A Neighbourhood Through The Viewfinder

An autodriven photo-elicitation of a housing estate undergoing renewal

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Declaration

I declare that none of the work contained within this thesis has been submitted for any other degree at any other university. The contents found herein have been composed by the candidate, Iris Altenberger.

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Last but not least, the people who are taken for granted but shouldn't be, my parents, who had to endure years of moaning, groaning and financial hand outs. Finally, the thesis contains Ordnance Survey Data © which has Crown copyright and database rights [2013].

Abstract

This thesis explores the ongoing regeneration of Raploch council housing estate, in Stirling, focusing on the lived experiences of the established residents who reside in the pre-regeneration council housing estate, or had family or historical links with the area, as well as new residents, who have moved into the new owner occupied houses that were built in the regeneration. Key informants who have worked in a professional capacity in the area were also consulted to broaden the perspective. The regeneration was a response to a long history of deprivation, segregation and stigmatisation, which led to the demolition of council housing on one side of a main road within the area. The demolition site was redeveloped by a partnership of private developers and a social housing provider. As a consequence of the regeneration there were various physical and social changes in the area, caused by the construction of new homes, as well as other changes to the built environment, and the influx of owner occupiers into the new housing. A visual research method, 'auto-driven photo elicitation', was utilised, which allowed an insight into these changes from a unique perspective. Participants made photos of the area, of places they wanted to discuss, which became the starting point of a subsequent interview process; allowing participants to focus on issues relevant to them. The findings showed that the participants attached a great importance to the history of this specific place, but also that there was segregation between the new residents and the established community. Further fragmentations, religious and historic territorial divisions, within the communities were visually reinforced by the regeneration process. The participants also attached great significance to the linguistic and semiotic landscape, which they interpreted in the context of this place.

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Abbreviations

BBC - British Broadcasting Corporation

CBIP - Community Benefits in Procurement

HIP – Housing Improvement Programme

MITR – Mortgage Interest Tax Relief

NHS - National Health Service

PFI – Private Finance Initiatives

PPA - Priority Partnership Area

PPP - Public Private Partnership

R3 - Raploch Reinvented and Regenerated

RCP - Raploch Community Partnership

RTB - Right to Buy

RURC - Raploch Urban Regeneration Company

SIMD - Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation

SPUR - Stirling Partnership for Urban Renewal

SQA - Scottish Qualifications Authority

URC - Urban Regeneration Company

Introduction

This thesis explores the ongoing regeneration in Raploch, a council housing estate in Stirling, located in the central belt of Scotland. This housing estate was developed on a previously socially stigmatised area from the late 1920s. Along with these initial stigmatising factors the actual housing stock developed on this site was of a lower quality than comparable council houses constructed previously in other parts of Stirling. This lower build quality, combined with the inherent stigmatisation, led over time to a large number of uninhabited council properties. Consequently, in response to this problem the council changed its allocation policy and quickly moved in a transient community, which increased social problems such as substance misuse and petty criminal activity, further adding to the estates negative reputation. To counteract the decline of what had by now become perceived officially as a failing estate, in common with many local authorities throughout the UK, a process of regeneration was adopted. The regeneration involved the demolition of council housing to the south of Drip Road whereby the original council houses on the north side of the Drip Road were not affected by the demolition but rather renovation measures were taken by the council. Therefore two distinct different areas were created, in architectural terms, within the same neighbourhood.

The resulting estate regeneration project was a public-private partnership, which developed both social and owner-occupied housing, the latter being by a selected consortium of private developers who would sell for profit. It also involved significant investment in other elements of the estate, such as the schools through

the creation of a unified community campus and the relocation of a further education college into Raploch.

The regeneration process was specifically designed to lead to social changes, as new owner occupiers would move into the new houses provided in part of the estate, which was to be the newly created built environment. Similarly, the built environment of the entire estate also changed with the creation of these new buildings, given their modern, and distinctly different architecture. In order to capture the significance of the built environment for the residents' lived experience of the regeneration, a visual research method was pursued, 'autodriven photo-elicitation', which allowed for a unique perspective on the regeneration process. This process started with the residents making photographs of anything that they considered significant within the regenerated Raploch, without prompting, which were then later used as the starting point of an interview process. This method's advantage is that it allows for a reduction in research bias, by giving more control to the participants, through the selection of topics for consideration, via their photographs, which then become the basis for discussion at interview, thus avoiding the overlooking of aspects that are most significant to the participants, which conventional interview methods have a habit of doing.

Rationale

The social significance and importance of housing and of neighbourhoods became of interest when moving into a council flat in Aberdeen, a decision which involved a mixture of pragmatism and idealism. About to embark on my studies in social work and, therefore, with limited financial means, covers the pragmatic, while at the same time, having experience of staying in a Kibbutz in Israel encouraged my idealism to rent a council house. Somewhere in the ideological history of council housing there is a degree of Marxism, whereby good quality housing would be provided by the community for the needs of everybody. In hindsight I readily acknowledge a certain degree of ignorance and naivety, for I failed to readily understand the social context of living in council housing within the UK, given I had grown up in a small rural town in Austria.

After moving into my council flat I started to realize that people, both neighbours and their acquaintances, found it difficult to place me socially. This, I felt, was linked to a common perception about who does, and who does not, live in council housing. This was particularly pertinent because I come from a middle class background and I was not aware of my own social standing, but rather it was an invisible and taken for granted aspect of my life, which I now understand is closely linked to Bourdieu's understanding of 'habitus'. I thus quickly started to question myself about how society judges and defines individuals, through their occupancy of particular housing types and its tenure.

Further, through subsequently working as a social worker I realized the significance of housing in a Maslowian sense of shelter and as protection for service users, the majority of whom live in council housing, given the stability it adds to their lives (Hayes, 2000). At the same time, I also started to realize how people live according to different life rhythms within my council block, especially in terms of time and routines as well as through their social interactions, which were quite fundamentally different to what I had previously experienced. I became increasingly intrigued by these novel social aspects, in a way mirroring how I had previously experienced living in a foreign country. Slowly, I started to understand both the cultural and social concepts underpinning my observations, over a long time period. I also started to realize that life rhythms are deeply influenced by peoples' lived experience of, for example, abuse and substance misuse. This, in turn, became evident in people not leaving their homes, and their apparent fear of silence at night. Therefore, I started to realise that, in the majority of cases, anti-social behaviour was an expression of deeply troubled lives.

My interest in the physicality of a house's form also developed through my experience of noise within the tenement. I became acutely aware that those who had designed these properties eighty years previously had given little consideration to this aspect, as room layout and subsequent historical improvement programs seemed merely to have exacerbated, rather than reduced the problem of internal noise.

A realization about architectural meaning and its social construction came for me when I was living for a short period in a skyscraper in Asia. This was considered socially desirable in South Korea, but within a Scottish context this is considered undesirable. Therefore I clearly understood architecture as a form of social communication, which allows for an interpretation by society as a whole, even though not necessarily through the actual physicality of the building itself.

It was within this broad personal context that I came across a PhD Studentship at the University of Stirling, which posed the question, "*How will the transformations of the architecture of this part of Stirling impact on its community? Will the architectural design visibly unite or divide the Raploch? Will the new Raploch simply occlude the visibility of poverty, or will the new environment help tackle issues of poverty and deprivation?*". Engaging with this studentship has allowed me to explore these housing, architecture and social inequality issues in much greater depth, through considering them in relation to the Raploch. This study also needs to be considered within the context of a previous study on Raploch, which compared and contrasted three neighbourhoods in the Stirling area. This research uncovered an historical stigmatisation of the area, which could be traced back to the 16th Century. Further, it examined the structural issues within Stirling's council housing history, which was built from 1928 onwards, as well as considering what constituted a sense of community within these three different areas (Robertson et. al., 2008a, Robertson et. al., 2008b).

The context of the research

Regeneration in terms of housing policy is considered to be a panacea for failing housing estates, leading to the production of a new social mix, making dramatic changes within the architectural landscape, and increasing property values in what had been run down single tenure council estates. These changes, created by regeneration have significant similarities with gentrification and, therefore, various theorists have associated regeneration with gentrification (Atkinson and Kintera, 1999; Ward, 1991; Lee and Davidson, 2005; Ostendorf, 2005; Blomley, 2004). As regeneration projects are a result of housing policy, Davidson (2005) described them as 'state led gentrification'. Raploch could be considered an example of such an approach to regeneration, given the stated ambitions of its promoters (RURC, 2004). This perception on regeneration carries negative connotations of gentrification, which are associated with aspects such as displacement and economic benefit for the incomers at the expense of the original residents.

A significant focus of regeneration projects in areas such as Raploch is that of social mixing, with the aim of generating contact between different social groups. This is seen by policy-makers as positively impacting on pre-regeneration residents of council housing estates. However, although social mixing may occur on a physical level, with distinct social groups living in a single area, different communities may still live in distinct social realms (Butler and Robson, 2003; Allen *et al,* 2005; Blokland and Eijk, 2011). There is a sense that through social mixing a neighbourhood effect occurs, which has been defined as "*the independent,*

separable effects on social and economic opportunities, which arise from living in a particular neighbourhood" (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2002: 147)*. In this context it is argued that neighbourhood directly impacts upon an individual's life chances on various levels; such as employment, health and education. Even though there is evidence that there is a link between neighbourhood and poverty, it has been argued that poverty is a consequence of structural inequalities, rather than being directly associated with neighbourhood (Cole and Green 2010; Atkinson and Kintrea, 2002). Further, it has been questioned if the proclaimed neighbourhood effect reduces poverty, or rather just dilutes it within a different social mix (Ostendorf *et al,* 2000). The regeneration projects, which focus on a mix of owner occupiers and social renters, have attracted criticism especially when evaluating the benefits for the existing community in contrast to the owner occupiers moving in to these areas. It has, for example, been pointed out that this new social mix does not lead only to direct displacement, but also to an indirect displacement of culture (Davidson and Lee 2009).

On the other hand, the changes in the built environment within regenerated areas have been perceived as positive in term of challenging stigmatisation, and increasing emotional well-being and housing satisfaction (Dean and Hastings, 2000; Hickman *et al,* 2011). Conversely, distinctly different architecture within regenerated areas can reinforce an 'us' and 'them' discourse as it allows for the making of distinctions between groups (Allen *et al,* 2005). The built environment is read and interpreted by individuals and societies, and it is also created as a consequence of such processes. Thus various theorists have considered the built environment as a discourse, or language (Barthes, 1997; Dovey; 1999). The

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creation of any building is thus contextualised within society; therefore property development, whether housing or other buildings, can be seen as social practice, which reflects the norms and values of the powerful urban actors who are primarily the creators of such buildings (Lefebvre, 1997). In this context the concept of Bourdieus' (1984) 'habitus' was reconsidered, as these building are created by middle classes and therefore arguably reflect the 'taste' of this social group (Robbin, 2000; Allen, 2008). As a consequence, the built environment has also been considered as being part of a power discourse (Dovey, 1999). In the context of a council housing estate undergoing regeneration, that has experienced various assertions of power, from first being developed within the context of slum clearances, right up to the present day with a significant part of the estate being subject for many years to incremental demolitions, the interpretation of this power discourse is a distinctive aspect in explaining the experience of living within this community. The built environment is, therefore, deeply embedded in current and historical housing policy, whereby the former cannot be understood without the historical understanding of council housing and its purpose. Various theorists have considered the relationship between council housing and its architecture, especially in terms of modernism (Robbins, 2000; Cole and Furbey, 1994; Allen, 2008). Within this literature the discourse of the built environment as perceived by its residents was, in large part, missing. This thesis thus seeks to address this omission by foregrounding a residents' perspective on their built environment and exploring the meanings they attribute and attach to their physical environment during a period of dramatic physical and social upheaval and change.

As these changes are also very much visual, in terms of building form, a visual approach was considered highly appropriate. The thesis was strongly influenced by the visual research as a tool as well as the understanding of the visual in a sociological context (Banks, 2005; Rose, 2007; Harper, 2000; Becker, 1974; Collier, 1992; Pink, 2007; Bourdieu, 1990b) 'Autodriven photo-elicitation' allowed the research participants to create images and thus shape the actual interview process, with their own unique perspective on the regeneration. This therefore provided a unique, unprompted and long ignored insight into the residents' perception of the regeneration and the lived experience of Raploch.

Places such as a council housing estate have their own history and are embedded in a distinct 'social spatial dialectic', as Soja (2008) points out. Therefore, this thesis is also strongly influenced by the various theories on place and space, as these allowed for a broader and more nuanced comprehension of what exactly constitutes our understanding about what makes place meaningful, and a meaningful place; in this case for the residents of a long established housing estate undergoing radical physical and social regeneration (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 1993; Cresswell, 2004; Agnew, 1987; Tuan, 1977). Raploch, in terms of '*social spatial dialectic'*, cannot be seen simply as a neighbourhood within the city of Stirling, but rather also needs to be understood with regard to 'global local dialectic' (Urry 2002; Beck 2002; Harvey 1990). Classical and current community studies also influence the thesis and the understanding of belonging. In classical studies belonging was acquired by being resident in the long-term, while current studies found a sense of '*elective belonging'* or '*selective belonging'* obtained rather

through a sense of commitment than length of residency (Willmott and Young, 1957; Elias and Scotson, 1965; Savage *et al,* 2005; Watt, 2009).

As regeneration is part of a long history of involvement by the state in council housing, housing policy is also a prime consideration for this study, as are the political discourses surrounding council housing, which have long been a feature of politics within a UK context (Ravetz, 2008; Forrest and Murie, 1991; Malpass, 2005; Mullings and Murie, 2006). While these discourses, the discourses of the powerful, are taken to be critical in understanding social change within housing, this thesis also hopes to introduce another discourse, of those who live through that experience.

Aims and Objectives

The thesis and it associated research focused on three primary strands; the physical, the social; and, the sense of place understanding of Raploch. Considering each of these aspects the research was guided by the question:

What perceptions have the residents of Raploch on their lived experience in the area as well as on the regeneration process?

The first objective was to capture the essence of the experience of being in Raploch, through gaining a sense of place.

The second objective was to get an understanding of the perception the residents had on the built environment and the physical structures within the area, as well as the meanings they attributed to these.

Finally, the third strand of objectives focused on the social changes the new as well as the established residence experienced through living in a community which is, in this form, newly established.

Chapter Outline

Chapter one provides a wide introduction to perceptions on the 'urban', considering the terms of '*city*', '*neighbourhood'* and '*community*', and their inter-relationships. This chapter also lays the conceptual foundation of this study, and sets this work within the broader literature on place.

Chapter two considers housing policy and its consequences for society, with an in-depth examination of the development of housing policy in the United Kingdom; considering its ideological, economic and social tensions.

Chapter three, the final chapter of the literature review, focuses on the built environment. Architecture as a social practice is considered in depth, with reference to various theoretical perspectives, examining society's interpretations of its meanings.

Chapter four introduces and describes the research methodology and methods, beginning with a wider discussion about the use of visual methods within sociology. The combined use of visual and oral data, *'autodriven photo-elicitation'*; and semi-structured interview are considered thereafter, as well as the participants and ethical issues.

In Chapter five the context for the research, the regenerating Raploch housing estate, is established; considering its geography, demography and history. This

leads on to a detailed account of the latest regeneration project and the key organisations involved in the regeneration project.

Chapter six is the first of three which focuses on the findings about participants' experiences of living in an area which is currently undergoing regeneration. This chapter contains the analysis and discussion of the findings of Raploch as a *'historical place'*, which as a theme frequently emerged from the interviews and the photos, hence, chapter six, *Connection with the past: Raploch as a place with history*.

In chapter seven the discussion moves to consider the findings, from both visual and oral data, related to d*ivisions, segregation and fragmentation within Raploch* and how these developed and were reinforced in relation with the regeneration

Findings related to the *'linguistic landscape'*, which participants found to be constructed of advertising billboards, graffiti, and official government project signs, are analysed and discussed within chapter eight.

The final chapter, chapter nine, ties the threads of the findings together in a conclusion that answers the question, *what are the residents' perceptions on the regeneration, and the lived experience of being in Raploch, with a focus on the physical and social environments?* The perceived limitations of the research are considered as part of a reflexive account as well as the research investigations that could follow on from this work are proposed in this chapter.

Chapter One

'*Portraits of the City*': definitions and historical perspectives on city, neighbourhood and community

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a wide introduction to perceptions of the city as a whole, as a place embracing community and neighbourhood and their interrelationship. Engaging the '*wide angle*' these theories provide a short evolutionary perspective on urban sociology and its development from Engels (1892), a structuralist who considered inequalities between different sections within the population in terms of class difference, through to the Chicago School of Urban Sociology, which attributed these inequalities to a '*natural*' ecological process (Park, Burgess and Mackenzie, 1925). The contested move from modernity to post-modernity, and its impact on the city, is also discussed in this chapter. Thereafter, place and space is considered and the change of perception, whereby space ceased to be a neutral container but was rather seen in interaction with society. Space and place and the discourse on interaction between globalisation, as well as its physicality and territory and how this creates a sense of place and meaning, are also analysed. Further aspects of power, space and place are looked at, which are closely linked, the concept of being 'out of place' and 'in place' (Cresswell, 1996). Finally, within the space and place section the inscribed place is considered, which is created in reaction to discourses within wider

society. Neighbourhood and community areas are then *'zoomed in'* on within the final section of this chapter, by defining terminology and considering aspects of what Tönnies (2001) described as '*Gemeinschaft*' (community) and '*Gesellschaft*' (society). This chapter thus sets in place the conceptual underpinning of this study, and sets this work within the broader literature on place.

'*Wide angle*': the city/urban/metropolis, definitions and historical perspectives

There are very few definitions of 'urban' in textbooks, but rather there is an assumption as to what 'urban' is. This reflects the difficulty of capturing the essence of urban areas; a term used interchangeably with 'city' and 'metropolis' (Paddison, 2001).

This plasticity of the term 'urban' becomes obvious when considering that urban spaces are seen as "*a spatial location, a political entity, an administrative unit, a place of work and play, a collection of dreams and nightmares, a mesh of social relations, an agglomeration of economic activity, and so forth*" (Hubbard, 2006: 1). Considering these definitions, the intangible aspects of the city become clear, as well as the various perspectives and focuses these spaces provoke.

On a more objective, material, real or tangible level, urban areas relate to, or are *"concerned with a city or densely populated area"* (Princeton University Wordnet, 2010). Some believed that the density of urban spaces had a positive influence,

allowing for experiences such as anonymity, which encouraged individualism that consequently led to, as Weber (1958) argued, democratic spaces. Marx also perceived some positive aspects, and noted that "*enormous cities, ha[ve] greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life*" (Marx, 1848: 14). Marx's comment is closely linked to another aspect of differentiation between urban and rural, which is the 'social character' such as "*differences, for example, in the way rural and urban people live, their behaviour, characteristics, their values, the way they perceive the world and the way they interrelate*" (Frey and Zimmer, 2001: 26). Hubbard (2006) argues that there is a non measurable aspect of experiencing, feeling or sensing a city, which does not necessarily correspond with the density of an urban area. Georg Simmel (2002: 11) considered this richness of experiences as a *'violent stimuli',* and as the result of a necessary coping mechanism this leads to a removed and blasé attitude in city dwellers.

