GOVAN HILL

What the people say?

A Map of Assets

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Executive Summary

Over the past decade there has been a significant policy focus on community owned assets. Since 2002 in line with international policy New Labour has promoted the benefits of locally owned and managed land and facilities hand in hand with an emphasis on a developed Third Sector working toward community renewal. The actual increase in community asset transfer is most prominent in England, such development in Scotland has been slower and has grown mostly through the Land Reform Bill (Office of Public Sector Information 2003). This has had a major impact on some rural communities who have recognised a value in owning the land around them. The policy direction has largely been practitioner led, suggesting that this direction is desired by communities.

Unlike the international approach to assets the UK has tended to focus on the physical, in the form of land, historic buildings and community facilities whilst ‘playing down other forms of assets such as human, financial, social and intellectual’ (Attken et al 2008). Through the analysis of research undertaken in Govanhill this paper argues for a more complex understanding of ‘community assets’ and how they might be developed and converted into benefits for the people who live in the Govanhill area.

Govanhill Context
Over the past century Govanhill has been an area distinct as a destination for migrant communities. These migrant groups have tended to form communities and settle. In early 19th century maps Govanhill is entitled ‘no man’s land’. This is an apt description as the area is characterised by very different social and cultural groups living beside and amongst each other. Groups of Jewish, then Irish people have become assimilated into the life of Govanhill and the later waves of South Asian people have strongly defined the identity of the area. The current wave of Eastern Europeans are the most recent group. Roma people are most distinctive in the area and are prominent as a result of their lifestyle, poverty and exploitation by certain landlords.

The SIMD statistics for Govanhill show that while it is certainly amongst the most deprived in Scotland for most categories it stands apart from the most ‘deprived’ areas of the city in the East and North.

Media focus on Govanhill in recent years has magnified a succession of issues which have in a significant way come to shape the identity of the area. Newspaper headlines have described it as the ‘Murder Capital of Europe’, ‘Govanhell’. ‘Ground Zero’, ‘a “breeding ground” for crime, exploitation, poor health and education and cockroaches.’(Evening Times 2008) and as providing a home for ‘the dirtiest street in Glasgow’ (Evening Times 2007).

It could be argued that this representation has become a part of the problem. As what has been called the ‘mediatisation’ (Fairclough 2000) of politics has been blamed by many scholars for the production of negative identities which dam particular ‘vulnerable’ localities and entrench the experience of repression and powerlessness of those who live there.

Aims
The aim of this consultation exercise is to gain an insight into the perceptions of the people who live and work on how they experience the area. While there have been a significant number of contributors this is not a quantitative study. The ambition is a reflexive one which is on the one hand to find a means of capturing the fields which are ripe for development but also to promote positive thinking for an area beleaguered by negativity.

Research Method
Asset mapping provides a conceptual framework for the project, the method of data collection mechanised a set of questions which were posed in a variety of people by a means most appropriate to the context. At the outset we intended to engage contributions across the breadth of people who live in the area.
The development of the questionnaire and data gathering process was undertaken by eight volunteers who live or work locally. The questions were designed to be as accessible as possible to the widest range of people. We achieved this by individual interviews, in the street, parks, pubs, laundry, coffee shops and health centre. Focused discussions with existing groups and questionnaires completed remotely and returned.

**Asset Mapping**
Asset mapping is a method of engagement which focuses on the resources and capabilities which exist across a community. It has evolved as a development model which challenges the more widely used deficit approaches. The deficit approach assumes a range of needs and problems which must be exposed and addressed. While many communities are undoubtedly confronted by a number of specific issues, the deficit model has been shown to reproduce these problems and create new ones. Asset mapping has been used in a variety of development contexts which experience multiple deprivation.

**Research Team**
The research team consisted of 8 volunteers. Volunteers ages ranged between early teens and 65+. Three identify as BME with two from Eastern Europe. Volunteers brought a variety of skills and the degree of input and focused was dependant on their availability. The team was led by Heather Lynch.

**Access**
A variety of methods were used to ensure communication with contributors who do not speak English. The most prominent were multi-lingual volunteers acting as interpreters and focus group members interpreting for each other.

**Questions**
The questionnaire was developed to be used as a basis for structured interviews and also for completion and return. Most of the information was gathered through face to face contact. The questions were designed around the ‘community capitals’ framework which is discussed below. Locally based volunteers informed the wording to ensure that the language and nature of the questions were fit for purpose. This ensured as far as possible that wording was appropriate and would glean the type of information necessary to understand a broad perception of assets.

**Limitations**
We aimed to gather information from the widest range of people who live in the area. We achieved this by targeting specific locations. While we have captured data from across ethnic and age profiles we have not monitored for social class, length of time people have lived here or marital status. These and other variables may be important in terms of patterns of perception. These were not deemed relevant within the scope of this study which was to capture baseline information. However such consideration may be necessary for future specific developments.

**PART 2: FINDINGS**
A total of 376 people who span the ethnic and age profile of the area contributed to this study The findings are described in relation to community capitals as a useful conceptual tool to enable a holistic discussion of assets.

**Community Capitals**
The discourse around capital has gathered much interest in recent decades. Particularly social capital which has been adopted as a policy tool for a number of slightly left of centre governments (Kilpatrick, Field and Falk 2003).

Capital theory is a useful and appropriate conceptual tool in asset mapping as definitions of ‘capital’ which Baron, Field and Schuller (2000) state ‘is productive and can be used as a ‘stock’, or ‘fund’ or ‘resource’ which can support community (individual) development’ and ‘asset’ are extremely close. Kretzman and Mcknight describe an ‘asset’ in the context of community asset mapping as a ‘resource’ or ‘capacity’ that can be used to generate further value. This definition is wider than the
stricter accounting terminology which describes an asset as a ‘resource which can readily be turned into cash’. While this applies to certain of the forms of capital that we will discuss there is clearly a more complex process to evidence how cultural or social capital might translate into finance. However there is a body of research in social capital which looks closely at how investment in the development of social capital has led directly to poverty reduction and economic growth. Notably the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and development (OECD 2001) and the World Bank (1998) also see reports from Narayan & Pritchett (1997) and Krishna & Upoff (1999).

**Human**

Human capital has seen most development in the field of economics where thinking has focused on how skills can be transformed into financial value. Costanza and Daly (1992) speak of human capital as “the stock of education, skills, culture and knowledge stored in human beings themselves” (ibid, 38).

The holistic approach taken in this study sees individual ‘skills’ as contributing to the wider range of resources available. We have designed the questions to account not simply for areas of accomplishment but also for interests to indicate where there is the potential for growth.

The key findings in relation to the presence of human capital are as follows:

- The biggest identified skill set which spanned communities is in arts, craft and musical activity. This includes a significant professional arts community as well as those who work from home and have a recreational interest. While this appears as important to wide range of people it was also clear that there is little intersection between different social groups.

- Some contributors had found ways of using their skills to subsidise their income. These include interpreting, craft, dressmaking and childminding.

- Others were successfully running their own business. Those mentioned were arts and catering.

- A significant number of people reported skills in caring and cooking but had not either desired or been able to convert these into finance.

**Built**

This includes all that exists in the built environment including, individual buildings, streets and residences.

- The most often cited built assets are the expanse of traditional Victorian tenements and buildings such as the library and baths. A significant number of people who live in ‘unimproved’ housing stated that they valued being able to live in a tenement ‘even if there were problems with the building’.

- A small but significant number of people reported that the shopping areas of Victoria Road were of value to them. While this was frequently followed by a belief that these could be improved, these streets were seen to be important to any future physical and economic developments.

- The schools themselves and also the resources which they do and could provide were often cited particularly by parents.

**Natural**

This describes the affordances of the land and the environment. This is of increasing importance and sustainability has become a national policy goal. The threat of damaging climate change has made it imperative that we recognise and respect our natural environment. There is a growing body of
research which shows that investment in natural capital can also have social and economic benefits (Demonstrating the Links 2007, Greenspace 2005, Greenspace Scotland 2008).

- Green space was reported across contributors as extremely important to their wellbeing.
- 100% of contributors cited Queens Park as significant socially and as a space which provided some respite from the intensity of the streets.
- Bennan Square also was reported by older people, people with young children and some young people as a place where they could reflect and ‘have some peace and quiet’.
- While people greatly valued the proximity of parkland, many people said that they were afraid to use these spaces after 6pm particularly Govanhill Park. Some older people reported that since the murder of Moira Jones they would no longer enter Queens Park at all and that this was a loss for them.
- Backcourts were another frequently sited natural asset. A number of people spoke of how much more valuable the backcourts could be with some work. Those who identified backcourts also said that any development would need to involve local residents and tenants and that a purely physical regeneration approach would have limited sustainable benefit.

**Financial**
An exploration of finance could cover a wider area than we have addressed here. As the information on household Income (SIMD) and Income deprivation is in the public domain we have focused on the local economy as comprised of shops and services. We have sought understand what people value about the local economy and how they think this might be developed.

Key findings in relation the distinctive nature of Goavnhill’s local economy are the following:

- The cultural specificity of many of the shops was seen as of value to many people not just the BME communities. Many people reported enjoying access to ‘delicacy’ foods which are accessible and affordable.
- Almost all of the contributors who identify as Asian report the significance of access to a range of culturally specific produce and services which they could not find in any other part of the city. The focus groups revealed the perception that many people travel into the area to access these.
- Charity shops were frequently mentioned as a positive. The presence of charity shops was significant for many people who could not afford to buy new. They were also important for people who wish to recycle or simply buy distinctive products.

**Social**
Social capital is the capital field which has experienced most political and theoretical debate in recent years. Therefore there is a large and ever expanding body of research to draw on.

Bourdieu (1980) defined social capital as ‘the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition’. While some scholars have focused on the individual benefits of investment in social capital (Coleman 1988, 1990) others have seen it as a tool for community development (Putnam 1993,2000. Dhesi 2000 and Woolcock & Narayan 2000).

The indictors for social capital used are; membership of groups, a sense of community and presence of family and friends. Another specific indictor which emerged from the data is the value of cultural diversity.

- Over half of the contributors report membership of a group. As a third of contributors were accessed via groups this figure is almost certainly exaggerated in relation to the wider experience.
• Nearly half of the contributors report that they like the area because it has a strong sense of community. ‘The people who live here’ was frequently reported as valued aspect of life in Govanhill. This was a view expressed widely but the clear exception of the following age ranges, people aged below 50 and teenagers.

• In contrast to the above people above 50 particularly those over 65 reported a feeling of alienation and isolation. In comparison to life when they were younger they felt a extremely diminished sense of community. This was largely resulting from a fear of crime on the streets. Most over 65’s said that they would not leave their house after 6pm.

• This fear and feeling of alienation was also often reported by teenagers who would not enter certain areas such as Govanhill Park or Alison Street in the evening.

• People across different ethnicities report that one of the distinctive and valued qualities of Govanhill was the cultural diversity. Some UK incomers to the area reported that this was an attraction to move here.

• The presence of friends and family was particularly significant for the new migrants interviewed.

• A significant number of new migrant contributors from Eastern Europe and other parts of the world such as the Philippines and Peru reported that they felt safer in Govanhill than other parts of Glasgow. Some had lived in other parts of the city for short periods of time and had decided to move back.

Social capital is widely theorised as:
Bonding – strong ties between people who share culture, interest or faith.
Bridging – Connections between different bonded groups or individuals.
Linking – Connections between individuals or groups where there is a significant difference in terms of access to power.

• There is the evidence of substantial bonding between the distinct cultural and faith based groups.

• The most significant area where bridging between groups takes place is in and through school activities. Children in primary schools report a varied range of relationships with different ethnic and social groups. Parent led activities in schools and School Council’s also generate bridging capital. This was most noticeable in St. Brides Swimming Club which brings together the range of people involved in the school.

• For the most part there was little evidence for linking. However contributions from community councilors and people on the board of Govanhill’s Community Development Trust showed that there is a degree of linking with local government, government and public sector managers in these constituted groups.

Cultural

Cultural capital has developed from within sociology a means of showing how culture can be linked to the individual progression and economic productivity. Eminent sociologist Bourdieu developed cultural capital to counter the economic view of human capital which suggests that an individuals capacity to generate wealth is entirely dependant on their skills and aptitudes. He argues that access to education is both mediated and limited by cultural experience.

Thinking on cultural capital has expanded and progressed, there are now advocates on its importance from within economics who suggest that it is as important to consider as human, physical and natural capitals (Throsbin 1999) in relation to a healthy economy.

• It is apparent that Govanhill has a wide range of cultural groups who appear to have coherent internal structures. This is most evident for the Muslim faith groups who frequently cite the importance of mosques and specific cultural networks for their daily lives.

• There is significant value in ‘non-dominant’ cultural capital. That is cultural objects and practices which are not relevant to the ‘dominant’ culture.

• It is also apparent that there are a range of shops and service which provide culturally specific
goods and services which are greatly valued and support quality of life for these different groups.

