a broader remit, the representative did not seem to have increased her influence on the partnership board. Instead, the new role of Communities Scotland in Social Inclusion Partnerships meant that the representative gave up her voting rights on the board to concentrate on their

monitoring role. In effect this has withdrawn the national level housing commitment from partnership board discussions. Communities Scotland is also not involved in any of the subgroups, although it administers extra grants which subgroups often choose to draw on. The board also has a voting member from Scottish Enterprise Edinburgh and Lothian (SEEL) which is a local arm of the Scottish Executives economic development agency (another NDPB). Scottish Enterprise is both funded by the Scottish Executive and directed by Scottish Executive appointed directors. SEEL attends the economic development subgroup.

Local Authority (City of Edinburgh Council or CEC) - The local councillor became chair of the partnership after the MP for the area stood down in 2003. A further CEC councillor also sits on the partnership board because of responsibilities in the council. Councillors do not bring commitments of money to the partnership, but are in a position to influence council decisions about the area generally. Councillors, however, are in a position where they must gain respect and credibility within the council, which at times seems to mean acquiescing to majority opinion on issues in Craigmillar, rather than fighting for a particular community held view. Also, like the MP and MSP, they are in a position to influence policy through Labour Party structures by being involved with some subgroups.

As well as councillors, there are two council officers who sit on the partnership board as non-voting members. Both are from the corporate services department. One is appointed to oversee the regeneration in the area and, more specifically, to act as the council's key director of the Joint Venture Company – a private company set up to harness market forces for the development of the area. The second officer has a more ambiguous role. She does not vote on the partnership board, but sits at the table and participates fully in meetings. One person suggested that her role is one of support for council officers, but other supporters for voting members do not sit at the table during board meetings. Another colleague claims that she has a monitoring role on behalf of the council. In meetings, her opinion seems to be important even though she does not vote.

Other statutory bodies - The two voting members from local health care trusts, although accountable to the council, now represent two distinct services, a 'local health care cooperative' and Lothian NHS Trust. The latter individual represents the new hospital, built strategically on the edge of the area. Representative of the changing nature of the NHS structures, 2003 brought discussion about the NHS Trust board member

becoming the private sector representative. Other non-voting members of the board also come from the statutory sector including the head teacher of the local secondary school.

Voluntary sector - Figure 7.2 shows that even though the voluntary sector does not have a position on the partnership board, they are engaged with the partnership in a variety of ways, including attendance at board meetings and heavy involvement in subgroups and spending CSIP funds. If numbers of people engaged were included in this table we would find that although the voluntary sector is only engaged in some levels of CSIP structures, it is in fact engaged in greater numbers in those levels than any of the board members are in the aspects they engage with.

Those who attend partnership board meetings regularly include support staff for the Community Council and Community Regeneration Forums. This means at least two voluntary organisations are always in attendance (although not sitting at the table). In addition, where a particular organisation has something to report, or had an interest in an issue being raised, they would also attend. In the partnership subgroups I was involved in (Health and Community Care and Education Strategy) at least half of the participants were from the voluntary sector. Their main role seemed to be representing the interests of their organisation and contributing ideas and time where joint projects arose. However in many cases, joint work was mostly between voluntary sector participants.

Just over 9% of the money awarded to CSIP directly from the Scottish Executive is spent on the partnership support team, and although they are officially just an administrative body, they also have responsibilities for supplying information and for monitoring and evaluation. These are important, but also powerful roles in any community. They are officially managed by the partnership board, but there are rarely any management issues discussed in partnership meetings.

Community Representative Organisations & community representation - The four members of the partnership board who are there to represent the community are nominated by representative structures at community level as outlined above. The community reps attend all board meetings, and also 'pre-board-meetings' where a common strategy is discussed (together with voluntary sector support staff) for upcoming meetings. In addition, community reps sit on subgroups as mentioned above. Not all of them attend all meetings, for example just one attends the education strategy group, and none of them attend the health and community care group or the equalities group.

The four community representatives often felt themselves to be at a disadvantage because, unlike the other board members, they did not have office support for their roles;

neither did they have resources with which to negotiate. In 2001 the Scottish Executive introduced an 'empowering communities grant'. This grant was awarded to partnerships in order to support community participation in regeneration structures (thus responding to local representatives' concerns and showing the concerns were valid in places other than Craigmillar). Although there was some controversy about the management of the fund in the first year (as will be explained later), the fund ultimately enabled support for the four community reps in the form of a community worker; office space within the same building as the CBP; a minibus at their disposal and IT equipment for internet access from home. The money has also been used in projects to involve more young people in decision making, and to engage the elderly. In addition, the CRF reps receive considerable support from the Craigmillar Neighbourhood Alliance, and all four reps receive support from all CBP staff and from the Craigmillar Partnership Support Team.

Some subgroups have attempted to engage other local residents in their work, but I have only seen residents come to three meetings. The Craigmillar Health and Community Care subgroup (CHACC) spent considerable time developing ideas for an application to the lottery's 'New Opportunities Fund'. The funding requirements included the need for local backing and the subgroup tried to engage local residents in developing ideas for a 'Healthy Living Centre'. Half way through the process of writing the application, a local resident from a men's health group was encouraged to get involved. At the first meeting he attended there was discussion about the extent of community backing proposals had achieved and that proposals should reflect real local need. As a result the local resident went away and talked to friends and neighbours between meetings and recorded what they thought would be needed for healthy living in the community. He reported his findings at the next meeting and was politely informed that the things mentioned had already been considered and that it was no longer the stage for local consultation. He was understandably upset at this brush off. He stated:

> I had spoke to about a couple of hundred folk – tenants in the area, what they felt they needed in the area, and I had it all wrote down and I brought it to the meeting and they didni really want to hear about it . . . and I think that was my last meeting because I think I was disappointed after that …

The subgroup processes were designed to engage local residents either throughout the process, as equals with professionals (learning the jargon as they went along), or at particular points in the process, but there was no allowance for sporadic involvement. On reflection, it seems unrealistic to expect the same long term commitment from unpaid volunteers as from paid professionals, and at the same time seems minimalist to engage people only through questionnaires, or public meetings.

Table 8.2 Levels of engagement in CSIP

Who? What Level?	UK gov't	Scottish Parl't	Scottish Executive	Local authority	Other public bodies	Local Voluntary Sector	Other voluntary sector	Local Representative Structures	Local Residents
Voting Board Members	**MP***		**Communities Scotland* SEEL**	**Local councillor (chair) Councillor for meadowbank**	**NHS Lothian SE Ed. Local Health Care Cooperative**			**CCC & CRF**	
Also around the table		**MSP**	**Communities Scotland**	**Corporate Services officer Joint Venture Company**		**CSIP support team***			
Present at meetings						**CBP, CAN, Kintry, & other interested parties**	**Housing Associations operating locally**		Rarely
Engaged in Subgroups			SEEL	Staff at service level provision engage in subgroups	Involved in subgroups as time allows and according to interests	Most involved in at least one subgroup. CBP has 1 member of staff in each.	Local branches of national vol. sector. Housing Associations.	One community rep attends each subgroup. Housing & community safety get extra attendees from these groups.	Two people total

*are no longer involved at the level indicated but have been involved in the past.

The CSIP support team is difficult to categorise here, because it is only in existence because of a government programme, and at the same time is funding through Social Inclusion resources from the Scottish Parliament as are many other voluntary sector projects where funding is thus awarded by a local controlled management committee. As it is not under the direct management of government departments I have classed it as voluntary, but this is highly questionable.

The Partnership Aims

In considering partnership aims, we can see that any local concerns must fit with national goals. While these do not always contradict each other, where any conflict does exist national goals seem to take priority.

As stated in the background section, one of the aims of SIPs throughout Scotland is to bring together different public service bodies to concentrate on the task of reducing social exclusion in particular areas. The local partnership support team manager cites this as the main aim:

> The purpose of any area based SIP is to ensure that all the partners are engaged and aware of each others activity … that they can take some kind of co-ordinated comprehensive view of inclusion. And that it kind of allow[s] the various partner organisations to prioritise their activities in the area with an awareness of the bigger picture…

Thus one of the key purposes is seen to be the 'increased' awareness different service providers have of each other. As was also stated above, a second and related aim was to 'bend the spend' of larger public bodies to meet the needs of the areas in greatest need. However, when translated into actual mission statements, the aims or purposes of CSIPs become more specific. The aims of the partnership outlined on their web state:

> By the year 2010 Craigmillar will be a self-sustaining, popular and valued community within Edinburgh.
> Achieving that goal means Craigmillar will have:
> • A mixed and stable population living in good quality, attractive homes that meet a range of needs;
> • A safe and attractive environment;
> • An expanding local economy providing increased job opportunities;
> • A full range of educational, technological and learning resources;
> • A strong sense of community with widespread and effective community representation.
>
> (www.craigmillarpartnership.com)

When projects apply for funding from the partnership they must prove that they will help to meet the key objectives of the partnership; however, the objectives are more specific than the aims above and reflect more precisely the social justice milestones and targets set by the Scottish Executive, although these targets are somewhat reworded by the CCP – part of the local authority. These objectives include specifics such as reducing teenage pregnancy, increasing community engagement and higher educational achievement. In theory, the more objectives a project meets, the more likely they are to get funding. The partnership support team manager states:

> I know any of the funding applications and any of the monitoring that we do, we have to clearly demonstrate how many of these objectives are met, or aims are met by this project and in what way, and with numbers. So I mean I'd say it's pretty clear, I don't know how much leeway the partnership have there towards coming across with objectives of their own. I'm not actually very clear about what kind of influence they would have.

The local councillor and then chair of CSIP said that although the parliament gave some general guidelines for what SIP aims should be around the country, these were very general and could be adapted to local needs. However, both the Capital City Partnership and CSIP take the Scottish Executive's 2001 milestones word for word in reporting the achievements of their structures or the aims they hope to achieve. The reported statistics are very specific. It seems therefore, that partnerships which hope to be deemed successful must specifically target areas that the Scottish Executive deems must be changed. (see CECs 'Edinburgh's Milestones', 2003, and the Scottish Executive's 'Social Justice … A Scotland Where Everyone Matters', 2001 and CSIP's web pages for the latest social justice reports). The partnership support team manager stated: 'We are creations of the Scottish executive and we will reflect their priorities'.

The Craigmillar Partnership is therefore a clear example of government imposing aims on local organisations. It would be wrong though to assume that these aims are not shared by local residents; the partnership chair at the moment says they are so general they would apply to any community, and indeed they do generally reflect the concerns that the community actually feel. There were also some who expressed that they felt there was room to manoeuvre within the social justice milestone's aims. For example, although there is an aim to improve educational attainment, there is no prescriptive mode to accomplish this. On the other hand, the government has programmes outside of the SIP programmes which are trying to bring about change within their targeted areas; thus new schools are built through public-private partnerships, in spite of local concerns about issues such as after hours use. Another example is housing; although Social Justice milestone 27 is concerned with 'increasing the quality and variety of homes in our most disadvantaged communities', the SIP itself is dependent on national strategies for social housing including the transfer of housing stock and increased dependency on housing associations, and also on city plans for housing density in the area.

Decision making within the partnership

One of the questions asked of everyone involved in the partnership was how the partnership makes decisions. This is important for understanding whether the structures and interactions between different players translate into influence in decision making. The answers varied somewhat; for example, the local council officer said:

> Well [the partnership] is intended to be the vehicle that drives forward the regeneration of the area on a consensual model, that's the theory … so that there is consensus between the community and the key agencies as to what the problems … or the issues are and how they can be most effectively tackled.

She goes on to suggest that in fact there are several decisions about what will happen in Craigmillar's 'regeneration' which are outside the remit of the partnership board. Another community representative replied that decisions on the partnership board were taken by 'the whole lot of them', (notably 'them', not 'us', even though this person was on the board) and stressed that everyone had a say, and that decisions had been made by a vote among the board members. This was one of the last interviews carried out, and it was also the first time voting in the board was mentioned; other respondents said they could not recall a vote taken. The lack of votes can suggest several things, namely a genuine consensus about both goals and procedures or the influence of one or two powerful members on the partnership board who control both the agenda and the direction by their reputation, quashing any dissent before it arises. A further possibility is that there is nothing for the partnership to decide. One community worker claimed:

> I think a lot of these decisions would have been taken by government level, they've been taken at council level certainly, I think um they are consulted on the small things, you know the major financial and or social policy decisions have been taken, so I think it's about filtering that down and only giving them a little bit of the picture, to make their judgements.

The notion that the partnership is a place where none of the 'important' decisions are made is clear in many workers' comments. Another worker claimed:

> The process of partnership does tend to construct an arena in which you know what's reasonable … the community is left in no uncertain terms about what's reasonable in terms of its demands and how it expresses those … so it's about what's up for discussion and what's not up for discussion … the other view is that it's the only game in town and it's one that the community is signed up to and you have to make sure that the community is as strongly represented as possible and is in control of it as much as it can be.

Thus one of the suggested reasons that the partnership acts on a consensus basis is that it is in fact the only option for those who want to have influence on change in the area. Local people are tied into the structures regardless of whether they think they are effective. The same worker expressed an often-stated concern that official channels of local participation exist to manipulate local residents. Although not claiming it is a conspiracy against local people, he states: 'I think this is about creating official channels for the involvement of potentially hostile or potentially dissident communities'.

A key factor in this government control is creating an appearance of consensus. This is evident in the description of how decisions are avoided. A community rep states:

> I don't think any decisions are made at the partnership, I mean the only thing is the funding panel decisions, but the only thing the partnership is excellent at is not making decisions… I mean it's like the Partnership will agree that we want a bit of sunshine, but that's not a lot of good eh? …usually they just decide to discuss it at the next meeting, and then the next meeting comes along and the person is not there so they decide to discuss it at the next meeting or refer it to a subgroup or …

At the meetings I attended it was rare for any real issues to be decided in actual partnership board meetings. Instead, the partnership deferred decisions to later meetings, or gave assignments to CSIP board members or support team staff to work on a solution or way forward and present it again to the whole board. This latter method of working is indicative of the negotiating that goes on behind doors and of determining positions and potential conflicts before they arise in public.

A further aspect of decision making in the CSIP board is what the local MSP calls 'playing the politics' which she described as 'a very male thing':

> It's about showing up their position or that of their organisation, and a lot of that will be about point scoring ... at the partnership board a number of months ago … I could just see the potential of something [going] on for months … every quarter had their own views and at the end of the day I thought 'are these nuances really going to be that important?' You know actually what we need are these bloomin things working… I just don't have the patience…to maintain the process and play games within the process. It's very self serving.

This observation about game playing, and the position taken by the MSP, is particularly important in light of a common perception about the area being in the hands of the Labour Party, of which the MSP is a part. Our community worker claims:

> The Labour Party is an incredibly strong player in deprived communities throughout Scotland, but I think particularly so in Craigmillar…I mean if you think of the old organised community, what was it they used to call them? The three wise men? [Com Rep], [Xcouncillor] and [current councillor], … the new people who have come along to take over from that, XX for example, all Labour Party folk. The community reps were very critical of the Labour Party, but still went out canvassing for the Labour MSP in the last election …

It is thus significant that although there is a connection between activism at the local level and the Labour Party, there are different perceptions about the effectiveness of political manoeuvring. Even though the Labour Party MSP is involved in the same meetings as the local councillor, she claims not to be involved in the positioning that is engaged in by other local Labour Party members.

While the description above suggests certain patterns in decision making in the partnership, two more detailed examples of decision making are provided below and serve to shed light on the actual procedures in partnership decision making.

Funding Panel

It is clear that many perceive the partnership board to be relatively powerless; however, one of the key roles of the partnership board is the distribution of the SIP fund. This is handled not by the board as a whole, but by the funding panel which is one of the subgroups. Over the existence of the partnership the community reps have been able to increase their control of this group. Originally there were only two community reps on

the funding panel, plus council representatives. In 2002 the CBP manager suggested that the partnership had agreed that all four community reps could attend the funding panel, but only two were to vote, but that in practise it was not completely clear who could and could not vote. In 2003 the position was made clearer and now all the community reps have voting rights on the funding panel, putting them in a majority in that subgroup. Decisions about funding projects in the area are supposed to be taken based on a scoring system where those projects which help the partnership best meet its targets and goals (namely the social justice milestones and targets) get the funding; however, projects regularly apply for more resources than exist, and therefore difficult decisions are made. Naturally, familiarity with a project, the links the project has with other 'friends' or establishments and the perception of the work carried out are just as important as the 'scoring system' itself.

Having all four community representatives on the funding panel is important because of rules governing conflicts of interest of board members. All board members must declare their interests in organisations and projects likely to benefit from board decisions – interests include being on a board of directors for an organisation, having relatives who are employed by the organisation or have some other concrete interest in the organisation. If only one community representative had a vote on the funding panel, then funding decisions for several organisations would be made without the community having any say at all. Some would argue that effective community representatives are those who know the area and have connections to it – often in the form of involvement in other organisations or in terms of larger family connections with organisations and businesses in the community. While there is a question about how such people represent the whole community when their own interests are so tightly involved, the very nature of a community is that people are connected. If the connections did not exist (at this bonding level) it would be seen to be something that needed to be encouraged. The other side of the argument is that because of their involvement these people are best placed to understand the needs of the community. What is important in this is how seemingly banal policies about conflict of interest of board members can change how much influence – or control (in terms of board votes) the representatives have.

In the round of funding allocated in 2002 copies of all project applications were circulated to community representatives. The support worker went through all the applications and highlighted those aspects which met partnership objectives and any potential drawbacks. The community representative with all the previous positions in the area was the first to go through all the organisations and score them (together with the

support worker). Although details were somewhat different for the other community representatives, the results did not vary from those given by the first.

Controlling the Empowering Communities Grant

An additional source of income in the form of the 'Community Empowerment Fund' (CEF) was introduced to social inclusion partnerships in 2000. According to Scottish Regeneration newsletter (2005) the CEF 'was designed to strengthen community participation [by ensuring that] community representatives could play a full and equal part in partnerships.'