'*Economic process'* is another aspect which characterises urban areas. This is echoed within Weber's (1958: 66) description considering historical urban spaces, "*the city is a settlement the inhabitants of which live primarily off trade and commerce rather than agriculture*". However, Davis (1973) adds that the ratios of agricultural workers to non-agricultural workers are not sufficient to classify an urban space, especially in developing countries; therefore aspects such as banking facilities, production and transport also need to be considered.

It can thus be argued that urban areas are different from the rural by being densely populated spaces, with different economic patterns and social characteristics, but at the same time these aspects are changing, or contingent on

cultural and geographical variables. Within modernity and post-modernity urban spaces are significant features of the sociological discourse, which was and is interested in the various micro and macro sociological understandings of the city (Westwood and Williams, 1997).

Historical urban spaces

In the Neolithic period, it is argued that the agricultural revolution facilitated the growth of settlements, due to food surplus, which led to the freeing up of the workforce and consequently led to craft and trading specialisations within these settlements. These pre-industrial cities were developing social structures to cope with the changing needs of an urban population; this included infrastructure, food and water supply. It is also argued by Rosenberg and Redding (2000) that the higher density of populations led to the creation of social political structures such as creating hierarchies that allowed resolution of conflicts and the coordination of the infrastructure of the urban space.

Even though there have been various urban developments since Neolithic times, arguably the most significant from a current western perspective was the drastic reshaping of cities that occurred with industrialisation in the eighteenth and nineteenth Centuries, where large parts of the rural population moved to the cities attracted by jobs, services and education (Short, 1996). These changes were far reaching and were triggered through technical developments and the intellectual movement of the enlightenment. Consequently, the population increased rapidly

within industrial cities, such as Manchester, and although this process took place a hundred years later in Chicago, both cities had problems adjusting to this influx of people. The rapid development of these two cities and the extensive changes they experienced created a particular interest in better understanding the social dynamics of society. In Manchester Friedrich Engels (1892) described his observations in a book on '*The Condition of the Working Class in England'.* He considered the social inequalities created through the uneven income distribution and competition for capital. Whereas the Chicago School of Urban Sociology in the 1920s tried to understand the same changes in terms of ecology and natural communities, therefore postulating social positions as being 'natural' outcomes. These two differing perspectives are discussed in the subsequent sections.

The Industrial City

Various social commentators published their observations of the rapid changes which took place within industrialisation. For example, Engels (1892) can be seen as a significant social commentator within modernity, who tried to understand urban land use and the social-spatial patterns of residential areas. Engels (1892) described the spatial segregation between the working class and the wealthy middle and upper classes within the city of Manchester in the 19th Century. Engels' observations echoe Plato's perception from The Republic (IV 422 B, quoted in Hamnett, 2001: 162) that "*any city, however small, is in fact divided into two, one the city of the poor, the other of the rich: these are at war with one another, and in either there are many smaller divisions, and you would be altogether beside the mark if you treated them as a single State*".

Engels (1892) saw these social spatial patterns in terms of class differences and inequalities. He realised that the working classes lived in areas that were generally less desirable because, for instance, these areas were more polluted by the smoke from the factories since they lay downwards from the prevailing wind direction. Class inequality was not only evident in the spatial division, but also reflected in the very low quality of housing and living standards within the working class areas, in comparison to the middle/upper class areas. Engels (1892) also recognized that this segregation allowed poverty to be invisible to the middle and upper classes, due to the fact that they did not need to enter these impoverished areas; their daily movements being outwith these districts. The spending power of the middle and upper classes affected the areas they would frequent and therefore

these areas would never deteriorate greatly. The underlying perception, which he shared with Karl Marx, was that the exploitation of the workers allowed the middle and upper classes to live a privileged and separate life within the capitalist system. Engels (1892) felt that the capitalist system in itself was responsible for the difference in living standards and the spatial segregation between the classes. Therefore, it was his contention that slum clearances only moved the inhabitants and their issues on to other areas, even though their quality of housing might be slightly higher.

This perception was also adopted by Harvey (1973), almost a Century later, where he noted that poverty is only moved into a different area through redevelopment, rather than being eradicated. Ward (1976), on the other hand, thought that areas within Victorian cities in the mid 19th Century were not exclusively homogeneous in their composition, and that spatial segregation was only particularly strong between two social groups within society, those who were extremely wealthy and the poor. When examining Engels' observations of Manchester, it needs to be considered that this city was an extreme example of rapid industrialisation and population growth. By the time Engels wrote his observations down, the city had grown to 400, 000 from a city of 40, 000 fifty years previous (Ley, 1983). Therefore the urban government, which was established to govern small urban, as well as, rural areas, was completely overwhelmed by this massive population influx and the resulting pressures on the city authorities (Hall, 2000).

The Chicago School, the City and natural communities

Park, Burgess and Mackenzie of the Chicago School, developed an early model of urban spaces. This model's final version was part of a manifesto of the then newly established 'Chicago School of Urban Sociology', which was published in 1925 in a collection of essays called *'The City'* (Park, Burgess and Mackenzie, 1925). With a social Darwinist world view very much to the fore, they thought that the more competitively effective individuals and social groups were able to create more wealth and, therefore, to spend a surplus of resources on shelter, in particularly sought after areas, guaranteeing their survival and ecological dominance, termed human ecology (Valentine, 2001). Hence, Harvey (1973), a structuralist, argues that this social Darwinist perspective legitimised the capitalistic system by seeing it as a legitimate form of natural selection, which is a widely accepted process within natural sciences. Therefore, it could be argued that this Darwinist perspective legitimises inequality, conflict of interest and injustice within the urban space (Cater and Jones, 1989). Harvey's (1973) perception highlights the difference between the two approaches; structuralism, which tries to understand societies in terms of underlying power structures, and human ecology, which attempts to see similarities between human societies and ecological groups. These two strands have informed different ideologies and have therefore consistently informed political decisions and urban development debates over time.

From Modernity to Post-modernity

Various changes in western cities from the late 1970s onwards led to the argument that modernity and its social structures had ceased to exist. This new era was termed post-modernity, which has been characterised by a view that the enlightenment and the idea of scientific and social progress has failed. Butler and Watt (2007: 11) called it "*the end of certainty*", which is a reflection of how society perceived these changes. These changes are also closely interlinked with emerging discourses on globalisation and neo-liberalism, which had at their core an altered relationship between "the state, capital and labour" (Butler and Watt, 2007; Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst, 2005). Short (1996) considered three aspects of post-modernity as reflected in the contemporary city: the '*new look*' of the city, which considers architectural changes, away from the straight lines of modernity towards a perceived playfulness of post-modernity, in order to create an interesting location that attracts capital in an increasingly globalised world. Another aspect of a post-modern city that he saw was '*the new enclosed movement*'; the regulating of movement within a city, such as the emergence of gated communities, or the privatised spaces of shopping malls, which he saw as a reflection of fear within the cityscape caused by the combination of the growing gap between rich and poor and the fear that poverty creates within these enclosed spaces.

Finally, the third feature of change within the city Short (1996) considered was '*the new civic culture*', which focuses on spending cuts in the public sector; revenue generation rather than expenditure. Examples of these changes are that the nation

states privatised industry, reduced taxation and deregulated labour markets, creating sub-contractors and home workers.

All these aspects are considered a consequence of global competition for capital which is encouraged through the shrinking of distance by developing information and communication technologies and transport in what Harvey (1989; 1990) terms the 'time-space compression'. Arguably the time space compression is not necessarily linear and permanently progressive in its development, because it is influenced by social and economic factors such as oil prices and social unrest. This phenomenon was described earlier by Georg Simmel (2002), whereby he found in 20th Century Berlin, a sudden rise in ownership of pocket watches. These watches allowed accurate time keeping which led to a harmonisation within the economic process, which consequently became faster. Therefore, the concept of post-modernity has attracted criticism, with various writers arguing that it is just a restructuring of previous processes of modernity rather than a completely new era (Thorns, 2002; Bulter and Watt, 2007; Knox and Pinch, 2006). Gottdiener and Butt (2005: 125) argue as a note of caution that the "*effects of current social dynamics and growth are still not fully formed in their consequence*". At the same time, post-modernity is an ambiguous concept because it tries to encapsulate a wide range of aspects of society within a single time period.

City in a Globalised World

Harvey sees a tension between fixed places and mobile capital in a globalised world, leading to the necessity for places to adapt to attract capital. An example of an attempt to attract capital into an urban area is, as noted earlier, the use of playful architecture. Massey, however, (1993) is very critical of Harvey and argues that to primarily focus on capital provides too narrow a perspective. Through paraphrasing Harvey her position becomes clear, "*time, space and money which make the world go round, and us go round (or not) the world. It is capitalism and its developments which are argued to determine our understanding and our experience of space. This is however clearly insufficient*" (Massey, 1993: 60). She describes Harvey's perception of globalisation as influenced by present day Western perception, which is confronted by greater multi-culturalism in various aspects, such as diet and ethnicity, within, for example, high streets, which Harvey sees as encouraged by the time space compression while simultaneously blending out any past colonised societies which have previously experienced similar changes historically, pre post-modernity; such as Macau's Portugese influenced inner-city architecture. Further, there is also an argument for places which are excluded from the globalisation process; if not completely, at least partially being excluded financially. These 'places of exclusion' can even be within economically buoyant globalised cities, "*where there are low-income areas starved of resources and spaces disconnected and excorporated from the circuits of globalisation*" (Grant and Short, 2002: 8).

Post-modern understanding of the City

The reinterpretation of the post-modern city was reinforced by a change in perception within sociology, whereby it has shifted and broadened when considering social settings and the individual, from a structural class perception of society to a construction of identities. Therefore "*far greater attention to 'other' aspects of social inequality and difference, notably gender, ethnicity and age*" as well as culture is provided (Butler and Watt, 2007: 12). This perception is also reflected in the criticism of historical urban models, such as developed by the Chicago School, for not taking into account gender inequalities and their assumption of homogenised areas, these areas are in fact far less similar in the composition of their inhabitants' overlapping identities and their land use than these models assume (Ley, 1983; Savage *et al,* 2003). Concurrently, they do not take into account that social exclusion can be a choice, a part of an identity of a social group such as artists and gay communities (Atkinson, 2000). Therefore these models can only show one part of individuals' lives, excluding how and where people meet, interact and where socialisation takes place, therefore, *"the city can only be properly understood against the background of the underlying dimensions of social organization and human behaviour in the city; the urban 'ultrastructure'"* (Knox and Pinch, 2000: 205). This ultrastructure of the urban resonates with Lefebvre's (2006) 'rhythmanalysis', whereby he tried to see rhythms and patterns by looking out of his window onto the street and the courtyard, as well as considering a Mediterranean city. He focuses for example on repetitive cycles such as day and night, and rhythms of the bodies of sleep and waking, as well as social rhythms of work and leisure.

Theorizing Space and Place

Even though the Chicago School of Urban Sociology focused on the spatial patterns in context with social segregation within the city, they perceived space and place as a neutral container of societal activities (Valentine, 2001; Gottdiener and Hutchison, 2010). Increasingly within the 1970s this view was challenged; space was not seen as a neutral container, objective, measurable and map-able, but rather became *"a social experience imbued with interwoven layers of social meaning"* (Valentine, 2001: 3).

Theorists such as Cresswell (2004) differentiated between 'place' and 'space' and see 'place' as a 'space' to which people have attributed meaning, making it therefore, a '*meaningful location'* (Cresswell, 2004: 7). Tuan (1977) suggests that space, which he considers as carrying a notion of freedom, cannot be understood without place, which he associated with security, and vice versa. He adds that the abstract space such as a previously unknown city becomes a familiar place through the experience of moving to and living in it. John Agnew (1987) similarly to Cresswell (2004) describes place as a *'meaningful location'*, which can be defined as having three elements '*location', 'local' and 'sense of place'.* This resonates with Harvey (1989; 2006) who also considered a tripartite concept of space. As a derivation from Lefebvre it looks at the social practices which construct place. Harvey (2006:279) summarised these social practices as '*material space', 'the representation of space'* and *'spaces of representation '.* He considered all three aspects of social practices as equally relevant for the construction of place.

Space and place in a globalised world

This displacement of place with space, Cox (1997) has termed, 'spaces of globalisation'. Ulrich Beck (2002: 23) on the other hand argues that it is inconceivable to "*even think about globalisation without referring to specific locations and places.*" He further highlights the significance of the inter-relationship between the global and place, 'global local dialectics', which Urry (2002) defined as a '*dynamic relationship*'. Beck (2002) suggests that globalisation leads to a recovering of the concept of place, and its significance. Harvey (1990) has a similar perception on globalisation to Beck (2002) but emphasises the reinforcement of the attachment to place or neighbourhoods, city or to nation or other identity markers due to the time space compression and the insecurity this creates. The '*global local dialectic'* leads to some places and aspects of sameness such as international clothes and food stores and, in others, to a greater deliberate differentiation, as can be seen in areas where artists try to create alternative spaces, or a forced exclusion, these being areas which are deprived or *"'land[s] of despair', either intrametropolitan or rural*" (Castells, 2010: 2741; Grant and Short, 2002); Castells (2010) further considers the effect of globalisation as an uneven economic development, which creates social exclusion and inequality. Therefore he argues that "*while dominant segments of all national economies are linked into the global web, segments of countries, regions, economic sectors and local societies are disconnected from the processes of accumulation and consumption that characterize the informational, global economy*" while simultaneously acknowledging that "t*here is no such thing as a social vacuum"* (Castells, 2010: 135).

Globalisation thus creates new boundaries. Harvey (1993) suggests these new places are defendable and value defined which are created as a counter position to globalisation. Gated communities with walls, security cameras and their value position are an exemplifier of Harvey's (1993) position. Whereas Massey (1993: 68) is critical of Harvey's argument, and perceives these boundaries to be more porous, with place being signified by networks and connections within a globalised world. This she illustrates through considering a multicultural area within Kilburn High Road, London as provoking in her "*a really global sense of place*", reflected in the IRA (Irish Republican Army) graffiti, in this historically Irish immigrant community, the Indian sari shop, and the Muslim paper seller, all simultaneously being under the Heathrow International's flight path. As a consequence Massey (1993: 65) suggests that places have multiple identities, which are reflected in the different perceptions of a place by *"people's routes through the place, their favourite haunts within it, the connections they make (physically, or by phone or post, or in memory and imagination) between here and the rest of the world vary enormously"* which "*can be either, or both, a source of richness or a source of conflict*". Interwoven into this multi-identity of place are historical aspects such as in the case of colonial British history within Kilburn High Road. Cresswell (2011: 238) sees Massey's (1993) perception as "*extroverted and politically hopeful*", in contrast to that of Harvey.

Territoriality of place

The geographical location, which Agnew (1987) referred to as *'location',* is a significant contributing factor to creating a meaningful location. This is echoed by Tuan (2008) who considers place and territory to be interlinked, whereby he takes allegories from the natural environment, similar to the Chicago School; as an example within human societies he mentions farming communities, which through necessity have a strong sense of territory and boundaries. Within an urban environment, neighbourhoods can have very distinct physical boundaries, such as rivers, hills, streets, buildings and walls which are used as territorial markers between different social groups, which simultaneously reinforce the territoriality. Elias and Scotson (1965) illustrate this in the '*Established and the Outsiders*' having found clear territorial boundaries between different social groups within a housing estate that were reinforced through physical landmarks such as rail tracks. Another territorial boundary created in the built environment are walls, such as in *Cutteslowe* where a wall was built to create a physical boundary between a private housing estate and the adjoining council housing estate (Collison, 1963).

Tuan (2008) acknowledges that the human is far more complex than animals and can therefore hold territory as an abstract concept in their mind, rather than having the necessity to constantly keep it in view. This perception is also echoed by Anderson's (1983) notion of 'imagined communities'. As a consequence, it could be argued, "*territoriality allows people to derive a pool of shared meanings from their lived experience and everyday routines. People become familiar with one another's vocabulary, speech patterns, gestures, humour and so on. Often, this carries*

over into people's attitudes and feelings about themselves and their locality" (Knox and Marston, 1998: 239). Therefore these places, with their boundaries and territories, can create insiders and simultaneously outsiders, and with that, an outsiders' perceptions of these places (Seamon, 1980).

Physicality of place

Returning to Agnew's (1987) second defining element of a '*meaningful location*', or place, is the '*locale*', the physical environment such as roads, buildings and parks. This resonates with Harveys' (2006:279) '*material space*', which he described as "*the space of experience and of perception open to physical touch and sensation*". To highlight the significance of the physical environment Cresswell (2011) points out that when describing places, individuals often mention aspects of the physical environment such as a particular building, rather than its geographical coordinates. The materiality of place "*means that memory is not abandoned to the vagaries of mental processes and is instead inscribed in the landscape – as public memory*" (Cresswell, 2004: 85). Therefore it could be argued that buildings destroyed in social unrest, even when replaced, still create and mark a place of memory. The Twin Towers, in New York, and their destruction, create a marked social memory for Americans, but this is culturally and ideologically contextualised. As Hayden (1995) suggests, being in the "realm of history-in-place" it becomes a multilayered experience.

Sense of place

Agnew's (1987) final element, of the *'sense of place'*, is created by personal experience or influenced by the experience of others such as the media (Cresswell, 2011: 235). This again has strong similarity with Harvey's (2006: 279) '*representation of space'* as it is the *"space as conceived and represented"*. This *'sense of place'* is closely associated with Tuan's (2008: 130) '*attachment'* to place, such as a familiar armchair through an "*intimate senses of smell or touch*" or to abstract places such as a nation state "*through the symbolic means of art, education and politics.*" The over stimulation described by Simmel (2002) of city dwellers is also attributed to the experience of '*dense crowds and a lack of space*' which leads as a consequence to a development of a blasé attitude. Therefore it could be argued that he acknowledges the city as a space which becomes a place or a 'sense of place' through meanings attributed by individuals. This partially resonates with Harvey (2006: 279): "*a space of representation,* which he sees as "*the lived space of sensations, the imagination, emotions and meanings incorporated into how we live day by day"*. The attachment to place Savage *et al* (2005: 87) also found in their research of middle class areas within and in the vicinity of Manchester, whereby "*nearly all the residents presented emotionally charged accounts of their relationship to place*". Even people who were not born and bred there, and long standing residents, in these areas, exhibited a particular attachment, which is "*related to people mapping their own biography through* identifying *places dear to them*" (Savage *et al,* 2005: 104). Therefore, the sense of belonging to a place can be described as elective, rather than in terms of the tension between insiders and outsiders (Savage, 2005). Watt (2009) similarly refers to this '*elective belonging'*

but he expands on this concept by considering '*selective belonging'*, whereby certain aspects of a place or neighbourhood are endorsed, while others are rejected.