- The strong sense of cultural identity was only apparent for minority groups. People who identified as British did not report any specific access to cultural objects as important. One contributor went as far as saying ‘I am from Scotland so I don’t have a culture’. Implying that a sense of cultural belonging is only for minority’s whose culture is more visible.
- Almost half of the contributors including the range of ethnic backgrounds value access to the presence of other cultures in the area. There are a number of indicators of the presence of ‘intercultural capital’ that is to say that many people described an understanding of the cultural practices of other, such as dress and aspects of faith observance. So while a small but significant number showed antagonism particularly toward Roma people there were many more who described cultural difference as a distinctive and valuable quality of the area.

Narrative

Narrative capital is one of the most recent developments in capitals theory. It is grounded in the belief that the ability to tell a coherent story is in itself a resource. Stories are important as they provide the basis of representation and they ‘inform people how to act, think, relate, what to aspire to and what to expect in terms of outcomes’ (Ingamells 2007, 239).

- Many older people 65+ described a rich understanding of the history of the area. They report how the physical environment has changed with regard to green space and the uses of the spaces.
- Older people appeared to have the biggest sense of loss where they remember access to a wider range of local shops and services. They also report six functioning cinemas which they attended alongside use of the baths and library.
- Reports from people aged under 65 from all ethnicities were sparser. Most people did not have a sense of Govanhill’s history beyond that it must have been an important location for new migrants.
- The baths campaign was also seen to be widely acknowledged as an important story in Govanhill.
- The stories that people under 65+ had to tell were more closely tied to the negative headlines of the last decade.
- The most often cited image of Govanhill was the Evening Times picture of a flat in decay where the toilet was placed in a living area. This appears to have imprinted itself into the consciousness of many contributors.

Political

Political capital is the capacity to understand, influence and practically negotiate political process. Power relations are central to an understanding of political capital. The absence of an acknowledgement of political capital has provoked some of the deepest criticism of the use of other capital theories in isolation (Bauman 2000, Dale and Newman 2010).

In relation to Govanhill the two questions which address political awareness provoked the most consistent and angry responses from the spectrum of contributors with the exception of children.

- Around one third of contributors said that they did not know how policy decisions which affect housing, education and health are made, in the words of one contributor this is ‘the million dollar question’.
- Another third viewed the council as the most significant player, with some saying both council and government. Very rarely was a distinction made between Holyrood and Westminster.
• Around a quarter of contributors did not give a direct response but immediately spoke about how removed from the decision making process they felt. The overriding message from these contributors can be captured in the following ‘it doesn’t really matter who makes the decisions because it is not us’.

• The few people who are aware of community councils felt that they could be more significant but are limited in effect.

The responses in terms of influencing decisions were also mostly negative:

• Around one third of people simply answered we can’t. Even where people did suggest actions such as voting and writing letter as a means of influence there was very little confidence in these having any impact.

• A significant number of people cited the baths campaign as an example of political action in the area. Most often was this was perceived to endorse a sense of powerlessness. One contributor stated the following: ‘I mean look at the baths campaign, they tried everything and it’s still not open’.

• The existing groups who responded to the questionnaire through discussion were far more likely to come up with positive suggestions around how people might exert influence. Vehicles such as letter writing, protesting and becoming visible through media attention were viewed as having best chance of effect.

What would improve Govanhill?

The following ideas which emerged as a potential valuable development of existing assets:

• The re-opening of Govanhill Baths was relevant to the vast majority of people. Although the scale of response may have been influenced by the origins of the consultation it never the less indicates the degree of support for the reopening of the baths.

• A community gathering space was also identified as a development which would promote positive exchange. The two existing community facilities, Larkfield and Daisy Street were seen as places that you ‘would not meet friends casually’. They function around the provision of classes and specific activities however they were not seen as promoting the type on informal community gathering which people believed beneficial. Bringing the baths and the library back into use was seen as a part of this endeavor.

• A community craft/art space was also frequently regarded as a development which would allow people to use and develop their skills as well as have social benefits.

• A significant contingency of people stated that they would like either a dedicated space or resource for children and young people. This idea was suggested by young people, parents and older people. Older people reported that children and young people do not have access the same local resources they had when younger such as cinemas and a swimming pool.

• Cleaning the streets and thinking about the environment was cited frequently. Many people felt that this was not just an issue for Govanhill but that ‘Scotland’ generally was ‘dirtier than other European countries’.

• Many people linked the environmental concerns to slum landlords and believed that problem landlords needed to be brought to account if there was to be any progress towards a cleaner environment.

• Many women, particularly Asian women who enjoy shopping on Alison Street felt strongly that if the shop fronts were cleaner and less cluttered this would make shopping with children feel safer.
PART 3 – DISCUSSION

This process provides a means of development planning which take into account the complex interrelationship between factors which might support or undermine sustainable development.

While contributors were not invited to focus on the negative it came across strongly that there is a general perception of Govanhill as an area in ‘decline’. In contrast the positive information clearly indicates that there are many existing resource which if nurtured could generate further value. This knowledge derived from local people provides basis for an approach to meaningful development.

Recognition
There is a need to address the current ‘mis-recognition’ of Govanhill’s assets through persistent negative portrayals. If the community is to develop sustainably from within recognition of all that is of value is a first stage in this process.

Connectivity and the Public Realm
There loss of the ‘public realm’ has occupied the thoughts of scholars of different disciplines. The feeling of alienation from public realm decisions is experienced far beyond Govanhill. This widespread disenfranchisement suggests that this is the result of national and global governance structures.

The situation evidenced in contributors reports shows that people taken an inward focus where they believe they have no stake in the public sphere. Contributors reports strongly indicate that they believe that influence is much more likely through collective action.

Toward Community Ownership
There are a growing number of initiatives which might have relevance for Govanhill. A number of projects across the world are working on local development project which recognise the need to engage with national and global structures. In Scotland the campaign of the Eigg Heritage Trust resulted in increased local prosperity as well as national policy shifts. The people of Brixton have developed their own currency to promote local development through an intervention in national currency practices. These projects share a number of themes:

• Connecting the personal to the political
• A value of the ‘other’
• Collective Action
• Imagining new possibilities

Community Ownership and Public Sector Reform
Political recognition of the need for public sector reform has been a significant area of debate in recent years across parties. While this has been criticised as politicians abrogating responsibility there is also much positive discussion on how such policy shift could have a positive effect.

According to influential national think tank NEF (2009) effective co-production is not about ‘passing the buck’ to communities who are expected to run their own services as volunteers. It is instead about transforming public service in ways which make them directly accountable to those they aim to serve. This goes beyond consultation as it is about a fundamental reshaping systems of governance.

Conclusions – A Window of Opportunity
The challenges for Govanhill as a locality and the people who live there are significant. In recent years it has slid down the deprivation indices whilst at the same time experiencing the gnawing effect of continual negative press. Despite all of this the findings from this consultation suggest that development is possible if the conditions are realised.
No matter how disaffected contributors might feel there is a strong and coherent understanding that the area has much to offer. The key inhibiting factor presents as the lack of visible mechanisms for public debate and decision making.

Despite the challenges there is a window of opportunity for sustainable community led development which involves community members as active participants in every aspect of the process. This takes the form of alignments between national policy direction on community ownership and co-production, the local ‘hub’ initiative to reform public sector operations together with a current political interest in the area.
PART 1- INTRODUCTION

Over the past decade there has been a significant UK policy focus on community assets. In line with international policy since 2002 New Labour promoted the benefits of locally owned and managed land and facilities hand in hand with an emphasis on a developed Third Sector working toward community renewal. The actual increase in community asset transfer is most prominent in England, such development in Scotland has grown most significantly through the Land Reform bill (Office of Public Sector Information 2003). This has had a major impact on some rural communities who have immediately recognised a value in owning the land around them. Whilst in line with international policy the design has largely been practitioner led, suggesting that this direction is desired by the wider community. Although on the increase there has been little work done to develop an evidence base which articulates if and how the proposed benefits are being realised (Aitken et al 2008).

Unlike the international approach to assets the UK has tended to focus on the physical, in the form of land, historic buildings and community facilities. This has ‘played down other forms of assets such as human, financial, social and intellectual’ (Aitken et al 2008). Through the analysis of research undertaken in Govanhill this paper argues for a more complex understanding of ‘community assets’ and ‘community ownership’ in relation to how they might be developed and converted into benefits for ‘local’ people.

Part ones presents the aims and methods used in the study alongside the rationale and theoretical underpinning of the approach. Part 2 describes the findings using the framework of community capitals. In Part 3 there is a discussion on how these findings might influence both policy and community activity.

Why Asset Mapping?

Asset mapping is a method of engagement which seeks to identify the resources and capabilities which exist across a community from a community perspective. It has evolved as a development model which challenges the more widely used deficit approaches. The deficit approach assumes a range of needs or problems that must be exposed and addressed. While many communities are undoubtedly confronted by a number of specific issues, the deficit model can reproduce these problems and create new ones. Kretzman and McKnight (1993) identify seven potential issues produced through needs led initiatives:

• Positioning a community as ‘an endless list’ of problems fractures their connectedness to each other.

• Targeting resources directs funding to service providers not residents. It makes people ‘consumers’ of services.

• Funding based on deficit forces community leaders to narrate the negatives and ‘denigrate’ their community.

• Providing resources on the basis of need encourages people to think that only experts can ‘solve their problems’ and undermines community bonds.

• Focus on ‘needs’ can create a deepening cycle of dependence as problems must be found to retain access to funding.

• Needs focus supports survival for targeted individuals not development across all sectors of the community.

• Needs focus only guarantees survival and erodes the possibility of communities influencing structural change.

The damage of positioning groups in ‘deficit’ or seeing them as problems has been articulated by
research in community development (Cook and Khotari 2001) and education (Lynch and Allan 2008). There are also questions on the linear approach to assets transfer promoted in the UK where it is recognised that it is not enough for a community simply to own its built assets but that it must be able to develop in ways which enable it to gain from ownership. There is an inherent tension where community ownership is promoted to ‘vulnerable’ communities. In one respect the community is expected to be capable of management and development and on the other it is given an identity of deficiency. Where communities do not have a developed infrastructure they are vulnerable to manipulation by dominant bodies which denigrates the value of ownership (Cooke and Khotari 2000).

The process of asset mapping has been used successfully in the US and in ‘underdeveloped countries’ to reverse the cycle of negativity produced through the use of a deficit model (Emery & Flora 2006, Beauliu 2002, US Department of Labour, Employment and Training Administration 2006). It is a mechanism which engages the different sectors of the community in reflection on the resources that they perceive within their community and how these might be developed for public benefit.

GOVANHILL CONTEXT

Over the past century Govanhill has been an area distinct as a destination for migrant communities. A number of the diasporic groups who moved into the area have formed communities and settled. In early 19th century maps Govanhill is entitled ‘no man’s land’. This is an apt label for an area which is characterised by different social and cultural groups living beside and amongst each other. Groups of Jewish, then Irish people have become assimilated into the life of Govanhill and the more recent waves of South Asian people have strongly defined the identity of the area. The current wave of Eastern Europeans are the latest new comers with the distinctive Roma community prominent as a result of their life style and visible poverty.

Govanhill and Deprivation

The deprivation statistics for Govanhill show that while it is certainly amongst the most deprived in Scotland for most categories it stands well apart from those furthest down the charts in the East and North of the city. The table in appendix 4 which is based on the SIMD 2008 report shows that of the 15 datazones which cover the wider Govanhill area, five are in the 15% most deprived with the remainder just beyond this. While the SIMD shows clearly that Govanhill is amongst the more deprived areas of Scotland that it compares favorably with other parts of the city which have not received the same degree of media attention around crime and environment. When compared to Dennistoun an area similar to Govanhill in terms of extensive tenemental property which historically provided residence to ‘respectable working class families’ and proximity to the city centre, it is clear that it has developed very differently. Both areas occupy the bottom 5% in the housing category. However it is apparent that a significant range of zones are out with the bottom 20% for most categories in Dennistoun while others are substantially in the bottom 5%. In the short life of the SIMD it is notable that while the trend for most of Dennistoun’s datazones is upward in Govanhill there is a downward or static tendency.

It is important to note that the SIMD is a tool which provides relative information. It therefore only reports on the measured degree of deprivation in relation to the rest of the country. The statistics are also several years out of date. It is however useful as it indicates general trends.

The SIMD shows graphically that the deprivation in Glasgow is on a scale which outweighs any other parts of Scotland. While politicians have recognised this disparity there has been a great deal of criticism on the regeneration approaches which have attempted to address the situation. Critics argue that these have detrimentally focused on economic development which has resulted in significant gains for some with loss experienced by the most vulnerable (Mooney 2009, Scott & Mooney 2009). As Govanhill has always sat outside of the target zones it has not benefitted from the regeneration plans and associated funds which other areas have experienced. Increasingly in
recent years the media have come to portray Govanhill as one of the worst localities in the city.

Govanhill and the media
In recent years the media focus on Govanhill has magnified a succession of issues which have in a significant way come to shape its identity. Newspaper headlines have described it as the 'Murder Capital of Europe', 'Govanhell', 'Ground Zero', 'a “breeding ground” for crime, exploitation, poor health, education and cockroaches.' (Evening Times 2008) and as providing a home for 'the dirtiest street in Glasgow' (Evening Times 2007). It is therefore no surprise that local community and public sector in Govanhill have attempted to raise awareness of and fix the problems which are tangible for many of the people who live there. This has resulted in a preoccupation with the negative aspects of life in the area, which risks further detriment.