The Capacity Building Project brought together community representatives on the partnership board plus others involved in the partnership and drew up a proposal for how best to spend the money. One local rep described the process in the following way:

> We produced a paper, three pages or something of a paper. We were in here about four times for a couple of hours, between two and three hours, with all the community reps and a couple of guys from projects round about who helped us, who had a bit of input in it. We went away for a half day seminar …where we got other people fi the likes o the forum and the community council and we went down there for about half a day and we sat there and went through everything in this paper, … there was maybe about 12 or 14 of us sitting there. Now everybody came to an agreement that, things were put in

His description continues however with a disappointment:

> We made a paper up, and we approached our partnership with [it] at a partnership board meeting and …[it was just put aside] Now that's participating through the partnership, now it's took us all this time for to get that down, …and every single thing we had put down on our paper was consistent with the Scottish executive's guidelines, and we still couldni get it.

The reasons given for the initial lack of enthusiasm for the community's proposals were described by the partnership support team manager:

> The advice that we got from various sources was that at a time when CBP was part of CFS (which had a £90,000 plus deficit) it wasn't financially prudent to put £60,000 more into it. And things seemed to polarise after that, the intention was always that it be spent on admin and IT support and support staff it was always a question of who was going to administer it. From the perspective of this office here... We wouldn't expect to be involved in what it should be spent on …

This issue meant that the actual suggestions for the grants use were not discussed at the first two partnership board meetings and that a decision was not taken for a period of approximately six months. The community reps then started on a different tactic:

> It was clear that [two people in the partnership] wanted this money to be in the partnership, and we said, 'well no, this is for the community, we will take it. It's about empowering the community and we should have it'. It took the best part of the year and the Scottish Executive said 'well if the community hasn't agreed to it you are not to get the money' and we said 'we'll no have the money then, we'll no have it because we'll no have it going to the partnership, a team of bureaucrats being employed up there to control us'.

Thus the community reps used their lack of support as a means of embarrassing partnership members in front of executive colleagues who would have to be told why there had been no request for the money. Key people in the partnership (including the MP who was chair), opposed the money coming to the CBP. At a special meeting, it was clear that the chair of the partnership wanted the money to be used in quite a different way than the proposal put forward by the community reps and the CBP. Office space was to be within the partnership premises and the fund would be managed by administrative support staff based within the partnership support team. During the meeting the chair seemed to feel that progress had been made, but on leaving the building one of the community reps simply said 'well, it's no good' and the reps continued to fight for their own plans. Extra action was taken in the form of tactical non-participation during a Communities Scotland evaluation of CSIP. They 'boycotted' the evaluation meeting and, as a result, the partnership got an unsatisfactory report. In interviews another worker in the CBP describes the extra action they took in order to challenge the position of the key partnership players:

> We used [the MSP] to kind of help us… We wrote a letter, we sent her a copy of our brief and how we saw the empowering communities initiative operating, we sent her a copy of the whole purpose of the Scottish Parliament and the SE's thinking behind the empowering communities money, [arguing] that the way we were delivering was the way the Scottish Parliament and the SE were talking about it being delivered but that wasn't happening in practise. We then asked her to raise that in parliament, raise it with the council and she attended a meeting or two at which the empowering communities money was discussed and as a result of that we were successful …Without her intervention I think it would have taken a lot longer to achieve what we did achieve.

Here we can see how even though the partnership board was the focus of the disagreement, conflicts were resolved outside of partnership meetings. According to other accounts, officials in the council and the minister for communities were also appealed to. Partnership administrators reported that they had received phone calls asking for the matter to be resolved. One said 'I mean folk who are getting appealed to don't like to be put in that position, there's a kind of elected reps from the same party work together and want to be seen to be cooperating with each other rather than not'.

This comment reflects the fact that the main oppositional player in the partnership was the local MP. He was not just subject to pressure from the executive, but also to pressure from within the party. The partnership manager however clarifies some of the 'practical' reasons the partnership members were wary about the CBP being in control of the grant, in spite of the directive from the parliament about communities control.

> From the SE point of view [it] was about devolving power down to the local partnerships and they didn't want to be in the position of telling partnerships what they should and shouldn't

do, and they were aware of the argument that it was proper that a local community empowerment group should administer it. On the other hand, it was the Scottish Executive that would withhold the grant from the council when the council gives money to an organisation which ends up with a deficit and goes bust, the council then has to be out of pocket, and it's the SE finance people who withhold that … and when they are told that there is a deficit and that's what is causing the problem then the folk from one division would ask for a flexible and sympathetic attitude towards the situation. The council then says well does that mean that our finance folk will get a similar flexible and sympathetic attitude from your finance people…

Thus those in positions of responsibility for the correct spending of public funds are wary of the misuse of funds not just on ethical grounds, but also because of the protection of their own professional reputation based on an ability to spend carefully and accountably. Each institution is concerned for their image and their resources.

The conclusion of the matter was a further paper outlining the partnership's latest suggestion for the use of the empowering communities money and presented this to the local representatives. This paper was described as being remarkably similar to the community's original draft, and a 'complete turn around' from what the partnership chair (the MP) had suggested previously. The community felt that they had won a point, but were left with only three months to spend the awarded £60,000.

The Future for CSIP

CSIP was set up in 1999 and at that time was told to expect funding until around 2006. In the time between, a whole new set of partnership guidelines have been produced in part as a response to the Local Government Scotland Act (2003) which encouraged the development of 'community planning'. The new Community Planning Partnerships (CPPs) are no longer to be isolated to the few areas of most deprivation, but rather are to cover the whole of Scotland (full rather than patchy coverage), and in Edinburgh, each CPP was envisaged to cover much larger areas than the existing Social Inclusion Partnership areas. Their purpose (like the SIPs) is to engage mainstream funders in the fight for better service provision across Scotland, adapting to the needs of people in each area they work in through coordination with other mainstream funders and closer contact with local communities. According to the Local Government Scotland Act, all public bodies now have a duty to engage with community planning processes, which include both consultation and cooperation. In addition, local authorities must consult and work with relevant community bodies.

In 2004 when I left work in Craigmillar, CPPs were the thing to learn about – they were to be the policy descendant of SIP programmes, be they good or bad. But at the end of 2005, the SIP manager reported that someone had 'taken their foot off the gas pedal',

and that there was no sign of any structure or funding being in place to take on the type of work the CSIP was engaged in. Council proposals for community partnerships at that time stated:

> The original pace for the transition of SIPS to community planning arrangements has eased. The Regeneration Outcome Agreement will however be submitted to the Scottish Executive in the near future, detailing the next stage of adjustment in SIP programmes and budgets. The Council wishes to ensure that social inclusion is central to all LCPP agendas, and especially in those areas which will be targeted for Community Regeneration Funding in the future. (City of Edinburgh Council report 2001 pp.6-7)

The partnership support team manager indicated funding was uncertain after March that year, but also that the 'easing' of pace meant that nobody knew what was coming next. Projects were not aware of funding awards and jobs were advertised only until the period of current funding ended.

Just what this easing of pace meant is open to question. At least two things could have been slowing the process down: there was a change in the minister of communities at the Scottish Executive level, and the next local government elections will be held using proportional representation. With the possibility of increased competition from other political parties for a limited number of council positions, the leading Labour Party is possibly reluctant to establish something unpopular just before an election.

In spite of these changes, the regeneration of Craigmillar continues under the direction of the regeneration company which reports to the partnership. This company is resourced beyond the life of the current partnership structures and changes in local level partnerships could either undermine local involvement in the process or bolster it.

Perhaps as part of this policy changeover, the national Partnership Representatives Network changed name, focus and character. Before, local partnership representatives were all invited in an official capacity as representatives of their community. The new organisation, called 'Community Voices Network', on the other hand is open to management committee members or volunteers from all organisations in communities – or indeed any person interested (on a voluntary basis) in their (disadvantaged) community's regeneration. The website declares that the organisation is concerned to 'help people from the most disadvantaged communities in Scotland' to 'get their voices heard' and 'play a bigger role in the decisions which will affect the regeneration of their communities' (see website Jan 2006). The wording here suggests not only that those who were involved in previous partnerships were ineffective, but also that it is communities who need help to get their voices heard, not policy makers who need help in learning how to respond. I was told that the Partnership Representatives Network was disbanded

approximately two years ago, but the first event of this new organisation (designed to take its place) is in March 2006. The goals could be seen to be admirable; after all, a broader spectrum of residents from these communities is to be engaged. However, even though the website claims there is space for participants to collectively influence national and local policy, the language that follows suggests that the network is there to chat about 'what works', rather than campaign against or resist what does not work. Thus they set the tone and limit the debate in ways that contain conflict and avoid challenges to underlying causes of disadvantage.

Summary

CSIP is a partnership created by Scottish Executive policy, which exists to meet goals and objectives which are set by the Scottish Executive. While there is some flexibility in the way the goals of the executive are translated into actions at the community level, Scottish Executive goals are implemented not only through the partnership structures, but also through the control of goals within local public services, only some of which are represented on the CSIP board. Although some feel that there is enough flexibility at the local level within those Scottish Executive goals, it seems that the pressure for consensus and the bureaucratic processes involved in the CSIP structures may stop some conflicts ever becoming public. Reporting is tied to the Scottish Executive's 'Social Justice Milestones' and associated targets and funding criteria limit available flexibility. In addition, the detailed targets projects receiving money from the SIP must try to fulfil lead any local level civil society losing their independence to nationally directed criteria.

The CSIP board is often seen as the main point of access for local influence, with four 'community representatives' who are nominated from two different community organisations. These community representatives have had some success in gaining influence, but only through strategic manipulation, not through the kind of democratic dialogue envisioned in many discussions of participatory or inclusive democracy. Representative structures are expected to operate on consensual decision making, but the consensus identified by those involved seems to hide conflicts which are covered by procedural procrastination which pushes the real decision making out of the public domain.

The partnership's future is seen to be heavily dependent on government directives rather than on local, voluntary action and this is further evidence that the partnership structures are an extension of government which local people seem willing to challenge and focus their political engagement on.

Case Study 3

Womanzone

Introduction

The previous two case studies were of organisations which claimed to have community representation built into their structures in such a way that local people were able to influence the development of the community generally. This case study is still concerned with a civil society organisation which encourages the political involvement of local residents. However Womanzone is different in a number of ways. Initially, Womanzone is a more specific organisation – gender specific certainly, and issue specific in practice if not in theory. Additionally, Womanzone as an organisation has become representative but is not structured in such a way that clients or users are seen as official representatives of anyone but themselves (although clients often provide 'cases' which are representative of others). Finally, Womanzone engages in campaigns which are issue based rather than area based, i.e. they are trying to bring about nationwide change rather than local area change.

In this case study I first outline who is involved with the organisation, thus showing that there are in fact the same levels of involvement in Womanzone as there are in the other two organisations used as case studies. Next I provide an account of the background and structures of the organisation. This includes details of the funding and staffing structures, and the main focus of the organisation's work. I will also show the connections the project has with institutions of governance in Scotland and with other national structures.

Two specific aspects of Womanzone's work are then considered. The first outlines actual campaign work the project is engaged in, broken down into five elements of the 'campaigning' process. This demonstrates the way Womanzone interprets a 'community development approach' and 'empowerment' in practice in order to influence the Scottish Parliament. The second describes Womanzone's interaction with The Delta Project. This project was initiated as a local authority response to Scottish Executive agendas for tackling violence against women and therefore demonstrates how Womanzone is part of the policy implementation structures of the Scottish Executive. As part of this, an analysis is made of the similarities between Womanzone goals and aims, and the Executive's adopted priorities.

Who is involved?

The key people or organisations involved in Womanzone include a small team of three core staff plus several sessional workers. The project coordinator, development worker and administrative worker ensure that the building is staffed sufficiently and sessional workers such as counsellors are employed on temporary contracts according to need and available resources. Although when I first came to Craigmillar the staff of the organisation had been in place for some time, during the time of this research both admin staff and development workers changed several times.

Users of the project, or clients (as one activist said she preferred to be called), are without exception women, although men do attend the occasional social night. They come from a variety of age groups (but are mostly over twenty) and include those who only use the project for counselling, as well as those who come whenever the project is open to take part in whatever activity is being run. Most who are involved in campaigning work also use the other services of the project. A few clients or users are involved in organising events within the project and, more recently, have been involved in the management committee of the project.

The council funds approximately 50% of the project's costs through the corporate services department. It also sponsors the project by recommending it for funding from other sources. This is necessary for receiving funds from CSIP, the Lottery or the various health care bodies.

One of the ways Womanzone attracts clients is through 'referrals'. These are provided by a wide variety of professionals in public as well as voluntary services and include medical staff, social workers and advice workers. There are thus a large number of people involved in Womanzone because they rely on the project to provide services that are not available through their own organisation. The 'on the ground' connections between Womanzone and council departments are also entrenched in systems of referrals and service provision.

Referrals and service provision are also one of the things that link the project to local and national voluntary sector organisations and referrals go both ways. Women's Aid and other national organisations concerned with women's health and protection also have close links to Womanzone. While they are not part of the organisation per se, they provide essential networks which allow Womanzone to function and provide the services it does. Womanzone also connects with national women's organisations and campaigning

groups on specific issues with Womanzone providing both stories and support for campaign work on a national scale.

The local MSP is seen as a 'friend' of the organisation, and both staff and project users claimed that the local MSP was very interested. This is perhaps not surprising because the local MSP in her first term was also the minister for health. However, she herself claims that her interest is to do with the fact that she is a woman, and so particularly interested in women's issues. She has attended several events at the organisation over the past five years, including a 'Women of Achievement Awards' party and the signing of a 'Craigmillar Women's Charter'.

Womanzone does not claim to be an organisation which represents the whole Craigmillar Community. It serves the community rather than represents it. Their connection is rather to particular interests within the community, namely those of women, and especially women with health concerns. Many of the women who use the project are referred from other public services such as doctors, midwives, social workers etc. The project has attempted to be inclusive, and encouraged ethnic minority groups to come and use the project (unsuccessfully in the end as most of the women felt more comfortable in community centres closer to their homes which were mostly just outside of the area).

It is also worth noting that for some years the organisation has been headed by a member of the Scottish Socialist Party, which is also unusual for the area, and brought in connections with other SSP activists which many other projects in the area did not have, and notably with activists within the Socialist Party who have long campaigned on issues of concern to the community.

Background & Structures of Womanzone

Womanzone is a project that was started through the Craigmillar Festival Society and has been running since 1992. According to a former CFS manager:

> Womanzone was something that we sat down round the table and discussed the need, you know an unmet need to help with women's health issues and these things, and we sat round the table and we worked out the project and we got the funding.

Thus Womanzone was one of the projects within the CFS which did not directly respond to a release of government funds aimed at encouraging a particular type of development, rather it responded directly to local expressed need. Funding was therefore sought on the basis of locally determined aims.

One of the past project co-ordinators described the start up of the project as being the result of the number of women presenting to the CFS with health concerns that were not

being met in traditional medical practices. As a result funding was applied for through the Urban Aid round of regeneration grants. After some years of urban aid funding in various shapes and sizes, the project was taken on by several different departments and funding bodies including the City of Edinburgh council's corporate services department, Lothian Health and the CSIP. This means that they have connections with the council directly (hence the concern about the organisation's inability to pay wages mentioned in Chapter 7), with Lothian Health which implies direct influence of national health policies, and with CSIP which works directly for the social justice agenda of the Scottish Executive and also ties the project into further monitoring structures within the local authority.

Staff claim that although current funding is in some ways more stable (not purely dependent on the latest regeneration programme budgets) the level of funding only covers the revenue costs of the building, utilities and staffing, giving no flexible resources which could be used for campaign costs, programme development or renovation. In 2004, the project started to provide administration services for the Edinburgh Equalities Forum and receive money for their services thus bringing a small amount of extra income into the project.

While Womanzone was under the umbrella of the Craigmillar Festival Society, the project coordinator received management and support from the Assistant Organising Secretary for Social Welfare within the CFS. The project also reported regularly to CFS social welfare executives. This would mostly involve a page outlining what the organisation had been doing over the past few months and plans for future work. Womanzone was not particularly involved in the Craigmillar Partnership (associated with the Craigmillar Initiative), but was occasionally engaged with other networks in the community, for example the Craigmillar Adult Learners' Network.

Workers claim to take a community development approach to health issues for women. They explain that this means 'working with local women to identify their health issues and to work together to collectivise and politicise these issues and to campaign for change'. Thus, workers are there to encourage local women to define not only health and ill health, but also to determine solutions to the health concerns they raise. They also claimed that as a result of this, they use a 'social model of health', and work on the assumption that women's health or ill health is a result of – or at least heavily influenced by – social forces.

The work of the project includes a counselling service which always has a waiting list and a drop in service with the goal of providing a safe and welcoming environment for

women. They also operate a crèche on an 'as needed' basis, i.e. when women need to go shopping or need time away from family. The project runs courses for women such as cooking classes, alternative therapy sessions or women's history courses. The project's remit has developed through working on what they call the social model of health, in that much of their work is about engaging women in political processes to encourage change in social structures which affect their health. Thus the project is involved in a wide range of campaigning related activities. The last coordinator explains:

> I think over the past sort of six or seven years, campaigning became more of a feature of the work of the project, I think it was a sort of natural evolution as well, there were just so many issues that people were becoming more aware of on a national level as well, so there were more campaigns to link into and the project also began to do like local awareness raising.

This campaigning will be considered in more detail later.

It is also relevant to consider some of the wider issues, campaigns and policies that the coordinator suggests have influenced the direction of the project. For example, the first 'zero tolerance' campaign was launched in Edinburgh in 1992 by the City of Edinburgh Council's Women's Committee after a survey found it to be a major issue in schools. The Zero Tolerance Trust claims this was the 'first crime prevention campaign in Britain to tackle the issue of male violence against women and children'. This suggests a favourable environment for the development of Womanzone as an organisation, and especially as a campaigning organisation within the CEC. By 1995 the Zero Tolerance Charitable Trust was established. (Zero Tolerance Website www.zerotolerance.org.uk) According to a City of Edinburgh Report, the International Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 set an agenda for governments to follow in the empowerment of women including the prevention and elimination of violence against women, and the UK and subsequently Scottish governments have stated commitments to the eradication of this problem. The Scottish Executive established a 'Scottish Partnership on Domestic Abuse' in 1999 which included representatives from local authorities, the police, the judiciary and prison service, NHS, social work, and key national voluntary organisations. The 1998 Human Rights Act and the campaign to

establish human rights legislation in the UK also seem to have been important to the development of campaigning work within Womanzone.