Power and place

At the same time, there is an indication of a strong inter-relationship between power, space, place and society. Lefebvre's focus, similar to that of Harvey, adopts a Marxist tradition on the competition for capital, and of the class conflict this creates and its subsequent effects on society. Therefore for Lefebvre (1991: 26) the powerful utilize space *"as a tool of thought and of action; that in addition to being a means of production is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power".* Similarly Sassen (2002: 19) sees this conflict between the '*powerless and often invisible workers'* and the new elite they serve within a cross national globalized context, erupting in occasional uprisings within global cities as an expression of the "*the indifference and greed of the new elites versus the hopelessness and rage of the poor".* She further argues that this is encouraged through the visibility of difference "*between the urban glamour zone and the urban war zone*" (Sassen, 2002: 21). Massey (1994) similar to Lefebvre (1991) suggests that the powerful section of society defines the place of certain sections of society, such as women. She describes her memories and observations as a little girl that only boys played football around Manchester, which for her exemplified her place or position as a woman in society. From a neighbourhood and community perspective it could be argued that housing, such as that studied by Young and

Willmott (1957), is in a physical and metaphysical sense the creation of a place for a section of the population by the powerful. This is echoed by Lefebvre (1976: 31) who argued that social space is "*not a scientific objective removed from ideology and politics; it has always been political and strategic*".

Social construction of place

Place also has aspects of socialisation, as societies attribute meaning only to places they perceive as significant; or as Lefebvre (1991: 26) suggests *"(Social) space is a (social) product".* Cresswell (2004) cites an example of a 19th Century European geographer to illustrate that space is socially constructed. This geographer travelled to Canada and observed that the local Tlingits had named aspects relating to the sea, but completely ignored the impressive mountain ranges; this highlights the cultural difference of perceptions of place, through the naming or *not* naming of places. This aspect is also echoed by Harvey (1996: 261) who argued that "*place, in whatever guise, is like space and time, a social construct. This is the baseline proposition from which I start. The only interesting question that can then be asked is: by what social process(es) is place constructed?*". As a consequence it could be argued that Harvey's perception is that humans have an active ability to change the social constructions of a particular place. Other theorists, as Creswell (2004) points out, partially disagree with Harvey by arguing that even though place is socially constructed it is a prerequisite of society, therefore place would always exist if not in quite the same form. A similar point was made by Lefebvre (1991) who insisted "*that there can be no 'pre-social' or natural space, as, the*

moment that it is occupied through social activity, it becomes relativized and historicized space" (quoted in Gregory *et al,* 2009: 697).

Soja (2008) sees an interrelationship between society and space, which he calls the '*socio-spatial dialectic'*. This argument Soja (2008: 215) underpins with an example by Lefebvre who claimed that "*Industrialization, once the producer of urbanism, is now being produced by it*"; therefore humans impact on their space/place by, for example, producing and consuming, where the latter reinforces the former and vice versa. Space therefore impacts on behaviour. For example, within New York, a primarily pedestrianised city, clothes and fashion are highly significant, whereas in Los Angeles, which encompasses a large territorial area with limited public transport, cars rather than clothes express personal identity. Therefore "*Urban and suburban settlement spaces, like other objects in society, possess a social meaning; that is, place or location has a symbolic value that helps to determine behaviour*" (Gottdiener and Hutchison, 2006).

Inscribing place: Semiotic landscapes in the urban

Place is also created in context with the 'semiotic landscape', which has been referred to as, "*in the most general sense, any (public) space with visible inscription made through deliberate human intervention and meaning making*" (Jawarski and Thurlow, 2010: 2). This concept of 'semiotic landscape' is closely linked to 'linguistic landscape' which focuses primarily on "*the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public*

signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration" (Landry and Baurhis, 1997: 25). The significance of the linguistic landscape becomes particularly pertinent in, for example, Israel a multilingual country, in which a variety of distinct cultures, each with their own language, co-exist in contested areas that experience intense, and often violent, power struggles which are inscribed in the multi-lingual 'linguistic landscape' (Ben-Rafael *et al,* 2006). Laundry and Baurhi (1997) argue that the linguistic landscape has two primary functions; '*the informational function*' and the '*symbolic function*'. The *'informational function'* informs about groups and their languages, such as in England where most signs are written in English, therefore reinforcing that imagined community; as Anderson (1983) discussed in context with nation states. This can potentially create conflict in multilingual and bilingual societies since it can potentially highlight power relationships between groups, especially as the written language can be seen as almost as a legitimisation of a language. Therefore, Landry and Baurhi (1997) describe this as the '*symbolic function'* of the linguistic landscape. Private signs are considered by Landry and Baurhi (1997) as a more relevant reflection of the linguistic realities of a community, whereas government signs are often created by a powerful minority group. Even though they focus on multilingual and bilingual communities, similar conflicts take place between different classes especially as Bourdieu (1990) considers language to be a class cultural marker, or as he refers to it 'habitus'.

Therefore language on signs and billboards can be considered as a reflection of power relationships, which also resonates with Foucault's (1967; 1991) notion of power and knowledge. Foucault considers, in the broadest sense, power to be

reflected within the discourse between individuals but also between the state and the classes, whereby this is closely interlinked with knowledge. Landry and Baurhis (1997:28) suggest that graffiti campaigns can be a reaction to power inequalities within the linguistic landscape, whereby "*radical graffiti campaigns may block out or deface existing sings in the dominant language and replace them with script in the minority language*". The 'linguistic landscape' is closely interlinked with space and place as well as globalisation, as they can only be understood in their environment. For example, a Polish bakery sign in Poland is understood in a substantially different way than in a street in the United Kingdom (Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010).

Graffiti can also be seen as an aspect of the 'linguistic landscape', which creates place. As social place is constructed, the aspects which are considered as being 'out of place' or acceptable and, therefore, 'in place' are socially determined. Cresswell (1996) considers being 'out of place' and 'in place' by looking at graffiti in 1970s New York, where it was either considered as an art form and sold for high prices within galleries, or it was seen as 'out of place' in public spaces with the underlying discourse of disorder, which is concurrent with "*dirty, animalistic, uncivilistic and profane*", overstepping the symbolic boundaries of order, neighbourliness and property (Cresswell, 1996: 40). Cresswell argues that this sense of 'out of place' for graffiti in public spaces is seen as disobedience of order with graffiti writers blurring the boundaries by treating public spaces as a private space. He further clarifies this perspective by quoting Steward (quoted in Cresswell, 1996: 47) who suggests that "*graffiti attempts a utopian and limited dissolution of the boundaries of property reflecting an older, Latin sense of the street as a room by agreement*".

Therefore the graffiti writers create their own sense of place by disobedience, which contradicts the excepted behaviour within a certain place therefore "*challenging to the guardians of the established order*". He also points out that there is a perception that graffiti is closely linked with minority groups and the 'ghetto' and therefore otherness. Consequently, Cresswell suggests that "*those who can define what is out of place are those with the most power in society*" (Cresswell, 1996: 39). This becomes particularly clear when he considers the Berlin Wall where there was a positive perception by the west of the graffiti created in the east, which was seen as a rebellious act against a totalitarian regime, rather than following a western discourse of vandalism. This 'out of place' perception of graffiti in public space is also linked to property values, as a Los Angeles police officer stated "*graffiti decreases property value and signed buildings on block after block convey the impression that the city government has lost control, that the neighbourhood is sliding towards anarchy*" (quoted in Cresswell, 1996: 48). However, it could simultaneously be argued that graffiti artists, such as Banksy for example, attract capital, which Sharon Zukin (1995) discusses in terms of the 'symbolic economy'.

'*Zooming in*': Neighbourhoods and community

As Greer (1962: 27) points out, *"A theory limited to 'the city' is too narrow in scope to explain the changing landscape of the city itself".* Therefore it is significant to consider the smaller aspects of the city; neighbourhoods and communities on their own, even though the interrelationship with the city as a whole and a place does

not cease to exist. Mann considers 'neighbourhoods to have communalities such as *"a common type of housing and amenities, some sort of common interest amongst inhabitants and some sort of pattern of social life"* (1965: 151). A neighbourhood is confined within a certain territory even though to define spatial borders of a neighbourhood can be very complex. As Mann (1965) highlights, neighbours in the Australian outback can live miles away from each other or in the same building. A point of differentiation between neighbourhood and community is that within the former, interaction does not necessarily take place, whereas in the latter it is a prerequisite.

As a term 'community' is thus highly contested. This is arguably a consequence of the long and varied use it was adopted into late middle English in the 14th and 15th Century, where the word *"'community'* initially *"referred to either to an 'organised body' of people, large or small (as in a 'religious community', meaning 'monastery or convent), or to the common people, the 'commonality' within such a body, those who were governed"* (Tyler, 2008: 21). Within modernity in the 18th and 19th Centuries 'community', started to describe *"the people of a district or neighbourhood"* (Tyler, 2008). The fact that all these diverse uses of the word community are adopted into the present day language adds greatly to the complexity of the concept.

Willmott (1986) distinguishes between three different meanings of community, with the shared aspect of having something in common. '*Territory*' being his first communality he refers to. This description is also shared by the Dictionary of Human Geographers (Johnston *et al,* 2000); it could be argued that it also highlights the importance of academic fields on the perception and focus on any

particular concept. On the other hand, theorists such as Crow and Allan (1994), perceive territory as increasing in significance when considering communities.

Willmott (1986) further describes '*communities of interests',* for example, religion, ethnicity, occupation and leisure perused. These social groups are "*identified and do identify themselves as a community*" (Crow and Allan, 1994). Consequently, these identification communities create exclusion or segregation because where there are insiders there are also outsiders. As Valentine (2001: 136) poignantly formulates "*a desire to be with people like ourselves or with whom we identify, and a fear or dislike of those who are different form ourselves are often the basis of political sectarianism, bigotry, hatred and discrimination".*

This exclusionary aspect is also present in '*territory communities*' which Elias and Scotson (1965) revealed in their study "*The Established and the Outsiders*", where they found, in a suburban development, a clear segregation between the middle class and working class areas, but in addition segregation between a newly developed working class area and the established working class community. The 'established' community felt a sense of ownership over the area by simultaneously excluding the newcomers, *"with the 'locals' retaining moral possession over place"* (Savage *et al,* 2005: 30). These findings resonate with Blokland (2003) who argued in her research that established residents bonded with and simultaneously excluded the newcomers, in terms of being able to remember with nostalgia the lost, and often imagined working class community. Consequently, she argued that this created a sense of 'us' and 'them' in Hellesluis, Rotterdam. Conversely, as mentioned previously, Savage et.al (2005) found in his research in Manchester that belonging cannot necessarily be described in terms of a tension between

insiders and outsiders, but rather that it needs to be seen in terms of '*elective belonging'* whereby individuals feel and state that they belong to a place, rather than just reside there.

Returning to Willmott (1986) he makes a further distinction with '*community of attachment'* which is a reflection in a sense, spirit or sentiment of a community which can be expressed in community actions. Even though there is a distinction between these three meanings of community they can overlap in various aspects, such as a '*territory community'*, which share a place and can also be an '*attached community'*, sharing a sense of community. Charlesworth (2000), who considered the '*phenomenology of working class experience',* could be seen as touching on the *'community of attachment'* within Rotherham in Yorkshire. He argues that the community of attachment is eroding within working class communities, especially within the de-industrialised areas with high unemployment, partially due to a sense of powerlessness and vulnerability. This concept of '*community of attachment'* has strong resonance with the 'sense of place' and the perception on both aspects. Willmott's definition highlights Berger's (1978) suggestion that there are at least one hundred different meanings of community. This is also emphasised by Bell and Newby (1971: 27), who argued that "*every sociologist, it seems, has possessed his own notion of what community consists of, frequently reflecting his idea of what it should be".*

Tyler (2006) recognised the inter-relationship between community and neighbourhood and incorporated them both, by describing neighbourhoods as *'local communities'*. Therefore the terms 'community' and 'neighbourhood' are

seen in a close relationship and frequently used interchangeably. The definition of neighbourhood and community as well as its territorial significance lies ultimately with the residents or members of a community (Knox and Pinch, 2006).

Therefore it has been suggested that communities are all 'imagined' adopting Anderson's (1983) concept, even though his focus is on the nation state. Rose (1990) notes that there are resemblances between a national state and a neighbourhood community such as a *"a group of people bound together by some kind of belief, stemming from particular historical and geographical circumstance in their own solidarity"* (Rose, 1990: 426). She illustrated this aspect, with a boxer, Archie Griggs, in Poplar in the 1920s, who was supported by both the Christian and Jewish communities, therefore forging an 'imagined community' link which was able to overcome religious prejudgment. Imagined communities are not permanent, as Rose (1990) notes. In the case of Poplar the sense of unity, which was also encouraged through the disobedience of Labour councillors and their consequent imprisonment, declined after the power of local government decreased and there was no common denominator for unification.

From Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft

Community or '*Gemeinschaft*' was also discussed by Ferdinand Tönnies (2001) who looked at the social relationship changed between pre industrial '*Gemeinschaft*' and industrial society, '*Gesellschaft*'. The former he saw associated with a close network strengthened through social, religious and family

connections with a focus on the group. The latter, Gesellschaft lacked these features and focused on the benefit for every individual, not the group. The two opposite poles, which Tönnies (2001) saw as ideal types and, therefore, were never considered to be a real life scenario, are often seen in the context of rural and urban lifestyles. This highlights a notion within the 19th Century where the term '*community*', carried a romantic notion as a *'significant local network'*, whereas 's*ociety*' was considered as a rational '*system of common life'*. Tyler (2006) suggests that Tönnies (2001) perception is the foundation of the present use of the term '*community*' within the urban context. Tönnies' (2001) understanding of society has been criticised because he seems to view '*Gemeinschaft'* as positive in comparison to '*Gesellschaft*'. This can be seen as too simplistic, as Young (1990) suggests, because close knit communities might exclude and suppress otherness. Simultaneously, Tönnies' (2001) positive perception on community could also be seen as reflecting an error by which micro-spatial systems are ignored from an outsider's perspective looking into a community, which is internally quite differentiated (Byrne, 2009). Nevertheless, as Byrne (2009: 126) points out "*it is the outward labelling that matters in relation to overall social location and social exclusion* ". Wirth (1938) also considered the loss of personal ties and the difficulties this causes for individuals who are faced with 'psychic overload' due to the highly stimulating environment of the city. In this context it is worth pointing out the influence Simmel (2002) had on Wirth's (1938) thinking, in particular on 'the metropolis and mental life'. Wirth (1938) also considered the highly stimulating environment of a city, which Simmel, as has already been noted, felt leads to a blasé attitude of its citizens. Contrary to Tönnies' (2001) perception, close knit communities, or '*Gemeinschaft,*' can also be found in industrial urban

spaces. Young and Willmott (1957) in Bethnal Green in the East End of London as well as Gans (1962) in the West End of Boston found close knit working class communities in the inner city in the 1950s. Both of these areas were deemed slums and underwent extensive restructuring. The West End in Boston was demolished and the population dispersed, whereas in London huge parts of the population were re-housed in various peripheral council housing estates. Gans (1999) considered the reasons of planners for classifying the East of Boston as slums. He concluded that a contributing factor was that their middle class values influenced their judgment of a predominantly working class area. Therefore he wanted to contradict the prevalent ideology of slum clearance, which assumed that by demolishing buildings social problems would be solved. Simultaneously he argued that value judgments have a significant impact in the decision making process. Young and Willmott (1957) considered the changes that the families from the east end experienced when moving to the peripheral housing estate of 'Greenleigh' Essex, a fictional name for Dagenham. They found that the family social network eroded on the residents' arrival into the new council estate. Factors such as high transport costs created a barrier to keeping up old community ties. Consequently, it could be argued that with the move to the new council housing the sense of community decreased and a more individualistic and less close knit '*Gesellschaft*' developed. Hoggart (1958), who considered a working class community in Leeds, argued that these changes this milieu experienced were also influenced by the creation of mass culture, which as a consequence led to aspects of classlessness.

Both studies were criticised for romanticising the working class community in the East-side of Boston and in Bethnal Green, by not considering interpersonal

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conflicts, jealousy and inter-communal violence (Savage *et al,* 2003). Cornwall (1984) was particularly critical of Young and Willmott's (1957) interpretation, and found in a consequent study of the East End of London that economic hardship and inter-relationship conflict, particularly domestic violence, was prevalent. Therefore Abu-Lughod (1994: 184) noted, "*there is no single authorial [authoritative] image of the neighbourhood*". This hints at the multi dimensionality of neighbourhoods and communities.

Conclusion

A number of key themes have emerged in this chapter with regard to perceptions about urbanisation and the city, with its varied neighbourhoods and communities, and the interrelationships between them: the power inequalities and segregation; the multiple identities evident in these places; and the social construction of place within a global world. The consequence of gathering large numbers of people within settlements, such as towns and cities, was, according to Rosenberg and Redding (2000) the creation of both social-political hierarchies and processes, which resulted in marked power inequalities. These power inequalities exist in tandem with wealth inequalities. From the earliest Neolithic settlements, where agricultural surpluses were traded within the market place, to today's 'multi-centered metropolitan regions', where stocks and commodities are traded electronically in a globalised market place, cities have always co-existed with economic processes. These economic processes created what Plato described as a

segregated city of two conflicting parts; the city of the rich and the city of the poor. Segregation is a recurring theme in context with the city. This has also been a pre-occupation within modernity, with theorists such as Engels (1892) and the Chicago School (1925) describing its occurrence within rapidly expanding industrialising cities. Engels attributed this social-spatial segregation to social and economic inequalities, while the Chicago School (1925) described it as the consequence of social Darwinism; the survival of the fittest. The most recent changes in the economic system, which have resulted from 'time space compression', lead to a speeding up of another form of segregation, whereby a global elite operate out-with national boundaries, while the poor remain fixed to particular places (Sassen, 2002; Harvey, 1989; 1990).

This illustrates another recurring theme within the literature, whereby the city, as well as its neighbourhoods and communities, can only be understood within the context of the wider world. Therefore there is a constant local-global dialectic, whereby one cannot be understood without the other (Beck, 2002). This leads to the social construction of places with multiple identities; spaces that have been attributed meaning by society in their interactions with, and within, it (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 1993; Tuan, 1977). Therefore, when considering cities, neighbourhoods and communities, there must be an awareness that these spaces are meaningful for the people who live, work, or pass through them, and that this is a key consideration in the social construction of place; whereby a sense of belonging to, as well as being shaped by, a place occurs. Further, places represent power relationships, because they are created by powerful actors within society, who are able to generate and sustain physical and meta-physical segregation

(Massey, 1994; Lefebvre, 1991).