What has been called the ‘mediatisation’ (Fairclough 2000) of politics has been blamed by many researchers for the production of negative identities which dam particular ‘vulnerable’ localities and entrench the experience of repression and powerlessness of those who live there. In his article on the 2008 East End by-election Gerry Mooney (2009) gives a graphic and convincing portrayal of the ‘politics of poverty’ as played out through media portrayals of the East End ‘underclass’.

Time and again community development researchers have exposed the damaging effects of ‘misrepresentation’ where ‘the poor’ or those localities perceived as problem areas are seen as a problem to solve (Mooney 2009, Lister 2008, Cooke and Khotari 2001). There has also been criticism of the pressure on communities in receipt of ‘regeneration’ funding to produce good news stories which mask the persistent effects of structural inequalities (Anastacio et al 2000).

This highlights a challenge to any development approach which seeks to engage from the ‘ground up’. Such a process cannot be limited to the local confines but must promote forms of civic participation which challenge the policies that enforce structural inequalities. Becoming politicised is therefore a vital element in any development process which aims to promote democracy.

Another caution is what Cooke and Khotari (2001) have called the ‘tyranny of participation’ where a shallow process of engagement provides an appearance of working from the ‘grassroots’. Meanwhile public sector and NGO’s forward their own predetermined agenda. Clarity of the process of engagement and decision making process are therefore crucial.

In summary Govanhill is a locality, characterized by the cultural difference of the people who have moved here over the past century. During the past decade it has been depicted by the media as a ‘slum’ which incubates anti social behaviour, crime and poor health. While other areas of Glasgow have benefited from regeneration resources provided through Social Inclusion Partnership structures, most of Govanhill’s datazones have slid down the deprivation indices.

There are therefore a series of significant challenges for people living here. Not least of which is how to address the structural inequalities which appear out with the possibility of an individual to influence without surrendering to a deficit position which ignores or demeans all that is positive and possible.

AIMS

The aim of this consultation exercise is to gain an insight into the perceptions of the people who live and work here on how they experience the area. Although we have documented the view of a significant number of contributors this is not a quantitative study. The ambition is a reflexive one which aims to capture individual experience and identify fields which are ripe for development and simultaneously promote positive thinking in an area beleaguered by negativity.

The Imaginary

This approaches recognises the vital significance of the ‘imaginary’ in sustainable community development. This intangible yet extremely powerful aspect of consciousness has the potential to
produce very real opportunities or very real barriers. The psychic world of the imaginary is where reality is formed, identity is captured and assumptions become tangible. Experience of the external world generates profound and affective meaning, Holloway (2004:7) contends that it is here that ‘the real events in the external, social world are desirously and defensively, as well as discursively appropriated’.

Diane Reay (2008) makes a powerful argument on the production and re-production of social divisions and tensions which emerge at this psychosocial level. She shows how and where interiority and exteriority intertwine. She contends that if we are to address inequality then we must recognize and acknowledge the tensions and contradictions that are constituted through our experience of the external world as filtered by the imaginary. She cites Elliot (2004:51) who asserts,

‘who one is in a structured world of social differences is an indeterminate consequence of structures that, in turn, have the symbolic power they do because of the human subject’s psychic openness, unconscious representations and emotional investments’.

In our ‘audit culture’ (Furedi 2003) of easily measurable outputs and performativity it is perhaps difficult to place how it might be possible to develop projects which operate on the level of the psychosocial or imaginary. However a growing number of examples have emerged which draw upon Bliss Browne’s highly successful ethos in ‘Imagining Chicago’.

This is a prominent example of how the imaginary can be mobilised to provoke significant positive change for communities and localities. The ‘imagining community’ philosophy is closely aligned to the assets approach as there is recognition of the unintended damage which can be caused by a focus on deficiency. In a keynote address to the PLUS network Browne (2006) articulates this alignment:

Most public discourse is currently problem and deficit oriented. The more formal education we have received, the more likely it is that we have been taught that critical thinking means diagnosis; we default in most situations to a mindset of analyzing the problem, what caused it, whose fault it is and what the solution is. To frame community regeneration in problem talk creates expertise and focus on what communities don’t want and what doesn’t work. Diagnostic thinking is not very effective when dealing with human systems organizing. Think, for example, of what happens if I address you by starting with, “The problem with you is....” No matter how well meaning I am, addressing you as a set of problems to be solved likely provokes a defensive reaction because it implies a negative judgment about you. (ibid)

The method of data collection has therefore been developed firstly to capture perceptions of identifiable resources and then to look toward how these might be mobilised as spatial interventions or social opportunities.

Objectives
The following key objectives have underpinned the process:

- Understand how people who live in Govanhill feel about the area
- To gain an understanding of the resources and capacities which currently exist in Govanhill and can be drawn upon or developed
- To derive a sense as to where there is interest in strengthening and developing these.
- Gain an understanding of the visibility and fluidity of the connections between individuals, associations and institutions
- Identify routes for contributors to be involved in the development of assets
METHOD

Asset mapping provides a conceptual framework for the project, the method of data collection presented a set of questions which were posed to a variety of people by a means most appropriate to the context. At the outset we intended to engage contributions from the breadth of people who live in the area with regard to age and ethnicity. We understand that many research methods can reproduce Inequalities (Truman, Mertons & Humphries 2000) therefore we developed a method which aimed to be accessible to the people who live in the area.

The development of the questionnaire and data gathering process was undertaken by eight volunteers who live or work locally. The questions were designed to be as accessible as possible to the widest range of people. We achieved this by individual interviews, in the street, park, pubs, laundry, coffee shops and health centre. Focused discussions with existing groups and questionnaires completed remotely and returned.

Research Team
The research team consisted of 8 volunteers. Volunteers ages ranged between early teens and 65+. Three identify as BME with two from Eastern Europe. Volunteers brought a variety of skills and the degree of input and focused was dependant on their availability. The team was led by Heather Lynch. Heather has experience of ethnographic research and multi-method approaches.

Access
A variety of methods were used to ensure communication with contributors who do not speak English. The most prominent were multi-lingual volunteers acting as interpreters and people in focus groups interpreting for each other.

Profile of contributors
We aimed to gather contributions from a representative sample of people living in the area in relation to age and ethnicity. A total of 376 people contributed to this consultation through one of the three modes of data collection. Statistical data was gathered to show the profile of age and ethnicity. There are of course many other ways in which profile might have been detailed, however these were decided most relevant.

Age
The large section of “unknown’ ages has largely emerged from focus group samples where it has not been possible to gather individual details. (See Appendix 2 for detail)

Ethnicity
As ethnicity is an extremely important aspect of Govanhill’s identity it was important to gather the views of people who have different racial and cultural experience. This was achieved by targeting specific locations and groups to ensure broad representation. Figure ? shows the scale of representation from different groups. (See Appendix 2 for detail)

Questions
The questionnaire (see appendix 1) was developed to be used as a basis for structured interviews and also for completion and return. Most of the information was gathered through face to face contact. The questions were designed around the ‘community capitals’ framework which is discussed below. Locally based volunteers informed the wording to ensure that the language and nature of the questions was effective. This ensured as far as possible that wording is appropriate and would glean the type of information necessary to understand the broad perception of assets.

This is a qualitative study which aims to provide insight into the perceptions of a range of people who live in the area. Therefore the majority of questions were open. Closed questions provided information on age and ethnicity and whether people lived or worked in the Govanhill area.
The questions were designed to encourage discussion on each of the capital areas. While some have a very clear correlation between the capital area and the question such as Question 5 ‘Describe your skills, interests and hobbies?’ Others were designed to encourage wider discussion which could potentially inform a number of areas such as Question 6 ‘What do you like about the area?’

**Interviews**
Around one third of the contributions were gathered through one to one interviews. As we wanted to ensure that we captured the fullest possible range of contributions we identified sites at the outset which would be relevant for different people. These included, local pubs, coffee shops, laundries, parks, the health centre and the farmers market.

Interviews varied in length with the longest at two hours, while others were completed in twenty – five minutes.

**Focus Groups**
Focus groups (see acknowledgments for the list of groups) accounted for another third of the contributions these were undertaken in a range of sites with existing groups. The focus groups enabled discussions to take place between group members.

**Self-completion**
A final third of returns were achieved through self-completion. This was undertaken through the distribution of questionnaires by volunteers and through the Centre for Community Practice and Govanhill Baths charity shops on Calder St.

**Reliability**
There is no intention to suggest that these findings would be agreed upon by all who live in Govanhill. The material gathered indicates ‘perceptions’ which are real for the individual who holds them.

We have not treated the accounts as though they are ‘scientific information’ (Silverman 2006, 145). We subscribe to the view that people can and do hold conflicting opinions at any one time (White 1980, 117). There are divergent views in Govanhill and what might be perceived as an asset to one individual or collective might have no or negative relevance to others. The purpose of the research is to identify the range of assets and gain an understanding of possible patterns of relevance and recurrent themes.

However it is important that there is consistency in terms of approach and an understanding of the limitation of the model. To this end the information gains reliability in the following ways:

- A clear theoretical structure has underpinned the process in the form of a community asset mapping structure which is underpinned by the discourse of ‘community capitals’ (this is discussed below).
- Volunteers who were involved in interviewing also supported the design of the questionnaire Thus they had an informed and shared understanding of the purpose of the questions.
- The reliability of the questionnaire is shown through broadly consistent responses whichever method (focus group, interview, self-completion) was used.

**Validity**
While as already stated the author does not subscribe to any notion that there is a ‘truth’ of Govanhill awaiting discovery. However the methods used promotes a rigorous and systematic use of data.

- The variety of methods of collection closely correlate in terms of findings.
- Ongoing findings were discussed with different local people as a sounding board.

The only finding which we cannot independently confirmed as reliable is the overwhelming number of people who describe ‘Govanhill Baths’ as a desired development. As the survey was conducted with the branding of the baths this may have provoked thoughts on the baths.
Limitations
We aimed to gather information from the widest range of people who live in the area. We achieved this by targeting specific locations. While we have captured data from across ethnic and age profiles we have not monitored for social class, length of time people have lived here or marital status. These may be important variables in terms of patterns of perception. While this was not deemed relevant within the scope of this study to capture baseline information it may be necessary to inform future developments.

Community Capitals
The discourse around capital has gathered much interest in recent decades. Particularly social capital which has been adopted as a policy tool for a number of liberal western governments (Kilpatrick, Field and Falk, 2003).

Capital theory is a useful and appropriate conceptual tool in asset mapping as definitions of ‘capital’ which Baron, Field and Schuller (2000) state ‘is productive and can be used as a ‘stock’, ‘fund’ or ‘resource’ which can support community (individual) development’ and ‘asset’ are extremely close. Kretzman and Mcknight (1993) describe an ‘asset’ in the context of community asset mapping as a ‘resource’ or ‘capacity; that can be used to generate further value. This definition is wider than the stricter accounting terminology which describes an asset as a ‘resource which can readily be turned into cash’. While certain forms of capital that we will discuss fit this definition there is clearly a more complex process to evidence how cultural or social capital might translate into finance. However there is a body of research in social capital which looks closely at how investment in the development of social capital has led directly to poverty reduction and economic growth. Notably the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD 2001) and the World Bank (1998) also see reports from Narayan & Pritichett (1997) and Krishna & Upoff (1999).

Four decades after Robert Kennedy’s seminal speech which implored the US to think of wealth in more than economic terms, there is a resurgent interest in such ideas. The New Economics Foundation (NEF) and New Philanthropy Capital are London based think tanks dedicated to generating new ways of thinking about growth. NEF has developed a method of measuring social and environmental factors through frameworks such as Social Return on Investment (SROI).

Outside of ‘built’ assets ‘social’ and ‘human’ capitals are the most widely recognised. Social capital has been present in the field of sociology since the beginning of last century and similarly human capital in economics. The notion of a more expansive and interconnected theory of capitals emerged from the work of eminent French sociologist Bourdieu (1986). He introduced thinking in terms of multiple capitals that interrelate and might be converted between each other.

Each strand of capital theory is complex in of itself and a full discussion of each capital is out with the reach of this study. The intention is to provide an overview of the perceptions of resources which exist in Govanhill in order that this might stimulate further practical and more in depth work within a holistic context.
The table below provides list of definitions and indicators used for each of the capital areas which are revealed through the questionnaire.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Capital</th>
<th>What it is?</th>
<th>Indicators</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human</td>
<td>Skills and abilities</td>
<td>Experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Accreditation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Connections to others:</td>
<td>Membership of groups</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Who are similar – Bonding</td>
<td>Identification with others</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Who are different – bridging,</td>
<td>Engagement with groups/individuals perceived as ‘other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Who are in power - Linking</td>
<td>Engagement with groups/people perceived to have more status or power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>Physical wealth – of environment</td>
<td>Available/accessible green space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Potential uses for natural environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>Built environment</td>
<td>Building which are of value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Use of streets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>Access to money</td>
<td>Ability to retain and re-invest finance locally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>An understanding of the practices, values and</td>
<td>Sense of identity and belonging</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>heritage of a particular group. Knowledge of</td>
<td>Access to cultural objects and ceremonies</td>
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<td></td>
<td>how an individual or group is positioned within these.</td>
<td>Affirmation from cultural group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Awareness of the operations of government</td>
<td>Understanding of systems of governance – access to elected member and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>locally, nationally and internationally. An</td>
<td>community leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>understanding of how to access systems of</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>governance and elected members.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>Ability to articulate your own story and</td>
<td>An understanding of context and how this has developed over time.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>position within it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>An understanding of how an individual or group are positioned within</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>historical, social and physical context.</td>
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</tbody>
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**Human capital**

The concept of human capital has been developed in the field of economics with a focus on how skills can be transformed into financial value. Costanza and Daly (1992) speak of human capital as “the stock of education, skills, culture and knowledge stored in human beings themselves” (ibid, 38). There has been significant criticism of education policy which promotes a singular focus on learning for skills in relation to European, UK and Scottish policy. This over emphasis on skills is argued to be detrimental to well being (Lynch 2008) and to civic participation (Biesta 2006).