Meanwhile, changes in legislation concerning rape within marriage and sexual assault generally suggested that change was beginning in government attitudes towards violence against women. Some of these changes predated Womanzone considerably, and national organisations such as Rape Crisis and Women's Aid had been involved in campaigning since the 1970s. The 1990s saw more and more recognition of the activities of such groups and an acceptance of the political premises on which they were based.

It is already clear from the background of the project that those initiating it felt that they were responding to local need rather than policy dictat, but once established how did this continue and emerge as an overtly political campaigning organisation and how, since that time, has the focus moved to such specific issues? One suggestion could be that the coordinator interviewed (who was previously a development worker) has a particular political agenda, which defines what the issues should be. The coordinator is a member of the SSP and, since leaving the project, took up a post with the Party. The local activist interviewed pointed out that a further SSP activist (and now MSP) was involved in supporting and organising some of their campaigns. However, the connections with the Party are by no means exclusive.

The Womanzone activist interviewed claimed that both staff and project users/clients decided jointly about what issues would be campaigned about. Sometimes it was determined by issues raised by the women. I noted in my first visit to the project that they claimed the issues they were campaigning on were those which were raised most by the women attending the project: 'we found our project statistics would clearly show that violence against women was a major health issue'.

It was also interesting to see the changes in the project as the employed development workers changed. During a period of three years the project worker changed three times, often with long gaps between appointments. The first continued the campaigning tradition; the second came from a more health oriented background and was less clear about the role of the project in campaigning work.

Even though the project reported to the Social Welfare executive of the CFS, it was not directed by the CFS executive in any realistic way. Interviewing for a new coordinator was carried out by the assistant organising secretary and social work and health professionals tied to the project through funding commitments, but they had little

to do with day to day running or project direction. Monitoring arrangements were in place through funding channels, but as there were three separate sources of money, the project was able to determine its own agenda – at least within the restrictions of limited funding. In other words, the agenda could change, as long as it didn't cost anything to change it and presumably as long as the project was deemed useful. That many statutory services (particularly health care, social work and housing) referred clients to the project, it could be seen to be a necessary resource for the local authority.

On becoming independent from the CFS, the project became a company limited by guarantee – as suggested by CEC – and as a result, had to recruit a board of directors for the company. Because of the community development principles that the project is founded on, the organisation set up memoranda and articles such that local women – project users – would become the majority of the board. However, in practice this made for a very difficult situation. The coordinator reports:

> Part of our problem was in having a board of people that the project didn't actually have money to train and I don't think anybody had the time or the funding to do really in depth training, and a lot of the women who could be quite vulnerable sometimes, became managers on the board of the project. And there were some very serious issues which came up in the first year – the removal of a director, a very serious sort of staffing issue – you know the suspension of a staff member, they were all really serious. And there was also a conflict around the counselling service, some of the directors were counselling clients which kicked off a whole chain of kind of ethical concerns which – you know the counsellors were actually counselling their employers at the end of the day which you know, you can dress it up however you like, but ethically that was a huge one.

The result was that the local resident members of the board of directors were faced with very difficult decisions about staff matters, and also took on financial and management burdens which they were not trained to deal with. One employee was suspended and ultimately left the project. The board determined that local resident members must choose between receiving counselling or being on the board of directors and in the end most project users opted for use of the counselling service. As a result, the memorandum and articles of the new company were changed, and the resulting board became staff and professionals from other local projects. These were the people who were left to 'deal with all the shit' at the project management level, and a members forum was set up which could feed into the day to day running of the project (the direction of services, courses etc), and which could hopefully influence the board itself where decisions had to be made. Recent conversations with staff suggest the members forum is open to anyone who uses the project and that it is held once a month.

The 'independence' of the project from the CFS relieved the project from frustrating financial arrangements which had given them too little control over their finances;

however, it also led to a situation where staff and users were in conflict with each other and with others. This came at a time when there were also problems with the flats the project used as offices and meeting rooms. The regeneration process meant their original premises were pulled down and the project moved to premises in another area destined for demolition in a few years' time. In the first year after the move, there were several major annoyances such as floods, break-ins and rodents. The project also experienced living with several antisocial tenants who were living in the 'temporary council housing' located in the apartments above the project. Tenants threw furniture out of the windows, regularly had loud violent arguments, and kept the main stair door open. This made it an insecure environment. This had an effect on the structures of the organisation. With such a small number of staff, the project is particularly susceptible to disruptions in service due to staff absences. Lack of security makes this problem more acute because it becomes unsafe to have only one member of staff on the premises. This was certainly the case between 2001 and 2003 where illness and other commitments meant the project was often closed, staff were difficult to contact, and they were distracted when attending meetings, or limited in what they could commit to the group by internal project concerns. This shows how small numbers of employees can create considerable structural or organisational problems, especially when staff turnover is high.

Womanzone's Campaigning Work

Womanzone is different from the other case studies because the campaigning work they are engaged in is both an explicit and ongoing element of the work they are engaged in. Thus, they actively seek out ways to engage local women with democratic processes and governing structures.

Womanzone's campaigning work operates at several different levels simultaneously and in some ways is built into the structures of the day to day work of the project. It involves: (i) awareness raising, (ii) signing of petitions and support for national campaigns, (iii) demonstrations, (iv) encouraging connections between political leaders and the project, and (v) representation on cross party groups.

(i) Awareness Raising

The project raises awareness by encouraging local users to engage in various groups, often formed with the specific purpose of bringing issues to the attention of local women. For example, in order to mark International Women's Day, they asked one project user to keep a 24 hour diary of what she did with her day and then in a group setting discussed how much that had changed over the years and whether or not it meant women had more

or less control of their time. This was compared with other women from around the world. Other examples of consciousness raising include women's history courses and guest speakers on issues of women's health. One of the workshops I held on how the new proportional system of voting was done informally as part of regular Friday drop in sessions which were often used to informally introduce new subjects. I later learned that Womanzone was one of only two Craigmillar projects which filled out a response to the 'People and Parliament' research mentioned in chapter 2.

Since the Parliament opened, Womanzone has also organised two visits to the parliament and informal meetings with MSPs; these trips were not particularly oriented to campaigning, but were geared instead to encouraging a familiarity with the structures of government, and to raising awareness about the accessibility of the parliament itself. The coordinator explains that they had coffee and biscuits with the Conservative, Lord James Douglas Hamilton and a Liberal MSP on a visit which was arranged jointly with another local project and also attended the parliament's question time. On another occasion they visited a regular session of parliament where issues of domestic violence were raised, thus awareness was raised about both parliamentary mechanisms and issues the project was concerned with.

The project co-ordinator also mentioned a time when they invited women to bring their own drink to evening events - because it was important to get the balance right. She went on to say 'life is hard enough sometimes, I mean you get home, and for a huge amount of reasons you can't be bothered going to a meeting no matter how worthy or …I know I do, so it's trying to make things relevant to women and a bit of fun as well'.

(ii) signing petitions

In many ways signing petitions is an extension of awareness raising activities. The project coordinator is tightly connected to national campaigns on a variety of issues and recalls a petition against pornography run by Scottish Women against Pornography which staff at the project got involved in by collecting signatures from clients and users at the project. She reports that the petitions collected in this campaign (not just from Craigmillar as this was a national campaign) resulted in a cross party hearing, where a wide group of politicians were forced to hear their particular case. There was however no suggestion that the project had had further involvement than the collection of signatures.

Another time she recalled discussing the case of a Nigerian woman accused of adultery who was due to be stoned in her country. The project coordinator felt this was

something the women could respond to on a human level and thus they were encouraged to take action, such as signing petitions.

(iii) Demonstrations

Collecting signatures also plays a large part in many other methods of demonstrating. When responding to questions about the projects' contacts with the Scottish Executive, the coordinator explained:

> We tried to have contact with Henry McLeish. We sent him this gorgeous Valentine's card which we got signed with loads and loads of messages by women on Princes Street on violence against women. We put demands on it by loads of organisations, and it was presented to [him] and he didn't acknowledge it at all, so we asked for it back … well, we went up and took it back, they said there was no procedure in place for the return of something that had been gifted to a minister, but we got our Valentine back.

The presentation of the Valentine's card was a very public demonstration aimed at engaging the media's interest and therefore also the minister's concern. In other cases they have gone to the council offices and attempted to address some of the housing issues that arise in domestic violence cases. For example, the project worked in schools locally to get children to draw something about violence against women. These images were made into postcards which were sent to councillors, key politicians and also to local voluntary projects. A long time client and activist with the project recalls another campaign they joined:

> We … went to Corton Vale[4] at one point supporting the young women that had been put in there for silly wee things like … women that shouldn't have been put in there anyway, and there was a wee first woman that died in Corton Vale, and her parents were there and they brought up her wee child and that and it was supporting them and supporting their kids and trying to get the authorities to realise that this wasn't right at all to have these young women locked up.

Demonstrating seems to serve several purposes. At the very least, it raises awareness among women in the project who come to recognise their issues are common to many other women and provide a channel for women to express their view about issues which affect them, and ultimately it is a way to change some of the policies they are concerned about.

Project users at Womanzone have also been engaged in campaigning for the project's survival. One project user remembers a campaign aimed at the CFS to get their support to keep the project open. The local activist interviewed recalls approaching the Scottish office and inviting an official down to a meeting. She said:

> …we actually got him in and we took him to Womanzone for a meeting. And we hemmed him in and the room was full that day and he couldn't get out. But he came in that day saying

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[4] Corton Vale is a women's prison.

that he didn't know anything about Womanzone and what have you, but he knew plenty about it before he left because we managed to get some money out of him.

Perhaps one of the most significant direct campaigns, which was also an awareness raising project focused around the creation of a Craigmillar Women's Charter. This charter was 'created through discussions with local women from a range of organisations and interest groups' (Womanzone p. 5). Discussions focused on human rights. The end result was a published charter which included quotes from project users or local women, related to the human rights they discussed. In each section (healthcare, housing, disability, children & childcare, employment, violence against women, poverty, racism and sexuality) there is a list of rights that Craigmillar women demand.

For example, under the section on Poverty it says that Craigmillar Women demand the right to have the root causes of poverty and disadvantage recognised and tackled at the government level, and to have full financial independence from men within the benefit system (among others). Under the Violence against women section, it says that Craigmillar Women Demand the right: to have access to 24 hour crisis help lines, to safe secure and adequate refuge space for ourselves and our children, to protection and respect from the legal system, to say 'no' and to have our 'no' listened to and respected, to not be judged as weak for having been abused, and to recognition of violence against women as a major public health issue (again, amongst others).

The rights claimed thus include things that governments have and have not been willing to do anything about and the charter as a whole presents clearly the views of local women. There is nothing to suggest that the charter itself has actually changed any policies, but it provides a means for the project to give voice to issues which local women are concerned with, and in many ways, gives the project a printed mandate to campaign on these issues on behalf of the 'local women from a range of organisations and backgrounds' (Ibid).

(iv) Connections between political leaders and the project

The project encourages connections with government and elected leaders through the campaigning structures that are discussed above as well as through raising awareness of parliament structures. In addition, however, the project maintains contact with the local MSP and councillors, inviting them to play particular roles in events and keeping them up to date on what is going on with the project. For example, for approximately four years now, the project has run a 'women of achievement award' social night. Local people and projects nominate women to be awarded a certificate and the local MSP has been there

twice to award the certificates. When the project launched a "Craigmillar Women's Charter" in 2001, Susan Deacon was also present to 'make it official', adding her signature of support to the charter. The local coordinator claims: 'you know we've got a good link with our local MSP Susan Deacon, she's been very very good in supporting the project and in coming out to speak at events. She's very approachable'. This is echoed by many activists throughout Craigmillar, one particularly engaged with Womanzone claims the local MSP 'is one that is interested in the area, and does her best to attend things and the projects'.

The project also keeps in touch with other local political leaders. The local community reps on the partnership board are invited whenever events are organised, and staff sit on some partnership subgroups. Maintaining good relationships with more powerful voluntary and public sector bodies is also seen to be 'politically' wise.

(v) Representation of clients views

The project coordinator is seen as an advocate for those who use the project, and represents their views through responding to consultation documents from the Scottish Executive and council levels. The best example of this is the coordinator's participation in a cross party group on male violence. She claims the project as a whole is represented through her and that at meetings, they are consulted on policy issues, give feedback and even formulate policy. For example:

> The group was involved in looking at new criminal justice policies for violent women and violent men, you know keeping registers of these men for partners who it was felt were at risk. It's actually been really interesting and I think these groups have actually influenced policy.

> … In some of the anti-stalking [legislation] there was a massive amount of consultation on and personally I had huge concerns about that seeing how difficult it was protecting women from being harassed by stalkers, … previously to last year, if you divorced a violent man you couldn't get an injunction with the powers of arrest, so men knew this, they knew that if you hadn't been married to them … apparently you could get an injunction if you had a mortgage with them or if you were married, but as soon as any divorce came through it was open day. So that changed, women who were cohabiting or women who were divorced could get an injunction … so that was an important one. Some of the anti-stalking legislation as well, I mean we actually dealt with a woman who was actually living in darkness behind her curtains, and her ex sat outside in the car and her little boy wasn't allowed to go out to play at the school because he was sitting watching the playground. And nobody could do anything because he hadn't actually threatened them.

This description provides details of actual legislation which the group was consulted on, and which the group discussed. The coordinator clearly felt that the cross party group was an effective way to gain influence in the decision making process. It is also clear from the quote above that part of the coordinator's job was to take actual experience of users to the legislation process, even if the women involved themselves were not present.

The Delta Project

The Delta project was a Scottish Executive funded initiative which aimed to set up 'cluster groups' which would include professionals and even local residents who were concerned with addressing the problems associated with domestic abuse. According to a Scottish Executive report: 'The aim of the DELTA project was to implement the Multi-Agency Strategy to Tackle Violence Against Women in Edinburgh through the development of cluster groups.' Three such cluster groups were set up, one in Pilton as part of the social inclusion partnership there, one in Craigmillar and one in South Edinburgh. This was part of the local authority response to the 'National Strategy to Address Domestic Abuse' which was established in 2000. The strategy aimed to tackle a) active prevention of abuse of both women and children; b) appropriate legal protection for women or children who experience domestic abuse; and c) adequate provision of support services for women/children. (Scottish Executive 2000, p. 7).

The implementation of the strategy brought with it two years of resources – £3 million each year. Local authorities could apply for this money to develop services to address problems of domestic abuse. As such, the Delta Project represents an attempt from the Government to impose a policy on the local community, and therefore shows how Scottish Executive structures influence projects. At this point, however, it is also interesting to reflect on the similarities or differences between the Scottish Executives' aims concerning domestic abuse, and the reported views of local women in Craigmillar as reported in the Craigmillar Women's Charter. Table 9.1 lists the rights Craigmillar Women claimed and compares them with aims listed in the National Strategy.

Table 9.1 Craigmillar Women's Charter vs. National Strategy on Domestic Abuse

Craigmillar Women Demand the Right to:	National Strategy on Domestic Abuse aims:
To say "no", and to have our "no" listened to and respected.	A variety of aims and approaches that deal with training and attitudes for professionals, also recognition of the 'role of the media in the prevention of domestic abuse'.
To increase awareness of violence against women throughout the NHS and all healthcare provision.	Also, the development of local awareness work consistent with the national focus.
To not be judged as weak for having been abused, manipulated and controlled by a violent partner, family member or carer.	The national strategy also gives a broad definition of domestic abuse including emotional and physical abuse and aims to disseminate this broad definition and encourage the adoption of it, to all public agencies.
To more campaigning and awareness-raising on violence against Women.	
To have access to 24 hour crisis helplines.	The promotion of the Domestic Abuse Helpline to all areas, with the involvement of local groups.
To safe, secure and adequate refuge space for ourselves and our children.	A variety of 'priority service developments' including transit accommodation for women and children, refuge spaces to meet population needs, and immediate and appropriate housing to women and children.
To protection and respect from the legal system.	This also has to do with attitudes and is therefore covered by training and consciousness raising for professionals.
To an increase in prosecution and conviction rates in rape cases.	There is an aim to improve the speed of the justice process. However, this does not necessarily do anything to increase the level of conviction rates.
To not have our sexual history expressed in rape trials – we are not the ones on trial.	Specific legislation change is not outlined in the national strategy. There is however an aim to provide 'support to vulnerable witnesses, where women or children who experience abuse are involved in the justice system'. There is also a specific initiative to 'review all current legislative provision relating to domestic abuse'.
To adequate resources for women's projects to carry forward government policies on violence against women.	There is no commitment to pay for women's projects, but several suggest more support for them, and there is the commitment to increase the number of refuge places etc.
To recognition of violence against women as a major public health issue.	Throughout the strategy there is a call for multi-agency working, including health agencies.

Here we can see that many of the issues raised among Craigmillar women are reflected in the national strategy. However, the strategy does not deal with specific calls for changes in legislation, or with specific resourcing of local women's projects.

It is also significant that the resources available in the national strategy are focused on multi-agency strategies which is in fact *not* something that the women in Craigmillar state

is particularly important, it is in fact part of a broader policy of 'joined up' service provision, which represents the Labour Party's solutions to problems with public services. The purpose of improving multi-agency working does therefore tie in with the Craigmillar women's concern for service provision, but the question of resources is not addressed directly.

The Delta Project was established through the City of Edinburgh Council and was part of the council's attempt to implement the national strategy. The project ran for two years and during that time employed part time development workers who worked to bring together and then support 'cluster groups' in social inclusion partnership areas throughout Edinburgh. These groups were also brought together at larger 'workshops' to discuss the issues raised in groups. The development worker in Craigmillar set up meetings with several organisations including CBP and Womanzone, and encouraged Womanzone to take the lead in inviting people to attend and in recording the meetings.