Despite the fact that segregation exists across cities, researchers, such as Gans (1962) in Boston, and Young and Wilmott (1957) in London, found close-knit communities, or 'Gemeinschaft', in working class areas. Both these communities had, however, changed fundamentally when they were dispersed, being deemed to be slums by the municipality, and thus in need of remedial action. This highlights the impact housing policy has had on how communities are lived and experienced, so the next chapter focuses on housing policy and how it has operated within the national context of the United Kingdom.

Chapter Two

Housing policy, its creation, and the consequences for society

Introduction

Young and Willmott's (1957) classic community study, as mentioned previously, was concerned with two working class communities, the London Borough of Bethnal Green and the newly developed council estate of Greenleigh (Dagenham), to which Bethnal Green residents were moved. This study highlighted the significance and consequences of establishing council housing on 'traditional' working class communities. They found this move brought about the erosion of family ties and community relationships through the residents' inability to financially bridge physical distance. This example emphasises the impact of housing policies, introduced by the state, on both the communities affected and on wider society; therefore within this chapter the interaction between housing policy and society is discussed with a focus on social tenures.

The first section adopts a '*wide angle*' on housing policy by proposing it as a concept that impacts upon the whole of society, as well as detailing the legal responsibilities that lie with either Westminster and the Holyrood Parliaments in London and Edinburgh. To get a better understanding of how council housing

policy developed four different time periods are suggested, and the prevailing policies for such are discussed within *'snapshots of different time frames'*. The final section, in relation to urban renewal, adopts a *'focus frame',* because urban renewal cannot be attributed to a particular time period, but rather needs to be considered as a separate aspect of policy which frequently recurs within a housing policy context.

'Panoramic view': Creation of housing policy

Shelter and, therefore, housing is a primary human need and as such it is of great importance to society and, consequently, policy makers. Housing represents a significant policy area which embraces aspects such as "*any government actions, legislation or economic policies*" in which the government wants to influence, directly or indirectly, housing (Blakemore and Griggs, 2007: 202). Housing policy thus affects all sections of the population directly, for example, through living in a council or housing association house, or indirectly through being subject to a planning policy or tax relief. Within this section of the thesis the focus is primarily on social housing, rather than other tenure forms, even though they extensively impact on each other. Scotland has a separate legal system, enshrined in the Act of Union of 1707, a consequence of which is that both housing standards and housing finances have been administered separately from the English system (Holmans, 1987). This was because the responsibilities involved in implementing legislation passed in the Westminster Parliament required to be adapted to accommodate the

Scottish legal system. The demands of this arrangement, given the growth of public administration from the mid 1800s, saw the creation of the Scottish Office from 1885, and eventually in 1999 the creation of a devolved Scottish Parliament. Throughout this chapter, which considers different time frames, both the Acts of the Westminster Parliament, as well as the parallel Acts adapted to accommodate the requirements of the Scottish legal system are discussed. With devolution the Scottish Parliament is now able to pass primary legislation affecting housing policy (Balchin and Rhoden, 2002).

'*First time frame*': Council housing from the 19th Century to 1938

Even though inadequate housing had long been a serious problem throughout the 19th Century, a markedly changing demographic with a rapidly increasing population moving into cities, as a result of industrialisation, and an Enlightenment perception of both scientific and social progress, arguably encouraged the development of a distinct housing policy (Burnett, 1986). The first involvement by the state in housing policy is generally considered to be Edwin Chadwick's 1843 '*Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*' and the various reports of the Royal Commission on the State of Towns (Holmans, 1987; Burnett, 1986). Chadwick's report highlighted moral concerns about the overcrowding and mixing of the sexes in the same rooms, as well as the insanitary conditions in which the bulk of the population lived. In doing

so, Chadwick highlighted aspects of poverty which Engels (1892) considered half a Century later in his critical observations on Manchester. The big difference was that Chadwick failed to question the underlying structural inequalities of which Engels was acutely aware. Chadwick adopted social pathology as an explanation, choosing to see poverty as an individual's life choice. To this day this difference in interpretation is echoed through the concept of the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor, which opts to view an individual's poverty as an aspect of their life choice, rather than being the result of social or structural aspects of society.

Prior to these first tentative steps at state involvement in housing, various philanthropic industrials, as well as initiatives by the workers themselves, created different models for low cost housing (Blakemore and Griggs, 2007). While such model housing was insignificant, given the scale of housing need at the time, and was itself not necessarily a success, Burnett (1986) has argued its true significance was that it introduced a new perspective on housing standards. The Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890 allowed local authorities to build houses, without putting a duty on them to do so; and this change accounted for some 4 % of all new builds between 1890 and 1914 (Burnett, 1986; Holmes, 2006). There was a strong reluctance to interfere with the operation of the housing market by creating a substituted system, given private sector profitability would be undermined. Again this sentiment echoes present day arguments about the funding and development of social housing.

The real shift in thinking about the state's involvement in housing commenced after the of the First World War from 1918, through the advent of a requirement to build council housing. Holmans (1987) views this shift in thinking as being stimulated by the fear, within the elite, of social unrest and revolutions as had been played out in 1917 in Russia. Previously, in 1915, rent strikes had taken place in Glasgow, a core centre of the British munitions industry which firmly placed housing on the political agenda. This coincided with the devastating experience of the war, which created a changed sense of community and a wish for national social progress. Significant structural changes, due to the war, created a larger governmental machine and tax take, which allowed such changes to take place (Holmans, 1987).

The war, due to a slow-down in building, increased an already existent shortage in housing. The housing policy after the war is reflected in the promise by the Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, to build '*Homes fit for Heroes*' (Holmes, 2006). The Housing and Town Planning Act, 1919, as well as the Tudor Walters Report, on housing standards, a year previously, made it mandatory for local authorities to provide good quality housing for the working class (Clapson, 2009). Consequently, high quality buildings were developed, very much influenced by the Garden City movement (Burnett, 1986). The perception of housing policy changed in the early 1920s when spending cuts by a Conservative government were introduced, as well as a changed focus on encouraging private building and allowing local authorities only to build with specific permission by the Minister. Both changes encapsulated in the Housing Act, 1923, slowed down the development of municipal housing.

This intervention was influenced by a return to laissez-faire politics, which has been historically favoured by the right within the political spectrum. It perceives that individuals are responsible for finding their own housing, rather than being aided by the state (Blakemore and Griggs, 2007). This changed emphasis, Alcock (1996: 36) perceived as housing policy being considered "*a kind of policy football – first kicked one way and then another*". Holmes (2006) notes that the rents of this, and previous council housing developments were still too high for the poorest families, while at the same time its development facilitated better off working class families to leave behind the slums. High rents also reflected the wish to primarily house respectable working class families, adopting the underlying principle of both political parties to only support the 'deserving' poor (Robertson and Smyth, 2009).

With the Housing Act, 1930, rather than just evicting families and clearing the slums, an approach which was introduced under the Housing and Town Planning Act, 1909, the affected families were now to be re-housed (Burnett, 1986; Clapson, 2009). This was a particularly significant move because the subsidies were tailored to individuals rather than housing, thus allowing councils to deal with large numbers of impoverished families. To reduce possible future commitments, Robertson and Smyth (2009) found using Stirling evidence, the classification adopted of what constituted a slum was kept minimal. The creation of such council housing estates, Burnett (1986) comments, changed peoples' lives considerably given the separation it brought from families, communities, work and friends. On the other hand, the quality of housing was considerably higher in these council

estates, to that of the slums they were leaving (Robertson and Smyth, 2009). Similarly, Ravetz (2008) states that council housing's main contribution to public health was the provision of higher quality housing than previously experienced by this section of society.

'Second time frame': Post WWII large-scale development of council housing

From a policy perspective the Second World War interrupted the entire political process but, thereafter, it provided an ideological continuum of pre-war policy. While destruction caused by bomb damage was a negligible contributor to housing shortages, following the First World War, after the Second World War it was very significant (Holmans, 1987). In conjunction with this destruction, the shortage also had its roots in the pre-wartime period because of an incorrect assumption about population decline, which was not rescinded until the 1951 Census in Scotland was carried out; the 1941 Census had been cancelled due to the war. These combined factors created a housing shortage with the consequences of producing "*appalling overcrowding rates*" (Robertson and Smyth, 2009: 88; Burnett, 1986).

The parallel political model of Socialism operated within the Soviet Union, and was viewed by sections of the population as inspirational.This created an urge within the ruling establishment to create improved welfare and housing within the capitalist system (Glynn, 2009). Therefore, a broad, general consensus was

established between the two main political parties on welfare. As with the First, the Second World War created a sense of community and a wish for social progress which also encouraged the further development of council housing (Holmans, 1987; Titmuss, 1958). Simultaneously, within this time period, Western Europe experienced an economic boom that encouraged and supported the development of this more comprehensive welfare state (Malpass, 2005). Ideologically housing became encompassed within the welfare state even more so than before the Second World War; reflected in the fact that from the Housing Act, 1949 the terminology *'for the working classes'* was removed (Burnett, 1986; Ravetz, 2008). Therefore council housing constituted a significant aspect of the welfare state in comparison with other European countries, largely because general social security expenditure was relatively low and therefore housing was used to compensate for this shortcoming (Murie, 2007). Nevertheless Murie (2007) points out that the rents, especially in the 1940s and 1950s, were still very high allowing only a relatively affluent working class population to live in this new council housing.

The council housing constructed in this time period was very much influenced by notions of 'environmental determinism'. Architects, especially the modernists, thought they could change social behaviour through the built environment. Reconsidering this time period, Johnson stated, *"We really believed, in a quasi-religious sense, in the perfectibility of human nature, in the role of architecture as a weapon of social reform…. the coming Utopia when everyone would live in cheap prefabricated flat-roofed multiple dwellings – heaven on earth"* (Philip Johnson, US architect, quoted in Coleman, 1985: 3). There was also a strong financial

imperative here given that the initial high quality of council housing was reduced to accommodate cuts in spending, triggered by spiralling costs in foreign defence, economic slowdown and the repayment of American war loans (Glynn, 2009; Robertson and Smyth, 2009). Nevertheless, the scale of public rented housing in the UK rose from 12% in 1945 to 32% in 1979, which coincided with the relative consensus between the two main political parties on council housing (Murie, 2007). Even though there was this broad political consensus, council housing, and especially those built in large estates, had been much criticised for being peripheral and lacking in social amenities, with some characterising this as state funded social segregation (Davidson and Lee, 2008).

Becoming a nation of homeowners

Simultaneously with the rise of council housing, private renting decreased from 90% pre both World Wars in Great Britain to just 11% by 1999, which also reflects the large number of people not only moving into council housing, but also into homeownership (Balchin and Rhoden, 2006). It has been argued that this was an effect of rent control which, since its introduction in 1916 following the Glasgow Rent Strikes, had made being a landlord less financially viable and, therefore, led to the selling off of previously rented properties (Blakemore and Griggs, 2007; Mullins and Murie, 2006). In contrast to this supply side argument stands Saunders' (1990) perception of an increased demand of homeownership, which he argued was triggered by a shift in public perception which considered it as *"'normal' for ordinary people to buy their housing rather than to rent it, so the idea*

has developed that this is also more 'natural'" (Saunders, 1990: 59). Further, homeownership was given positive social attributions such as aspiration and independence, as well as allowing further scope for the expression of social status and *"personal identity"* (Rakoff, 1977; Saunders, 1984: 203). On the other hand, this expression of personal identity, through purchasing a house, was closely linked to income which, consequently, only allowed higher income groups to genuinely make housing choices (Malpass, 2005). Conversely, it could be argued that the positive perception of home ownership led to an increased negative perception of renting, making it less socially acceptable, which in itself created a further drive for more homeownership (Mullins and Murie, 2006). The demand for homeownership was also further encouraged by policy makers who introduced financial incentives such as subsidies, the best known of which was the Mortgage Interested Tax Relief (MITR), a tax discount available only to mortgage payers. Later, the financial deregulation of 'Big Bang' in 1986 brought about massive changes within building societies, as well as allowing banks to enter the mortgage market, both of which ensured lending became more competitive and moved progressively down market in search of greater market share, again further expanding home ownership (Malpass, 2005).

Homeowners versus council tenants

There was a wish by homeowners to differentiate themselves from council tenants, due to the increasing stigma attached to council housing. Cowan (2001: 183) argues that this stigmatisation started early, as "*slum clearance devalued the*

tenure in the popular consciousness: slum clearance estates were 'stigmatized' as 'rough'". Negative stereotyping can be also found in the media discourse on council housing, which exists to the present day, as Devereux *et al* (2011: 10) argues, "*bad news is perceived as more commercially viable and thus that negative stories are more likely to be published and to receive prominent coverage*" therefore "*contributing towards the stigmatization of the socially excluded and the places in which they live*" (Devereux, 2011: 2)*.* Such stigmatization encourages not only homeowners themselves, but also other council tenants, to differentiate themselves from slum clearance estates. This segregation between council tenants and private owners becomes particularly clear in the case of two seven-foot high walls which were erected in Summertown, Oxford, in 1934 between the '*Cutteslowe council estate*' and the owner occupied *'urban housing estate'* (Collison, 1963). The private housing had been built off the access road to the council estate, and this became of particular significance after the building company became aware that the council estate was to be used to house people from slum clearance areas; as the private housing developer was quoted, "*your name 'slum clearances' frightens our people*" (Collison, 1963: 77). It could be argued that the homeowners wanted to create a physical barrier with the wall, which still resonates in present day 'gated communities', to highlight their otherness to the outside world in contrast to the council tenants and, in particular, the slum clearance tenants. This differentiation is also reflected in the dispute over the names of continuous streets, with private developers often insisting on a different name to avoid association with the council estate (Collison, 1963). An underlying fear of these homeowners was that of property devaluation. This economic judgement is, however, in reality, a reflection of social values and an overt signal to the stigmatisation of council

housing. This rejection of council housing in time further opened up council housing to the slum dwellers, further reinforcing the stigmatisation of council housing (Robertson and Smyth, 2009).

'*Third time frame':* Council housing and the impact of neo-liberalism in the 1980s

Significant restructuring of the British economy began in the 1970s, triggered initially through the major economic crisis brought about by the 1973 Oil Crisis which eventually entailed a rescue plan for Britain implemented under the guidance of the International Monetary Fund in 1977. The Labour government of 1974-79 responded by drastically cutting back on the welfare state, which Malpass (2005) argues they did for pragmatic reasons, in contrast to the subsequent Thatcher government who attacked the principle of the welfare state primarily on ideological grounds. Thatcher's neo-liberal ideology encouraged the reduction of a "*particular kind of state"* namely the Keynesian welfare state or, to quote Margaret Thatcher, "*We have done more to roll back the frontiers of socialism than any previous Conservative Government*" (quoted in Peck and Tickell, 2006: 29). Therefore this particular government, contrary to the previous broad political consensus, viewed the welfare state as a burden on the economy. At the same time, the delivery of services by the public sector was criticised for being ineffective, expensive and bureaucratic, in marked contrast in their eyes with the efficiency of the private sector (Malpass, 2005). It has been argued that this concept was introduced to release state owned resources and services to the free market. While

simultaneously weakening the power accumulated by councils, labour unions and electorates (Glynn, 2009; John and Evans, 2008). Malpass (2005), when considering the neo-liberal concept as a whole, sees this combination of the reduction in the welfare state, the reduction of taxes and the undermining of the collective power of the unions as a power move away from labour to capital. This perception on restructuring is emphasised by Gérard Duménil and Dominique Lévy (2005: 9) who argued, "*although it is true that neoliberalism conveys an ideology and a propaganda of its own, it is fundamentally a new social order in which the power and income of the upper fractions of the ruling classes – the wealthiest persons – was re-established in the wake of a setback*". That setback was the political compromise following World War Two that brought in the welfare state.

The 'Right to Buy' policy and its consequences

Neo-liberal ideology in the context of council housing focused primarily on the sale of municipal housing. Although it was previously possible to buy council housing, within certain local authorities, Margaret Thatcher introduced a statutory 'Right to Buy' (RTB) via the Housing Act and the Tenants' Rights, Etc. (Scotland) Act, 1980, thus ensuring it became a national right and, critically, allowed for extensive discounts in purchase price backed up with the offer of council mortgages to help tenants purchase their homes. This policy, as Mullins and Murie (2006) point out, constituted the biggest privatisation program within the UK, with 2 million properties sold by 2004. Therefore this policy further encouraged the increase in

owner occupation right across the United Kingdom. The RTB also introduced an underlying contradictory discourse on council tenancy. On the one hand, there was a sense that rents were unjustifiably subsidised by taxpayers. Therefore the perception on council housing changed whereby it was seen increasingly as s*afety net* for the most vulnerable in society rather than a general housing provision similar to health and education (Forrest and Murie, 1991). At the same time, tenants were seen as being exploited in comparison to homeowners by paying rent, but without gaining any return on their investment (Saunders, 1984; Jacobs *et al*, 2003). This positive perception on homeownership as a form of financial accumulation was criticised for not considering mortgage debt and the ability to pay, considering fluctuating interest rates, as well as the cost of the upkeep of housing (Forrest and Murie, 1991) The financially negative aspect of homeownership became particular potent after the slump in the housing market in the early 1990s, which created widespread negative equity. Mortgage restrictions on high-rise buildings, as well as housing located in stigmatised areas also created difficulties in selling on ex-council housing and, therefore, a failure to realise presumed capital accumulation. It could be argued that initially, in the 1980s, the large discounts available to tenants of council housing and simultaneously rising house prices produced a certain 'filtering up' process for council tenants, as well as significant wealth accumulation, which was arguably handed on to the next generation through inheritance (Mullins and Murie, 2006; Reeves, 1996). However, variation in the perceptions of different types of council housing meant that this was certainly not a uniform pattern.

At the same time, council housing as a concept also found itself being criticised from a Marxist perspective which considered the welfare state as encouraging the reproduction of class relations and thereby strengthening underlying structural inequalities within society (Watson, 2000). Saunders (1990: 355) in addition criticised the inherent power relationship within the then system, which he argued *"strengthens the power of service producers while disabling and stigmatizing the consumers who depend on it"*. Cole and Furbey (1994: 212), however, found Saunders' (1990) perception somewhat narrow. In their view *"to characterise all tenants as miserable serfs, groaning under the yoke of council landlordism"* was quite misleading. They, in contrast, suggested that aspects of the secure tenancy and service improvement were of greater significant to tenants. It is interesting to note that it was also Margaret Thatcher who improved tenant security under the 1980 Act that introduced the RTB.