The holisitic approach taken in this study sees individual ‘skills’ as contributing to the wider
range of resources available. We have designed the questions to account not simply for areas of accomplishment but also for interests to indicate where there is the potential for growth.

**Built**
This includes all that exists in the built environment including, individual buildings, streets and residences. As stated in the introduction the majority of policy and practice around community ownership in the UK has tended to focus on ownership of buildings and land. In England there have been an extensive number of communities who have gained ownership of historic buildings and community centres which they have used to both generate income and pursue community aims (Aitken et al 2008).

**Natural**
Sustainability has become a national policy goal. The threat of damaging climate change has made it imperative that we recognise and respect our natural environment. Various tools notably carbon footprint printing have been developed to measure natural capital in order to identify where intervention is necessary (Wackernagel et al, 1999).

Natural Capital describes the affordances of the land and the environment in which a community is located. While in England the focus of asset transfer has been on buildings in Scotland the most significant community asset transfer initiatives have been in land. Led by the successful Eigg transfer and subsequent Land Reform Bill (Office of Public Sector Information 2003) a range of rural communities have developed schemes which have enabled them to develop the land around them. Many have used their natural resources to generate income through renewable energy and tourism.

There is a growing body of research which shows that investment in natural capital can have social and economic benefits alongside positive environmental outcomes (Greenspace 2005, Greenspace Scotland 2008).

**Finance**
The exploration of finance has focused on a specific set of concerns. As the information on household Income (SNS) and Income deprivation (SIMD) is in the public domain we have focused on the local economy as comprised by available shops and services. We have sought understand how people use these and their thoughts on how they might be developed.

**Social**
Social capital is the capital field which has experienced most political and theoretical debate in recent years and there is a large and ever expanding body of evidence to draw on.

Bourdieu (1986) defined social capital as ‘the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition’.

Baron, Field and Schuller (2000, 167) suggest that social capital is most noticeable when missing:

Social capital is often most noticeable when it is absent from local communities. When there are few social networks, a lack of trust, little effective mutuality, no shared norms and no commitment to the area, community cohesiveness declines and social underdevelopment is likely to occur. That shows itself in an increase in crime, a desire to leave the area, mutual suspicion, lack of information, few social facilities, lower health standards, a degraded physical environment – in short all the hallmarks of a disadvantaged neighbourhood.

While some scholars have focused on the individual benefits of investment in social capital (Coleman 1988, 1990) others have seen it as a tool for community development, (Putnam 1993,2000. Dhesi 2000 and Woolcock and Narayan 2000).
There is widespread interest in this concept and the framework has been explored and utilized by powerful global organisations (IOCD and the World Bank) as well as a host of scholars. However its prominence has also ignited a great deal of criticism.

Criticisms have evolved where it is seen as a good thing in itself. Critics are wary of the ‘dark’ side of social capital where social networks can act to detrimental effect by either excluding other or by inhibiting new connections. These are rebuffed by its advocates who see social capital as a ‘heuristic tool’ for understanding human networks which then enable sensitive interventions which promote the development of positive network growth.

The other criticism is that social capital might be detrimental to healthcare and regeneration where it becomes a ‘channel' which increases ‘the influence of economics across social sciences’ (Fine and Green 2000). This is countered by Baron, Field and Schuller (2000) who see social capital as a mechanism which ‘will enable a new set of questions to be posed about the nature of economic production, its links to different forms of human sociality, and the consequence of these for different social groups’.

Social Capital has huge significance to this study as. As it is positioned within the context of the range of assets perceived in Govanhill the criticism which it has received can be more readily addressed.

Cultural
Cultural capital has developed from within sociology a means of showing how culture is linked to the individual economic productivity. Bourdieu (1986) describes cultural capital in the following three forms:

- Embodied – These are dispositions of the mind, belief systems, assumptions, and tacit knowledge.
- Objectified – This is external goods, property and the physical world
- Institutional - accreditation by an external body such as academic qualifications or membership of private clubs, any display of status which is conferred.

He developed cultural capital to counter the economic view of human capital which suggests that an individuals capacity to generate wealth is entirely dependant on their skills and aptitudes. Bourdieu argues that access to education is both mediated and limited by cultural experience. His first ideas on cultural capital were provoked by thinking about ‘the unequal scholastic achievement of children from different social classes’ (ibid 47). His understanding of cultural capital was that achievement would depend on how much of the dominant classes cultural practice and knowledge an individual possessed.

Scholars who have used this empirically have defined it as cultural ‘competence’ and ‘familiarity’ interpreted as knowledge of and participation in the dominant culture (Di Maggio, 1982; Di Maggio & Mohr, 1985; Lamb, 1989; Katsillis & Rubinson, 1990; Aschaffenburg & Maas, 1997; Sullivan, 2001). Thinking on cultural capital has expanded and progressed, there are now advocates on its importance from within economics who suggest that it is as important to consider as human, physical and natural (Throsbin 1999).

Narrative
Narrative capital is one of the most recent developments in capitals theory. It is grounded in the belief that the ability to tell a coherent story about oneself is a resource. Ingamells (2007) describes the power of the story in the following:

Stories of practice are themselves part of the power dynamics of practice. Narrative convention accords the storyteller certain authority. Local people telling their story draw, often unconsciously, on available narrative resources of their culture, their time and the
existing logics and norms of socioeconomic relations. Through such stories, norms are reproduced or challenged and people are positioned as insiders/outsiders, valued or shamed. Stories inform people how to act, think, relate, what to aspire to and what to expect in terms of outcomes. (Ibid, 239)

Stories become reality and the power to be in charge of the story that is told about an individual or community can ground any ambition. The negative side of this was alluded to earlier where ‘misrepresentation’ was seen to act detrimentally on those who are ‘framed’ negatively by the dominant storyteller.

For further evidence of just how important it is to have power over the stories which represent individuals and communities one need look no further than the elevated position of the spin doctor in contemporary politics. Politicians recognise that they are judged on what is said perhaps more than what has actually happened. The power of the media is also evident as this is the origin of many eminent ‘spin doctors’. The current PM David Cameron found his chief of spin, Andrew Coulson from the News of the World.

The quest to discover stories from the people who live in Govanhill was an invitation to reclaim the narrative of Govanhill. We have sought to elicit the range of stories of Govanhill which are both current and historical.

**Political**

Political capital is the capacity to understand, operate and influence political process. Power relations are central to an understanding of political capital. The absence of an acknowledgement of political capital has provoked some of the deepest criticism of the use of other capital theories (Baumann 2000, Dale and Newman 2010).

In Baumann’s (2000) analysis of the Sustainable Livelihoods approach, a model which encompasses asset mapping, his key criticism is that where power play is not taken into consideration communities are ill equipped to challenge the structural production of inequalities. He suggests that ‘one solution is to incorporate politics into an analysis of policies, institutions and processes which influence the choices that people are able to make with their capital assets’ (Ibid 19).

The politically benign nature of some social capital initiatives has angered some scholars. Social capital discussants Roberts and Devine (2003) argue that social capital can politicize but only if aligned against neo liberal workfare policy.

We want to argue that if social capital closes off spaces for progressive opposition against the workfare state then social capital depoliticises community activists. If social capital opens up spaces for progressive opposition to the workfare state then social capital repoliticises community activists. (Roberts and Devine 2003, 316).

Politics and an understanding of the power play which influences the lived experience of people in local communities is therefore a crucial component of any discussion of assets development.
SECTION 2 – FINDINGS

Contributors responses have been analysed against the framework and definitions of community capitals given above.

The following is a description of the findings in relation to the different capital domains. Where patterns have clearly emerged in relation to age, ethnicity or gender these have been highlighted. Further discussion is provided where relevant as to how capitals might be developed. Conversion indicates how assets might be converted into or are generating other forms of value. A section on development opportunities has been included where this has emerged strongly from the data.

The graphs included in appendix 2 indicate where there was significant consensus around indictors for that particular capital. They should not be applied beyond the context of this particular study as it is defined by the limitations of the method. It would be entirely inaccurate to apply these statistics to the whole Govanhill population. These are simply indicators of the thinking around this specific if diverse range of people at the time of consultation.

Human

A number of clear areas of interest emerged which spanned age range and ethnicity. We have highlight those areas which have emerged as significant for a specific group or reason. Discussion of arts/crafts is the most developed as this was an area of great significance for many.

Arts/Craft

Arts and creative activity are extremely important aspect of the life of Govanhill across age and ethnicity. There are two professional artists studios which house artists of a variety of disciplines. Three of the artists interviewed cannot afford studio space and work from their homes. Artists interviewed state the reason Govanhill is attractive to them is that it is:

- affordable
- accessible to the city centre
- culturally diverse and a creative place to live

An interest in the arts does not solely reside with artists, many of the people interviewed were interested in the arts recreationally. This recreational interest appears largely specific to women. Many women who identify as Asian reported skills in dressmaking and embroidery. The women’s focus groups also indicated that some of their most successful activities were based on the arts.

The arts were also seen to be of value in terms of the development of other forms of human capital. An adult literacy officer who works locally indicated that an arts approach to language development had proved successful in the past.

The arts are therefore widely recognised for many people to have professional, recreational and practical relevance.

Conversions

It was evident that arts activity can easily produce and be converted into other forms of value.

- Human – Arts have been used to teach literacy and language skills in both compulsory and adult education.
- Social – While for some people there creative work was practical in terms of making clothes for family, there is much evidence that such is an effective means to generate networks. Many of the women’s groups engage in the arts as a social activity. The arts are a significant part of festivals and community events where they provide a mechanism which brings people together.
• Financial – Many of the professional artists interviewed generated financial value through either selling their work or their skills. Some of the women who make clothes could generate an income by making bespoke items for other people. Others simply saved money by making for themselves.

• Cultural – The cultural conversion of contributors’ human skills in arts activity is most notable at festivals and community events. Here people have been able to share their skills in performance and object making.

• Political – There is much evidence for people using arts based skills and interests for work which has a civic intention. The Kiran women’s group have been working on a creative project which promotes positive awareness of the ‘hijab’ as a choice for Muslim women. They have also made banners which raises awareness of domestic abuse. Similarly a number of youth groups have used still and moving image to reflect upon and highlight youth issues.

• Narrative – The work of ‘One Place’ has mobilised activity around story telling which has developed the narrative capability of those involved. One of the contributors is now regularly involved in working as a storyteller. The emergence of storytelling as an art form has already promoted the development of narrative capital.

Development Opportunities
It appears that there is a significant interest in and possession of creative artistic skills in Govanhill which are contributing to the life of the wider community. It is however clear that there is a stratification between different groups. The substantial number of Asian women involved in crafts were largely unaware of the studios or the scale of presence of professional artists in the area. A
number of artists are keen to build connections with the wider community and to share skills with those from a different ethnic background. However as stated earlier many of the artists struggle financially and do not have the resources or networks to undertake this work without support.

Cooking

Cooking was named as a significant interest although mostly recreational. Contributors reported that being able to cook is important for their family and social lives. A small number of contributors earn their living as cooks. One has developed a highly successful catering business.

Cooking skills were seen to contribute to the development of other capital areas in the following ways:

• Social - Food is an important part of life with family and friends
• Financial - Some earn a living through their skills
• Cultural - Food is a distinctive and defining feature of the many different cultures. The ability to prepare food according to cultural tradition incurs validation.
• Natural - Often green space development was linked with the ability to grow food
• Caring - Caring warrants a mention here as at least half of the adult contributors mention ‘caring’ as a skill. While three interviewees earn their living as childminders many more indicated ‘caring’ as a specific skill. Although this was predominantly women there were a significant number of contributions from male carers, who look after their children or in one man’s case an elderly parent.
• Reading - Almost half of the contributors list reading as a skill
• IT – while many people mention IT as an area of interest five people earn a living using IT skills.

Development

The presence of this range of skills and interests all be it mostly unaccredited shows that there are many skills that people use to expand their quality of life and connections to others. Opportunities to develop in these areas may encourage the growth of other areas of value such as those mentioned above.

Built

The approximately 61 B listed buildings on the Historic Scotland register (Historic Scotland) are an indication of the architectural and historical significance of Govanhill’s built environment. The built environment was widely acknowledged as an asset and provoked comments which indicate a great deal of value by the wider community.