The first few meetings focused on identifying what the group could do and this led to the establishment of some training sessions, organised jointly by Womanzone, the Delta Project and the CBP. These training sessions were attended by health visitors, midwives and other medical professionals, the police and social workers, as well as workers from other voluntary organisations and at least two local women activists. One local activist and actress had filmed a play she had written and performed in the Edinburgh Festival which was shown at the first training session. Although attendance at training sessions was initially very positive, the more frequent they became, the less well attended they were. In field notes from 2001 and 2002, attendance had dropped to between four and five people attending sessions. Most public service professionals (medical and social workers) could not find the time for regular commitment. It was the beginning of 2002 before someone from the partnership support team began to get involved as well.

The Delta project workers provided information on upcoming legislation issues and contacts with key people within the field of domestic violence. In addition, they encouraged the project to be established in such a way that it would be maintained over time. However, the worker was employed on a part-time temporary contract, and those who took on this job were constantly looking for longer term employment. This led to a change in the Delta Project development worker at approximately the same time as the first change in Womanzone's development worker and their problems with premises. These changes in personnel seem to have led to a decrease in the responsibility Womanzone assumed for the cluster group which may also have had something to do

with the group having less and less support. Both subsequent development workers had considerably less experience and few connections with relevant local people.

It is important to recognise that Womanzone originally took on a coordinating role with the cluster group willingly. However, there was never any suggestion that resources could be made available to Womanzone to support the group; rather it just gave extra work for the project staff. This is important because it shows a flaw in policies aimed at increasing joint working, namely that resources are rarely in place to provide staff with extra time to take part in such initiatives. As a result, the variable attendance at meetings and the nervousness of any one group to take on responsibility for the cluster locally, leads to such groups fizzling out after initial enthusiasm.

It is possible to identify some outcomes of the cluster group. Over a period of two years, the group held approximately six different training sessions, bringing together professionals so that they could learn about each other's services, and be made aware of the latest initiatives in law and government. This included, for example, the domestic abuse liaison officer from Lothian and Borders Police, a lawyer specialising in family law who was able to clarify procedures to bring about injunctions against abusive partners, and local housing officers who explained their policies and procedures when people present with domestic abuse concerns. The group also produced a leaflet of all local and city wide services for supporting people experiencing domestic abuse. However, while producing the leaflet, the group became smaller and smaller. The leaflet became the main purpose for meetings. Although the leaflet was a concrete outcome for the group, most of those initially involved felt their role was only to provide information and perhaps felt this was achieved through the leaflet. The Cluster group succeeded in building relationships between different professional groups; however, the structures were not in place for these relationships to be maintained. Where staff turnover is high, the maintenance of such structures over time is important if the goal is to be long term joint approaches to preventing and addressing a problem such as domestic abuse. Authority was delegated to take on such actions, but without resources the power to achieve anything was limited.

The Delta project closed down in 2003, as had always been planned. In Craigmillar the cluster group continues to meet sporadically, but in reality was no longer a group in the way it was intended to be. Rather it was a dwindling list of names who were interested in the issues, two or three of whom occasionally met to ensure that a leaflet was produced, as had been agreed.

Summary

In summary then, Womanzone is a small scale organisation with only three full-time staff and small premises. It does not raise any income within the project itself, but receives grants from three sources: City of Edinburgh Council, Lothian Health and the Craigmillar Social Inclusion Partnership.

The background of the project ties it to the CFS. The project was not, however, a response to new lines of funding being made available, but rather was a response to local need. During the life of the project, however, it has become more concerned with national policies, and responds to new legislation and campaigns for change. The work of the project is therefore directly political.

The community development approach used by the project is also overtly political and while the project provides some services, these are linked into more political agendas. The project is involved in many levels of campaigning from awareness-raising to membership of cross party committees and as such is constantly engaging with the Scottish Parliament, Executive and related institutions. It is also well connected to national voluntary sector organisations who are also engaged in campaigning on similar issues.

Although not initiated in response to policy, the position of the organisation in the community makes it a key player for the government in terms of local implementation of strategies set through policy making schemes. However, Womanzone has only contributed as absolutely necessary to the encouragement of the Delta Project and ultimately did not take on a coordinating role as no resources were made available.

Extra things to note are the key political players involved in the CSIP are not overtly engaged with Womanzone. The project has its own set of activists, only a few of whom are connected with any other project. While the project engages with CSIP through subgroups, it treats them with suspicion and not as a priority.

CHAPTER 10

Power Relationships

Chapter Six considered the nature of Craigmillar civil society generally and Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine showed in detail the way three 'civil society' organisations interact with both local residents and governing institutions. It now remains to consider what the case of Craigmillar can contribute to our understanding of political inclusion in Scotland. In this chapter I look at the data presented thus far in light of the understanding of political inclusion presented in Chapter Three. In the next chapter I consider in more detail what this means for democratic renewal in Scotland.

In Chapter Three I concluded that the most challenging criteria for achieving political inclusion comes from the monopoly paradigm where inclusion is about more than adapting to the dominant culture or having the opportunity to take part in democratic structures (although this is of course a simplification of the other two paradigms). Political inclusion in the monopoly paradigm is the ability to exercise power in matters that affect your life; in other words, it is to be able to make or resist change relevant to your life.

As noted in Chapter Three, one of the reasons civil society organisations can be hoped to increase political influence is that they increase the number and quality of relationships between people, or in other words, they increase social capital. But Halpern's (2005) review of the literature on social capital reminds us that there are different kinds of social capital. There is social capital which 'bonds' a group tightly together, but not necessarily to people outside of the group; there is social capital which generates 'bridges' between people, perhaps less tightly, but more broadly; and finally, there is social capital which 'links' people with different levels of power or resources. The first two types of social capital are important for the monopoly paradigm's understanding of political inclusion because they may promote collective problem identification and action, but the latter kind of social capital is perhaps more important because it provides channels and connections through which Craigmillar people and groups can also exercise influence.

While the concept of social capital suggests which type of relationships may be important, and tells us what it takes for a relationship to be significant in terms of creating social capital (it must be a relationship which involves networks, norms and sanctions), the concept itself does not allow us to understand whether social capital (even of the linking kind) actually promotes political inclusion. Social capital is a variable which is

often measured with other pertinent variables to look for its significance (for example, levels of social capital seen to be a condition significant in statistical analysis of political engagement). This analysis does not attempt to do this. Rather I take the concept of social capital and explore its parts in more detail in order to understand what social capital (i.e. relationships involving norms, sanctions and networks) actually produces in terms of political inclusion. In the previous chapters, a number of relationships have been shown to exist; in this chapter, I try to understand the quality of those relationships. In particular I am concerned to understand who influences who, or which party in each relationship has the most power. In order to analyse this I turn to Lukes (2005). Lukes' conceptual map of power, shown in Chapter Three (Fig 3.2) helps us to compare levels of power by looking at four different factors: 1) issue scope, 2) context range, 3) the level of intentionality which exists in determining certain outcomes, and 4) the levels of effort needed to influence, or resist influence from, others.

Having shown that I want to look at different types of social capital and the way power is distributed in the relationships which make up 'linking' social capital, it remains to explain how I will organise this analysis. I start by briefly considering the bonding and bridging type of relationships that exist within the different levels studied in this research, namely Craigmillar residents (micro level), Craigmillar Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) (meso level) and governing institutions (macro level). Here I show how bonding social capital undermines bridging social capital amongst residents, but also how the bonding of local CSOs is often sporadic because of competition for resources and that governing institutions have the potential to create bridging or bonding social capital by imposing norms and regulations through bureaucratic structures. However, the most important types of relationship here are those which generate linking social capital. These relationships come in many forms and I organise them into six different styles of relationship which exist between the three levels. I consider where we can identify unequal power relationships using Lukes' four categories.

Bridging and Bonding Social Capital

Micro level – among Craigmillar residents

In Chapter Five local residents in Craigmillar identified a 'spirit of community' as something which was either present, or had been present in the area, and in some cases connected this with the existence of extended family relationships among those living in the area. The emotive chant of the young people from Craigmillar Out of School Club suggests that there is a sense of belonging. In addition, residents identified themselves

with distinct neighbourhoods and with the broader 'Craigmillar' or 'Niddrie' area we focus on in this research. These things suggest a sense that the area is, at least in parts, full of 'bonding' type relationships which allow people to draw on each other's resources.

This bonding social capital can be seen to be significant for political inclusion from several angles. It is seen to be essential for bringing people into a system of shared values or in all three paradigms, although there is disagreement about the level at which people must share values, but it is also felt that high levels of bonding social capital will make it easier to commonly identify problems and solutions. The monopoly paradigm suggests political inclusion can be increased through community development approaches which try to 'raise consciousness' to an acknowledgement of shared problems. Unfortunately, the information collected here is not sufficient to say whether or not local residents share a system of values, but we can see that there is a shared understanding of the problems in the area amongst local residents. As shown in Chapter Five, the problems identified by the few local residents interviewed showed a common concern with young people, drug abuse, and the physical environment, which are concerns reflected more broadly in a survey of local residents by MORI. The establishment of the CFS through local women identifying a common issue also suggests that there is, or at least has been, an ability to organise around shared interests. On the other hand, the establishment of many organisations in the area has been the result of an identification of problems through organisations such as the CFS or local authority departments. This suggests that the shared identification of problems and action on those issues (promoted in the monopoly paradigm) is carried out at the meso level of local community organisations rather than through the micro level of friendships and kinship relationships.

It seems that this common identification of problems is also more reliant on bridging social capital where information is shared through a loose web of acquaintances rather than through a closely knit group of people. Activists talked about an informal communications network which had 'confidential' decisions as public knowledge within minutes. While there may be pockets of close social ties through family or friends, these are mostly seen to be divisive in terms of generating collective community action, especially in the past few years. The development of 'cliques' which could be seen to be groups with high bonding social capital within the wider Craigmillar community seems to show how bonding social capital can reinforce political exclusion as it leaves community groups competing for a limited amount of influence.

Meso- level relationships – among local CSOs

At the meso level we are concerned with bridging and bonding social capital within local civil society. I focus on two aspects: networks and professional associations.

Chapter Six describes several networks which exist within local level civil society. These networks create institutional relationships which can be seen to be important to meso level social capital in the area. The different networks have different purposes. Some become organisations in their own right. In the case of CALNET the network has its own constitution and even a part-time employee. It can also apply for resources as a group like other voluntary sector projects in the area. The Cluster Group on violence against women also undertook a program of action and meetings and was supported by city-wide development workers for some time, but the group was never established as a constituted organisation and had no 'chair' or leader. The concrete work of producing a leaflet without a leader seems to have made this network less stable. Thus although networks may bring people into contact with others in a similar group, they do so in a way which suggests 'bridging social capital' rather than in a way that encourages people to fight for common goals. Even though network members may claim to have the same goals, both the pressures of tight resources within projects, and the competition for resources with others in the network may undermine potential 'bonding' social capital. While this may be positive in the way that it makes the networks easy to join, and relatively easy to belong to, it also seems to limit the extent to which they can help groups to organise around shared goals.

The relationship between colleagues within the voluntary sector which are based on professional associations could also be hoped to produce bonding and bridging social capital. In the voluntary sector where those employed tend to be trained and experienced in a limited number of professions, and even where an employee falls out with these professions (typically social work, community work and education), norms of behaviour within the voluntary sector tend to be established. While those in the voluntary sector may share professional values with workers in the public sector, the accepted norms may differ considerably between public and voluntary sectors.

My own associations through work show the voluntary sector workers can end up with conflicting commitments. I worked in the CBP with a team of between 5 and 10 workers (including admin and caretaking staff). However, I was in a building which housed up to three other projects, each with its own staff. In addition, I was regularly involved in joint projects with staff from the public sector who worked in the area. I was expected to be loyal to colleagues and to the development and maintenance of the project

with which I was engaged, but in showing such loyalty, I had to prove competent at working with other organisations and thus had to show loyalty to associations brought about through common interest in particular issues.

One worker talked about how he felt you could gain influence in Craigmillar:

I kind of felt that if you kind of knuckled down, did your work, folk in the community started to talk about you, . . . and started to talk about you well, then you started to find that you had power and that people would listen to you, and certainly nobody told you to shut up

This illustrates that power and influence can be developed through professional and worker associations where key aspects of trust are maintained. Withdrawal of professional acceptance can destroy collective action. This limits the extent to which the collective power of any local 'civil society' can actually change things. Time and energy are used to protect reputations and to struggle for resources. It is important to recognise that, by spreading professional commitment beyond the particular project they work for to the voluntary sector as a whole, workers can find themselves concerned with a wide range of interests and maintaining commitment to each of these can lead to conflicts. For example, the different loyalties voluntary sector workers faced occasionally limited the work which was carried out. Loyalty to other voluntary projects meant that workers were wary of doing something another project or other colleagues may be hoping to do in order to avoid taking resources another project could reasonably expect to hope for. The CBP for example was not willing to take responsibility for the support of the cluster group on violence against women because it seemed to fall within Womanzone's remit. There was however one situation where voluntary sector workers collectively held back contributions to a project in order to push the better resourced public sector to take responsibility for the work. This suggests that at times, voluntary sector commitment can be used to exercise influence on government bodies. In most situations of the voluntary sector working collectively, it is rarely all projects which are involved. Rather, one finds groupings of CSOs forming informal networks to achieve particular ends; for example, projects within the CFS collectively acted against projects which were seen to be unfriendly, and in some cases, collectively did not act when it meant that their services could be maintained if they displayed a willingness to act less collectively.

Overall then it seems that both bridging and bonding social capital exist between local level CSOs but that this rarely results in collective action for policy reform. In fact, the bonding social capital which exists between certain groups of projects can divide the community, and competition for scarce resources targeted at the voluntary sector (and

sometimes the competition for clients) can lead CSOs to act against Craigmillar's collective best interest.

Macro level relationships – among levels of government in Scotland

Macro relationships for this analysis exist at the level of governance. This could be a huge category, but for this particular study I concentrate on the local authority (CEC) and Scottish Executive institutions. As noted in Chapter Two, the term Scottish Executive is used to refer to both the democratically elected MSPs who are appointed ministers, and junior ministers who make up the policy directing body and to the administrative unit which supports them. While people often claim that this is confusing, it usefully ties together governing functions. Likewise, the local authority can refer to both those who are elected to be on the council of the local authority and to the supporting local authority departments.

Bonding social capital at this 'macro' level of relationships exists in much the same way as it does at both meso and micro levels where loyalties are built up with those people you work closest to. According to the Communities Scotland worker, this does not necessarily mean someone in the same department, but loyalties are built by sharing responsibility for projects and even by sharing office space. Macro level bonding also involves a shared sense of identity around the idea of serving the nation or city. Governing institutions accept responsibility for the provision of certain public services; departments providing these services could be seen to experience bonding social capital because of their roles in doing this. This accepted responsibility can be seen as the key 'norm' operating in government; laws and policies are in place which provide sanctions for governing bodies which may choose to ignore that responsibility. These sanctions include the legal structures of representative democracy which allow people to vote against a particular government and the financial accounting and audit systems which ensure that public resources are spent according to particular guidelines.

In choosing 'governing institutions' as our description of macro level relationships I have deliberately put local and national governments together. The bridging relationships within this level therefore have to do with the connections which keep each governing level coherent in spite of the breadth of interest and variety of activities they are engaged in, and also the connections between the two levels of governing. Governing institutions are for the most part based on hierarchical relationships. This suggests a flow of power from top (ministers or local authority committee leaders) to bottom (council workers implementing policies directly). In the case of the local authority for example, this would

mean a local councillor may sit on a scrutiny panel for the environment; in turn an environment department head will oversee the work of waste management, building and sustainable development sections; and the department will ultimately control the people who go out each day to collect the city's rubbish. The flow of control is from top to bottom, and although this may mean that those at the bottom have little control or influence, they still have a position in the hierarchy which they can potentially exploit to their advantage.

In the Scottish Executive, ministers are responsible for particular issues; however, these issues do not always fit in tightly with the administrative executive departments. For example there is no department of communities, although there is a minister for communities, and there is no department for young people although there is a minister for young people. This means that ministers and their staff must have contact with several different departments in the Scottish Executive. This perhaps makes any sanctions on departments which do not act in accordance with democratically elected leaders difficult to implement. 'Non-departmental public bodies' (NDPBs) perhaps confuse the issue further. While they are directly responsible to a minister they fall outside the Scottish Executive's control. Communities Scotland in fact acts as the key link between local authorities and the Executive in implementing Social Inclusion Partnership strategies and fielding concerns expressed by those implementing programs in local authorities. It has considerable power when it comes to developing bridging social capital between Scottish Executive and CEC.

At the macro level of governing institutions there are plenty of opportunities for developing bridging social capital but within this level the relationships and networks are typically governed by hierarchical relationships where those on the lower rungs of the hierarchy can never ask as much of their relationships as those on the top. Although this research does not explore the level of bonding social capital within this level, it is clear that departments protect their own interests to some extent.

Linking Social Capital

Thus far the relationships discussed are those which exist independently at different levels. The next relationships considered are those which identify a particular kind of 'linkage' namely linkage between the local residents, Craigmillar CSOs and Scottish governing institutions. As mentioned earlier, the existence of relationships which generate social capital (networks, norms and sanctions) is not in itself enough to determine whether the relationships generate political inclusion (at least not according to

the monopoly paradigm). Therefore in analysing each relationship I try to pay particular attention to opportunities for influence or control. I note the number of issues open for negotiation in each relationship, the number of contexts the relationship gives residents in Craigmillar access to influence, the level of effort required to maintain the relationship on each side and any unintended consequences of the relationship (and who they favour). In this section, I describe six different types of relationships. Each represents a particular type of inclusion and experience of influence or control:

1. Informal relationships
2. Patron – client
3. Employee – employer
4. Representative – represented
5. Network relationships
6. Resourcing relationships

Informal Relationships which generate linking social capital are relationships between people with different levels of power and resources. At the local level there are clearly some people who have more influence or power than others. The knowledge gained by the 30 year long local activist and councillor for example makes him somewhat more powerful (at least in the sense of capability, but also in the sense that his experience has given him many more contacts in political parties, local authority departments and many other situations). Those who are informally connected to this activist can be considered to have a resource which they can tap into. However, people may be connected in a variety of ways, not all of which will mean that you can share in another person's resources. Those from other 'cliques' in the community for example may know the activist very well, but choosing to have a different opinion than them may have, for them, negative consequences. In a similar way, some of this activist's influence comes from relationships with people in other levels which have moved to some level of informality, and some relationships may be negative, suggesting that there may be a negative social capital and therefore negative political influence even where there are many connections. It is interesting that even though this particular activist had been involved for so many years with political decision makers, and some relationships had become less formal, when asked, this activist denied having any family or friends involved in government.