Effect of the 'Right to Buy' policy on the social composition of council housing

The estates, with no, or limited, RTB sales often had a common denominator, being either built as flats and/or maisonettes, or being located in long stigmatised areas which had been associated with previous slum clearances, often labelled 'dump estates' (Forrest and Murie, 1991). Murie (1997: 438) argued that "*Housing tenures are socially and politically constructed,* so, Thatcher's RTB policy could simply be seen as social engineering, somewhat counter intuitive to her laissez faire ideology of promoting limited state intervention. The majority of tenants who

took advantage of the RTB policy were, not surprisingly, skilled, middle-aged workers who bought traditionally built council houses located adjacent to areas of high owner occupation (Willmott and Murie, 1988; Malpass, 2006). The full effects of the removal of council housing through the RTB were not felt until the 1990s, because the initial council house tenants tended to stay in the property they had bought (Jones, 2010). Long-term, however, the RTB reduced the supply of good quality council housing, given overall RTB sales exceeded the additions of new built council housing; therefore reducing the choice of housing for low income individuals (Jones and Murie, 2006). Even though housing associations were encouraged to fill the gap left in council housing, they fell far short of this goal. Malpass (2006: 115) suggests that this housing shortage was a consequence of prioritizing individual choice, which is a main feature of neo-liberalism, "*irrespective of the damage done to the whole of the social rented sector as a result".* The social composition within council housing thus changed, and led to what Paris termed '*socio-tenurial polarisation*' (1995: 1630), reflected in the fact that the proportion of economically inactive council tenants rose from 50% in 1983 to 61 % by 1991. In the same time period, there was a drop in skilled manual workers from 24 % to 15% within council housing (Blakemore and Griggs, 2007). As a consequence, council tenants became more likely to be female, single parents, poorer, older and/or very young households in contrast with the general population, Forrest and Murrie (1991: 167) termed these estates as, '*one class estates*' which increasingly become segregated and ghettoised communities (Paris, 1995: Malpass, 2006). Therefore social housing "*acts as a means of congregating the excluded in what become 'excluded places', thereby influencing their access to other spatially distributed resources*" (Malpass, 2001: 169), or as Byrne (2009: 117)

argues "*spatial exclusion is the most visible and evident form of exclusion*". These excluded places were often "*characterised by poorly performing public services (especially schools)*" (Malpass, 2005: 169) as well as public transport, which could be an effect of, as Cole and Furbey (1994) point out, the loss in political as well as economic power through the changed social composition. It also interrupted, according to Byrne (2009: 132), a *"history of action"* by the working classes "*founded in the solidarities which emerged from common residence in the spaces of cities*".

The RTB encouraged and exaggerated the fragmentation of society. Jackson (2012: 47) perceived the sale of council housing as "*a means of averting socialism by converting at least some of what was perceived to be a class-conscious, unionized proletariat into individual, small-scale capitalists likely to feel solidarity with the interests of larger property owners*". The changed social composition can lead to the assumption, as Turnsall (2011: 47), points out that council tenure correlates directly with disadvantage, and this perspective does not consider "*pre-existing family and individual disadvantage*" as well as disadvantage in the private rented sector and owner occupation. This is also emphasised by Malpass (2005) who argues that social housing has aspects of social exclusion, but notes that it cannot be seen as the only, or principal cause of social exclusion. Exclusionary factors are literally pushed into the social housing sector via both education and the labour market; already excluded people become social tenants. Malpass (2005) also points out that the assumed direct correlation between social housing and disadvantage, is more complex. As Turnsall (2011) suggests social housing reinforces social exclusion through stigmatisation. This is particularly pertinent in

areas which are defined as 'difficult to let'. As Byrne *et al* (quoted in Blackburn, 1991: 93) found people, except those over 65,*"experienced more psychological distress than people from more desirable council housing areas",* which could be attributed to location rather than housing type. Thus RTB policy encouraged socio-spatial segregation even though, as it has been mentioned within the previous chapter as well as within this one, social polarisation has always been present within the UK's urban spaces (Forrest and Murrie, 1991). All these variant aspects, 'socio-tenurial polarisation', negative media representation of council housing, positive perceptions of homeownership, a normative political discourse in favour of owning, as well as the poor quality of much of the remaining council housing, have collectively acted to increasingly stigmatise social renting *per se*, and certain areas and estates in particular (Cole *et al,* 1999).

The Housing Act, 1988 represented another significant move to reduce the overall proportion of council housing stock. This Act encouraged housing associations to further develop by allowing them to borrow private finance, rather than be totally reliant upon capital grants for the public sector. Consequently, associations soon became major providers of social housing throughout the UK, expanding from 556 000 in 1988 to 1.8 million houses by 2005 (Mullins and Murie, 2006). Part of that growth, especially in England, was the transfer of council housing stock to housing associations via stock transfer. It was argued that these 'not for profit' organisations were more effective managers than council landlords, but as Murie (2007) notes, through his consideration of various studies, such arguments were flawed; there was no tangible evidence to suggest these organisations were, in fact, more effective than local authorities. Again this Act should be seen primarily as

another part of the neo-liberal agenda of reducing the power of the state, rather than improving the actual organisational effectiveness of social housing. Considering the long standing fractured relationship between local and national government, this Act allowed national government to further erode the power of local government in the critical area of housing provision while, at the same time, introducing private investment in the delivery of a what had been previously a core public service.

'Fourth time frame': New Labour

With the election of a Labour Government in 1997, there was no fundamental change in the underlying ideology in relation to social housing. Rather the adoption of a *laissez faire* perspective towards housing policy continued or, as Glynn (1997: 57) argues, neo-liberalism became the predominant normative discourse, with a "*general acceptance of neo-liberal ideas as good common sense or as just the way the world works*". New Labour also wanted to create a clear ideological distance from the housing ideology that underpinned Old Labour. As Kemp (1999) pointed out, keeping a low profile on housing in general was the adopted approach. Nevertheless small changes to the RTB were introduced: limiting the scale of discounts and increasing the period in which council tenants were required to stay in a property. However there was still a strong emphasis upon housing associations being the core provider of social housing, rather than the local authorities and, as mentioned previously, an increasing number of stock transfers from local authorities to housing associations took place. The Scottish

Executive, the new name for the Scottish Office following the advent of devolution to the newly created Scottish Parliament, introduced in 2002 what were termed 'high pressure areas', which limited the sales of council housing within certain localities where sales had reduced the stock of council housing to a very low level. This, however, only applied to tenants who had moved into their home after 2002. Yet Scotland still experienced the highest rate of sales in 2007, whereas in the rest of the UK sales of council housing had significantly dropped off (Jones, 2010). Even though, since the establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999, housing had become a devolved issue, the housing policy pursued tended to emulate the English housing policy, albeit using different terminology. This trend this was reinforced by simultaneous Labour majorities in both the Holyrood and Westminster Parliaments right up until 2007 (Lund, 2008).

'*Focus frame*': Urban renewal and gentrification

Urban renewal is discussed separately within this section in order to create a focal point, even though it is quite apparent how strongly interlinked and embedded renewal is through the preceding discussion of housing policy. Urban renewal policy initiatives within the UK are commonly understood as a "*large scale process of adapting the existing built environment, with varying degrees of direction from the state*" (Jones and Evans, 2008: 2). This adaptation, or 'housing renewal', Balching and Rhoden (2002: 65) described as involving "*either the demolition and redevelopment of dwellings, often as part of a slum clearance scheme, or the rehabilitation of housing by means of repair, improvement, conversion or*

modernisation". There have been various historical urban renewal policies, therefore, the policy cannot be attributed to a particular time frame, but rather is overarching and an ongoing policy process which has consequently led to the introduction of a variety of different labels and policies, creating a vast terminology within the field. Balching and Rhoden (2002) applied the umbrella term 'housing rehabilitation policy', and within this there are two distinct strands which either focus on owner-occupied housing or social housing (Anderson, 1996).

Historical urban renewal

After the Second World War '*restructuring*', or '*redevelopment*' was a significant focus of housing policy, which was not only concerned with bombed areas, but also slum clearance districts and large infrastructural developments. In all cases the main focus of activity was the building of new council housing. Housing policy in the late 1960s and early 1970s eventually moved from slum '*redevelopment*' to '*improvement programs'*, primarily because of the relatively high quality of the housing stock left after the clearances, as well as the high proportion of owner occupiers housed in such accommodation, who deeply resented redevelopment within their neighbourhoods (Anderson, 1996; Paris and Blackaby, 1979). Economically, in public expenditure terms, it was also seen as more financially prudent to improve than to comprehensively redevelop, hence it can be seen as a government cost cutting measure (Balching and Rhoden, 2002). It can also be seen as an overtly ideological move; because rather than replacing privately owned

houses with publically owned council housing, improvement programs left the majority housing stock within the market: "*therefore part of a shift away from the social democratic model of provision and towards the market alternative*" (Clapham *et al,* 1990: 36).

These early '*publicly funded private sector renewal*' programs from 1969 to 1989 made improvement grants available, of varying percentages, for private housing within designated improvement areas, with the owners paying the balance themselves. Initially this led to a high take up by individuals in professional and managerial occupations, rather than semi and unskilled workers; hence the better quality housing, rather than the worst, was improved (Clapham *et al*, 1990; Mullins and Murie, 2006). This policy arguably contributed towards 'gentrification', the inward migration of middle class professionals into neighbourhoods previously occupied by the working classes. Poor households could not afford to pay the balance on the grant, whereas it presented an attractive proposition for middle income earners, who as a result bought into these areas displacing the original inhabitants. This was a particular problem in Islington, London (Conway, 2000; Clapham *et al,* 1990). Between 1989 and 2002, as Mullins and Murie (2006) point out, there was a gradual move away from improvement programs focused on privately owned properties to a more means tested system, which was accompanied by an underlying discourse that homeowners are ultimately responsible for the maintenance and improvement of their own homes. From 2002 onwards there was also a shift in focus throughout the whole of the UK on private-public funding (Mullins and Murie, 2006; Goodlad, 2004).

Within the public sector, the financing of council house improvement programs was restructured in the 1980s, allowing councils simultaneously to retain a block grant to undertake capital works on their stock, while at the same time take part in a bidding process for a regeneration grant to improve specific parts of their housing stock. This competitive bidding process between different areas and councils was criticised because it resulted in *"a kind of ugliness contest"* (Jones and Evans, 2008: 10). The 'Housing Improvement Programme' (HIP) of the Thatcher government, widely used in England, but not in Scotland, was funded from the same financial pot as general maintenance capital works, and this led to a reduction of overall funding for general maintenance. This ensured that council's who were unsuccessful in this competitive bidding process saw their housing stock increasingly deteriorate (Anderson, 1996).

Urban regeneration policy

The specific term *'urban regeneration'* first arose in the mid 1980s. Translated from the Latin for 'rebirth', the term revealed to Furby (1999) a strong Judeo-Christian associations of being '*born again'* and thus suggests a focus on the individual who is reborn, rather than on the broader community. Again this reveals a close tie to the neo-liberal ideology of the government at this time period. The Major administration changed their approach on regeneration and also included aspects such as *"economic development, employment, ethnic minority needs, crime, environmental improvements and community infrastructure as well as*

housing", apparently encouraging a more holistic approach than previous policies

(Hall, 2007: 250; Jones and Evans, 2008).

Within the Scottish context the White Paper of 1988 '*New Life for Urban Scotland*'

lead to the establishment of four Partnership areas: Wester Hailes in Edinburgh,

Whitefield in Dundee, Castlemilk in Glasgow and Ferguslie Park in Paisley

(Anderson, 1996; Mccarthy, 2007). Similar to the renewal model created by the

Major administration, these four partnership areas also adopted a holistic

approach. Nevertheless, Hall (1997: 885) argues that this policy can be

characterised as being primarily inward-looking since they "*seek to address the*

causes of estate decline through measures that directly transform the nature or the

character of the estate and its existing population". Thus regeneration policy of the

1980s and early 1990s across the UK did not consider the wider social context of

peripheral estates within a city. Again this inward-looking perception resonates

with the concept of the 'undeserving poor' and social pathology, which sees

poverty as an individual life choice, rather than the consequence of structural

inequalities.

The majority of capital funding for such projects was still, contrary to the holistic

ambition was funnelled into the demolition and rebuilding of the physical

environment (Hall, 2007). A similar criticism was also voiced in relation to the

later New Labour regeneration program, for "*although the policy rhetoric retains*

the language of an holistic approach, regeneration does seem to have retreated to

having a much greater emphasis on intervention in the built form to stimulate

economic growth" (Jones and Evans, 2008: 2). This traditional economic

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stimulation provided by urban regeneration policy as a whole, including other non domestic regeneration programs, was none the less by then very significant, contributing to the economic boom accounting for 8% of the total UK gross domestic product in 2006 (John and Evans, 2008). Regeneration had become a significant component of New Labour's housing policy, in that it was seen to help combat social exclusion by focusing on '*rundown council estates*' (Kemp, 1999). Musterd and Ostendorf (2005: 151) argue that underlying this regeneration policy lay the assumption by policy makers that problems of "*physical, social and economic intervention*" required to be solved *"simultaneously"*. This becomes particularly apparent when physical measures are taken for areas which exhibit predominantly social problems, which again echoes 'environmental-determinism' (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2005). Glynn (2007) is also reminded of Engels' (1892) perception of Victorian Manchester, as previously mentioned, where he observed that poverty was largely invisible for the middle classes due to their daily movements. Glynn (2007) considers regeneration as a means of achieving the same end, within the modern context, by demolishing the housing of the poor and making poverty, or structural inequalities, invisible by creating new architecturally attractive housing. Even though these new houses can be considered as an improvement for the residents, structural inequalities still persist despite all the new housing, and this housing ensures poverty is less visible to 'the passers-by'.

Social mixing as an aim of regeneration

A key ambition in the '*Regeneration and Policy Statement*' issued by the Scottish Executive in 2006 was social mixing, the introduction of middle class households to areas previously dominated by low income groups, which Smith (1971) had previously argued leads to a 'trickling down' of benefits to the working classes. Social mixing was, however, never considered in reverse, when looking at wealthy neighborhoods, which are also socially homogeneous (Atkinson, 2006). Simultaneously it has been argued that the positive discourse on social mixing and desegregation does not consider the positive aspects of segregation whereby "*politically disenfranchised groups might find a sanctuary and an inversion of kinds of power relations found outside areas of low income*" (Lee, 2008: 2461).

Atkinson and Kintrea (2002:152) argue that it "*must be acknowledged that because segregation has its roots in economic inequality, any policies which decrease income inequality would be likely to have effects on the spatial concentration of poverty*" or social mixing. But as Musterd *et al* (1999) points out, policies such as regeneration are aimed to create a greater social mixing and not reduce *"social inequality as such".* At the same time, mixed tenure was found to contribute to residents' satisfaction, even though it was only one element and needed to be seen in context with the "*high quality of the physical environment and provision, from the early days, of a range of local services."* (Allen *et al,* 2005: 9). Even though social mixing at a spatial level occurs, Butler and Robson (2003) found that social mixing did not take place between the middle classes and the low-income groups within the same area. Allen *et al* (2005: 8) came to a similar conclusion, namely that "*owners and*

renters were found to occupy distinctive social worlds. This meant that the opportunities for social interaction between the two groups were limited". Therefore it is questionable if the assumed consequences of social mixing such as social network development and social cohesion, occurs, which Dekker and Rowlands (2005: 106) tried to define as a *"coherence of a social or political system...the ties people have with this system, and their involvement and solidarity".* Whereas Furbey (1999) sees such 'social cohesion' as a re-naming of 'social order', and this being strongly linked with social Darwinism, which he argues tries to integrate and seeks participation "*of the poor who threaten the general health and fitness of the urban organism."*

On the other hand social mixing has been found to be beneficial in terms of the image management of a deprived area and, therefore, a means to reducing stigmatization, illustrated in a study of three Scottish regenerated estates in Paisley, Motherwell and Edinburgh. In this case, the increase in homeownership reduced stigmatization, but it did not disappear entirely (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000). The retention of stigma was recognized in a survey which interviewed Scotland's businesses, and found they were reluctant to move into estates which had a poor reputation, as well as having crime and drugs problems (Cambridge Policy Consultants, quoted in Hastings and Dean, 2003).

Regeneration or gentrification?

Social mixing, as articulated in Scottish regeneration policy is to encourage a change in the social patterns present within an area, as well as encourage other features that resonate with characteristics associated with gentrification. This gentrified perception on regeneration is also shared by Musterd and Ostendorf (2005:153) who argue that this policy "*only aimed at elevating or gentrifying the area under consideration*", but at the same time *"this strategy is seldom expressed openly as a deliberate policy."* Gentrification is a complex multi dimensional process which Beauregard (1986: 40) considered to be a "*chaotic concept*" in contrast to Ward (1991) who saw it as a phenomena with specific characteristics. Beauregard (1986) argues that 'gentrification' encompasses "*many diverse if interrelated events and processes; these have been aggregated under a single (ideological) label and have been assumed to require a single causal explanation*". To substantiate his perception that the diversity of 'gentrification' cannot be collated into a single phenomenon, due its varied process and actors, he adds and contrasts various examples, such as a 'gentrification' of working class areas by gay men, as well as inner city warehouse conversions for the affluent. For Ward (1991: 225) to perceive 'gentrification' as a chaotic concept carries the risk of dismissing it as a whole. He therefore developed three characteristics of a 'gentrified area' which can be broadly separated into social spatial reorganisation, as well as economic and identity aspects. These three categories also allow for a consideration of the similarities and differences between regeneration and gentrification.

Social spatial reorganisation

Ward (1991: 225) considers 'gentrification' as "*a process of resettlement and social concentration, a process of displacement of one group of residents with another of higher social status, entailing new patterns of social segregation".* These changes in social spatial organisation resonate with the regeneration policy goal of social mixing. Blomley (2004: 89) suggests a pre-meditation within 'regeneration', and arguably 'gentrification' policy, which has the aim of replacing "*a marginal anticommunity (nonproperty owning, transitory, and problematized) by an active, responsible, and improving population of homeowners."* This understanding is also echoed by Glynn (2007: 73) who sees it as a replacement "*by a better class of people*", while ignoring the structural inequalities that are the underlying issue. This perception on regeneration is also close to that of Glass (1964), who originally coined the term 'gentrification' in the early 1960s'. She saw this phenomenon as one characterised by middle class people moving into areas and displacing the original working class residents.