‘The things I like about Govanhill are, the Victorian architecture, Queens Park, lovely little boutique shops and second hand shops, all my friends so close by, great sense of community.’ (18-25 Scottish)

Many people were aware that William Dixon built a substantial proportion of the tenements for his employees and that the library and some of the schools are listed. However this acknowledgement of the grandeur and historical significance of the buildings was frequently coupled with a sense of frustration and loss. It was frequently pointed out that ‘this obviously use to be a grand area’ but now ‘it’s a bit run down’.

Many people recited the headlines of ‘slum conditions’ and bemoaned the need for work in the area. However one couple who had until recently lived in separate Govanhill flats, one ‘improved’ and one ‘unimproved’ stated that they felt their were advantages of both. They were very unhappy that ‘ripping out the cornices’ was seen as an improvement and ultimately felt that living with ‘rattley windows’ was a preferable to the ‘sterile’ environment of the improved property.
While clearly a number of people are living in conditions which are far more extreme than ‘rattley windows’ this shows that people place a value on the preservation of the Victorian aesthetic.

Streets
The other aspect of built environment frequently cited was the streets. Those most frequently mentioned were Victoria Road and Allison Street. However some other streets were relevant to particular groups for specific reasons.

General attitudes to Victoria Road paralleled those on buildings. While many people greatly enjoyed the ability to shop on Victoria Road and the types of shops present, just as many felt that ‘it could be better’. The bus-gate was cited by many as ‘stifling the life of Victoria Road’. Many of the older people remember when Victoria road provided a much more comprehensive range of shops. However the overriding sentiment was that this road is central to the vitality of the area.

Another street seen as central to Govanhill for quite different reasons was Allison Street. Allison Street is clearly crucial to South Asian and Muslim people as a hub for produce and services. The value being that people have access otherwise impossible in any other part of the city. However the downside focused on the environment. Many in particular Asian women said that they were worried about their children in relation to the proximity and density of traffic. This fear was also linked with the amount of shop waste on the streets and the narrowness of the pavements at some points making navigation difficult.
The value of Allison Street did not simply rest with Asian people as many white and non-Asian contributors described Allison Street as something of a hub in the area;

My favourite place is Allison Street ‘I like the smell of the spices from the shops and the general hustle-bustle of the street’ (18-25 Scottish)

Allison Street is seen to embody the qualities of Govanhill with a full sensory impact of smells, vitality, density and variety of people. One contributor commented that what she felt Allison street needed was ‘more female influence’ (Scottish 36-49). The key messages are that while Allison Street is a site of tension it is also an extremely important organ in the body of Govanhill. While there is a perceived need for development interventions would need to be sensitive to the huge value it has for many.

Development

Development planners should be mindful of the following emergent themes:

- The many redundant listed buildings acts as a clear indicator of the decline in prosperity of Govanhill. The most often cited buildings of this nature are the ‘Baths’ the ‘Bankhall St Cinema’ and the library which was closed at the time of consultation.

- The history of the area which is embodied in the traditional tenements is valued by many. Aesthetic concerns around ‘improvement’ are important to people some of whom are prepared to sacrifice functionality for form.

- The life of the streets is complex. There is a great deal of value in streets such as Allison Street which is often presented only in negative terms.

Natural

This describes the affordances of the land and the environment. This is of increasing importance and sustainability has become a national policy goal. The threat of damaging climate change has made it imperative that we recognise and respect our natural environment. There is a growing body of research which shows that investment in natural capital can also have social and economic benefits (Demonstrating the Links 2007, Greenspace 2005, Greenspace Scotland 2008).

Govanhill is a densely populated area where access to green space could potentially be a concern for many. Indeed all contributors commented positively on the need for green space and it is evident across reports that green space is viewed as a precious necessity for recreation and also notably for mental wellbeing. The high value on green space was shared across age range and ethnicity. One teenager reported how she likes to sit in Bennan Square because ‘its quiet there and you can just sit and think, there is no pressure’ (12-17 Scottish). In contrast to the enjoyment of the buzz of the busy streets is the need for space and calm.

Parks

All contributors indicated the importance of Queens Park. While many could not articulate exactly what they did there, words like ‘space’, ‘calm’, ‘openness’ and ‘air’ were frequently used to describe why it played such an important part in their experience of the area. While a significant number indicated using the park for sport and physical fitness the majority of responses were linked to mental wellbeing and spirituality.

Unfortunately a distinct section of the community have become alienated from the park as a result of a pervasive sense of fear. The following comment captures the attitude of a significant group of older people toward the park;

‘I really love Queens Park but it is not safe. I would not walk through it now, since that girl was murdered’ (65+ UK)
There is a host of evidence which backs contributors reports of the significance of access to green space for health and wellbeing (Ellaway et al 2001, Sooman &Mcintyre 1995). There are also significant reports on the barriers to using green space, fear such as that described above is one of the most prominent across the city (Centre for Population Health 2008).

Similarly the much smaller Govanhill Park was noted by many, such as the following contributor.

‘I like the vibrancy of the area Govanhill park is a well used space by many groups from young people to the elderly, I like this!’ (26-35 Pakistani)

This contributor illuminates the importance of parks as spaces which provide a vehicle for passive engagement with others. However again Govanhill Park appears to be out of bounds for many. Beyond six o’clock many people reported that they would not enter as a result of a general fear of the young people who used it.

Bennan Square is a haven for the many youths, elderly and parents with young children who reported enjoying a feeling of safety and quiet. For those who live in or pass through this part of Govanhill Bennan Square appears to have a special value.

Another significant area is the recreation ground for young people and dog owners. Peripheral green spaces such as Pollok Park and the Hidden Gardens were mentioned by relatively few. Proximity to green space therefore seems important and perhaps why Bennan Square although small is highly valued by those who live near by.

Backcourts

Backcourts were mentioned by a small but significant number of people as underused and undervalued green space. While back courts were not noted to provide the type of respite from busy life as parts they were often cited as potential growing space. Those who mentioned them noted in a variety of ways that an isolated physical regeneration would have little lasting value.
One contributor comments that an improvement to the area would be:

‘doing up the backcourts, renovating them with everybody who lives there, not someone coming in to do it to us’ (36-49, UK)

This fear of being ‘done to’ is one that I will pick up later in the section on politics. However it is important to note here that much of the research on the value of green space development is closely linked to active participation by those whom the developments aim to serve (Demonstrating the Links 2007, Greenspace 2005, Greenspace Scotland 2008).

New Developments

New developments were reported by pupils in St Brides and Holycross primaries. The children in both of these schools spoke at length about the possibility of developing nearby unused sites as school gardens and growing areas. Subsequent conversations with parent councils and teachers revealed that these projects are complex and fraught with hurdles around ownership of land and responsibility.

Financial

The tireless pursuit of economic growth has arguably been central to all policy development in the Western economy since the mid 80’s. When they came to power, the SNP Scottish Government stated that ‘economic growth is not everything but is nearly everything’ (Scottish Government 2007, accent given). Scholars of social (Bauman 2000, Mooney 2009), cultural (Belfiore 2004) and educational (Bansel 2007, Coffield 1999) policy have severely critiqued this linear view of progress. A number of initiatives have emerged across the globe which seek to generate economic alternatives which are ostensibly grounded in the promotion of local economies.

The seminal work of Joseph Stiglitz (2002), former chief economist at the World Bank urges governments toward ethical economic policies. In recognition of the damage to the most vulnerable countries and individuals he calls for a reshaping of global economic policies where ‘all countries have a voice’ and ‘in which growth is not only more sustainable and less volatile but where the fruits of this growth are more equitably shared’ (ibid 22). While this work on global policy may seem far beyond the possibilities of Govanhill it is crucial to observe that many of the most effective developments of this thinking are taking place, indeed need to take place at a local level.

In the UK the New Economics Foundation have supported a number of initiatives which explore local currency (Boyle 2003) and support actual initiatives such as the Brixton Pound (Wimbush 2009).
development of micro finance as a means to alleviate poverty in the most impoverished countries is of growing relevance for those living in poverty in the developed world. One such initiative has already impacted significantly on the lives of people in Glasgow. In conjunction with nobel prize winner Professor Yunis Glasgow, Caledonian University have embarked on a partnership which has resulted in the Grameem micro finance model being adopted in Sighthill. This project which began with a micro loan system for women has now progressed plans for a local bank.

The thinking behind such projects is that money which is generated locally should stay local and result in local benefit. Where the fruits of local labour are siphoned off into the bank accounts of the wealthy who may not even live in the same country or even the same continent this is detrimental and poverty producing. The exploration of the economy of Govanhill has looked at its nature shape and distinctiveness through perceptions and a map of local businesses.

It seems that unlike other areas of Glasgow, Govanhill has a distinctive local economy which is not only serving the people who live here but other who travel into the area. In Appendix 3 you can find links to maps which provide detail and locations of all of Govanhill’s shops and services.

**Local Services**
People living in Govanhill report that the range of shops and easy access to them is a huge bonus of living in the area. Fruit shops and restaurants are the most frequently mentioned. Many people felt that they could get most of what they need locally. This was particularly the case for Asian women who pointed out that children’s clothes and shoes were they only products they found difficult to buy in local shops.

Older people often spoke of local shopping negatively as they remembered when Victoria Road and Cathcart Rd offered wide variety. Grocers Malcolm Campbells in Victoria Road and Curleys in Cathcart Rd were mentioned by a number of older people who felt that they could not buy all that they need locally.

**Cultural Specificity**
Access to affordable ‘cultural delicacy’ foods such as vegetables, herbs and spices is valued across different ethnicities. While it appears of specific relevance to Asians and Muslims who require to access particular produce this was enjoyed by most. Many people commented that some of the foods which can be bought affordably in Govanhill’s local shops would be expensive delicatessen items in other areas.
Focus group discussions with Muslim women indicated that this easy access to culturally specific foods, products and services brings other people into the area to shop.

**Charity Shops**
Charity shops were mentioned frequently across ethnicities and age groups. While some people viewed the number of charity shops as a negative and an indicator of ‘decline’ most of the people who mentioned them did so positively. Many people described them as a welcome opportunity to recycle or to ‘pick up interesting nik naks’. For others they represent the possibility of buying essential goods they could not otherwise afford.

**Shopping Local**
The vast majority of people who spoke about the shops and shopping areas enjoyed being able to shop local and any criticisms were that there was not more availability and choice. A significant number of people use the farmers market and were keen to see more ‘markets and fayres’.

**Social**

‘people are very active in Govanhill just now, most of the ethnic minorities are mixing well, coming together’ (65+ UK)

Social capital is the capital field which has experienced most political and theoretical debate in recent years. Therefore there is a large and ever expanding body of research to draw on.

Bourdieu (1980) defined social capital as ‘the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition’. While some scholars have focused on the individual benefits of investment in social capital (Coleman 1988, 1990) others have seen it as a tool for community development (Putnam 1993,2000. Dhesi 2000 and Woolcock & Narayan 2000).

The indictors for social capital used are; membership of groups, a sense of community and presence of family and friends. Another specific indictor which emerged from the data is the value of cultural diversity.
Membership of Groups
Over half of the contributors report membership of a group. The definition of ‘group’ is very wide as many included dance and exercise classes. This accounts for a large percentage of people who claimed membership. As a third of contributors were accessed via groups this figure is almost certainly exaggerated in relation to the wider experience. However even where people did not belong to a specific collective there was a general awareness that there was ‘a lot going on if you want to get involved’.

Sense of Community
An emphatic message reported by more than half of contributors was the strong sense of community in Govanhill. The sentiment that it is a ‘friendly area, despite being poor’ (65+ UK) is widely held. The distinctive nature of the Govanhill community spirit is captured in the comments of people who had move in from other parts of the city or globe. The experience of the following contributor was echoed by many:

“Govanhill has a strong sense of community, it’s the first place that I have lived where I speak to my neighbours’ (26-35 Irish)

These comments were generally not made without acknowledgment of some of the widely reported crime and racial tension which exists. However the majority of contributors saw beyond this and sensed the community spirit of most people and ‘the feeling of friendliness that exists in most of the Govanhill area’ (50-65 Irish) almost in spite of it. One report indicates explicitly that this is a yet un-mined resource ‘this area has a strong sense of community which has yet to be tapped into’ (36-49, UK).
Counter community
A counter to the above was described by older people and teenagers. Virtually all of the people who are 65+ and some of those over 50 stated that they would not leave their house after 6pm. The perception that the streets were not safe mostly accompanied by a list of incidents read in the newspapers was strongest with this group. Contrary to the strong sense of community spirit reported by other this group most often mourned the loss of the community they knew when younger and comments such as ‘there is no community’ (65+ Scottish) were common.

While most people cited the news reports as a reason for feeling unsafe, teenagers were the group who had most often witnessed violent or threatening incidents. These were generally connected to gang fights which took place outside of school. Reports of weapons and exposure to illegal drugs were consistent across the reports from young people. Comments on liking ‘the people’ or ‘sense of community’ were absent from this group. The exception to this is the experience of new migrants.

Govanhill: A safe place
Many of the new migrants reported that they felt safer in Govanhill than in other parts of Glasgow. Even where new migrant youths had reported encounters with ‘dangerous Scottish boys’ (18-25 Slovakia) they still insisted that Govanhill was a good area and they were happy to be close to friends and family. Some new migrants had moved to other areas such as Castlemilk and even other cities in the UK such as Leeds and Bradford and reported a preference for Govanhill.