In fact, informal relationships which might generate linking social capital seem to be most prevalent where they link local residents to the meso level of local CSOs. Many local residents are involved in local CSOs through formal involvement (as will be shown below, they are clients, managers and employees), but many are also connected to these

organisations through informal level relationships. This can be seen in the way that informal networks are the reason people may first contact local CSOs, friends or family may encourage people to attend local social and political events hosted by the voluntary sector (for example, women invite family to a Women of Achievement awards party). When support is needed by a particular organisation which involves local residents it is not unusual for people to be 'rounded up' to attend from amongst local acquaintances. One respondent remembered that this was how he got involved in the CFS. Interestingly, informal networks were not used to round up support at the time of the CFS closure. In fact some of the reasons for the CFS closure point towards informal 'cliques' undermining the sense of a unified community. It could of course be the case that local leaders in the CFS were achieving what they wanted through the CFS closure and that not drawing on local connections to campaign for a different outcome was a strategic decision. Ultimately extra resources were transferred from the council to deal with debt and even to improve project resources. In some ways informal micro level relationships were a resource which could be manipulated for political purpose rather than politically included.

Linking relationships between the micro and macro level however tell a different story. Before starting this research I heard someone mention that they might ask a daughter to ask the MSP to attend an event because the daughter was doing some typing for the MSP. This suggested that kinship or informal relationships might be a way to gain influence with MSPs or other people in positions of relative power, but on interviewing local activists this was not a common story. None of the activists I spoke to admitted knowing anyone who worked with local authority or Scottish executive departments, or to anyone who was in a position of political power outside of the local community representative structures. Even among those who were working in the voluntary sector locally, only one claimed to have a relative working in the Scottish Education Department.

From this we learn that while informal relationships are important to Craigmillar and to civil society in the area, they tend not to link local residents directly to governing institutions. This means that the linking social capital which exists does so only in certain contexts. While those contexts may have a variety of issues they are concerned with (there is a wide range of CSOs in Craigmillar) the limited context for influence either way suggests this is unlikely to be a source of political inclusion.

Patron-client relationships - Chapter 6 shows that of the 86 voluntary organisations listed, at least 50 of them could be seen as service providers. They range from large housing associations serving up to half the Craigmillar population, to small adult learning organisations working with around 100 clients. These organisations also provide their services in different styles. Some follow patterns almost identical to direct government service provision (as in the case of housing associations) while others, for example the CFS or Womanzone, attempt to provide services in alternative ways which aim to be more inclusive. In the early CFS, service users and service providers were often one and the same and there was a sense that needs could be collectively identified and acted upon. However, as the organisation grew it drew on more external resources (EEC grants and 'professional' staff from outside the area) and ultimately became more focused on drawing down funding to the area than on a community development process of local identification of issues and actions. Even though community development became one of the services the organisation provided to the community, this translated into the provision of training, and consultation. As more and more criteria were set for the use of public funds, projects and the people they employed became committed to particular solutions which attracted funding and to the procedures funding required. Residents could choose to accept this or do without. Access to decision making became more distant as decisions were taken on behalf of 'the people' rather than by them. Essentially those not employed by the CFS became CFS clients.

Womanzone also tried to change the patron client dynamic by including patrons in management; however, this put the women in an untenable situation and the project returned to a more traditional patron client relationship. In both the CFS and Womanzone case studies, the choices available to service users were limited by the conditions under which funding was provided. As a client of Womanzone, the range of issues and the number of contexts that they were allowed to exert influence over were restricted, but by accepting the restrictions on managing the project, the project stayed open and could hold on to staff. Thus the client's political inclusion is perhaps increased in spite of these restrictions because they have support for campaigns and take part in political engagement work that they may not otherwise be involved in.

Patrons (either public or voluntary sector) are those who provide services, and it would be easy to assume that patrons have more power because they have more control over project resources and can (perhaps unintentionally) influence how services are provided. However, patrons are themselves controlled by things like conditions of employment or hopes of advancement. This is not to deny the power patrons have over

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their clients but rather to remind us of the web of controlling relationships which make up structural inequalities. The CSIP, which provides 'regeneration' services to the community, has a board of directors with significant local resident involvement in the form of community representatives and subgroups which attempt to include local residents. However, local residents who attended meetings were put off by bureaucratic language and procedures. While professionals were possibly equally put off, they were paid to maintain their commitment. Paradoxically, some workers consider good professionalism to be about engaging local people, but the style of professional engagement puts local residents off.

Chapter Five describes a high level of reliance on government provided public services in Craigmillar. Higher proportions of residents compared to other area of the city live in council or housing association property, use public services such as schools, nurseries and health care, depend on public transport, and receive social security benefits. In almost all of these situations local people are clients, or service users. For many residents government provided public services are their only option. This makes Craigmillar residents especially vulnerable to the type of relationship they have with these public services, and the predominant relationship is that of client to patron. The patron is in a much more powerful position than the client. Clients must invest considerable (often unrewarded) time to make a complaint, let alone to change the direction of policy; they are often in contact with the patron only when the service is needed (limited contexts) and regarding specific issues.

The power of the patron is also exercised only in limited contexts and the relationship is mostly issue specific, in that it concerns just the issue of the delivery of a particular service. However people in Craigmillar experience this type of power relationship in a wide range of contexts and over a range of life changing issues, for example, in their housing and in their health or child care arrangements. There is a high cost for choosing to resist these services, or even to try and change them. Patrons on the other hand can exercise their power with relatively little cost (or with relative inactivity); simply turning up to work (and getting paid for it) gives them a level of power over those whom they serve. Clients assume that Patrons have the right to make decisions about them. This suggests certain 'privileges' (similar to those MacIntosh (1988) suggests) which those receiving benefits do not enjoy.

Administrators of policy are also interpreters of rules and regulations. Those who are clients have no power of interpretation, even though they may comment on the policies

through customer service reports and through engagement in user involvement strategies, but there is no evidence that clients are involved in interpreting the administration of policies for which they may or may not have been in favour.

The unintended consequences of the experience of patron client relationships are found in the 'them and us' experience of patron and client. Even though many of those who provide services earn wages close to the benefit levels of their clients, the patron client relationship creates barriers and therefore stops a collective understanding of the issues of those on low incomes. In addition, this type of relationship has unintended consequences for local CSOs, as seen in the CFS. Employing local residents in service provision was a way to keep the connection with the local community, but the unintentional consequence is that once employed they become patrons and therefore become separate from the clients they serve because of the acceptance of certain administrative rules. While these rules may make projects more efficient, (thus indirectly benefiting clients) the patron necessarily becomes less flexible in being able to meet local needs. The underlying relationship of patron to client is therefore one which reinforces unequal power relationships and perhaps undermines political inclusion.

Employee / Employer - Most employee–employer relationships exist within the meso or macro levels rather than between them. However, in Craigmillar's CSOs, management structures make this one of the ways that micro level relationships connect to meso level organisations. As noted in Chapter 5, 57% of the organisations in Craigmillar have management committees which include local residents and some of these have responsibilities for hiring and managing staff – supposedly empowering local residents because they can have influence in the management of civil society organisations.

The extent to which hiring and firing is a positive power has already been introduced above through the Womanzone case study. When Womanzone became independent of the CFS they established a management committee made up of at least 50% of local service users giving them majority rule. However, problems arose when it became clear that people undergoing therapy through the project were expected to be responsible for those providing therapies. Given that people undergoing therapy were vulnerable, it seemed inappropriate to give them responsibility for telling staff they were no longer needed. Staff felt that this gave the local residents power to undermine the staff's employment rights. They questioned whether or not awarding such a power to volunteers (rather than people being paid for their trouble) was an abuse of power, rather than a decentralising of it and ultimately determined that alternative structures would be more

appropriate. It is perhaps significant here that the supposed majority control of users could be taken away through the decisions of the staff users employed (although this was done 'in consultation with' those users).

The type of power each side of this relationship can exercise over the other is mostly context dependent and restricted to workplace issues. In the case of the voluntary sector we find relatively inactive employers in the shape of local residents on management committees and perhaps more inactive still, funding departments. In many of these cases the imagined wishes of either local people or a local authority department is enough to determine actions of employees. The unintended consequence of this could be that the organisations tend not to enter into dialogue about management issues but rather assume what is expected of them. All of this suggests that civil society is unlikely to be more inclusive or democratically controlled through engaging local people in management committees or boards of directors. Indeed hopes that the voluntary sector represents those they work with because of more democratic structures may be unfounded. On the other hand, the smaller scale of local CSOs may make them easier to influence.

Representative vs. represented - Many different levels of representation exist in Craigmillar, and some of these exist in the relationship between local civil society and individuals in the community. During much of its existence, the CFS acted as a (and often 'the') 'representative' organisation. CFS structures aimed to have spokespersons from each local neighbourhood, and claimed that everyone who lived within 'Craigmillar' was part of a constituency the organisation represented even though most Craigmillar residents never attended meetings or even knew about the organisation.

Today the picture is somewhat different. After the CFS closed down there were two organisations left in the area with mainly representative functions, both of which (the Craigmillar Community Council – CCC, and the Community Regeneration Forum - CRF) are described briefly in the CSIP case study. In the Craigmillar Community Council there are at least three kinds of representatives: those who self-nominate, those who are nominated by others, and those who represent organisations. In the Community Regeneration Forum there is only the latter kind. Those who self nominate represent the community because they are 'one of them' (i.e. of the community). As there were not enough nominations in the CCC in the last round of nominations (organised each four years) there was no need for an election meaning that those who self-nominated effectively only represented themselves. The weakness of this position seems to have

been recognised by some activists who were unwilling to take a position in the next community council unless it was as a representative of an organisation.

Once a local resident chooses to engage with structures such as the CCC or CSIP they are no longer just a local resident, but one who knows the system, and knows how to maintain engagement with the system. As Taylor (2000) suggests, local residents who engage with large scale bureaucratic bodies often take on the attitudes and perspectives of those organisations they engage with, and therefore lose some of their representative authority. In the CSIP case study we noted that one of the community representatives has been involved in civil society for over 30 years, as a councillor, a project manager and as a member of management committees and steering groups but still gets treated with considerable distrust in spite of a large informal network in the community. This is perhaps an 'unintended consequence' of knowing the public sector well enough to manipulate it.

In some situations representatives also get rewards in the shape of resources. CSIP community representatives are given use of a laptop computer and get a home broadband internet connection, a support worker, office space, office resources and even a minibus at their disposal. However, these 'community reps' are not necessarily in a position of power. They act within policy structures which direct partnership goals. During the time of this research, community representatives mostly presented a common 'community' view to the rest of the partnership board, arrived at through 'pre-meetings' held with their support workers, and from time to time the chair of the partnership which suggests that collectively they can exercise some power but individually each representative is influenced by competing sources looking for representation. Figure 10.2 suggests that the personal issues of a community representative are encased in both procedural and structural concerns which limit the extent to which their personal experience is used. In addition, personal issues such as ability, health or personal relationships influence their ability to purely reflect those they represent. This also suggests that the community rep's power is context specific and while not bound to one issue, is bound to issues of local interest.

Figure 10.1 Influences on Community Representation

Strategic considerations about timing and priorities
Disagreement among local reps
Party political loyalties, Limited time in meetings

Individual concerns (from experience)
Issues from neighbours and friends
Issues raised by professionals supporting them

Community rep

Loyalties and structures which
limit the presentation of issues

Things they might feel the need
to have influence over in the partnership

Personal issues

Support workers represent the voluntary sector, and although these workers see themselves as being there to provide information and support, the type of information and the perspectives they bring significantly shape what the community reps present. As noted above, Taylor (2000) talks about the way institutions such as partnerships operate to incorporate local people into the structures of public service rather than allowing them to create structures that suit their needs. This is done in subtle ways through formal meetings and the pressure for homogeneity within a community. This is part of the assumed culture of decision making in bureaucracies. The assumed culture and modes of operation are often reinforced by a 'civil society' or voluntary sector which exists as part of those structures. This latter point was clearly made by a comment from one local activist involved in a tenant's group. She claimed they had asked a support worker to help them to write a letter to politicians about an issue such as the condition of street services in their area.

> We've been wanting to write to the first minister for I don't know how many months, and [our support worker] keeps putting it off and putting it off, and says 'wait for this … [but] we want something done, we've waited long enough. We don't see why we shouldn't have him at our meeting, we've got something that we've got a grievance about, I don't see why we shouldni go to parliament, and [support worker] says 'no but you'll rock the boat and you're doing this and' … I dinni care, we're living in bloody shit and they are not.

This shows clearly how support workers try to guide local residents to more 'appropriate' action, and that in spite of the lack of official representation of the voluntary sector on boards in the partnership, voluntary sector 'advisors' can still have considerable influence.

It is as if people who work in the voluntary sector feel that they represent the interests of the community they work for, but often they do so through representing some kind of higher political or social agenda. The responses of some workers to questions about the

solutions to the problems the area faces reflect this, in that they want to show that they recognise that the work of their projects is in fact insufficient to solve what they consider to be the main problems (such as inequality).

> So there are things that are being done about Craigmillar, there are things being done to Craigmillar. Whether those things are about addressing social and economic needs in the area or whether they are about rolling back the frontiers of the state yet further and reintroducing the market into new areas is open for debate. I would tend to think that it's the latter. . .I don't think there's anything on the agenda which is going to make people less poor... I'm sure that there are good projects and good work, that goes on...I suppose my view would be…that if you don't deal with poverty then the kind of self destructive behaviour that it gives rise to will still be there.

In these cases we are not talking about relationships between individuals, but rather the way an individual can claim to be a representative based on the type of ideology, or values they hold. In an interesting study of planners attitudes towards the public, Abram (2001) notes that planners had their own philosophies which they felt bound to represent. He states:

> Planning officers subscribe to particular rationalities which make them dead to appeals from certain quarters. This renders some citizens voiceless, not necessarily through lack of knowledge or even education and wealth, but it ensures that planning is distanced from general concerns raised by objectors through the use of limiting discourses. (p. 185)

I would suggest that the kind of values many workers in the voluntary sector ascribe to make them equally dead to appeals or suggestions from certain quarters, and their position of advising and promoting ideas allows them to dismiss certain perspectives or processes.

There are other types of values held by workers in the voluntary sector, which limit the type of influence they themselves choose to exercise. Voluntary sector workers in Craigmillar often act as if their job puts them in a special position in relation to elected officials. In a sense they are aware that they are in a position of power. For example, one official working in the partnership who happens to also live in the same Scottish Parliament constituency, claimed to be unsure about approaching the local MSP about the Iraq war, because of the contact he had regularly with her through his job. Rather than visit her offices himself, he stood outside while his wife made the visit. Not everyone places such restrictions on themselves; for example, a local group of workers actively sought out local people to join them in campaigning against the Iraq war, and used work connections to the local MSP to encourage her to attend a local meeting. Another worker was asked how he felt he personally had an influence. He claimed that his job was not about 'meeting people and influencing people directly' but rather about 'trying to put in place the resources and the funding and the kind of mechanisms and structures that allows

the project and the people around the project to go out and do that work.' This reflects the extent to which the specialisation paradigm influences attempts to increase inclusion in professional ethics. Workers distance themselves from issues of inequality by claiming to be facilitators of a more open democratic structure.

The representative – represented relationship also exists between micro and macro levels. Here the relationship is mostly restricted to formal democratic processes. A local councillor is elected to represent most of the area on the CEC. He can be contacted in a variety of ways including at local surgeries where concerned residents can meet with him face to face. The concerns he is presented with range from being late with rent and grass cutting to health concerns and home improvements. These are not however the only concerns the local councillor represents. He is also responsible for representing the positions of his political party (Labour in this case). Thus even though the local councillor is now the chair of the partnership board, he often takes a position of neutrality on issues which undermine the party's policy.

MSPs and MPs also hold surgeries where residents can meet them face to face; they have email addresses and make themselves visible by attending community events. Although this is a formal relationship, it is interesting that local residents prize the informal style of interaction with their MSP. One activist said 'there's no airs and graces about her, you know and that's the kind of person people in Craigmillar like' and another that she was 'approachable' and as an example of the informality, one activist said:

> We've met each other that many times it's like we just know each other …I just speak basic stuff like how's her children … last time I met her she had just had a bairn and I was asking her how she was coping with her work and bringing up the bairn and all that …

In spite of this informality, and the apparent 'cosiness' of the relationship, it is important to remember that such a relationship must be cultivated. For the represented, there are a number of challenges and costs which limit their ability to influence those who represent them. Firstly there is a lack of information. One local resident claimed that she didn't know where to turn to challenge an intransigent rule in awarding a local education grant; the cost of finding out was more than she was willing or able to pay. Thus cost (often in time) of finding out about access to representatives is sometimes all the limitation it takes.

Further costs for those who wish to be better represented can include a certain social isolation. One activist's description of how she tries to get her interests represented shows how her methods have negative rather than influential results. She said:

> Oh, every chance I get, I mean if I see any of them, the MP or any of them I'll get them and say come here, have you seen [my area] lately, come here … When I go up to the city chambers I go to XXX and say, I'm going to get you to come down and see [my area]. I'll say next time you are at that project, cycle along and see [XXX road]. When the councillor sees me he runs the other way because he knows I'm going to say come here …

However, the type of hounding this activist describes is not so different from what the local MSP describes when explaining how she tries to influence people. She says 'I nip ears, I suppose that is my kind of stock and trade; I kind of joke about this, that I kind of try and make a pest of myself sufficiently that people try to do things just to get me off their case'.