Such displacement is encouraged in the gentrification context, as Beauregard (1986:50) argues, by "*the location of economically and politically weak households in certain types of neighbourhoods at a particular historical time combined with the inner-city location of the potential gentry*". This observation by Beauregard (1986) highlights the unequal power relationship within the gentrification context, whereby, as Castells (2000: 7) determined, *"power is the action of humans on other humans to impose their will on others".* Smith (1996: 211) focuses on the conflicts arising out of this power inequality, perceived as similar to, although in the

narrower context, than Gérard Duménil and Dominique Lévy (2005) as mentioned earlier, who saw neo-liberalism as re-establishing essentially the wealthy and powerful. Smith (1996) takes it a bit further by seeing it as deliberate revenge by this group on the moral and economic decline of the city after the social reforms of the 1960s and the "*supposed 'theft' of the city".* This conflictual thesis is reflected in his use of the language in titling his famous book on 'gentrification'; 'the *Revanchist City' 'Mapping the gentrification frontier*' (Smith, 1996). Similarly, the regeneration process, it could be argued, as executed by the institutions of the state, charitable organizations and private developers are relatively more powerful than the unorganized residents of a regeneration area (Hall and Rowlands, 2005). This power inequality, Cameron (2003) suggests, does not necessarily lead to displacement, but rather it is case specific. He considered two cases in Newcastle upon Tyne whereby in one he did not find aspects of 'gentrification' and displacement, whereas in a policy statement from the other area which was never regenerated, he observed a clear intention to displace. It has been argued that changes in local service within regenerated area which are attractive to high income groups such as high end supermarkets create further displacement pressures due to the inability of low income groups to use such services, especially if their emergence leads to the loss of existing local services (Lee and Davidson, 2005; Marcuse, 1986). Such change needs to be weighed up against a potential improvement in reputation of an area which Dean and Hastings (2000) found in a regeneration project where a high end supermarket, Sainsbury's, was attracted into the area. Aspects of improvements in public service in gentrified areas have been meet with cynicism by the original residents. Freeman (2006: 2) saw a collusion between the gentrifiers, public officials and commercial property

interests, again highlighting the powerlessness of the established community. Yet again, this approach can be seen within the context of power and knowledge of a Foucauldian tradition.

Marcuse (1986) suggests that displacement in itself is a complex process, by which people leave a neighbourhood and this change of social composition in turn creates a pull effect, whereby people leave because their friends and family have already left. The displaced, Butler (1997) argues are largely absent in the 'gentrification' debate, due to the limited research undertaken on this group. At the same time, he readily acknowledges the methodological difficulties posed in trying to access those dispersed. Whereas Musterd and Ostendorf (2005) argue that these displaced rather than being dispersed concentrated in other deprived areas. Hamnett (2003) was very critical of the perception on displacement and saw it rather as a replacement of residences, which implies no force, but perhaps more of a natural movement; therefore he argued it could be seen as a change within a social Darwinist tradition. Consequently, Hamnett suggested, "*gentrification is the social and spatial manifestation of the transition from an industrial to a post-industrial urban economy based on financial, business and creative services, with associated changes in the nature and location of work, in occupational class structure, earnings and incomes, life styles and the structure of the housing market.*" (Hamnett, 2003: 2402). Even though Beauregard (1986), takes a similar position in the debate about urban economic restructuring, with working class manufacturing employment largely disappearing, as was mentioned earlier, he suggests, similarly to Smith (1996), that 'gentrification' is a process which entails social conflict.

Another aspect which encourages the 'gentrification' process and a search of alternative housing for the middle classes was initially the greater housing need created by the 'baby boomers' from the late 1960s and, subsequently, a marked social change in household composition within western countries with more single households and childless couples (Hamnett,1984). The new social pattern, which Wards (1991) characterises 'gentrification', is sought out by the middle classes, who are attracted theoretically to the social mix within the 'gentrified' area but, as mentioned earlier, Butler and Robson (2003: 165) found limited actual evidence of such actual mixing between groups within the 'gentrified' London areas of Barnsbury, Battersea and Brixton. Rather the middle classes *"associated almost exclusively with 'people like us' and that much of their time is devoted to the needs of the immediate household. Their children associated almost exclusively with other middle-class children and many of their friends went back to school and university days."* A similar pattern was established by Butler (1997: 129) within his research on Hackney, where a theoretical desire by gentrifiers to interact with the established community, was in marked contrast to the lack of actual social mixing leading to the established community becoming invisible to the gentrifiers. This led the gentrifiers to sense that this area was just populated by the middle classes.

Economic aspects of gentrification/regeneration

Another aspect of Ward's characteristics of 'gentrification' is *"an economic reordering of property values, a commercial opportunity of the construction industry, and, generally, an extension of the system of the private ownership of*

domestic property" (Ward, 1991: 225)*.* Lees (2008) sees 'gentrification' within this context, requiring the creation of desirable spaces for the middle classes for a relatively low financial cost to them; she goes as far as calling this a "*hidden social cleansing agenda*" (Lee, 2008: 2451). The pull effect of desirable spaces, initially for inexpensive housing and land, attracted capital to the 'gentrification' area. Smith (1979) described this pattern as the 'rent-gap' theory, which produces an expectation of profit due to the 'gap' between the potential and the existing land use value. Consequently, one part of this process is the financial reality that low-income individuals, who are not able to raise funds as their housing costs rise find themselves forced to move and are thus displaced. Ward (1991: 224) sees the rent-gap theory as applicable mainly to large scale developments, which resonates with the current Scottish regeneration policy whereby private developers are encouraged to help regenerate areas with the offer of grants to build houses for sale in areas predominantly made up of social renting (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000). Therefore Lee and Davidson (2005) argue that there is a strong link between 'regeneration' and 'gentrification'. This association between regeneration and generation also resonates with Smith (1992: 113) who argues that within the 'gentrification' discourse the major players are absent for ideological reasons such as "*the producers of gentrified properties – builders, property owners, estate agents, local governments, banks and building society*", but rather there is a wish to focus on the individual gentrifiers. London *et al* (1986), on the other hand, draw a distinct differentiation; they saw 'gentrification' as predominantly induced through the private market, if not completely without influence by the state, whereas 'urban renewal' was purely a public initiative. Ward (1991) disagrees and points out that the role of the state within the 'gentrification' process is vital, but

often minimised, as illustrated earlier within the context of home improvement grants.

Shared identities and differentiation

Conversely to the rent-gap theory, which focuses on the supply side of the gentrification debate, Beauregard (1986) argues it is not able to fully explain the phenomena of 'gentrification', as there are areas with similar characteristics which do not attract gentrifiers, therefore, households are also attracted because of the socio-cultural aspects. His perception is thus on the demand side of the debate. Ward (1991) agreed partially with Beauregard (1986), but argued that while the socio-cultural values are significant, there are *"pretty capital gains that can be made by gentrifying"* (Ward, 1991: 224; London *et al*, 1986).

Another characteristic of gentrification described by Ward (1991: 225) was "*a gathering together of persons with a putatively shared culture and lifestyle, or at least shared, class-related, consumer preferences"*. This shared culture of gentrifiers in London is poignantly described by Butler and Robson (2003: 50-51) as a *"greater tendency than the national norm to vegetarianisms, to exotic and far-flung holidays, a marked predisposition to read the Guardian and not to watch or listen to commercial television or radio and finally to drink gin*". This observation of gentrifies resonates with Bourdieu's theoretical framework of 'habitus' which " *focuses on our ways of acting, feeling, thinking and being. It captures how we carry within us our history, how we bring this history into our present circumstances, and*

how we then make choices to act in certain ways and not others" (quoted in Maton, 2008: 52). '*Habitus*' is unconscious and unintentional and, therefore, an integral part of behaviour, embodied within the human being (Jenkins, 1992). Both working class communities and gentrifiers who move into their communities were found to have a distinct 'habitus' (Charlesworth, 2000; Butler and Robson, 2003). At the same time, this particular '*habitus*' needs to be set in context with what Bourdieu described as '*field*'; which could on the most basic level be seen as the social context of the behaviour, which is adjusted depending on the situation. Therefore "*each field, by virtue of its defining content, has a different logic and taken-for –granted structure of necessity and relevance which is both the product and produces of the habitus which is specific and appropriated to the field"* (Jenkins, 1992: 84). This description also highlights the interrelationship between 'habitus' and 'field'.

This also resonates with Goffman's (1959) description of social interactions as dramaturgical, using the stage as a metaphor, whereby each individual acts differently utilizing, for example, "*posture; speech patterns; facial expressions; bodily gestures"* depending on the context and situation (Goffman, 1959: 34). Returning to Bourdieu (1984:114), '*capital'* is the third component within social relations, which he sees as "*a set of actually usable resources and powers*". Rather than only considering '*economic capital'* he also considers other forms of interconnected capital such as "'*cultural capita' or better, informational capital, again in its different kinds; and thirdly two forms of capital that are very strongly correlated, 'social capital', which consists of resources based on connections and group membership, and 'symbolic capital', which is the form the different types of*

capital take once they are perceived and recognized as legitimate" (Bourdieu, 1987: 4).

Just as economical capital establishes power inequalities, so does Bourdieu's (1987) other connected forms of capitals. The greater volume of capital any individual possesses of any kind, the more power they have within a particular field. Bourdieu (1990) established this concept when considering different educational attainment between working class and middle class children. He found middle class children had acquired cultural capital through their parents, which they had internalised in their *'habitus'*. The teacher recognised this *'cultural capital'* and, subsequently, the children performed better at school. At the same time, *'cultural capital'* needs to be seen in context with *'economic capital'* because the latter can legitimise the former, as well as that version of the world is socially created by the group with a greater volume of capital, depending on the *'field'* (Bourdieu, 1987). Even though cultural capital can lead to economic capital it does not necessarily, because it needs to be applied within the labour market. At the same time, "*to attempt to map taste purely in terms of income is to miss the dual principles in operation, for cultural capital has its own structure of value, which amounts to convertibility into social power, independent of income or money*" (quoted in Savage *et al,* 1992: 16).

Within the gentrification discourse *"culture can itself be theorised as a form of exploitation in its own right, since the process of making one's own culture legitimate is to discredit the culture of others"*. Therefore returning to Butler and Robson's (2003) observation on the culture of the gentrifiers, which could be seen as

discrediting the culture of the established community and, therefore, is an example

of class struggle and a process of '*symbolic violence*' (Savage *et al,* 1992: 16). At the

same time, the lifestyle established encourages further '*gentrification*' because it is

perceived as "*inner-city chic*", and recognised as a symbol of cultural capital and

value which is read by a group with similar social positions, operating within that

social space, and, therefore, it becomes *en vogue* to move into a gentrified district

(London *et al,* 1986: 7).

Changes in the built environment

One further feature of 'gentrification' Ward (1991: 225) considers is the

"transformation in the built environment, via building work that exhibits some

common distinctive, aesthetic features and the emergence of certain types of local

service provision". Therefore, simultaneous to the changing social composition in

gentrified areas, the 'cultural' and 'symbolic' capital changes, as is visibly reflected

in architecture. Within London the fashion was to transform basic terrace houses

into chic residences, and in other districts it was the conversion of old commercial

premises, such as warehouses, into flats. In New York this transformation was

made famous by Zukin's (1989) book, 'Loft Living'. Again this resonates with the

current Scottish regeneration policy which greatly focuses on the redevelopment

of housing within deprived areas, whereby iconic architecture and its impact on

illustrating physical transformation is utilised to make the regeneration process

visible. Conversely, improvement programs can be perceived as positive, as

Hickman *et al* (2011) found in two neighbourhoods in Wakefield. Here the

residents' home satisfaction increased significantly. Hickman *et al* (2011) also pointed to a lack of qualitative research in the body of literature of regeneration and improvement programs.

Conclusion

There are various strands that carry over time within both housing policy and regeneration, from the very first involvement by the state, via the Chadwick Report, right up to the present day. It becomes clear from the literature that housing policy, given it is socially constructed, allows an insight into society's power relationships, as well as the influence of the economics and ideologies.

The creation of council housing can be seen in context of power relationships, whereby powerful actors, both historically and in the present, make classifications and decisions about what constitutes a slum, overcrowding, or which areas are in need of regeneration (Burnett, 1986; Robertson *et al,* 2008a). Such power relationships are also reflected in the fluctuating quality of council housing, as well as where it was placed, leading a persistent criticism of state funded segregation (Davidson and Lee, 2008). Segregation has always been a recurring theme within housing policy.

It becomes apparent within this literature that both housing problem classifications, and decisions made in respect of housing problems, are perceived

to be self evident while, in fact, they are socially constructed (Jacobs *et al,* 2003).
Even governments with a strong *laissez-faire* ideology, such as the Thatcher
Conservative government, were strongly tied to direct state interventions, such as
the discounting of council housing under the RTB and funding largeregeneration
projects. So, social policy, within the context of housing, is also heavily influenced
by ideology, which from the era of the Thatcher government, right through to the
present, is predominantly neo-liberalism. This ideology considers the market to be
the prime provider of services, such as housing, rather than the state, which
arguably focuses primarily on the creation of profit. Therefore, economic
considerations, in terms of the market, as well as the state finances, which have,
since the Thatcher government, been used to facilitate the market, are another
significant theme emerging from within this literature.

Stigmatisation has always been an aspect of certain council estates, particularly
the ones which were historically associated with slum clearance of poor quality
housing. Such stigmatisation was later reinforced by the reduction of the
availability of good quality council housing in sought after areas, through the RTB
policy, which reduced council stock to primarily that of poor quality council
housing. Other aspects, such as negative media representation, the positive
perceptions of homeownership and a normative political discourse in favour of
home owning, further encouraged such stigmatisation (Cole *et al,* 1999). As a
result, council housing became increasingly the tenure of last resort, and again this
reinforced this stigmatising aspect.

Related to this, the role played by social engineering became more apparent in the restructuring of the built form, especially through what has long been termed as 'environmental determinism'. This, has however, persistently been evident as an underlying principle and has long had great impact on the general perception of housing, or, as Townsend argues, the "*perception of housing problems tends also to be biased in favor of physical rather than social manifestations*" (Townsend, 1979: 479). This focus on the physicality, on architecture, rather than on underlying social inter-relationships becomes particularly clear when considering the overtly modernist architecture of much council housing, when contrasted with its original 'Garden City' inheritance. The discourse of 'environmental determinism' can also be found in regeneration and improvement policies, even though the former is understood as a holistic concept involving social and economic solutions, but this is arguably simply rhetorical, given the dominance of the physical over socio-economic factors. Given the clear significance of the built environment in respect of housing policy, this will be the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter Three

'In close-up': The Built Environment

Introduction

As became clear in the previous chapter, there was a perception which assumed that changes in the built environment create social changes, especially within the context of deprived areas. Therefore, within this chapter, the built environment is discussed in greater depth.

Initially this chapter concerns itself with a description of the built environment and architecture, whereby it is debatable if it is an art form or/and a social practice. There are various traditions with different perceptions on architecture, which look at the underlying discourses within architecture. The phenomenological tradition considers all spaces as being experienced through the body, and understood through all senses. Structuralists, such as Eco(1979;1997), take a different perspective and consider semiotics, which looks at signs to be read; focusing primarily on the visual sense. Even though fundamentally different, both traditions are relevant in developing a broader understanding of the architectural discourse and its interpretation by society.

Both post-modern architecture and modernity are discussed, in context within an architectural discourse. Various theorists (Harvey 1989; Short; 1996) consider the former as playful, as a reaction to the latter, which is primarily functional in its design. Both representing different perceptions, modernity is considered as having '*social objectives*' whereby post-modernity primarily focuses on itself as aesthetic. The discussion which follows on power, capital and architecture, highlights the global context of post-modern architecture as a consumer good, which is produced and packaged to be consumed, with an aim of attracting further capital. This repackaging Dovey (1999) considered as a form of *'seduction'* and is, therefore, an expression of an unequal power relationship that is ever present within the built environment. His three other forms of unequal power relationship are subsequently discussed; *force, coercion (domination, intimidation) and authority*. Subsequently the state, which can be thought of as a powerful urban actor, is considered.

It is debatable if power has shifted from national states to globally operating companies. Historically, and currently, architecture developed by government is restrained financially and, therefore, generally leans towards a functional architecture. Subsequently, Private Finance Initiatives in public projects are discussed. Seemingly remedying the shortage of capital finance for governments, they create long term high interest loans, substituting capital into an expensive long term loan. The section on power, institutions and their architecture focuses on the outlay and use of these buildings and, in a broader context, the power relationship such buildings represent. Foucault argues (1997), in his description of a prison, the Panopticon, that the layout of this building aided self regulation, but

that without the underlying power relationships such self regulation could not take place.

As will become clear within the next section of the chapter, the sense of environmental determinism is not just present within institutions, as was discussed in the last chapter, but was also individual. Le Corbusier (1986) considered a strong link between architecture and behaviour within a greater social context. This section also considers the influence architectural determinism had on council house architecture. Critics of this perception are also considered, such as Gans (1968) who argued that poverty can never be eradicated through buildings.

Bourdieu's (1990) concept of habitus is also revisited in relation to architecture, whereby certain tastes are developed by being immersed in childhood in a class environment. Simultaneously this preference is reflected in the built environment, given council housing was designed by middle class architects and planners. In the penultimate section of this chapter the built environment and social segregation is considered, and how its creation through the construction of physical barriers creates spaces of exclusion and inclusion. Such segregations, as they are socially constructed, also allow an insight into power relationships within society. Finally, architecture by being in use changes its meaning or discourse, and this aspect is explored in the final section of this chapter.

Definition of the built environment

The built environment can be defined as "*intentionally organised*" and constructed by human beings. It also needs to be understood in context with the natural environment, which is "*spontaneously self-organising*" (Fox, 2000: 2). The built environment features all aspects of human physical creations, such as buildings, which in return incorporate homes, workplaces and places of leisure. Simultaneously they are also integrated into a wider, built and organized environment such as roads, paths as well as parks in which society pursues its daily rhythms of living, or *"in the literal sense everyday life 'takes place' within the clusters of rooms, buildings, streets and cities that we inhabit"* (Dovey, 1999: 1). Consequently, architecture is an integral part of the built environment, which arguably impacts significantly on the daily rhythms of society. Architecture can be defined on the most rudimentary level as, "*the art and science of designing and constructing a building*" (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1996). This definition incorporates two aspects of architecture, the functionality and the artistic impression, the former can be a water tight roof in a country with a large amount of rainfall, whereby the latter arguably can have an emotional impact, and led to architecture being defined as *'frozen music'*, and is therefore considered an art form (Moffat, 2003: 1). The claim of architecture being an art form has long been contested by for example Lefebvre (1996: 188), even though he considers "*some*" as art he perceives architecture to be a "*social practice*", comparable to medicine. Therefore he argues that *"architecture differs from painting, sculpture and the arts, in that they are related to social practice only indirectly and by mediations; while the architects and architecture have an immediate relationship with dwelling as social*

act, with construction as a practice" (Lefebvre, 1996: 190). Hence, architecture as a social act, is a reflection of society's values and norms within the context of the built environment.

A discourse between the built environment, architecture and society

Barthes (1997) views architecture and the built environment as part of the communication of the city as "*the city is a discourse and this discourse is truly a language; the city speaks to its inhabitants, we speak to our city, the city where we are, simply by living in it, by wandering through it by looking at it*" (Barthes, 1997: 168). This perception is echoed by Dovey (1999: 1) who sees it *"As a form of discourse, built form constructs and frames meanings*", hence he considers architecture an expression of society which carries multilayered meanings, thus "*Places tell us stories; we read them as spatial text*" (Dovey, 1999: 1).