This was true for the larger Eastern European group as it was for much smaller minorities who reported feeling safe.

‘We have enjoyed living in Govanhill for four years, most of our Filipino friends stay here, it’s easy for transport and it’s a friendly neighbourhood’ (36-49 Philippines)

For some of those smaller minorities and this includes people from western countries such as Northern America and Europe the fact that Govanhill is culturally diverse is a bonus. As ‘difference’ is the norm in Govanhill people who might feel that they would stand out in other areas experience a sense of freedom living in Govanhill. One woman who had moved from another part of Scotland reported the pleasure of being able to ‘buy the milk in my pyjamas’ (65+ Scottish) without fear of appearing unusual.

Social Spaces
Significant social spaces were most often informal gathering spaces rather than groups. While for some particularly older people attendance at exercise classes or the residents group was the key social space other mostly cited less formal activities such as cafes and pubs. Women often described shopping and walking in the park as an important social activity. The Glasshouse in Queens Park was also frequently mentioned by people with young children as an important safe space to meet friends or just visit.

Social Networks
Social capital is widely theorised in terms of the types of networks, how strong or weak they are and what they offer individuals and collectives. These are termed bonding, bridging and linking.

Bonding describes strong ties between people who share culture, interest or faith. These strong ties were most evident for migrant groups. For newer migrant groups this was manifest most strongly in the choice to live very close to family and friends. While second and third generation migrants did not speak so much about living close to family access to culturally specific groups was perceived as a significant benefit of living in the area.

Bridging is a term for the connections between different identity groups or individuals. The place where bridging activity was most visible was through school centered activities. Children described belonging to after school clubs and activities such as football and swimming which involved a spectrum of ethnicities. St. Brides swimming club has not only provided a place where the range of children who attend the school can learn to swim but also brings parents together.
Linking describes the connections between individuals or groups where there is a significant difference in terms of access to power. Most people felt that they had little access to power this is discussed in more depth in the politics section. The people who believed that they could engage with politicians belonged to politically minded groups such as the community council or the boards of local organisations.

Cultural

Cultural capital has developed from within sociology a means of showing how culture can be linked to the individual progression and economic productivity. Bourdieu developed cultural capital to counter the economic view of human capital which suggests that an individual’s capacity to generate wealth is entirely dependant on their skills and aptitudes. He argues that access to education is both mediated and limited by cultural experience. Such cultural experience produces, language, mannerisms, dress and social codes of conduct which are have a huge significance in terms of access to progression routes.

Thinking on cultural capital has expanded and progressed, there are now advocates on its importance from within economics who suggest that it is as important to consider as human, physical and natural capitals (Throsbin 1999) in relation to a healthy economy. Margaret Archer (2003) builds a powerful argument that current social questions have shifted from ‘structure and agency’ to ‘culture and agency’ indicating that our ability to self-determine has more to do with culture than with power structures.

Govanhill is clearly an area which has much cultural variation. For many this in itself indicates cultural wealth and a sense of being globally connected:
‘feels like a community, I like the ethnic backgrounds of people from all over the world’
(12-17 Japan)

The visible presence of people from different backgrounds was strongly promoted as a feature which makes Govanhill a distinct and interesting place to be. This was often followed by the acknowledgement that such difference could also result in tension:

‘The diversity I love but sometimes hate. I like to see children playing outside. I get lots of reality here which I don’t see in other areas’ (26-35, Indian)

The contributor cited above describes this as ‘reality’ somehow the manifestation of people living their lives in very different ways has had a grounding effect upon her. It seems clear that there is certainly copious evidence of cultural products and practices which although potentially tension producing are valued by many.

- Embodied cultural capital can be seen in various languages and observation of faith based and social rituals.
- Objectified cultural capital tends to be most evident in dress and religious buildings.
- Institutionalised cultural capital was harder to discern but perhaps could be perceived through validation or status within identity groups. Much of this appears to focus on language skills. For newer migrants English language and for others the ability to read and write in Urdu or Arabic.

It was clear from peoples reports that although wealthy in terms of variety that this is not the cultural capital of the ‘dominant’ white middle class culture which Bourdieu sees as necessary. The cultural capital which people describe and value are of non-dominant cultures which are never the less significant to individual identity and wellbeing.

Proponents of cultural capital have been criticized for ethnocentricity which does not acknowledge the cultural resources of non-dominant cultures (Carter 2003, Ogbu 1988). While this emphasis persists there is a growing need to understand the complexity of cultural capital. Particularly as this relates to migration and areas such as Govanhill where people need to navigate different cultures simultaneously. The tensions which are produced through such circumstances are tangible in the health of migrant communities (GCPH 2010).

However the vast majority of reports indicate that this connection with different cultures is also a resource which was visible in the following ways:

- Muslim faith groups frequently cite the importance of mosques and specific cultural networks for their daily lives.
- The range of shops and services which provide culturally specific goods and services which are greatly valued and support quality of life for these different groups.
- Almost half of the contributors including the range of ethnic backgrounds value access to the presence of other cultures in the area.

People who identified as Scottish only appeared to identify the cultural resources of others. They did not indicate the same sense of cultural belonging. One contributor went as far as saying ‘I am from Scotland so I don’t have a culture’. implying that a sense of cultural belonging is only for minorities.

The exception to this would be young people who had developed affiliations to particular groups which have specific dress and language codes. Some of these might be described as negative as this includes affiliation to gangs. However for the individuals it appears to provide identity, belonging and a sense of self-worth.

**Development**

Cultural production is an area which appears hugely significant to the development of Govanhill and the people who live here. Research indicates that cultural activity whether dominant or non-dominant is closely linked to identity, agency and wellbeing (Carter 2003 and Lamont 2000). People living in
Govanhill are immersed in a variety of different cultural practices which they themselves recognize as both a challenge and an opportunity. Although described by many as a ‘culturally rich’ area the group who reported the least cultural capital are the white Scots.

Political

Political capital is the capacity to understand, influence and practically negotiate political process. Power relations are central to an understanding of political capital. The absence of an acknowledgement of political capital has provoked some of the deepest criticism of the use of other capital theories in isolation (Baumann 2000, Dale and Newman 2010).

In relation to Govanhill the two questions which address political awareness provoked the most consistent and angry responses from the spectrum of contributors with the exception of children.

Understanding political process

People appeared to understand political process in that they understood the electoral system at UK, Scottish and local authority levels. However there was very little indication of faith in this process or that in operation it served their interests. Much of the consultation took place around the May UK elections so there was perhaps a higher degree of political awareness than might be expected at other times. This did not however appear to impact positively on views of political process. There was also no discussion of party politics just a general disaffection with politics in general. The words of the following man are indicative of many:

‘the only people who influence politicians are the millionaires that they serve. They only work for people who have money and you only see them at election time’ (65+ UK)

The belief that political process was not serving ‘common people’ was repeated over and over again. The deep disaffection with political process was evident across age and ethnicity:

‘I don’t want to vote, they get your money anyway and voting doesn’t work’ (50 – 65 Pakistani)

In terms of local decisions the only people who mentioned community councils were those who had direct involvement. Even here while there was a sense that community councils are best
placed to decide upon local issues that their power is limited.

- The following summarises general attitudes toward political process: Around one third of contributors said that they did not know how policy decisions which affect housing, education and health are made, in the words of one contributor this is ‘the million dollar question’.

- Another third viewed the council as the most significant player, with some saying both council and government. Very rarely was a distinction made between Holyrood and Westminster.

- Around a quarter of contributors did not give a direct response but immediately spoke about how removed from the decision making process they felt. The overriding message from these contributors can be captured in the following “it doesn’t really matter who makes the decisions because it is not us”.

- The few people who are aware of community councils felt that they could be more significant but are limited in effect.

- Very few people discussed particular party positions, for the most part politicians were viewed as a homogenous group.

*Political participation*

Views on how to influence the decision making were equally bleak. Although many people could recite actions they might take such as protesting, writing letters and attending surgeries, there was a general pessimism as to how effective these might be.

The most positive action described was to ‘join a group’. Being a part of a group was seen as much more powerful and preferable to individual action. People who were part of a group appeared more positive than those who were not.
However this was generally countered with a deep pessimism which was informed by local experience. A number of people called upon the experience of the ‘Save Our Pool’ campaign as evidence that it really did not matter how strongly you protest that the ‘council just do what they were going to do all along, once they have made up their mind about it they do it’ (26-35 Pakistani).

The above quote highlights another key point which is that people feel that decisions are made over their head and for politically driven rather than community driven motives. Even where consultation took place this was not viewed as effective. In the words of one contributor ‘local consultation has minimum impact’ (50 – 65 Scottish).

Of all the areas discussed this is the one which elucidated the most emphatic and negative set of responses:

- Around one third of people simply answered we can’t. Even where people did suggest actions such as voting and writing letter as a means of influence there was very little confidence in these having any impact.

- A significant number of people cited the baths campaign as an example of political action in the area. Most often was this was perceived to endorse a sense of powerlessness. One contributor stated the following: ‘I mean look at the baths campaign, they tried everything and it’s still not open’ (35-49 Scottish).

- The existing groups who responded to the questionnaire through discussion were far more likely to come up with positive suggestions around how people might exert influence. Vehicles such as letter writing, protesting and becoming visible through media attention were viewed as having best chance of effect.

**Development**

Such disaffection with political process and general feelings of powerlessness are not unique to Govanhill. Research undertaken by Glasgow Centre for Population Health (Seaman & Lyon 2008) which explores civic engagement shows that these views are echoed across the city. The authors link disaffection and lack of perceived opportunity for genuine political participation with the issues in other areas of life.

> Many of the concerns have the feel of being participation analogues of concerns raised in other realms, of marginalisation, atomisation, anomie and the social and interpersonal consequences of extant ways of perceiving and dealing with problems. (ibid 13)

They conclude the need for ‘meaningful’ engagement in policy development which has a ‘talk first’ approach. Govanhill contributions echo this sentiment where people clearly indicated that they wanted their opinions to be known and valued.

The positives to be taken from this most negative and impassioned area is that people do have an understanding of political process. The frustration is that this understanding in itself is not enough.

**Narrative**

> ‘In the old days the police knew everybody, there is no community now’ (65+ UK)

Narrative capital is one of the most recent developments in capitals theory. It is grounded in the belief that the ability to tell a coherent story is in itself a resource. Stories are important as they provide the basis of representation and they ‘inform people how to act, think, relate, what to aspire to and what to expect in terms of outcomes’ (Ingamells 2007, 239).

The question which requested stories of Govanhill is that one that gave most problems for all but the older contributors. Most people sensed that there must be some very interesting stories of the area as it has such cultural diversity. However this rarely translated into tangible information. However
most of the Scottish over 65’s had a range of stories which describe how the space has changed in terms of green space and also cultural and social activity.

- Many older people 65+ described a rich understanding of the history of the area. They report how the physical environment has changed with regard to green space and the uses of the spaces.

- Older people appeared to have the biggest sense of loss where they remember access to a wider range of local shops and services. They also report six functioning cinemas which they attended alongside use of the baths and library.

- Reports from people aged under 65 from all ethnicities were sparser. Most people did not have a sense of Govanhill’s history beyond that it must have been an important location for new migrants.

- The ‘Save Our Pool’ campaign was also widely acknowledged as an important story in Govanhill.

- The stories that people under 65+ had to tell were more closely tied to the negative headlines of the last decade.

- The most often cited image of Govanhill was the Evening Times picture of a flat in decay where the toilet was placed in a living area. This appears to have imprinted itself into the consciousness of many contributors.

**Development**

The current prevailing stories of Govanhill appear to be having a wide spread impact which is affecting how people think and feel about the area. This is undermining the multitude of benefits and opportunities which Govanhill has and is offering. It is therefore imperative to mobilise the positive stories which connect different generational and cultural experience.
What would improve Govanhill?

The following list captures the most prominent ideas which contributors suggested for positive development. There was a great deal of shared concerns and ideas for development in similar domains. Many opinions reflected the notion that Govanhill has a lot of resources and opportunities for development. The frustration appears as one of a sense of neglect. This is compounded by a feeling of powerlessness around the ability to influence and participate in the development process.

Despite these frustrations there were a set of ideas which focused around, environment, community, civic life, local economy and generational concerns.

Environment
Cleaning up the environment and making better use of available green space have been discussed in the ‘natural’ section. In summary there is a lot of interest in the development of back-courts and green space if this is undertaken with the active participation of local people.

Improving the street environment is another area of interest. It seems that concerns with the street are as much aesthetic as they are practical, cleaning is frequently mentioned as is lighting. One boy suggested ‘the streets are gloomy they need more light to make them brighter’ (12-17, Pakistani). Another woman indicated that fear has resulted from the streets being ‘male dominated’. She suggested the ‘streets feel very male dominated they need more female influence’ (Scottish 36-49).

Community Gathering

‘more social clubs for people of all ages to go and meet other people in the area’ (18-25 unknown)

While there are frequent reports of the strong sense of community in Govanhill, many believe that this could be harnessed and developed to produce further benefit. A widely held view was that people from different groups would mix more freely of there was a space and events programme which promoted this.