We can see here that the job of being represented is closely tied to that of representing. In each case being represented fully requires having your needs acknowledged and to accomplish this certain tactics – in this case 'nipping peoples' ears' are used which have negative consequences in a dominant culture which perhaps prefers acceptance and consensus. However, even though MSPs and local residents both want to have their voices recognised and try to achieve this in the same way, it does not mean that they have the same power. The effect their tactics have on those they talk with is evidence of the extent of their power. For example, the activist quoted above also talked about how she had been asking for the same things for ten years and was clearly aware that issues such as the waste management in the area were what people were most likely to pay attention to. The MSP on the other hand cited changes in her first four years as a result of her actions. She also claimed that you had to believe that you could influence almost anything. Thus it could be argued that the local representatives had a contextual, issue based influence, while the MSP had a multi-issue, non-context based power. Both types of representative have limits on their power through the type of structures they are involved in, but they also have different perceptions of the power they hold. This perception is culturally ascribed as well as structurally based in the way they are invited to make their opinions known.

While there may be representation available at more and more levels this is only sufficient for specialisation or solidarity style of inclusion as long as it does not redistribute some power. From the monopoly paradigm perspective, representative structures are embedded in unequal relationships which reinforce existing distributions of power. Areas which experience disadvantage lose influence at each level of government as their interests are subsumed in the interests of the population as a whole. Local residents can choose their representatives, but once chosen they are likely to be less representative of their needs. In effect choosing a representative is the same as giving that

representative power, which in the monopoly paradigm means that you have less power yourself – an unintended consequence perhaps. Indeed even the act of choosing representation (at local CSO level as well as levels of local or national governance) ties people into existing ideologies of dominant culture which may or may not correspond to their own needs. While local CSOs may increase the number of contexts in which residents have influence, they also filter local needs through practical, administrative, and dominant cultural expectations of their field.

Institutional Networks – While institutional networks link groups within the confines of macro and meso levels, they also provide links between levels. As noted in chapter 5, there are several local networks which bring workers from public (macro) organisations and local voluntary (meso) organisations together. In some cases networks link organisations across the country as well, making links to a 'macro' CSO level as well as to a 'macro' governing institutions level. The networks may therefore reduce costs for collecting information and provide political space for building relationships which could increase social capital.

Although networks provide space where relationships can be built between organisations, these relationships are not necessarily between institutions with equal power. Levels of power differ because they have different resources at their disposal and because they have a different status in the settings in which the networks take place. To some extent this means that networks can be seen to provide opportunities for institutions to tap into types of power they themselves do not have. For example, in CALNET large educational institutions such as the local further education college were able to make connections with local residents through voluntary sector organisations (thus helping them to meet requirements set by government concerning accessibility of the college). Organisations like the CBP on the other hand were able to use these connections to bring courses to the area, and provide (with the project's name attached) training opportunities without paying for the course. Network members also have different types of commitment to the network and different levels of freedom to share resources or to work collectively with other groups. In the Cluster Group in Craigmillar, health care workers were not able to maintain a commitment to attend meetings and were never able to offer administrative support to the network or work the group was doing. In fact networks which work on concrete projects soon recognise differences in network members' freedom to engage which can cause divisions. In the cluster group, the work of producing the leaflet undermined the actual gathering and discussion of issues.

In many of the networks I was engaged in, we frequently had visitors who wanted to present new initiatives. For example, CALNET would be asked to host city level education officers talking about the latest community education reorganisation, or the latest IT project. In other cases, such as the equalities group of the CSIP, Scottish Executive officers asked to attend so they could present new policies in hopes that the group would help to implement them. In other cases networks can be used to get collective views on policy documents. This is especially true for Cross Party Groups and the Partnership Reps Network which focused specifically on policy response. In the case of Womanzone's involvement in cross party groups, staff felt that that type of network allowed for much more influence than they would have had sending in paper responses to consultation documents. The cross party group was consulted throughout the development of new laws which gave them access to influence at several points in the process. CFS workshops, CALNET or SIP subgroups, on the other hand, seemed to be presented with rather than consulted on policy. Although there were opportunities for meso level groups to pose questions to policy administrators and even make official responses to policy consultation documents, there were fewer points of consultation. Local level networks may not have the direct access to policy making structures which cross party groups have, but they do have influence on those who are directly engaged with implementing government policies at the local level in terms of health care, education, housing and employment.

Networks seem to give small voluntary organisations the opportunity to voice issues which may have been missed otherwise. For example, the Craigmillar Ability Network (CAN) (concerned with disability rights) has only three staff and relatively few members but staff participate in partnership subgroups for health, community care and education, and voice disability concerns to a wide range of institutions. Their influence increases as they gain support from other network members with more staff, more resources and more clients. In this sense, networks of institutions can broaden the scope of issues they can influence and increase the institutional contexts in which that influence is felt.

Two cautionary notes should be made to avoid over enthusiasm about the empowering nature of institutional networks. First, the idea that networks are an effective way to consult with a wide range of organisations hides the tendency to expect a consensus from networks, whose members may have quite different, even opposing, views. It also suggests that the views of each member of the network are of equal weight, thus ignoring the second cautionary note, namely, that there are a range of different levels of power exercised by members. For example, an organisation like the Adult Learning

Link (ALL) may well be involved in the Education Strategy Group, but also in the Education Strategy group we find the head teacher of the high school (which provides premises for ALL), heads of department of city wide community education (the sponsoring local authority department for the project) and the partnership support teams manager (administering partnership grants). The project is therefore dependent on several of the network's members for its future and may fear the cost of giving different opinions. Networks do not necessarily reflect equal commitments to a cause. In the subgroups of the CSIP, different organisations brought different levels of commitment, often delineated by those who participated out of a sense of duty, rather than because it is a way to gain influence or power.

Institutional relationships that are based on networks tend to reflect power balances outside of the network. Smaller, less well resourced organisations can use them to tap into the power of larger and better resourced groups, but there are also those large organisations which by nature of their importance in wider structures and the resources at their command can have considerable influence on a network without actively contributing or engaging in the network. This is evidence of the unintended consequences of power exercised on the internal workings of the networks in the first place.

Once again, the relationships based on institutional networks successfully integrate local CSOs (and therefore some local residents) in the broadest possible understanding of policy making structures. The less well resourced local organisations also gain some access to resources of larger institutions and have opportunities to influence those institutions. In many ways this once again meets the requirements of inclusion from a solidarity or specialisation paradigm perspective, but does not address the long term balance of power towards disadvantaged areas.

Resourcing Relationships – The way institutions are tied to each other is nowhere more apparent than in the way money comes into and is controlled within Craigmillar. Money and resources come from several external institutions. However, as shown in Chapter 6, often such money passes through several institutions before it arrives in Craigmillar. Those who provide resources have potential power over those to whom they give resources. It seems that even those who manage the redirection of resources, as in the case of the local authorities which administer the distribution and monitoring of resources for Edinburgh's Social Inclusion Partnerships, have power they can exploit.

In the discussion of power in the literature review, I considered the nature of responsibility. I suggested that there are two kinds of responsibility, (1) responsibility in

terms of an obligation to make something happen, and (2) responsibility in terms of being the cause of something happening. This is important because when discussing institutional relationships, many institutions are set up with particular responsibilities – with obligations – to affect change, to make things different. Voluntary sector organisations often accept an obligation to provide certain services or are entrusted (especially in New Labour policy) to bring about certain changes. The monitoring arrangements of the partnership, based on the achievement of social justice milestones, seem to also place emphasis on the ability to cause actual change. However, many in those organisations do not feel they are resourced or even working at the right level to actually bring about the type of change the social justice milestones suggest, thus they are given an obligation without any real power.

Both local CSO and local authority professionals involved in Craigmillar made comments about the voluntary sector projects being 'sticking plasters' on the problems in the area. Workers feel that the problems they are addressing are caused by (are the responsibility of) structural inequalities, and in some cases by global economic systems which require a flexible workforce and wages low enough to compete internationally. The structures which assign responsibility to these local level organisations have reporting structures which do not address what workers see as root causes. Reporting procedures simply do not provide opportunities for these workers to redirect the responsibility they feel themselves to institutions which may be able to address the problems.

Lines of institutional accountability closely follow the funding structures in figures 6.6 – 6.9, the arrows to the right of each institution (that are grey) represent institutional paths along which reports of achievements and appropriate use of funds must travel. In some cases reports must go through more channels than applications (for example lottery funding). Given that most organisations (most certainly those outlined in case studies) receive funding from a variety of sources, they are accountable to several different departments and national and European bodies. The CFS, for example, was responsible to the European Commission through the ERDF, ESF and ESEP, but also to the social inclusion partnership and to local authority sponsoring departments and sometimes to private foundations and local residents who contribute donations and many organisations feel that they have accountability to the people they serve. In a competition between loyalties, however, local residents do not always come first, even when they may be making the most noise. The case of the CFS is perhaps the exception in that local residents fighting for their services succeeded in maintaining them in spite of financial

embarrassment to the local authority. It is important to remember however that this success was achieved at the cost of considerable changes to the locally generated organisation.

The type of accountability organisations are mostly monitored on is their ability to produce the programmes they are funded to produce. However, it is interesting that lines of accountability can not be equated with lines of influence or with the exercise of power. The ability of a programme to successfully meet funding requirements, meet goals in terms of program objectives, be innovative in changing programmes to meet needs, or to have satisfied clients, seems to be no guarantee that the receiving organisation has power to hold on to resources. In the case of the CFS, although many of the programmes were maintained, the organisation itself did not survive. This suggests that the transfer of resources to a local CSO should not be confused with the transfer of power. The transfer of resources is much more like the government opening a new department, until it needs resources elsewhere. The ultimate power is still in the hands of those who resource and consider themselves accountable for the project. Even though the voluntary sector in Craigmillar feels that it is accountable to the people in the area, the people are not organised in such a way that they can hold the voluntary sector accountable. This means that in spite of claims of independence, and a closer association to the local people they serve, these organisations are in fact only held accountable by government structures. Local residents have no direct policing role in these organisations in that they cannot close them down or remove funding. They rely on government to do this for them. If government only has contact to local residents through these organisations, and these organisations are dependent on government support, then it is most likely that local residents' perspectives are undermined by a project's need for self protection – a need which makes them reflect government policies rather than residents' needs or concerns.

Summary

In this chapter I have reviewed the relationships in and between different levels of structure associated with Craigmillar. Micro level relationships are seen to exist in ways that allow information to flow rapidly round the community, but also in ways that create divisions and suspicion because of the exclusive nature of cliques. Civil society seems to create space for these different groups to meet in Craigmillar, but this does not take away from the mistrust generated in informal relationships, ultimately providing a situation which increases or maintains political exclusion.

At the meso level, networks and professional associations, which create links between organisations with more and less resources and power, are undermined by conflicting commitments and competition for resources. Additionally, at the Macro level of governance, structures relationships are mostly hierarchical and link those involved in ways which give control to those at the top of the bureaucratic structures. Having said this, local government has significant connections with Scottish Executive policy making because of commitments to consultation, but at the same time, local authority administrative officers in Edinburgh who are in close contact with Craigmillar seem to be relatively out of touch with executive and parliament policy making procedures.

Finally, figure 10.2 summarises the six types of relationship most commonly found between different levels. Here I note the range of issues one would expect the relationship to be concerned with and the variety of contexts in which each relationship exists, as well as unintended consequences of the relationship and the amount of activity needed for each side of the relationship to enjoy any power they may have.

Figure 10.2 Linking social capital relationships and the type of power they offer Craigmillar

Power Relationship	Context and Issue Range	Unintended consequences	Activity needed to enjoy power
Informal relationships	Context specific (mostly with local CSOs), limited issues (although broadened by number of CSOs in Craigmillar).	Do not informally contribute to the more general problem definition in the country.	Willingness to reciprocate in informal relationships, often it also seems that it is necessary to belong to one of the 'cliques' to have any influence even at local level.
Patron / Client	Context specific, although Craigmillar residents find there are many contexts where they are clients – single issue.	Low income people in Craigmillar do not identify with low income people working in public services (and vice versa).	Clients can put in considerable unpaid labour to have their opinions heard, and once opinions are given, must expend more unpaid effort to ensure something is done.
Employer / Employee	Employers with money (i.e. funding departments) control actions of local CSOs in many contexts issues, local management committee employers can only control limited aspects of projects.	Disempowering for service users to have the hassle of management. Financial and political reporting increases the control department funders want to have.	Voluntary employers do not necessarily have power without the cost of being unpopular with the services they depend on, employees must act outside of their roles to increase their influence.
Representative / represented	Local activists see both contexts and issues they can try to influence as limited … MSP did not.	Assumed representation may mask difference.	The represented delegate power when accepting a representative. They must be quite active to maintain influence over how their representative chooses to act.
Institutional Networks	Context specific – single issue.	Unequal resources skew influence.	Dependent on the power an organisation has outside of the network.
Resourcing Relationships	The lack of local resources means that resourcing relationships give context specific but multi issue power to funders … you give the money, you get to decide.	Lack of local level innovation, political exclusion and unrealistic feedback.	Both sides accept responsibilities in order to claim power. Those providing resources have power wherever they put resources. Craigmillar projects on the other hand are powerless if they do not meet funders' requirements.

CHAPTER 11

Conclusions

The previous chapter considered in detail the way Craigmillar residents and organisations relate to external governing institutions, the extent to which those relationships generated social capital and whether or not this social capital could be expected to generate political inclusion. Ultimately, although the area can be seen to have a certain level of social capital because of the many layers of relationship both within and between different levels of structures, the analysis of these relationships suggests that although they occasionally provide opportunities for increasing power (especially in the form of drawing down funding for the area), the power or resources claimed tend to come with consequences set by those who are already more powerful. This reinforces inequalities inherent in the relationships and undermines the extent to which the relationships are likely to produce political inclusion. This means that the most powerful levels of government, and perhaps more importantly the interests which control those levels of government, still set the agenda, achieve their ends with minimal effort, and often see unintended consequences which maintain rather than change the power they have. Thus, according to the monopoly paradigm, political inclusion is unlikely to be achieved.

According to the other solidarity and specialisation paradigms, Craigmillar may be considered less excluded. There are opportunities for engagement and there are structural connections to the rest of society which suggest that political inclusion is already a reality in the area. Those levels of government which have more power are delegated authority in a way that still allows for challenges to that authority and in a way which brings society into a complex web of relationships characterised by expectations and rewards. The fact that considerable resources are being used to improve the physical environment of the area suggests that those more powerful governing bodies (with resources) are engaging with the area. This final chapter reviews whether or not the expectations and hopes for democratic renewal for Scotland are being realised in Craigmillar, especially in the light of the monopoly paradigm, and more generally, what the experience of Craigmillar suggests the possibilities are for Scotland as a whole.

The expectations for democratic renewal in Scotland were divided into three types: 1) practical changes in governance structures; 2) policy aimed at increasing political participation; and 3) civil society working towards critical democratic engagement. This chapter follows these three categories and draws conclusions about how realistic such expectations are based on the experience of Craigmillar.

1)   Practical Changes in Governance Structures

Governance structures in Scotland have changed mostly through the establishment of the Scottish Parliament. This has meant that through a new electoral system, elected representatives have responsibility for the development and management of policy on a wide range of issues, many of which affect Craigmillar directly. The development of policy includes both the drafting and the critical scrutiny of laws and programmes. Much of the drafting is done by the Scottish Executive which is made up of ministers from the majority party or coalition parties elected to the parliament which direct the work of civil servants under them. Although committees and private members can submit bills to parliament, the executive has the main role in policy formulation and direction. It is also the Executive which manages an annual budget which has risen to around £30 billion.

Other elected members of the parliament represent the interests of their constituents and their party's positions by challenging and scrutinising the policy which is suggested. What was previously the Scottish Office now has both democratically elected management and democratically elected people's representatives who scrutinise those bills. But does this affect democratic renewal in Craigmillar?

The first thing to consider is whether changes in the electoral system have had any impact on the extent of political inclusion in Craigmillar. As noted in Chapter 5, voter turnout in Craigmillar is low for both local authority and Scottish Parliament Constituencies in the city. Thus, even though I do not provide a historical comparison with the time before devolution, it seems to be fair to say that the new proportional version of elections for the Scottish Parliament has not immediately brought Craigmillar levels of voting up to a higher level.

Although the same number of parties stood for election in the Scottish Parliament as in the four UK elections prior to devolution, in the local elections in 2003, Craigmillar ward had 7 candidates – the most in any Edinburgh council ward. Craigmillar has always been seen as a Labour Party stronghold but in the two local elections since devolution it is clear that there is considerable support for the SNP (38% of the vote in 1999 and 36% in 2003). While the group which requested a local community council was generally considered to be made up of SNP supporters (by the predominantly Labour Party CFS leaders), the factions that later appear in the community council do not seem to reflect this party divide. It is Labour Party supporters who are found to be against the Labour CFS leaders. On the other hand, some cliques have stood as independent candidates against the Labour Party suggesting that while voting at local authority and Scottish

Parliament level does not reflect all the divisions which exist in Craigmillar, there is scope for people to use the system to express dissatisfaction.

Other changes in governance structures in Scotland which were hoped to increase political inclusion involved increased transparency and accessibility, arrangements for inviting witnesses into parliamentary committees and a more responsive petitions committee. From the interviews and case studies of organisations in Craigmillar there seems to be little evidence of Craigmillar residents using electronic means to gain more access to local authorities, parliament or executive. Local level CSOs however use the electronic access for information and communication which is in keeping with what Bonney (2003) has said about the Scottish Executive websites being used mostly by professionals. Even though MSPs complain that the volume of emails they receive are unmanageable, the access to public documents through the internet has given access to civil service information that may not have been as easily accessible before. In terms of physical accessibility, local level civil society has made efforts to increase the number of people in contact with the parliament, elected members and to some extent the executive. Examples of this are found in arranged visits to parliamentary question times by both Womanzone and the CBP as well as encouraging MSPs to visit local events and the willingness of civil servants from both local authority and Scottish Executive to present information and come to the area to answer questions from the public. Although there is no way to say what kind of access there would have been without civil society involvement, it seems fair to say access occurs through civil society.

The way the local community council's campaigning group took their concerns beyond the local authority level to a Scottish Parliament petition suggests again that civil society is an intermediary level through which local residents have access to political influence. The views recorded through consultations and through civil society organising were presented to both local authorities and parliament. Thus far it is unclear what will actually come of the visit to the petitions committee. There is no guarantee that it will have any impact on the Scottish Executive's programs for social inclusion areas, or that the local authority (responsible for the specific regeneration project) will change anything in their structures. There is however no doubt that the Craigmillar First group were able to express their concerns at many different political levels suggesting a political influence which could be considered inclusion, at least of the type which a specialisation paradigm would be concerned with.