Hence, as with any language, Raskin (1974) argues a common language is a prerequisite to mutual understanding. This understanding is developed through socialisation, whereby individuals learn to understand the meanings society attributes to the built environment. Therefore, the "*common experience is unquestionably an important element in understanding a place,*" (Relph, 1976: 36). Consequently, socialisation allows for the differentiation between '*basic statements of buildings',* for example, a post office and a church, but it also permits the reading of nuances such as "*I am a refined home. Welcome, but wipe your feet"* (Raskin,

1974: 83). Such socialisation leads most western European children, Conway and Roenisch (1995) argue, to draw a house with a pitched roof symbolising shelter and a chimney, which symbolises warmth. Both factors combine to carry the meaning of home. Therefore, they highlight the underlying discourse of house as a home. They suggest therefore, "*a house not only provides shelter and warmth, it also symbolises home on a very deep level*" (Conway and Roenisch, 1995: 23). Raskin (1974: 82) also acknowledges that this mutual understanding is rarely achieved. For example, an old people's home designed in Amsterdam, with white frames and black in-fills on the walls communicated crosses and coffins and therefore death (Rapoport, 1982). Consequently the cultural context in which the built environment is set is significant. Dutch society being culturally informed by Christianity, found this building offensive. In other cultural contexts this might not have been the case.

Experiencing the built environment in terms of the phenomenological tradition

At the same time, individuals' 'lifeworlds', which Husserl (quoted in Markus,1993: 10) described as "*a world in which I experience myself and to which I belong, through my body*," are unique and depend on experiences within a person's life course. This experience, in context with socialisation, can have a profound impact on the meaning of architectural features, textures and smells within a building. Lefebvre (1991), similarly to Husserl (1970), considered a close interrelationship between being and space. He described this interrelationship with the example of

a cathedral, and all the sense it triggers by its signs, symbols, smells and sounds. Hence, he considered this space to be understood through the experience of the body, or as he formulated it "*on the basis of their own bodies, experience a total being in a total space*" (Lefebvre, 1991: 221)*.* Consequently, by following this phenomenological tradition it could be argued that different built environments create different experiences of being in the space. This sense of being and experiencing was also considered by Charlesworth (2000), who examined a working class community in Yorkshire. He described how being unemployed is experienced through the body and by the body. He concluded that unemployment also impacted upon the body directly and was perceived as negative as the body was not "tired out" (Charlesworth, 2000: 258).

Pearson and Richards (1997: 3) considered the difference between monumental architecture and the daily architectural structures, such as a family home, whereby the monumental architecture "*shout their presence and instil feelings of awe and wonder, yet a familiar environment is taken for granted*". Nevertheless both places are experienced, they argue, through the body but in a different context. A student of Husserl, Martin Heidegger (1997) thought there is a strong link between dwelling, being, space and place. He considered, as Sharr (2003: 131) paraphrased, that "*particular 'places' remain bound with actions and routines of individuals who 'dwell' in them*". Within his essay "*building, dwelling, thinking*" he considered the connection between being and dwelling through looking at a two hundred year old farm house in the Black Forest in Germany, which he viewed as a reflection of this oneness. This farm house incorporates aspects of the natural environment, the life circle as well as the spiritual by, for example, placing the building into a wind

sheltered mountain slope, creating spaces for babies and coffins as well as an alter corner (Heidegger, 1997). Architectural literature regularly considers buildings in the way Heidegger describes, where there is a oneness with dwelling and body represents architecture at its best (King, 2004; Conway and Roenisch, 1995). However, Heidegger, Lefebvre and Husserl all follow the same tradition when considering the built environment; that of phenomenology. They argue that there is a close link between sense, being and space; in essence, they suggest that space is experienced through the body and that is a 'lived experience'. This perception of space has been criticised as being a '*self-referential system'*, therefore, it cannot be ratified by a '*normative foundation'*, especially since sensory experience can be considered individually bound (Leach, 1997: 84).

Reading the signs of architecture in a semiotic tradition

Umberto Eco (1997) also considered the discourses within the built environment following a quite different perspective; that of 'structuralism'. Eco is concerned with semiotic theory, the 'science of signs', which he says "*declares itself as concerned with the entire universe*" (Eco, 1979: 7). Structuralism differs from phenomenology by only considering the physical signs, without considering a deeper embodied experience (Leach, 1997). Eco (1997) perceives architecture as primarily functional and, secondarily, as a symbolic object. He, however, acknowledges that some buildings are principally symbolic, such as an Expo Pavilion, which was created with the aim of presenting national culture. Nevertheless, he argues that the functions by themselves allow a reading of the

'*cultural phenomena*'. He gives an example of a set of stairs, which can be simple garden stairs or the grand staircase in a castle. The actual function of the object is fulfilled either way, but the expression they imbue is entirely different. The stair in a castle is representative, while the garden stairs are not. He also finds that the meaning can only be understood within a cultural context; therefore a lift, for example, might not be understood by a person, who has never come across such an object. At the same time, the meaning in buildings is historically determined, therefore the semantic association can be lost over time, Stonehenge, for example, has lost its historical meaning while a new, present meaning is added as part of a tourist trail of the United Kingdom and its designation as a UNESCO world heritage site (Leach, 1999). Hence, it could be argued that the discourse in the built environment is permanently shifting, or as Short (1996: 394) suggests, "*any building, group of buildings, or urban ensemble has a variety of possible meanings which are not anchored permanently but float in a sea of competing ideas, deferring values and antagonistic political and economic forces.*"

Phenomenologists criticise structuralists for focusing too narrowly on the visual sense, over all the other senses, and thereby limiting the perception of the built environment (Leach, 1997). Consequently, Lefebvre (1991: 143), questioned the readability of space and architecture when considering historical architecture, arguing that space *"was produced before being read; nor was it produced in order to be read and grasped, but rather in order to be lived by people with bodies and lives in their own particular urban context"*. He further adds that architecture which is developed with the intention of a clear message to be read is the most "*deceptive and tricked up imaginable*" (Lefebvre, 1991: 143). Lefebvre (1991) considered

monumental architecture in this context, which is trying to convey the most direct meaning, by simultaneously pointing out that this architecture also tries to mask aspects of power relationships.

The move from modernity to post-modern reflected in architecture

As discussed previously, cities have developed a '*new look'* within post-modernity. Harvey, (1989: 93, Short, 1996) suggested that this is articulated in increasingly playful architecture with an "*eclectic mix of styles, historical quotation, ornamentation, and the diversification of surface*". Baudrillard (1997) was interested in these new forms of expression within the built environment. He, similar to Eco (1997), gave signs a significant importance and perceives them to be more important than the substance within a post-modernist society. He called these symbols "simulacra". This is apparent when one considers Las Vegas because it is full of images and stories from reality, but which are taken out of their social and cultural context, and sanitized. At the same time it could be argued that "simulacra" were in existence before post-modernity, especially in neo-classic buildings of the 19th Century, which by using the Greek temple form reflected an underlying discourse of classical education and superiority; '*blessed by the gods"*. On the other hand these symbols of classical antiquity were also used in parliaments and courts, therefore reflecting the move to increasingly democratic societies, which arguably were not meaningless simulacra but rather set in a cultural context (Conway and Roenisch, 1995). Leach (1999) is critical of this

perception and considers that the symbols of Greek democracy were also used by the Italian fascists in the 1930s. At the same time it could be argued that these were used in context with propaganda and therefore need to be understood as such. Therefore, as Jones (2006: 556) points out, the *"Meaning attached to architectural styles and motifs are always negotiated and heavily context dependent, or in other words socially constructed"*. Within Baudrillard's (1997) very abstract concept, he felt that nothing was real anymore and everything was superficial. Therefore it could be argued that he attributed a great power to the communicated meaning of architecture, which is a significant part of this creation of simulacra. The use of simulacra within architectural features, without having any relevance to the cultural and social identity of an urban space, can have an alienating effect.

The architectural discourse within post-modernity, argues Harvey (1989: 82), is fragmented and "*takes architecture away from the ideal of some unified meta-language and breaks it down into highly differentiated discourses*". He adds, with reference to Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital, modernists have tried ideologically to "*repress the significance of symbolic capital*". This, in return, created a desire for the symbols which are fulfilled by post-modern architecture, which are "*spectacle and theatricality*" (Harvey, 1989: 80). Even though Harvey is critical of post-modern architecture, he considered the arguments in its favour, which state that it creates a diverse and patchwork city with an underlying discourse of freedom and democracy. Although not fundamentally disagreeing with such arguments he suggests that this could only be achieved by a prerequisite of incorporating within the creative process all sections of society, including the poor and minorities.

Harvey (1989) acknowledges that post-modern architecture became possible through technical advances and the advent of new materials. This allows for greater variation in styles and designs that were cheaper to produce than previously, whilst challenging the view that the post-modern movement should be seen solely as *'technologically determined'* (Harvey, 1989: 76). Rather it is a reaction to, or a consequence of, modernist architecture; just as modernism had rejected the aesthetic of the Victorian era (Gottdiener, 1995). Harvey (1989: 65) perceived modernity as a counter to post-modernity, the former he saw as being concerned with shaping the built environment for a '*social purpose',* while post-modernity had no '*social objectives';* with its main aim being "*timeless and 'disinterested' beauty as an objective in itself*". This focus of post-modern architecture as an '*objective in itself*' has been seen as an overt attack on modernity's utopian ideology (Harvey, 1989; Gottdiener, 1995). It has also been argued that post-modernity, with its ironic playfulness, makes fun of modernity and its functionality "*literally 'dressing up' prisons to look like hotels and vice versa*" (Park, 2004: 154). On the other hand, the failing of modernity's '*social objective'* was arguably another aspect which led to post-modernity. In fact, the advent of post-modernity has been taken to be the demolition of "*a symbol of modernist ideals*"; namely the clearance of the Pruitt-Igoe social housing project in St. Louis at 3:32 PM on 15th July 1972 (Gottdiener, 1995: 117). This demolition was to eradicate the high crime rates and vandalism this modernist social housing experiment had experienced. Harvey (1989) considers post-modern architecture not to be an isolated development, but rather as impeded within wider political and economic changes within the process of globalisation.

As the built environment represents a discourse, it allows, similarly to conversation, for the unfolding of a process, or a socio-historical development. Ulrich Beck (2004) argues that architecture reflects changes occurring within societies and, as an example, he looks at the layout of family homes and their increasing individualisation. While historically, he argues, a worker's family would have only shared one room, now it has become the norm for every child in the family to have their own separate room, and it is seen as a sign of poverty if they do not. He argues social changes within society led to a '*concrete expression in the architecture of apartments and buildings and neighbourhoods*' (Beck, 2004: 80). Reflecting Beck's observation, changes within societies have long been reflected in the built environment; compare Ancient Greek and Roman architecture to that of Mesopotamian and Egyptian. Civil or public buildings gained great significance in the former, when compared to the latter. Public buildings would include theatres, baths or senates. The development of these buildings could be seen to reflect the democratisation within the classical ancient Greek period, whereby citizens would be involved in the decision making process, which can be viewed as a distribution of power. Further, the Greeks believed in harmony within their society, and thus tried to reflect this ambition within their architecture through creating buildings that were proportional: hence, particular spacing between columns. It should also be remembered that such democratisation within ancient Greek society only affected a small part of the population who were citizens, it developed over time and it never diminished the material inequalities (Bryant, 1996).

Power Discourse within the Built Environment and Architecture

The architectural discourse reflects social relationships; therefore architecture needs to be understood in the context of power and power relationships. The word power stems from the Latin 'potere', which translates as "*'to be able' the capacity to achieve some end".* Even though it incorporates aspects of capacity, power is predominantly perceived as '*power over',* or control over others (Dovey, 1999: 9). Therefore, power has been described as *"the ability…. to define and control circumstances and events so that one can influence things to go in the direction of one's interest"* (Rorty, 1992: 2). Dovey (1999: 10) considers aspects of power in context with the built environment;*" force, coercion (domination, intimation), manipulation, seduction and authority',* and all these aspects will now be discussed within the following section.

Power: Capital and architecture

Sharon Zukin (1993), by not wanting to diminish the significance of place attachment and the symbolism of architecture, stresses the influences of the markets. She argued that the design of buildings and neighborhoods, their longevity and their use, is a reflection of the "*spatial and temporal constraints of a market culture*" (Zukin, 1993*:* 42). This perception is echoed by Gottdiener (1995), whereby he differentiates between the '*consumption*' and the '*production*' of a building. The use of a building, or *'consumption',* as Gottdiener (1995) would

specify it, is articulated within the architecture of, for example, theme parks and shopping centers. These are constructed and designed to encourage consumption and, consequently, profit. Zukin (1993: 44) suggests by quoting a developer, that buildings themselves become consumer products, which are marketed with "*packaging*" in mind, because it has to be "*attractive enough to be financially successful*". At the same time, it could be argued that entire cities have become packaged as consumer goods. Think of London, Paris and New York, all marketed as international fashion centers. As part of such packaging the undesirable elements of the city are hidden or removed. Glynn (2009: 86) illustrates this by quoting a Liverpool developer who argued for the need to demolish a council housing estate situated on the main road into the city to ensure "people *driving into the city must have a more pleasant outlook than is currently there*".

Such place packaging could be considered in context with what Dovey (1999) described as '*seduction*', another form of power in the built environment which is "*hinged on the constructions of desire and self-identity*", through incorporating, for example, art. Therefore post-modern buildings could be considered as buildings which seduce by what Harvey (1989: 80) describes as "*spectacle and theatricality*". Seduction implies to give into a desire without necessarily aiding self interest. At the same time, Dovey (1999) points out, this leaves a dilemma of deciding what is a 'perceived' and 'real' desire. Simultaneously, he adds, that 'seduction' does not necessarily involve sinister intentions; nevertheless, it creates buildings through power. Zukin (1993) further adds that this *"packaging"* leads similarly to consumer goods becoming more standardized globally, such as homogeneous residential housing estates, as well as more differentiated, such as the Guggenheim

Museum franchise, and the creation of a trophy building in classic Bilbao (Gomez, 1998). This trophy building, the Guggenheim museum, was seen as an example of how architecture helps to re-package and regenerate a post-industrial city, to encourage capital growth and competitiveness in a globalized context (Gomez, 1998). Jones (2011: 116) points out that even though the museum created large visitor numbers, any capital gain primarily favored the middle class minority, but "*in terms of quality of life, social cohesion, regional identity or governance*" it has little impact on the general population. Sklair (2005) suggests that this icon architecture has been built as a form of public intervention, rather than as historically a sign of economic success. This perception could be a reinforcement of Harvey's (1993) previously mentioned argument of encouraging capital into a city by the use of post-modern architecture. Jones (2010: 121) argues that the built trophies are most successful in their aim as a 'brand', to attract capital, when they "*develops a strong association to place through an instantly recognizable, distinctive form*". Yet trophy buildings often carry the design signature of superstar architects, who create similar buildings in various different global cities, which could also be seen as a form of standardization which is out with the local context.

Homeownership, as a personal identity marker, was discussed previously. This also impacts on the consumption of architecture, especially as *"people's identities' and status as individuals and members of social groups are, in part, conferred and maintained in the home and in the process of housing consumption"* (Carter and Jones, 1989: 40). Consequently, the consumption of buildings as identity markers can be arguably influenced by what Zukin (1995) describes as the '*symbolic*

economy', whereby powerful urban actors utilize, for example, historical or culture aspects "*to frame, and humanize, the space of real estate developers*". This can attract, for instance, certain sections of society as homeowners to a particular area, which leads to individual and corporate capital gain. Butler (1997: 45) also discussed identification by homeowners, in his case gentrifiers, who felt attracted to, through identifying with, a historical area and its '*symbolic economy'*. He argues that "*History therefore becomes a commodity in the eternal search to find expression for individualism and distinction in a society based around mass production and consumption*".

Therefore, there is a close link between '*symbolic economy'* and the '*production*' of buildings, encompassing their design. This, in turn, is informed by power relationships between powerful urban actors such as developers, politicians and architects, and their interplay, which consequently is reflected within the architecture (Gottdiener, 1995: 120).This, as Harvey (1989: 77) argues, excludes sections of society from the urban design process, carrying "*with it the danger of pandering to the rich and private consumer rather than to the poor and to public needs".* Therefore, he comes to a similar conclusion to that of Zukin (1993) and Gottdiener (1995) by suggesting urban design is "*shamelessly market-orientated",* as it is the *"primary language of communication in our society.* He, exemplifies this by considering corporate power and the architecture it creates within a city, independent of the architectural style. In this he considered the Chicago Tribune skyscraper as well as Trump Tower. Arguing from a Marxist perspective, he thought both buildings were "*part of a continuous history of celebrating supposedly sacrosanct class power*" (Harvey, 1989: 71). These buildings and the power they

represent, through their sheer volume, resonate with the observation of Dovey (1999), who considered buildings and public places of exaggerated scale, size or/and location as examples of *'coercion'* through *'domination'*, which seek to "*belittle the human subject as it signifies the power necessary to its production*" (Dovey, 1999: 10). Such *'coercion'* is an extremely effective form of power because through its indirectness it creates a sense of voluntary compliance. Therefore implied sanction is the main reason for conformity within this power relationship.

Conversely, it could also be argued that these skyscrapers could be viewed as symbols of the success and economic power of the United States (Knox and Pinch, 2000). That said, egalitarian societies are reflected in the built environment, such as has been suggested in the case of the ancient Indian city of Mohenjo-Daro (ca 2600 BCE – 1900 BCE). Even though this society was technically advanced and had a sewage system, water supply system and a public baths, this city had no royal tombs, grand temple complexes or palaces. Therefore this urban centre had less buildings that conveyed authority, which led to the conclusion being drawn that it was a more egalitarian society (Moffat, 2009).

Gartman (2010) considered the conflict the built environment can create through various differing interests such as symbolism and capital. To exemplify this conflict between capital and meaning he considered Ground Zero, where on one hand the architect Liebeskind, "*whose design memorialized victims with a void at the center of the site*" (Gartman, 2010: 348). The Port Authority, the land owners who commissioned him, rejected Liebeskind's plan for the void, and hired architects who would maximize profits by creating more floor space to rent on the

site of the destroyed World Trade Centre. This example highlights the limits of Harvey's (1993) perception that post-modern architecture and its form and symbols are significant as a competitive factor in a globalised world for this suggests this perspective is only relevant if it leads to a capital gain. On the other hand, Zukin (1993) points out that trophy buildings, such as arguably Liebeskind's Ground Zero Project, are not only profitable in being a '*corporate image',* but also by attracting investors to rent and buy. A specific architect, similar to a consumer good, can therefore add a brand value to a building, creating a safe investment (Zukin 1993). Stevens (1998: 88), in this context, is critical of the architectural profession, who he sees as "*producing those parts of the built environment that the dominant classes use to justify their domination of the social order*". Nevertheless as Jones (2009: 2521) points out, ultimately architects "*are reliant on their clients' patronage in ways that other cultural producers are not*". Similarly Leach (1999: 116) points out by being embedded in power structures limits architectures "*capacity to operate as a critical force*". We therefore return to Lefebvre's (1996) argument, mentioned earlier, that architecture is a '*social practice'*. Jones (2011: 34), again quoting Stevens, argues that architects are not necessarily passive in this process, but rather are allowed "*to make a ritual demonstration of alliance to the elites, by showing architects to be loyal and dutiful servants of the powerful*".