‘people need to come together, Glaswegians and immigrants, people see each other as the other’ (26 – 35 Canadian)

While Daisy Street Neighbourhood centre was frequently mentioned for activities, it was generally felt that it was not a space ‘you would hang about in’ (36-49 Scottish). The desire is for a space which is more social and less structured, a meeting space that is open for all and had the capacity to bring people together. The focus on community control was also highlighted through as desire for ‘a community centre that actually is for the community (36-49 Scottish).

For some such social activity and space would also have an informative function for those who feel disconnected.

‘It is hard to find out what is going on when you are not working, I want to do things where I can meet people’ (50-65 Scottish)

Given the widespread interest in arts and craft based work a number of people saw this as a useful resources which would bring people together and support the local economy.

Civic Life

The profound feeling of alienation from political process has been discussed above. This was also seen as a crucial barrier or enabler for development. The need for visible local decision making was threaded through most of the ideas offered. The fact that decisions are ‘not’ seen to be ‘made by people in the area, they don’t get a say, it’s the government or the council’ (12-17, UK) was a problem that could be resolved by more meaningful and effective consultation.

There was also an interest in locally realised funding decisions:
I would like to see a separate regeneration fund controlled by services in the area to target what is needed most’ (36-49 Pakistani)

The implication is that local people have the knowledge to understand their issues and interests and to act upon these.

Another frequently stated civic concern was slum landlords. This was again marked by frustration that ‘such people should be allowed to operate’ (50 – 64 Scottish). Getting ‘rid of slum land lords’ (18-25 Scottish) was a priority for many who believed that the presence of such people is ‘bringing the area down’ (Pakistani 26 – 35).

Local Economy
As has been discussed the cultural specificity of the shops is valued by many who see this as an asset of the area. The need for development was seen more about presentation and access than about the actual range of shops. However there were ideas from two distinct groups:

• A number of women were keen for more ‘children’s clothes’ shops and saw this as a gap.

• A number of Asian women were keen to have shopping facilities which felt safer for their children. Some articulated this as the need for an ‘Asian supermarket’, the origin of this seemed to be more from a safety point of view than a desire for a large store.

• Many people listed ‘markets’ as something that they felt would be interesting and good for the local economy.

• A number of older people spoke about the lack of a grocery shop and the range of shops that there use to be so that they could buy all that they need without having to travel into the city centre. ‘We need better shops, you use to be able to buy all you needed on Victoria Road. There were shops like Malcolm Campbell’s, the only ones left now are Ralstons and the Bungalow Café.’ (Scottish 65+)

Generational concerns and the need for specific resources were largely located around the interests of older people and younger people. It is clear from feedback in other areas that these two groups appear as the most alienated and isolated. The issues for older people and teenagers evolved around a belief that these groups are not valued. The concerns for children focused on the lack of activities.

The main concerns for children and young people were that resources were geographically out with their reach. These concerns were often voiced by older people and parents.

‘We need a sports centre, the Gorbals is too far, kids need a place they can walk to themselves, there is nothing for younger kids to do in this area’ (26-35, unknown)

A number of teenage contributors were accessed through local youth projects and were fully aware of the types of opportunities available through the youth agencies. However many indicated that they would value a space that would allow a more informal chance to meet each other. Many use the park and the recreation ground but these were not viewed as hospitable or safe in the dark winter months.

The parents of young children frequently stated that there are very few resources and opportunities for this group.

‘we need a children’s play centre for younger children’ (26-35 Pakistani)

After school activities tend to end at 4pm and thereafter there is little to do. Parental led activities in local primary schools appear to be greatly valued and used but these have a degree of fragility as they are dependant on the goodwill of parents.

A small number of older contributors attend the ‘Crossroads’ (Crossroads is a voluntary
sector agency which has a base in Govanhill) exercise class and some the Govanhill residents group. These were valued by those who attend but many felt that older people were not valued as much as they should be:

    We need opportunities for ‘retired people and newly retired people to make use of their experience and expertise, to value older people in the community’ (50-65 UK).

Older people generally felt that they had a lot to offer but that there were few opportunities for them to do so.

Contributors articulated a considered set of concerns and ideas which would improve the area. Some of these more easily achievable than others. The vast majority of contributions show a great deal of affection for the area. One young contributor suggests that ‘Govanhill is not the best place but it just needs love and care’ (12-17, Pakistani).

While there were an array of ideas the challenge for people is how to move these forward when they feel excluded from the decision making process.
PART 3 - DISCUSSION

This consultation aimed to expose the positive attributes of Govanhill in order that these might be acknowledged and therefore provide the basis for community led development. The findings show that while there is a wide perception of Govanhill as an area ‘in decline’ the vast majority of contributors perceive opportunities for growth in a variety of forms in which there are clusters of consensus. However responses also made it clear that while all contributors acknowledge the presence of assets, for most the only resources which they feel any control over are those which exist in the personal domain.

This discussion therefore focuses on the theme of community ownership as a public realm concern. The findings show that there are both challenges and opportunities for development. People have contributed ideas which if taken at face value might inform planning in their own right. However reports indicate that any intention to promote sustainable development will require a significant shift in the relationship of community members to the decision making process. The clearest and most consistent message from contributors is that they believe that they have no ownership over decision making at a local level far less a national one. The change sought is therefore not simply about operationalising specific suggestions but about changing the process through which operational plans are generated.

The following discussion aims to explore the key challenge of disaffection which has resulted in the demise of public engagement and the diminished sense of ownership over decision-making in the public realm. Subsequent discussion explores the means which might promote engagement, working toward community ownership.

Recognition and Ownership

A number of meta-level themes have emerged from this consultation. These go beyond the physical and point to how the subjectivity of Govanhill is currently being produced to detrimental effect. The identity of the area is beleaguered by negative commentary which appears to have been internalised by many residents.

I have already indicated that an erosion of confidence and identity has taken place through negative media representation and political solutions which define Govanhill as ‘a problem’. This has led to a polarised view which has colonised its identity. Govanhill is therefore seen to be in detriment where there is no recognition of all that is of value.

Such mis-recognition results where ‘cultural value patterns constitute some as inferior, excluded or invisible’ (Fredman 2007). The widespread and profound feeling of powerless to influence far less participate in local decision making indicates collective feelings of exclusion and invisibility in relation to civic life. This powerlessness is not unique to Govanhill, many scholars have grappled with the demise of democratic process (Coffield 1999, Biesta 2006, Bansel 2007) across the West. The ‘Civic Conversation’ held in Glasgow by the Centre for Population Health (Seaman & Lyon 2008) with people from across the city ‘indicates the current disenchantment felt with political structures and the available means of shaping them (ibid 13).

So where residents of Govanhill can see the possibility of positive growth they do not perceive the possibility to generate movement as the decision making process appears opaque, out of reach and fueled by an unrelated set of motives. People therefore acknowledge their community assets but have no sense of ownership or power over the development of these. They are forced inward as one contributor suggests into a position where ‘the only decisions that I can influence are my own’ (Scottish 18-25).

The frustration which people described suggests a feeling of being bound, that is to say a lack of freedom. Comments such as ‘it doesn’t matter who it is, it is not us’ suggest that authority is remote and faceless.

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In order to have a sense of ownership there must first be the tacit ability to influence. This is at the heart of democracy. John Dewey states that ‘democracy is more than a form of government’ but that it is ‘primarily a form of associated living’ (Dewey 1966, 87). Democracy is therefore premised on our connectedness to each other. This aligns with the views of many who pointed out that the best possibility of influence was through collective action.

The Collective and the Public Realm

The significance of public life is a field which political philosopher Hannah Arendt (1998) dedicated most of her attention to. She contends that involvement in the political or public realm is a constituent aspect of freedom. Arendt’s ideas are particularly useful as she explores the mechanics of political action from local through to national contexts. Her critique of representative democracy has a strong resonance with the collective views of contributors:

...representative democracy: encourages the citizen to vote from private concerns without well-informed opinions since there is no space for average citizens to debate issues...as there is no meaningful relationship between the individual and federal matters, this results in the alienation of persons from politics, since they are without a space for active involvement.’ (Fry 60)

For Arendt active involvement occurs in the public arena, and that action is freedom. Freedom is therefore not an internal feeling but exists within our connections to each other. The erosion of collectivity has been alluded to earlier and is one of the most substantial criticisms of the type of relations produced by current Western neo-liberal forms of governance (Bauman 2000, Bansel 2007).

The challenge of ‘community ownership’ in Govanhill is therefore multi-fold as it involves the engagement of people who feel isolated from the public arena in collective action. This involves crucial movement not just within the community but also by those in receipt of authority to make decisions in the public realm.

Given that many in Govanhill are already struggling with a range of economic and health challenges this may seem far removed from the possible. However there are a growing number of precedents for such mobilisation of the collective. Also as has already been described people in Govanhill have a significant range of resources to draw upon and build upon. Not least of all the number of people who perceive a sense of community.

A crucial step toward owning and utilising these assets is recognising their existence. Such recognition is central to the development toward a sense of community self-determination. While the demise of public life is a concern across the western world, there are a growing number of examples of local communities showing leadership which has the potential to impact on local and global levels.

Toward Community Ownership

Arendt proposes the necessity for sites which promote public debate which have a clear channel toward action. There are a small but growing number of examples of communities who have taken this challenge on and are moving forward. In Canada the ‘United We Can’ provides an example where community members recognised a previously identified problem as an asset and utilised this for public benefit. This project involved a development between some of the most disenfranchised members of the community whose poverty driven lifestyle entailed gathering thrown away cans and exchanging these for money. The community recognition and ownership of this activity not as a problem to be eliminated but as an asset led to the formation of a recycling company which currently has an annual turnover of 1.6 million dollars (Dale and Newman 2008).

In Scotland the Eigg Heritage Trust have grown in strength since their campaign which has improved the quality of life for people who live there both physically and socially. The Eigg campaign influenced the Land Reform Act (2003) which paved the way for many other rural Scottish communities to take
ownership of their land. The Brixton local currency is growing in strength with an increasing number of businesses recognising the benefits of creating and retaining wealth locally.

While each of these initiatives operates within a very different context, they have emerged from resistance through fragility and toward strength. Documentation suggests that they share a number of features which have enabled growth.

Reconciliation of the link between the personal and the political
The de-politicizing of community development has been at the core of policy discussion over the past decade (DeFilippis, Fisher & Shragge 2006, Baumann 2000, Shaw 2007, Bunyan 2008). Policies for ‘inclusion’ while rhetorically dealing with disadvantage arguably diminish the power of those they seek to serve (Byrne 2005). Shaw argues that the concept of community is in itself political:

One way forward is to think of community as an intermediate level of social reality in which people collectively experience both the possibilities of human agency and the constraints of structure – between, in Mills’ (1970) terms, the micro-politics of ‘personal troubles’ and the macro-politics of ‘public issues’ (Martin, 2003). It is in the dialectics of community, understood in this way, that citizens may conceivably be able to analyse and articulate their own contradictory experience of policy, to express new forms of collective identity and interest or to revive old ones (Shaw, 2007, p. 32).

In different ways each of the projects mentioned has managed to generate public spaces which connect the individual and personal with the collective and public. Following a three-year study of ‘United We Can’ Dale and Newman (2008) report that engagement with policy makers alongside the ‘ability to communicate to diverse stakeholders from multiple sectors’ was crucial to the success of this project. The residents of Eigg took control of personal detrimental situations through public interventions in the form of protest and lobbying.

Although I have described a wide spread disaffection there are pockets of such activity in Govanhill and it was in these group settings there was the greatest belief in the ability to influence and bring about change was evident. Also the notion of connecting the personal with the political is a strong element of the history of the area in the form of the Save Our Pool campaign.

Valuing the ‘other’
Each of these projects has involved the development of previously unimaginated networks between unlikely ‘others’. The problematic of defining ‘community’ are widely discussed, particularly when the community in question has geographic boundaries. Even communities bound by shared interest are frequently diverse in other aspects of their experience. The major identity movements which campaigned for disabled, queer and feminist equalites have in recent years began deconstruct a singular identity position which does not recognise the variety of experiences and contexts in which people live (Galvin 2003, Kuppers 2003, Valentine 2010, in press).

One of Govanhill’s strengths as identified by contributors is difference. Acknowledgement of difference is significant as any development which is not mindful of there being no single ‘right’ approach risks damaging or oppressing another group. Also it is in the embrace of difference and benefits of multiple perspectives that development has been realised in other areas. The ‘United We Can’ project was founded on a recognition of the value of a highly unlikely ‘others’ way of life. The ‘binners’ who found and recycled cans for survival were some of the least respected members of their community. However the ability of a few community members to recognise the value of this lifestyle mobilised a partnership which made the initiative possible.

Another unlikely ‘other’ in these cases is the statutory bodies which communities might have previously resisted. While community led entrepreneurship initiated the idea of ‘United We Can’ its development was only possible with a range of partnerships and ‘progressive provincial and municipal policy development’ (Dale and Newman 2008; 15). In Eigg although the campaign began through protest and civic disobedience ownership was realised through a partnership with Highland Council. In each of these cases local action informed national policy changes.
Collective Action

Collective action is central to all of these projects. Without the act of taking control and intervening in their own circumstance none of these developments would be possible. This action at the outset was unpredictable. A theme evident in each is their dynamic nature, growth has been dependant upon creativity, networks and availability to take opportunities where they emerge. While in each case there have been a range of positive outcomes which have diminished specific challenges, it is not the linear solution finding ‘deficit’ approach described in the opening section. Working toward community ownership is about generating the conditions which make this possible, not a simple cause and effect problem solving exercise. This involves communities as actors in the construction of their experience.