In the Womanzone case study we also see ways that local residents gain access through formal structures of government and representation. The organisation not only organised a visit to the parliament, but also engages with a cross party group. However, this engagement is mostly carried out through professional employees rather than by the local users of the project. In this sense, such structures represent more the critical engagement of civil society with policy issues, rather than structures which make people in Craigmillar more politically included. Having said this, the project represents local women's needs and stories to a broader political audience, and therefore brings their experience to gain influence at levels which the project users would probably not achieve alone. Civil society, through Womanzone, could therefore be seen to amplify the voice of local women.

Womanzone, the CFS and the CSIP frequently invited MSPs and civil service officials to meetings and social events. It could be suggested that the structures which provided a devolved government and Parliament in Scotland, where representatives are at least in the country (and for Edinburgh residents in the same city) most days of the week makes it more practical for MSPs to attend local events as well as fulfil their other legislative responsibilities. Thus Susan Deacon (MSP) talked about being able to combine time with family with attending social events in her constituency, and in spite of being the health minister in her first few years in office, was a regular and even familiar face to many local activists. The MP for the area – Gavin Strang, for example is seen much less frequently and when he chaired the Craigmillar Partnership, could give only extremely limited time to the project.

2) Policy aimed at increasing political participation

In chapter two it was noted that there were two main strands to the policy program for democratic renewal with new Labour, 1) modernising local government and 2) increasing community involvement. These two strands are however closely linked as one aspect of local government's modernisation was making it more democratically accountable. The modernisation of local government in Scotland has become the task of the Scottish Executive, and the newness of the parliament and these responsibilities seems to have led to delays in the processing of what has eventually become the Local Government Scotland Act (Scottish Executive 2003). Having said this, the expectations of some aspects of this act are already evident in the actions of the local authority towards Craigmillar. The CSIP and other local organisations were aware from at least 2002 that the concept of community planning would be taking over from Partnership policies,

although what was meant by community planning was still unclear to people in both the local authority and local civil society. As noted in the CSIP case study, a community planning process or partnership specifically for Craigmillar was not in place by 2006 leaving projects which received partnership funding with considerable uncertainty. This bureaucratic lag threatened the voluntary sector's stability and reinforced the extent to which civil society in Craigmillar was dependent on policy and politics at both national and local levels. The CSIP case study also shows how local government was pushing for greater cooperation and consultation between local government and the local voluntary sector even before this was part of the new local government legislation. Although heads of department are not involved in all subgroups, reasonably senior officials take part in each, and all subgroups also include representatives from relevant voluntary sector organisations. However, as noted in the previous chapter, these subgroups seem to do little to change the underlying levels of power that civil society organisations have. In using funding from local authority departments voluntary organisations surrender the freedom to act purely on the basis of local interests or ideology in order to provide for local needs. To maintain such a relationship with local authority, organisations must often avoid conflict. The instability enforced on the 'organised community' and the style of consultation in subgroups suggests that either civil society in Craigmillar is not independent enough to merit the title or, that civil society is being undermined by changes in governance structures. If the latter is the case, the CFS experience suggests that it is a normal experience for local civil society rather than something novel from the new political arrangements and climate.

A second important element of local government reforms is increased financial scrutiny. The concern with the debt of the CFS and with its structural arrangements can be seen in part as the result of increasing accountability being forced on local authorities. The council officer with responsibility for Craigmillar stated that they felt the need to intervene because wages were not being paid and the CSIP manager, discussing the problems of the empowering community's resources, noted that the Scottish Executive had provided the grant for specific purposes, but that it would also withhold the grant if it found out that the money had been given to an organisation with such a large deficit. This withholding of funds would then mean that the local authority would have to take on the deficit, even though the policy was created by the Scottish Executive.

This pressure from above on local authorities affects the level of control local authorities want to exert over those to whom they disperse resources. This level of control can in turn be seen to limit the freedom of those who receive the resources, namely local

civil society. Over a period of five years, projects under the umbrella of the CFS which received funding from local authority departments were encouraged, and sometimes pushed, to become independent from the CFS. The PIEDA report and the CEC report on the CFS after the debt was acknowledged both called for the restructuring of the CFS and found its financial management structures less than transparent. That the complicated funding arrangements of the CFS were seen to be necessary in order to maintain the organisation also suggests that the organisation did not have the freedom to resource itself in a simple or straightforward way.

The second element of policy concerned with increasing local democratic engagement involves increasing the level of community involvement. As noted above, reforms of local government already include a requirement to consult and cooperate with relevant community organisations; however, in addition, new representative and consultative structures are to be encouraged to increase local engagement. In Craigmillar both the CSIP with its partnership representatives and the Craigmillar Community Council represent the embodiment of these policies and receive funding to exist (although to very different degrees). In both cases it is clear that although the policy of democratic engagement through such structures was 'available' to local residents, it was local initiative (to varying degrees) which ultimately brought each organisation into being. For instance, the CCC was requested by local residents expressing concern about the CFS. Additionally, in the case of CSIP, although there were no options for the financial maintenance of previous partnership structures in Craigmillar (thus forcing the hand of those involved in them), the ultimate format of the CSIP was negotiated with council officers (administering Scottish Executive resources) and local community organisations who fought for representation on the CSIP board which would equal the representatives from public bodies in order to maintain local control.

In the case of the CSIP, the possibility for more community engagement seems to be hampered by the bureaucratic style of meetings which puts off 'regular' residents from attending, even where issues are relevant to them and their interests. By accepting the imposed style of company structures with management boards and ultimately subcontracting private companies to do the work for them, any local involvement is restricted to company rather than community business. Although these may be the same things in some situations, the case of the Community First participatory appraisal and campaign suggests that the company and community interests can be in conflict. Those who opposed the Community First actions and petition seemed to be mostly afraid that in campaigning against planned changes, needed improvements would be postponed. Thus

even though the improvements are not what the community asked for, they feel that it is the only option. The community's freedom, and therefore its political power, is limited because although much consultation has taken place, the community needs regeneration and does not have the resources itself to achieve the regeneration it would like. Therefore it is dependent on external sources to achieve any change and these external resources are limited in what they can offer either by policy or by market constraints.

Of course democratic engagement can not always mean getting everything you want, and it should be noted that there have been achievements for the community. Many of the old tenement buildings have already been replaced with terrace or refurbished homes. Some residents chose total renovation of their homes over complete rebuilding, and very few of the old unwanted and poorly maintained flats still exist. There are also new schools in the area and community facilities are being improved. There have been many opportunities for local residents to express their wishes in terms of schools and style of housing, but there have been many choices which were not open to local residents as well. At one public meeting early in my time working at the CBP, local residents were given three options by the local authority. They could 1) stay as local authority tenants but see no investment in their homes, 2) become housing association tenants and have their home renovated which would mean temporary housing during renovation and no guarantee of getting the same home back again (although there would be a home for them) or 3) become a housing association tenant and agree to move to one of the already built new homes in the area allowing their own home to be demolished and rebuilt for someone else. Hidden in these choices were a multitude of non-choices. Staying in their home without renovation for example was not a choice if they were in need of better housing. Becoming a housing association tenant meant that they were also agreeing to be willing to change which street they lived on and agreeing to different tenancy rules including initially losing the right to buy the property and a number of other rights because of a different style of contract being offered by housing associations. Behind these 'non-choices' lay policies interested in reducing local authority debt and encouraging housing association control of social housing. In a similar way, if new schools were to be built, it had to be through public private partnership arrangements which meant choosing arrangements which limit when schools are open.

In a similar vein, encouraging community engagement strategies such as community councils and the CSIP contributed to the undermining of already established organisations such as the CFS. While this may be an 'unintentional' consequence of the power held by government administrations, it is also important to recognise that it is an

exercise of power which limits the options of local organisations by increasing the costs of maintaining competing structures.

The results of encouraging this style of community engagement could therefore be seen to somewhat undermine another aspect of Labour policy, namely the closer working with civil society organisations. The Scottish Compact was designed to give the voluntary sector a recognised position as a voice for the communities they work for and to hold the governing structures above them to account. In many ways, the networks of the CSIP and even of the CFS earlier gave the voluntary sector such a position. The experience of the health and community care subgroup focusing on including all health oriented organisations (public and voluntary), or of the cluster group on violence against women, suggests that the public sector, at the level of practitioners, recognises the value of drawing on local experience through the voluntary sector. This is also true for the way Womanzone is involved in the Cross Party Group on male violence, and is given the opportunity to criticise policies. However, the more dependent an organisation is on a particular agency or department the more difficult it may be to offer genuine criticism. Womanzone, as an organisation which focuses on a particular issue, is funded in ways that are distantly connected to the issues they are most concerned with and this seems to limit the amount of external control exercised on the issues they campaign around. It may also be (and it is difficult to know from the case study presented here) that by focusing on national level policies, the organisation can avoid offending local authority departments.

Given that local civil society organisations are heavily dependent on governing structures for resources and that relationships in networks reflect the unequal power relationships inherent in the level and type of responsibility the different organisations have, it is difficult to see how the compact can overcome these underlying and structural imbalances in power, but there seem also to be examples of local civil society organisations working around this. For example, even though the Community Council is supported by a small grant from the local authority, it was able to form a campaign group going against PARC's plans, and even use the Empowering Communities grant from the Scottish Parliament to carry out that research. That they can use these resources to campaign against particular policy directions is perhaps proof that there is still hope for local voluntary organisations to have an impact, and shows that the arrangements both in local authorities (allowing for the setting up of an independent development company) and in the Scottish Executive give space for local civil society organisations to exploit tensions and contradictions which exist between the policies and priorities of different

levels of government. Indeed this could be seen as part of the way local civil society interacts critically with policy making.

3) Critical engagement with policy issues

In Chapter 2 the literature reviewed pointed towards an expectation that more accessible democratic structures would be accompanied by an increased engagement with policy issues through an organised civil society which embraced democratic principles and was willing to engage with policy making structures. As noted in the previous chapters, however, while many civil society organisations try to use not only democratic principles, but also to work using community development processes, in most situations the organisations end up as service providers with users as their clients. At the same time, however, the organisations see themselves as representing the community and the community's interests. Whether this is a particular section of the community (women for example) or the community as a whole, the principle remains the same. So the question is whether or not these underlying relationships undermine or increase the extent to which local civil society can generate political inclusion for the people they work with.

It seems clear already that civil society has helped local residents to access the Scottish Parliament, and also that civil society has been central to the way the area engages with policy issues. Organisations receive consultation documents from the Scottish Executive, have been invited to give evidence to the petitions committee and, by organising conferences, events and meetings, bring executive and local authority officials into the area on a regular basis where policy is discussed, or at least conveyed to local CSOs and often their users. This suggests that there are more opportunities to engage critically with policy processes than there have been in a long time.

While the CFS struggled to get local authority department officers to work with them, now those same departments are being 'encouraged' to struggle for the engagement of local communities. From the experience of Craigmillar as outlined in this research, it seems that they are successful at engaging local level civil society organisations, but less successful at engaging those who do not work for the organisations, even where these non-workers are activists or active volunteers with the CSOs. The formal arrangements of the meetings and events where local CSOs and government officials come together tend to put local residents off. The inclusive nature of such events is therefore questionable.

The educational source book cited in chapter 2 (Crowther, Martin & Shaw (Eds.) 2003) suggested that there was a need for democratic discussion which would give a foundation to the more democratic society envisioned in the institutional changes focused

around the new parliament. If civil society does encourage critical engagement with policy issues on the part of non-professionals, it does not seem to be during such meetings. Reviewing the development of the CFS suggests that discussions were livelier before professionals from the local authority and Scottish Office got involved. Even in the later days of the CFS, discussion was seen to be 'real', even though the reality was that it was uncomfortable, argumentative, often personal and sometimes characterised by non-cooperation rather than dialogue and debate. When the debt of the organisation was seen to be an issue for the local authority, however, the discussions became technical rather than issue based and mostly concerned with the maintenance of services. There are several issues that were simply not discussed during the CFS closure. For example, there was no democratic discussion about what was happening to the voluntary sector in the area, what resources were being withdrawn or given through local authorities, or whether the changes would do anything to reduce poverty and disadvantage in the area. These issues may have been the underlying concerns of discussions, but they were rarely mentioned in meetings. Those who were volunteers on the CFS executive who had been nominated to engage in the discussions about the closure quickly stopped attending meetings. This meant that those who remained in the debates were those who were rewarded for doing so in terms of getting a paid wage for being involved.

In the CSIP it was also clear that those who got involved in subgroups such as the Health and Community Care group who were not professionals felt excluded from democratic discussions. Even though local activists were willing to put in time collecting opinions and developing ideas, in the official settings of the subgroup meetings, their input was 'out of place' or at least presented at the wrong point in the timetable of consultation used by the professionals. Consultation and democratic discussion which includes local residents often takes place as part of a much longer process of discussions and debates between professionals. By the time the discussion is 'taken to the people' there tend to be a series of limitations on the discussion, a trait already familiar to those working with local authority officers. Where the discussions are framed is particularly important as the framing tends to influence what any consultation with local residents has to say.

The way that local residents have been put off by the type of events and meetings held in Craigmillar suggests that any democratic discussion is with those who are paid to be involved in politics rather than including more and more of Scotland's people. From the experience of organisations in Craigmillar it seems that democratic discussion between different levels in society (for example the levels used to delineate social capital)

takes place between those who are professionally in a position to represent, but not with society as a whole. Thus those who are residents in Craigmillar and perhaps use local services do not take part in democratic discussion themselves, but their views are seen to be represented by their patrons, or those who claim to work in their interests.

Taylor (2000) claimed that local civil society organisations could only hope for influence through the exploitation of contradictions and tensions which exist in policies and institutions. This seems to be exactly the way Craigmillar CSOs manage to have influence on policy structures.

Democratic Renewal through Political Inclusion

In the previous chapter I noted that linking social capital could be seen to be concerned with relationships which existed between Craigmillar residents (the micro level), Craigmillar CSOs (the meso level) and Scottish governing institutions (the macro level). The level of 'linking social capital' was seen to refer in part to the extent to which the levels interacted with each other. From this research it seems that the level of linking social capital is high between the meso and macro levels, and reasonably high between the micro and meso levels, but that there is relatively little linking social capital between the macro and the micro levels. The notion that not just general civil society, but local level civil society, is essential to any project of political inclusion can thus be seen to be grounded in the actual experience of Craigmillar. Even those who are considered politically active can be seen to make most contact with the macro level of governing institutions through the meso level of local civil society. However, the experience of Craigmillar may not hold for 'communities' generally. Craigmillar is after all a community which has policy specifically targeted towards the problems it faces. It is even in many ways a policy created community. In fact, civil society which is not policy driven could be seen to constitute only a small proportion of the civil society organisations in the area. Parents groups, community councils, social inclusion partnerships, regeneration companies and tenants' or residents' associations have all been encouraged by policy. The services provided by civil society have been dependent on the funding they could draw down from policy directed (mostly government) resources especially in the case of services which should be provided long term. Can these organisations really be expected then to engage critically with policy, representing the communities they serve, while they are dependent on resources and approval from those forming the policies?

In order to answer this question it seems necessary to consider what the local CSOs have achieved and whether these achievements have accomplished meeting the needs, or at the very least the perceived needs, of the local residents. As noted in the CFS case study, it could be suggested that some of the things the CFS workshops identified as local need in the 1970's have been achieved. The concept of mixed tenure in terms of housing, more and better community facilities, housing planned with a community focus, not to mention a high school, training for young people and out of school childcare at affordable rates are all part of the 'housing led regeneration' in the area. Housing in the area is being completely transformed to the extent that private developers are willing to invest in the area and can ask for prices not dissimilar to other Edinburgh suburbs suggesting the stigma of the area has been decreasing. However, the extent to which the actual regeneration is following local wishes, in spite of several rounds of consultation, is debatable. For example, if the aim was to provide affordable homes for purchase, the 'success' of the private sale of property in the area could be seen to undermine this need. If the aim was secure tenancies, housing associations have many more rights in terms of evicting anti-social tenants. Again this may be in the interests of some residents, but for those who are being evicted for non-payment or for anti-social behaviour, the result is homelessness and greater exclusion. They may no longer be in Craigmillar, but their presenting problems still exist.

It is also interesting to note that some initiatives have been successful in terms of the services they provided and their achievements, but have still not received support from government sources. The training section of the CFS for example claimed to have been very successful in meeting the needs of those who would not otherwise have been able to find work, or complete training for work, but policy directions changed and the funding dried up. Although there are a variety of training initiatives in place through employment services, and further education colleges are pushed to get more enrolments from areas such as Craigmillar, they do not provide the same service as the CFS training project did. It could be that in being successful in bending policy more in the direction of local need, local CSOs are expected to bend their practices to the resulting policy, even if that means losing some of the more local input into the service. It may be that more resources are attracted to the issue, but there seems to be a resulting lack of control. Returning to the example of the CSIP and the housing led regeneration, we can see that although a private development company is willing to invest funds in the area, it is willing to do so at the expense of local control of how that investment is used.

Local CSOs and activists can therefore be seen to constantly face a dilemma of having control and having more resources. This dilemma is seen in the conflicting perspectives of the Partnership's community representatives. Half of them want to maintain control and influence, while the other half want to see the investment. Although these are not mutually exclusive desires, they reflect different priorities. One local community representative said he was 'fighting them every step of the way', and complained bitterly that two others accept and even support the proposals, for fear of holding up positive change in the area. In the end, democracy necessarily means that there will be someone who compromises and this is acknowledged by one of the community reps against the proposals who says, 'well, that's democracy isn't it? You do what you can, but in the end you don't always get what you want'. This might be democracy, but it is a democracy which favours the powerful, which favours the interests of capital and which has unintended consequences of squeezing increasing control over local CSOs. What seems to be clear however, is that it is only by allying your wishes with more powerful interests that you are likely to win in a democracy. The willingness of the CFS and Womanzone to work within those controlling structures in spite of the lack of control does suggest, however, that there is space in the policy frameworks for exploiting the contradictions and tensions of different policies. More than generating political discussion, it is perhaps this manipulation of policies to meet local needs which most reflects the critical engagement of local civil society in Craigmillar, and also shows where these organisations can claim some political influence. By generating innovative interpretations of policy and translating these into practical solutions at local level, service-providing CSOs ensure the inclusion of areas like Craigmillar on the policy agenda.