Imagining New Possibilities

Each of the examples given involve communities as generators of unimagined possibilities. When the Egg dwellers decided to take their issues into their own hands they could not have predicted the outcomes. There is therefore an inherent degree of risk needed to open possibilities for growth. The management of risk and the resilience to cope with risk is another vital condition for community ownership. This is a particular issue for our contemporary ‘risk culture’ (Furedi 2003) which presents risk as negative and promotes the need for protection of the vulnerable.

Where communities are constructed as ‘consumers’ of services, their capability for action is diminished. As they are no longer positioned as actors but as passive recipients. A number of contributors who had challenged statutory bodies described an arduous journey of phone calls, letters, appointments and waiting. Arendt contends that systems of governance which are formed through layers of bureaucracy become un-navigable and stifle action. Transparency of process and immediacy of access are therefore crucial to mobility and fluidity of action.

Community determination and public service reform

In line with the nature of the data gathered this discussion has focused on the community perspective on development and ownership of assets. Current public sector reform is a crucial dimension which could promote or limit the possibility of community ownership. While David Cameron has championed this idea through the ‘big society’, political recognition of the need for public sector reform predates his leadership and is evident across political parties.

A requirement for engagement between statutory bodies and community has been raised above as a necessary condition for development. The political interest in community ownership and co-production of services has been critiqued as a mechanism to relinquish responsibility from public bodies (Mooney) never more so than in the current situation of ‘austerity’. While many of these criticisms may be valid it also presents an opportunity to generate connections which re-establish the public realm as a site of action.

According to influential national think tank NEF (2009) effective co-production is not about ‘passing the buck’ to communities who are expected to run their own services as volunteers. It is instead about transforming public service in ways which make them directly accountable to those they aim to serve. This goes beyond consultation as it is about a fundamental reshaping systems of governance.

‘co-production can’t be a bolt on innovation. It fundamentally changes the way public services are delivered with the objective of reducing need, rebuilding the social infrastructure and shifting the balance of power’ (Boyle and Harris 2009, 18).

Conclusions - A window of opportunity

The challenges for Govanhill and the people who live there are significant. In recent years it has slid down the deprivation indices whilst at the same time experiencing the gnawing effect of continual negative press. Many of the concerns which people face although local in impact are not generated at a local level. They therefore seem impossible to address and most contributors appear to have given up on any attempt to influence the process of decision making in the public sector. Despite all of this the findings from this consultation suggest that development is possible if the conditions are realised.
No matter how disaffected contributors might feel there is a strong and coherent understanding that the area has much to offer. Even sites of tension in the form of racial difference are recognised by most as an asset. Within the community the knowledge exists as to what is of value and where and how development might take place. The key inhibiting factor is the lack of visible mechanisms for public debate and decision making. This concern as a contemporary phenomenon of western models of governance may seem too difficult for a small locality to address. However there is a range of factors which make it possible to imagine a self-determined Govanhill.

Crucially many of these lie within the social structures and resources which already exist. There are strong bonds between a number of groups. There is a widespread desire to engage if not the perceived spaces to do so. There are a range of individual key skills including crafts, and community work. There is a strong history of cultural wealth and the ability to adapt. There are a growing number of community groups whose aims focus on the public realm.

Equally vital is the stated desire within the public sector for transformed relationships between communities and public services. These are happening at national policy level but significantly for Govanhill they are also taking place at a local level. The ‘hub’ which was set up to improve communications between local public sector agencies, although in its infancy is paving the way for new ways of thinking about the local operations of statutory agencies.

It is for these reasons that I propose that a window of opportunity has emerged which might support the development of conditions which make effective community development of assets in Govanhill possible.
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SCOTTISH INDICES OF MULTIPLE DEPRIVATION, http://simd.scotland.gov.uk/map


SIMD http://simd.scotland.gov.uk/map


EVENING TIMES 8th Oct 2008 http://www.eveningtimes.co.uk/govanhill-flats-are-not-fit-for-a-dog-1.963471, accessed 10th June 2010


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This study would not have been possible without the support, skills and labour of a range of people. Thanks to everybody who has contributed. We are grateful to all who took the time to share their views. We also wish to thank the volunteers who helped to develop the process and undertake interviews.

We wish to thank the following groups for their support:
Amina – Muslim Women’s Resource Centre
Annette Street Primary school council
Glasgow Life – South East Adult Learning
Glasgow Life – Youth Services
Govanhill Youth Project
Holycross primary pupil council and school council
Kiran Women’s group
Southside Transitions
St Brides Primary pupil council

We would also like to thank the shops, pubs, cafes and businesses in the area that supported us to engage with their clientele.

DESIGN AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Many thanks to Marysia Mickika, Neil Maguire, Karen Dicken and Stuart White for their work on the illustrations and design of this project.
APPENDICES

1 - Questionaire

2 - Graphs of Contributors Responses

3 - A Map of the Local Economy of Govanhill

4 - Map of Govanhill Data Zones in the Scottish Indices of Multiple Deprivation
**Govanhill Assets Questionnaire**

This survey is completely anonymous. It would be extremely useful if you would provide us with your postcode.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Do you live in the Govanhill area? (please give postcode)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Do you work in Govanhill area? (please give postcode)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Please describe your ethnic background? (Eg, Scottish, Irish, Asian..)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>What age group do you belong to? (please circle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5-11           12-17           18-25           26-35           36 – 49           50 – 65           65+           prefer not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Describe your skills, interests and hobbies?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>What do you like about the area?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Where are your favourite places (streets, green spaces, other)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>What do you think is interesting about the past or recent history of the area?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 9 | Do you socialise/meet friends in the area?  
   | If so where? |
| 10 | Do you belong to any community groups/organisations?  
   | Please note below |
| 11 | What local services do you/your family use? (please circle)  
   | Health  
   | Police  
   | School  
   | Religious  
   | Community centre  
   | Library  
   | Employment  
   | Shops  
   | Other? |
12. How do you think decisions are made that influence services such as housing, welfare, education, police, cultural activity etc?

13. How do you feel that you can influence these decisions?

14. What sorts of places/activities/opportunities/resources do you think would help the area to develop?

Please hand this questionnaire in to:

Centre for Community Practice – 126 Calder Street, G42 7QR
Govanhill Baths Community Trust Charity Shop – 73 Calder Street

If you would like to discuss your development ideas or find out how you can get more involved in influencing developments in the area please contact:

Dr Heather Lynch;
Centre for Community Practice
126 Calder Street, G42 7QR
0141 433 2999
heather@govanhillbaths.com
Govanhill: Community assets and community ownership

Graphs of Contributors Responses

**RATIO OF CONTRIBUTOR AGE**

- Five to Eleven: 28%
- Twelve to Seventeen: 17%
- Eighteen - Twenty-five: 6%
- Twenty-six - Thirty-five: 7%
- Thirty-six - Forty-nine: 7%
- Fifty - Sixty-four: 11%
- Sixty-five plus: 17%
- Unknown: 7%

**RATIO OF CONTRIBUTOR ETHNICITY**

- British/Irish: 39%
- South Asian: 36%
- Eastern European: 12%
- Other: 7%
- Unknown: 6%
NATURAL CAPITAL
Percentage of indications of significant green spaces

BUILT CAPITAL
Percentage of indications of significant assets in the built environment
FINANCE
Percentage of indications of significant local produce and service provision

HUMAN
Percentage of indications of significant skills and interests
**SOCIAL**
Percentage of indictions of indicators of social capital

- Group membership: 52%
- Sense of Community: 48%
- Diversity: 45%
- Family/Friends: 15%

**Percentage of indictions of significant local spaces for social activity**

- Cafes: 40%
- Park/recreation ground: 30%
- Cultural: 26%
- Pub: 25%
- Religious: 8%
- Recreation Grnd.: 5%
- Do not socialise locally: 4%
POLITICAL
Percentage responses as to who is responsible for local decisions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GCC</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no direct</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Government</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Council</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage of indictions of significant ways in which community members might influence local decisions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>We can’t</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through local groups</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protest</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vote</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CULTURAL

Percentage of indictions of cultural practices and objects of value

- Cultural Shops: 47%
- Cultural Diversity: 45%
- Mosques: 33%
WHAT WOULD IMPROVE GOVANHILL?

Contributors respondents where there was consensus

- Banish slum landlords
- Improve Victoria Road
- Clean up
- Places for young
- Library
- Café/art space
- Community education
- Baths

% of respondents who agreed.
Appendix 3

A MAP OF THE LOCAL ECONOMY OF GOVANHILL

Each link will show the range of shops and services under the heading

Fresh food -

http://maps.google.co.uk/maps/ms?ie=UTF8&hl=en&msa=0&msid=10302267341776612779 9.0004899e1ac8653eb9ae7&ll=55.836356e-4.260335&spn=0.011977,0.030041&t=h&z=15

Beauty http://maps.google.co.uk/maps/ms?ie=UTF8&hl=en&msa=0&msid=10302267341776 6127799.00048bf6cb8d7efd33ccf&t=h&z=16

Newsagents

http://maps.google.co.uk/maps/ms?ie=UTF8&hl=en&msa=0&msid=10302267341776612779 9.00048c5b395a822b024b4&ll=55.837856,-4.26115&spn=0.005988,0.01502&t=h&z=16

Travel and accommodation

http://maps.google.co.uk/maps/ms?ie=UTF8&hl=en&msa=0&msid=10302267341776612779 9.00048c5b51092c1197af6&ll=55.835144,-4.266236&spn=0.005989,0.01502&t=h&z=16

License

http://maps.google.co.uk/maps/ms?ie=UTF8&hl=en&msa=0&msid=10302267341776612779 9.00048c5b14ee55930be92&t=h&z=15

Household and DIY

http://maps.google.co.uk/maps/ms?ie=UTF8&hl=en&msa=0&msid=10302267341776612779 9.00048c5b395a822b024b4&ll=55.837253,-4.259777&spn=0.011977,0.030041&t=h&z=15

Motoring

http://maps.google.co.uk/maps/ms?ie=UTF8&hl=en&msa=0&msid=10302267341776612779 9.00048bf89737079a18be7&ll=55.836868,-4.258533&spn=0.011977,0.030041&t=h&z=15

Supermarkets

http://maps.google.co.uk/maps/ms?ie=UTF8&hl=en&msa=0&msid=10302267341776612779 9.00048cfbe6f3bc49e7a08&t=h&z=15

Public Services

http://maps.google.co.uk/maps/ms?ie=UTF8&hl=en&msa=0&msid=10302267341776612779 9.00048c5b2e086fb14af72&t=h&z=15

Voluntary services

http://maps.google.co.uk/maps/ms?ie=UTF8&hl=en&msa=0&msid=10302267341776612779 9.00048bf8496f0406793&ll=55.837133,-4.262567&spn=0.011977,0.030041&t=h&z=15
Health

http://maps.google.co.uk/maps/ms?ie=UTF8&hl=en&msa=0&msid=103022673417766127799.00048c5b6c8e4bb681ea3&ll=55.837277,-4.264326&spn=0.011977,0.030041&t=h&z=15

Finance and Legal

http://maps.google.co.uk/maps/ms?ie=UTF8&hl=en&msa=0&msid=103022673417766127799.00048bf736a9890416e69&ll=55.837205,-4.263039&spn=0.011977,0.030041&t=h&z=15&iwloc=00048bf751a8975b2eacc

Arts and Crafts

http://maps.google.co.uk/maps/ms?ie=UTF8&hl=en&msa=0&msid=103022673417766127799.00048c866ed784b4342c1&t=h&z=16

Food and Restaurants

http://maps.google.co.uk/maps/ms?ie=UTF8&hl=en&msa=0&msid=103022673417766127799.00048be6a66df03c5c23c&t=h&z=15
### Map of Govanhill's Data zones – Position in the Scottish Indices of Multiple Deprivation

Number indicates position in Scotland’s 6505 data zones

- **Lowest 5%**
  - Moved down indices
  - Lowest 10%
  - Static

- **Moved up indices**
  - Lowest 20%
  - Above 20%

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Access</th>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Housing</th>
<th>Employ</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Unempl</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Income</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100132</td>
<td>69 15 11</td>
<td>76 89 10</td>
<td>72 14 11</td>
<td>111 87 11</td>
<td>72 89 10</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>121 11 15</td>
<td>72 89 10</td>
<td>72 89 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100132</td>
<td>69 15 11</td>
<td>76 89 10</td>
<td>72 14 11</td>
<td>111 87 11</td>
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<td>55</td>
<td>121 11 15</td>
<td>72 89 10</td>
<td>72 89 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key:**
- Above 20%
- Lowest 20%
- Lowest 15%
- Lowest 10%
- Static
- Moved down indices
- Moved up indices
- Income
- Access
- Crime
- Housing
- Employ
- Unempl
- Rate
- Zone