The three hopes for democratic renewal noted in Chapter 2 seem to have delivered democratic renewal only to the extent that it reflects political inclusion from a specialisation and solidarity perspective. Craigmillar seems to have more to do with policy making discussions and has active local civil society in the shape of competing groups which challenge both each other and the imposition of policy. However, if political inclusion is to mean more than the opportunity to engage in political structures, then these policies fall short of redistributing power in the way the monopoly paradigm understanding of political inclusion would expect. This failure may be disguised by the transfer of resources as evidenced in the concrete material changes to the physical landscape of the area, but the resulting loss of control over the resulting investment in the

area should not mask the remaining disadvantage evident in incomes and political inclusion.

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Appendix 1 Interview Schedule

Questions about their involvement in the local area:
How much time do you spend in Craigmillar each week?

What do you do when you are in this area? (work, live, socialise)
   (distinguish between working in the area (i.e. office/place of work here) and working
   with the area (office elsewhere, but their job involves working with people or
   organisations in the area)

How long have you been around Craigmillar? (lived in, worked in, worked with people
from …)

What sort of things do you know about Craigmillar?

Do you know many people who live in the area?

How do you know them? (family, organisations, socialising)

What are you involved in, in the area? (what groups, activities)

Questions about their knowledge of the area:
What would you say the problems in Craigmillar are?

Do you know anything that is being done about these problems?

Do the organisations you are involved in do anything about these problems?

Who could do something about those problems?

Who makes the decisions about what happens in Craigmillar?

Questions about influence and power:
Could you tell me about any times when you have seen something change in the area?
What was it that brought about the change? Who was responsible for change locally? Who
did you have to negotiate with to get the change? How easy was it? Was the outcome
exactly what you hoped for?

Have any of the organisations in the area brought about significant changes? How?

What are the issues you want to have influence on in Craigmillar?

How do you try to influence what happens in the area?

Who do you think makes the decisions on these things?

Are you a member of a political party?

Have you ever seen the Scottish Parliament having any kind of impact in Craigmillar?

What kind of contact do you have with the Scottish Parliament? (Executive, MSP,
Communities Scotland, other executive departments?)

What ways do you interact with the Scottish parliament? Have you …

	Written letter
	Signed a petition
	Talked to a politician in a surgery
	Visited a session of parliament
	Talked to ministerial department staff
	Talked to MSP office staff
	Involved in a political party
	Related to an MSP
	… or someone who works in a political party?
	… or MSP office
	… or Scottish Parliament
	… or Scottish Executive

What kind of issues would you go to your MSP about?
> How would you approach them?

What kind of issues would you go to your local councillor about?
> How would you approach them?

What kind of issues would you go to the British government about?
> How would you approach them?

What organisations are you involved in, in Craigmillar?
> Do you know of any contacts they have with the Scottish Parliament? Council?,
> UK government in Westminster?

Specific questions about case study organisations

I'm particularly interested in CFS / Partnership / Womanzone – what would you say it accomplished?
Partnership ..?
Womanzone ..?

CFS
How long have you known about the CFS?
What do you think the purpose of the CFS was?
How were decisions made?
What kind of relationship did you have to the CFS?
What do you know about the campaign work they did?
Did you ever take part in any campaigns?
What kind of issues do you think the CFS would have taken up?
Did you ever take an issue to the CFS?
Who were you campaigning against?
What led to the CFS closure?

Partnership questions
What do you see as being the purpose of the Craigmillar Partnership?

How do you think the partnership arrived at this purpose?
How are local people involved in the partnership?
What kind of influence do you think local people have?
How are decisions made in the partnership?
Who would you say has the most influence in the partnership? Why?
What is your role in the partnership?
What kind of change can the partnership bring about?
What connection is there between the Partnership and the Scottish Parliament?

Womanzone
What do you see as the purpose of Womanzone?
How does Womanzone make decisions?
What influence do local people have?
Can you tell me about the campaigns Womanzone gets involved in?
What can Womanzone do for the area?
What issues?
How are local women involved in local campaigns?

Additional questions to MSPs:
Confirm things I know: time in post as MSP, party affiliation, where they are from, constituency etc.
Are you directly involved in any organisations in the area? If so how?
How much contact do you have with people in Craigmillar? In what way?
    Letters?
    Phone calls? (they call you? You call them?)
    Petitions?
    Visits during surgeries?
    Meeting people at local events?
    Inviting people to give evidence at committees?
    Related to anyone in the area?
    Through the Labour Party?

What kind of issues do people come to you with?
What issues do you feel that you have the power to do something about?
Who do you think is responsible for what is being done?
What do you do to try and see those changes happen?
What would you like to influence in Craigmillar? How do you go about doing that?

To Constituency MSP:
Ask about relationship to: Craigmillar Social Inclusion Partnership, Womanzone, CFS.
Who would you say has the most power to change things in Craigmillar?
Is there a distinction between the work of a list and a constituency MSP? What?

SELEC ☐ [ ] ☐ closed now ☐ Info Complet

Project Descriptio

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Wheelchair Access [ ] Toilet ☐ Other [ ]
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☐ Council   On P'ship subgrou ☐   ☐ CRF [ ]   Local people ☐
☐ Strategic   ☐ CEP   Other Networks 2
☐ Church   Which SubGrou   ☐ CFS   Other ways involve
☐ Representativ   [ ]   Project [ ]
☐ Other Typ

Type of Funding
☐ SIP funde   ☐ Council   Other Funding or Comment
☐ Europea   ☐ Housing
☐ ERD   ☐ Health Boar
☐ ESF   ☐ Social Work
☐ Lotter   ☐ SLA
☐ Independent Founds ☐ Educatio
☐ Local Grant
☐ Local Fundraisin

Type of management
self managing: [ ]
non-profit distributing [ ]

Voluntary: [ ] ☐ ocal res input
private cs: [ ]

Type of accomodation for projects
☐ Government   ☐ Private   ☐ Volun Auth   ☐ Rents/shares Space
☐ Chur Auth   ☐ School   ☐ Building

Edinburgh's CENSUS
(29 APRIL 2001)

Ward: 57 Craigmillar

Key statistics

Total Population	7,110
Males	3,425
Females	3,685
Households	3,427
Persons in Households	7,061
Persons in communal establishments	49
Area (ha)	694
Density (persons/ha)	10.2

Age Structure

	Total	Male	Female	% Total	Edin %
0 to 4	471	238	233	6.6	4.9
5 to 11	723	373	350	10.2	7.2
12 to 15	463	236	227	6.5	4.2
16 to 24	769	340	429	10.8	14.4
25 to 44	2,159	1,013	1,146	30.4	32.2
45 to 64	1,590	807	783	22.4	21.7
65 to 84	855	396	459	12.0	13.5
85 plus	80	22	58	1.1	1.9
Total	7,110	3,425	3,685		

Household Composition

	H'holds	%	Edin %
Total households	3,427		
1 Person: Pensioner	509	14.9	14.4
Other	1,012	29.5	23.1
2 adult, no children	696	20.3	30.4
1 adult plus children	406	11.8	4.5
2 adults, 1or 2 children	336	9.8	11.1
2 adults, 3+children / 3+ adults, 1+ children	222	6.5	5.3
3+ adults, no children	247	7.2	11.2

Household Tenure / Amenities

	H'holds	%	Edin %
Owner Occupied	1,116	32.6	68.6
Rented:			
Council	1,341	39.1	10.9
Other social	593	17.3	5.5
Private l'lord	170	5.0	12.5
Living rent free	207	6.0	2.4
H'holds without			
Central Heating	311	9.1	12.3
Bath / Shower	7	0.2	0.3

Household Size by number of rooms

	H'holds	%	Edin %
All Households	3,427		
1 room	69	2.0	1.1
2 rooms	290	8.5	6.3
3 to 4 rooms	2,030	59.2	48.7
5 to 6 rooms	925	27.0	31.7
7+ Rooms	113	3.3	12.3
			Edin.
Average number of rooms/hh	4		4.5

Household Size by number of residents

	H'holds	%	Edin %
All Households	3,427		
1 Person	1,521	44.4	37.5
2 People	904	26.4	33.0
3 to 4 People	828	24.2	24.8
5 or More People	174	5.1	4.8
Average Household Size	2.1		2.1
Overcrowded h'holds	669	19.5	14.2

Car Availability

	H'Holds	Edin
Households	3,427	
% H'holds with:		
0 Car	63.3	39.5
1 Car	29.5	43.5
2 Cars	6.4	14.5
3 Cars	0.6	1.9
4 or more cars	0.2	0.5
Total cars	1,541	

Transport to Work / Study

	No.	%	Edin %
Train	16	0.2	0.8
Bus	1,278	18.0	16.7
Taxi	35	0.5	0.4
Car - drive	854	12.0	20.3
Car - passenger	403	5.7	5.8
Motorcycle	18	0.3	0.3
Bicycle	50	0.7	1.9
Foot	1,074	15.1	18.3
Other	21	0.3	0.4
Not travelling to work or study	3,361	47.3	35.1

Dwellings

	No.	%	Edin %
Dwellings	3,756		
H'hold Spaces	3,756		
Vacant	323	8.6	4.1
2nd Residence	6	0.2	0.7
Detached	209	5.6	11.2
Semi-detached	709	18.9	14.1
Terraced	638	17.0	14.5
Flats/tenement	2,185	58.2	60.1
Other	15	0.4	0.2

Census licence number C02W0001679   City of Edinburgh Council, City Development Department, Research & Information Team.

Appendix 4 Funding of the voluntary sector in Craigmillar

Organization Name	SIP funded	European	Council	Lottery	Foundations	Local Fundraising	Other
Adult Basic Education	☐	☑	☑	☐	☐	☐	
Adult Student Link	☑	☑	☑	☐	☑	☐	
Advice Shop	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	
Be Well	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☑	used to be urban aid funded
Bingham & District 50 + Project	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	Used to be Urabn Aid Funded between 1988 -1996
Bingham Community Centre	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☑	local grants go to groups who use the centre
Bingham Enterprise Company	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Urban Programme
Bingham Residents Association	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☑	
Brenda House	☑	☐	☑	☐	☑	☑	A branch of a national organisation
Bristo Memorial Church Craigmillar	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Church Funded initiatives
Brunstane Primary School	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Business Community Connections	☑	☑	☐	☐	☑	☑	Trying to get money from Europe
Capacity Building Project	☑	☑	☐	☐	☐	☑	Occoasional funding from lottery for joint projects
CAPRO Café	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	local business started by local person using projects, gets used for local buffets, sponsorship etc.
Castle Drugs Project	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	core health
Castlebrae Community Education Office	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	
Castlebrae Community High School	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	
Castlebrae Community High School - Community Office	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	

Organization Name	SIP funded	European	Council	Lottery	Foundations	Local Fundraising	Other
Castlebrae Youth Club	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Castleview Centre	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☑	
CFS Arts	☑	☐	☑	☑	☐	☑	Arts Council, and occasionally lottery money. Money is also raised by charging for some arts events. Mostly just meeting SOME of the costs
CFS Children & Youth	☑	☑	☐	☐	☐	☑	
CFS Social Welfare	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☑	Got it's first funding in 1970 £5000 to pay local people to be neighbourhood workers
CFS Training Department	☑	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐	LEEL (SEEL), and various other training organisations have had european money in the past
Children's House Nursery School	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	
City of Edinburgh Council - Craigmillar Local Office	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	
Come and See Group	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑	
Community Care Team, Greendykes Road	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	
Community Regeneration Forum	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	supported through the Craigmillar Housing Development Project, but does not have staff, or funding, of its own
Craigmillar Adult Learning Network	☐	☑	☐	☑	☐	☐	has an income of less than 5,000 per year, including wages for the 10 hrs per week worker, and grants for one-off events promoting adult learning
Craigmillar Adventure Project (CAPRO)	☑	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	
Craigmillar Books for Babies	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	variety of money from different places
Craigmillar Castle Regeneration Group	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑	no funding

Organization Name	SIP funded	European	Council	Lottery	Foundations	Local Fundraising	Other
Craigmillar Childcare Services	✓	✓	☐	☐	☐	✓	Generates income from parents through childcare tax credit
Craigmillar Children's Centre	☐	☐	✓	☐	☐	☐	was run by health department
Craigmillar Chronicle	✓	☐	☐	☐	✓	☐	Community News (national or edinburgh organisation) also raises money from advertising
Craigmillar Community Council	☐	☐	✓	☐	☐	☐	small amounts
Craigmillar Community Information Service	✓	✓	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Craigmillar Community Library	☐	☐	✓	☐	☐	☐	
Craigmillar Credit Union	✓	✓	☐	☐	☐	✓	income from the credit union
Craigmillar Dental Surgery	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	private income
Craigmillar Disability Project (CAN)	✓	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Craigmillar European Programme	✓	✓	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Craigmillar Festival	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Craigmillar Festival Society (umbrella)	✓	✓	✓	☐	✓	✓	does not get european funding today, except for the money the CBP receives
Craigmillar Heart to Heart Group	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	✓	
Craigmillar Initiative	✓	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Craigmillar Literacy Trust	☐	☐	☐	☐	✓	☐	various sources
Craigmillar Medical Centre	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Craigmillar Multi-media Group	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	✓	also drew on disposed of items from a range of voluntary organisations
Craigmillar Neighbourhood Alliance	✓	☐	✓	☐	☐	☐	
Craigmillar Out Of School Project (COOSP)	✓	☐	☐	☐	☐	✓	previously Urban aid money got some money for the building from Europe - but that money came through COT

Organization Name	SIP funded	European	Council	Lottery	Foundations	Local Fundraising	Other
Craigmillar Partnership	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	The partnership itself was a distributing organisation without funding, but the Initiatve had money to make sure it ran - I think
Craigmillar Partnership Support Team	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Craigmillar Police	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	
Craigmillar Premier Racing Pigeon Club	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑	
Craigmillar Primary School	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	
Craigmillar Regeneration Forum	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	
Craigmillar Social Inclusion Partnership	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Craigmillar Thistle Amateur Football Club	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑	
Cre8te	☑	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐	income from private letting
Debra Anne School of Dance	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑	
Disabled of Craigmillar	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Duddingston Mull AFC	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑	
Edina Hibs Kids Soccer School	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑	
Edinburgh Street Work Project	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Georgette Twirlers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑	
Greendykes Children's Centre	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	
Greendykes Neighbourhood Association	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	Council grant
Greendykes Primary School	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	
Greengables Nursery	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	
Greenscheme	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	was urban programme funded I think

Organization Name	SIP funded	European	Council	Lottery	Foundations	Local Fundraising	Other
Handrolled Productions	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑	some of the volunteers occasionally get paid for their work in directing etc, but this can be seen more as purchase of services than wages
Health Opportunities Team	☑	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	Urban Aid previously, South Edinburgh has some Healthy Respect (national demonstration project Scottish Exec) and some South SIP
Hearts Supporters Club	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑	
Holyrood Amateur Boxing Club	☐	☐	☐	☑	☐	☑	trainers or coaches may get paid for services occasionally
Hunters Hall Housing Co-operative Ltd.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Cooperative housing association, mostly funded through rental incomes
Instep	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	used to be an urban aid funded project
Instep School of Dance	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑	
Jack Kane Centre (Community Wing)	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☑	local fundraising is fro groups using the centre
Jack Kane Centre (Sports Wing)	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	a not for profit company set up by the council to run edinburgh's leisure faciliities - Edinburgh Leisure, used to be council funded
Jack Kane Gymnastics	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑	coaches may get paid
Kintry Housing Partnership	☑	☐	☑	☐	☐	☑	income from rents
Link In	☑	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	
Lismore Primary School	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	
Magdalene Community Centre	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☑	
Margaret Sinclair Group	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑	

Organization Name	SIP funded	European	Council	Lottery	Foundations	Local Fundraising	Other
McGovern House	✓	☐	☐	✓	☐	✓	generates some of its own income through a café and lets.
Men's Health Group	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	✓	in kind resources from be well
Musicians Group	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	✓	some membership dues paid on use of CFS arts center premises and equipment
Newcraighall Primary School	☐	☐	✓	☐	☐	☐	
Niddrie Bowling Club	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	✓	get's money from members and a bar
Niddrie House Tenants Association	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	✓	unfunded group
Niddrie Mains Residents Association	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	✓	
Niddrie Mill Primary School	☐	☐	✓	☐	☐	☐	
Niddrie Mill Residents Association	☐	☐	✓	☐	☐	✓	Council Grant
Niddrie Mission	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Niddrie Pensioners	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	unfunded group
Pefferbank Adult Training Centre	☐	☐	✓	☐	☐	☐	
Peffermill Primary School	☐	☐	✓	☐	☐	☐	
PhoneLink	✓	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Prestonfield & District Neighbourhood Workers Project	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Richmond Craigmillar Church	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	✓	
Robin Chapel	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Second Chance to Learn	☐	✓	✓	✓	☐	☐	Was urban aid for 7 years
Share Scotland	☐	☐	✓	☐	✓	✓	Head office in paisley does fundraising
Special Needs Action Group	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	✓	
St. Francis	☐	☐	✓	☐	☐	☐	
St. Helen's in Craigmillar	☐	☐	✓	☐	☐	☐	

Organization Name	SIP funded	European	Council	Lottery	Foundations	Local Fundraising	Other
St. Teresa's R.C. Church	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	church
The Learning Centre	☑	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	
Third Age Learning Project	☐	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	
Thistle Foundation	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑	☑	national fundraising efforts
Thistle Wheelchair Basketball Club	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☑	
Travellers Project	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	small bits of EY sip and CSIP
Venchie Children & Young People's Project	☑	☐	☑	☑	☐	☐	Children in need, BBC, used to be run by Save the Children
Wednesday Family Club	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☑	no funding except for staff
Wighton House	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐	
Womanzone	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Work Track	☑	☑	☐	☐	☐	☐	