Power, state and architecture

For Foucault (1984), architecture, and with it the entire urban question, became political in the 18th Century. This reflects the growing interest of the political

classes on issues such as overcrowding, hygiene and collective facilities, such as prisons, asylums and institutions, as was discussed in the previous chapter on housing. Foucault (1984) qualified his argument by considering books on the art of government, which prior to the 18th Century do not generally mention aspects of architecture, while thereafter the focus moves to the urban and architecture. This involvement, which is characterised by, for example, commissioning buildings as well as granting building permissions, makes politics another power broker within the built environment. Hirst (2005: 5) considers in this context "*two distinctive and very durable political-spatial entities*" within Europe, "*the self-governing city and the sovereign territorial state*". On the other hand, Õmae (1996) argues that within globalisation the power is shifting from the nation state political-spatial entity to that of a transnational market force. Symptomatic of this is the willingness of political actors to support powerful multinational cooperation to develop contested building projects, such as the Donald Trump golf course complex in Aberdeenshire (BBC, 2012). Conversely Jones (2011) is sceptical of the demise of the power within the nation state through globalisation, and considers the limitations of globalisation, while simultaneously pointing out that there is a strong link between the political and economic dimension.

An aspect where UK politics is directly involved in architectural production is, as mentioned in the previous chapter, social housing. Political powers also act in a broader context, and have to consider aspects such as financial restraint so they generally lean towards a functional architecture. In a European context, this has not always been the case, especially within Vienna where various council housing developments were designed by artists such as Hundertwasser and Brauer and

thus could be considered as post-modern trophy buildings. This architecture also builds on previous modernist trophies such as the icon '*Karl Marx-Hof*' development of the 1920s. The aspect of functionality became particularly clear in modernist architecture, which was primarily confined to public sector developments within the United Kingdom. This distinctive architecture, in combination with the spatial segregation of housing estates, *"announced to society the 'differentness' of the scheme's residents, underlining the marginal status of many inner-city households"* (Cole and Furbey, 1994: 112). This separation was in marked contrast to the modernist experiments of Vienna, so the national culture is embedded in this context. Therefore as Ulrich Beck points out '*architecture is politics with bricks and mortar*' (1998: 115).

This political power aspect in the built environment is also echoed by Dovey (1999: 11), even though he discussed in a much broader context, he suggested a more subtle form of 'coercion', by quoting Weinstein, *"Coercion consists in transforming private, communal, group or cultural space into organizational spaces in which people perform actions directed towards the fulfilment of another's plan, or refrain from performing actions subversive of the realization of another's plan"*. This form of coercion becomes apparent in the creation of public buildings by private companies, a recent example within the British context is the Private Finance Initiatives (PFI) which was initially introduced by the Major Conservative government, but was extensively used by the subsequent New Labour government of Blair after their elections in 1997. The PFI is a form of Public-Private Partnership (PPP), whereby the private sector provides *"financing and carries out the design, construction and operation of public infrastructure (that is, the physical*

facilities, not the actual frontline service itself) is packaged into a lucrative long-term

contract (normally 20-30 years)" (Hodkinson, 2009: 104*)*. This form of financing

public projects "*are on average 30 per cent more expensive than public financed*

project" (Hodkinson, 2009: 105). It could, therefore, be argued that PFIs have

aspects of what Dovey (1999) classified as '*manipulation*', whereby possible

resistance is removed through keeping people ignorant of the wider financial

implications of the development.

Another example frequently occurring in the built environment is when an

architectural plan, or design, is presented which knowingly conceals aspects of the

development, and "*manipulated consent by ignorant participants*" is sought (Dovey,

1999:11). Ultimately the owners of these structures, such as universities,

hospitals, colleges, or public institutions becomes incorporated, through

contractual obligations, into the goal of creating profits through the charging of

rents, cafeterias, student fees and other services. Therefore Dovey (1999) argued,

when discussing power, that '*coercion*' has aspects of both '*knowledge*' and

'*ignorance*'. Knowledge is an awareness of coercion and an understanding that

certain behaviour leads to a sanction. On the other hand, ignorance of coercion is

being "*unaware of the long- range indirect connections by which their (compliant)*

behaviour feeds into the social order generally and actually helps to constitute and

sustain the feedback of coercion and sanctioning that controls them" (Barnes, 1988:

101). Returning to the example of the public building in private ownership, the

sanctions of, for example, contractual aspects, such as not allowing catering to be

provided out with the private company, are a form of coercion of which all parties

are aware and, therefore, have knowledge of. While the ignorance aspect of the

coercion is illustrated by, for example, having the cup of tea in the profit making facilities provided by the private company, reinforcing the under-lying neo-liberal ideology that has driven this change, of which people may be unaware, making it therefore ignorance led coercion. On the other hand, the built environment can reflect political power relationships indirectly, as Mukerji (1997) argues, in his interpretation of Versailles' Gardens as a symbol of an absolutist structure of government, which exerted total control over its subjects as well as the natural landscape.

The Twin Towers, which occupied Ground Zero until its destruction carried an underlying discourse of American superiority in the political global context. Monumental architecture is resource intensive and, therefore reflects, and symbolically reinforces, the power distribution within a society or arguably, in the case of New York's Twin Towers, global power relationships (Trigger, 1990). Therefore, it needs to be considered in context of what Dovey (1999) describes as coercion through domination. Consequently, and as a reaction to this underlying power discourse Lefebvre (1991: 221) argues that monumental architecture is a target of "*conquerors and revolutionaries eager to destroy a society*" and, therefore, seeks *"to do so by burning or razing that society's monuments'"*, with this act of destruction, not merely the physical but also the symbolic power is confronted.

Power institutions and architecture

The first social institutions were built with the general perception of modernity in mind; that through rational thinking and scientific knowledge society could be

improved and developed. Institutions were developed to segregate these newly classified categories of being, mad, bad, poor, infirm, old, idle and/or in need of education, to serve the newly developed socially constructed, and thus diversified, system. Therefore institutions can be regarded "*as material classifying devices; they organise people, things and ideas into spaces so as to make conceptual systems concrete*" (Markus, 1993: 19). These buildings also echo an aspect of Dovey's perception on architecture and power*; 'force'* which can be considered the most direct and an overt form of power, as it controls society directly by either confinement, such as in prison and other institutions, or by reinforcing spatial exclusion through, for example, walls surrounding gated communities (Dovey, 1999). He further adds another aspect when considering institutions such as prisons and churches, *authority.* Authority is given primarily to institutions which are perceived as having the greater good in mind, rather than individuals' interests. Consequently, *"authority is marked by the absence of argument; it relies on an unquestioned recognition and compliance"* (Dovey, 1999: 12). Such '*authority*' is reinforced by using symbols and signs within the built environment, as well as a series of rituals. Therefore it could be argued that there is a link in the built environment between '*authority*' and '*force*', whereby the former assumes power and the latter needs to reinforce it with force rather than only with moral authority.

In this broader context Foucault (1991) considered relationships between power, knowledge and place. His perception on power was that it is created through discourse within a society; power is established between individuals, on all levels of society, and not just administered by the state. At the same time, he did not

exclude the state as a power broker. Foucault (1991) developed his theory out of a historical context, and an aspect he found to be significant was that power and knowledge were strongly interlinked. On an individual level a power/knowledge relationship could develop between a psychiatrist and a patient, due to the fact that a psychiatrist with her/his social position and knowledge is able to diagnose an individual, which can have far-reaching consequences.

In his work on power and architecture Foucault (1997) considered the plan of a never realised prison, which was designed by Jeremy Bentham in 1791; the "Panopticon", which translated from Greek means 'all-seeing eye'. Its architectural planning would have made it possible for one prison officer to observe prisoners in every space at any time of the day or night from the 'central tower', which would have been the centre of a rotunda surrounded by cells occupied by prisoners in solitary confinement (Holloway and Hubbard, 2001; Foucault, 1997). The prisoners would always be aware of the observation generally, but not specifically, when they were being observed. Consequently, it was suggested that this would create self-regulation; punishment would thus not be needed anymore as well as "*no more bars, no more chains, no more heavy locks*" (Foucault, 1997: 362). Prisoners would comply with socially accepted behaviour *constantly* within a prison environment, due to the fear of being watched and, consequently, punished. He called these compliances, self-regulation through surveillance "*docile bodies*". Therefore Foucault thought "*that this architectural apparatus should be a machine for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercised it*" (Foucault, 1997: 361). On the other hand, Foucault acknowledged in a subsequent interview, which Leach (1997: 349) paraphrased; "*It is not the form of*

the Panopticon which controls behaviour, but the power differential between warden and inmates. The efficient layout of the architecture is merely supporting the exercise of the power".

It could therefore be argued that the power inequality is reflected in the architecture . Architecture can act to strengthen power, but it is not created through the architecture. Further, Foucault (1984) suggested that architecture can produce positive "*effects when the liberating intentions of the architect coincide with the real practices of people in the exercise of their freedom*". Foucault (1980: 86) further points out that the visibility of *power* is limited due to it being "*tolerable only on condition that it mask a substantial part of itself. Its success is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms*". Consequently, it is extremely difficult to make '*power*' relationships in the built environment visual, and bring them out into the social consciousness.

In a contemporary context, surveillance devices, such as CCTV cameras, can generate 'docile bodies'. These devices are seen to be a means of controlling behaviour in a subtle way, by implying that there is a danger, within their proximity, which is reinforced by the media. At the same time, these devices give individuals a sense of security because they feel protected from possible criminal acts. Therefore surveillance creates a sense of security, as well as encouraging self-control through increased anxiety (Knox and Pinch, 2000). Arguably by considering a present day 'Panopticon', such as Disneyland, which is a closely controlled space with CCTV used throughout and guards, resistance to power and control, becomes obvious. Warren (1996) discovered that visitors and employees

alike would find opportunities to smuggle alcohol and drugs onto the site, which was prohibited. Prison authorities frequently try to stop the smuggling of drugs onto their premises, but without permanent and full success. So it could be argued that resistance to power structures is always prevalent.

Power, environmental determinisms/architectural determinisms

Environmental determinists, or more specifically architectural determinists, consider *"urban residents as passive objects responding in predictable ways to their physical surroundings"* (Cole and Furbey, 1994: 109). This theory implies the vital importance of architect and planner because of their powerful function in creating behaviours within the built environment (Cole and Furbey, 1994). This notion of '*architectural determinism'* was also utilized historically in the 19th Century, whereby there was an underlying assumption that the transformation of "*the working class into responsible citizens*" could be achieved through segregating the respectable working class, and by isolating the deviants (Polasky, 2010: 42). Furthermore, there was a sense that *"snugly housed workers in their own homes would learn to be frugal, responsible fathers providing for loving families*", therefore the physical environment was considered as being able to change behaviour and lifestyles, in the mirror image of the middle class social reformers. This, of course, failed to take account of underlying social inequalities such as a disproportionality between rent rises and wages (Polasky, 2010: 42). In the '*modernist movement'* especially, there was a sense that architecture could determine behaviour and lead

to greater social change (Gwane and Snodin, 2004). Jencks (1977: 10) also adds "*pragmatism*" and "*rationalism*" in context with modernist architecture; a concept which echoes with Fordism. Thus modernist architecture carried a notion of being *"constructed according to the metaphor of the industrial machine"* (Smith and Riley, 2009: 209), which is echoed by Le Corbusier (1986: 4) famous quote "*the house is a machine for living in*". This metaphor on housing, it has been argued, alienated society and consequently led to its rejection (Smith and Riley, 2009). Le Corbusier (quoted in Leach, 1999), also considered the link between '*architecture'* and '*revolution'*, attributing a significant power to architecture to solve social problems and, therefore, preventing revolution. This, to a degree, mirrors arguments used to justify the initial introduction of council houses.

A similar notion was carried by French architect Haussmann, who restructured the city of Paris considerably by introducing large boulevards to prevent revolutions, which he saw as being encouraged through the existence of small alleys which allowed protesters to block up parts of the city, as experienced in 1849 and during the Paris commune of the 1870s (quoted in Leach, 1999; Harvey, 2008). While Le Corbusier considered preventing revolutions through architecture, buildings in post-revolutionary Russia, such as the Narkomfin apartment block built in Moscow in the 1930s by Moisei Ginzburg, were created to "*support the aims and ideals of Marxist revolution*" (Leach, 1999: 112; French, 2006). Ginzburg tried to change people's behaviour through the structure of the building, by only creating minimal private spaces, therefore the building had shared living rooms and kitchens to encourage communal living (French, 2006). As well as the structural layout of the buildings the inhabitants were also chosen from different social backgrounds to

create a diverse, idealistic communal society (Buchli, 2000).Therefore this early modernist architecture had an underlying discourse of "*classlessness and social mix*", which led in the British context to the development of "*brutalist deck-access*" council flats (Cole and Furbey, 1994).

This view of society and the role played by individuals is very simplistic and focuses only on behavioural mechanisms, which presumes that societies and individuals are predictable beings and respond to stimuli in the same manner. Similarly, any previous socialisation can be removed from the society (Cole and Furbey, 1994). Gans (1968: 49) was critical of 'architectural determinism' and argued that the "*improvement of the neighbourhood planning cannot contribute significantly to the new problems of the city",* and argued that "*poverty is fundamentally responsibly for the slums we have been unable to eradicate by attacking the buildings*" (Gans, 1968: 52). At the same time, he acknowledged that planning in a city impacts on its inhabitants, but he was critical of the benefactors, which he perceives as predominately being the powerful sectors of society. Similarly, Cole and Furbey (1994) suggest that architecture can aid the quality of life and allows for the expression of identity, if its planned in a bottom up process which includes residents' perceptions and participations.

The underlying discourse of 'architectural determinism' shifted, by the 1970s and 1980s in the United Kingdom, according to Cole and Furbey (1994: 110), and led to the creation of council houses "*for an individualistic and respectable working class aspiring to territory, privacy and domesticity*". Therefore architectural determinism, concerning council housing in Britain, is a reflection of the perceived

problems of the working classes and the resolutions architects, planners and politicians, as well as other powerful urban actors, considered for them (Cole and Furbey, 1994). To the present there is an underlying discourse of 'architectural determinism' within council housing, and there is a perception that regenerating of housing estates creates behavioural changes within the inhabitants.

Power, habitus and architecture

Bourdieu (1990c: 113) was concerned with the meaning and the makeup of the built environment. He suggests that the habitus, as was discussed previously, is unconscious and includes aspects of *"pattern of speech, a way of dressing, a bodily hexis, and educational title, a dwelling-place etc.".* Habitus is adopted, through immersion within a certain class environment in childhood and leads to aesthetic preferences in later life. Thus it can be argued that habitus establishes a certain sense of place, which is both social and physical given a preference for certain architectural styles; and architecture is a physical expression of the habitus. Bourdieu (1984: 376) considers that people with limited resources tend to prefer functional living spaces "*like interiors that are clean and tidy and easy to maintain*", whereas the wealthy prioritise form over functionality. The upper and middle classes express 'power' "*through distinctive objects or practices*", so power relationships are visualised through such aesthetic choices within the built environment (Bourdieu, 1984: 482). Allen (2008) when considering a gentrified area argued that the working classes, the predominant resident group, had a different perception of housing to the middle classes, who were to be the

newcomers. In contrast to the middle classes, the working classes see a house, according to Allen (2008: 8), as "*places to dwell rather than a position within the space of positions"*. The perceived superiority, expressed through the aesthetic of the upper and middle class's house consumption, acts as codes for social superiority and financial power. Flint (2011: 75) disagrees with Allen's (2008) perception, which he considered too generalised and simplistic, arguing that working class housing consumption needs to be understood in its own terms rather than "*simply in relational terms to middle-class housing consumptions"*.

This can also be seen in context with Foucault's (1980) perception, mentioned previously, whereby the most effective power relationship hides aspects of its mechanism. Bourdieu (1977: 188) came to a similar conclusion that "*the most successful ideological effects are those that have no words, and ask no more than complicitous silence"*. The class habitus also has an impact on the production of housing; both architects and builders are strongly influenced by either their own class habitus and by the class habitus of the people for whom they build. This was observed by Robbins (2000) when he revisited a housing development, built in the 1960s and early 1970s. He argued that "*without realizing it, planners and designers in condemning the space of working class life were saying that the working classes should not be allowed to reproduce any of the spontaneous, chaotic and serendipitous social interactions of the traditional street*" (Robbins, 2000: 33). They thus recreated their own middle class ideology, and superimposed it on the re-housed working class people, "*images of the spaces of middle-class familialism and individualism replace images of the spaces of working class solidarity and sociality"*. This it could be argued, again resonates with Bourdieu's concept of habitus

(Robbins, 2000: 33; Bourdieu, 1984). At the same time, Robbins (2000) suggests, the residents were made aware of their class status through the design, by having views onto belching industrial chimneys and slurry pipes.

Class habitus is always utilized within the context of the built environment, "*The designs they utilize are exclusionary and middle-class confirming a relationship between visual order and social control. The motivation is to attract or retain middle-class residents and repel others*" (Arthurson, 2001: 5)*.* This Australian study examined the regeneration of a housing estate, and found that the heavy reliance on private capital profoundly affected the "*image construction*", whereby the private companies made it more difficult to retain the previous "*democratised image*" (Arthurson, 2001).

Power, built environment and segregation

The built environment demands, through its physical structure, certain movements. A wall acts as a physical barrier that shapes movement, or as Lefebvre (1991: 143) argues, "*Space commands bodies, prescribing prospering gestures, routes and distances to be covered*". Newman (1972: 63) differentiated between symbolic and real barriers. He exemplifies the former with *"open gateways, light standards, a short run of steps, planting and changes in the texture of the walking surface".* The real barriers, on the other hand, are overtly physical, such as "*U-shaped buildings, high walls and fences, and locked gates and doors".* Therefore within an urban environment, neighbourhoods contain very distinct real and

symbolic barriers and boundaries. So the built environment has the potential to create spaces of inclusion, as well as exclusion. Again, as these spaces are socially constructed, they reflect power relationships within society. The Cutteslowe walls, mentioned previously, could be considered as an example, whereby a physical barrier was created to segregate and shape the movement of two different classes of people (Collison, 1963). This case is especially poignant because it made that power relationship highly visible, rather than invisible, through creating this segregation through gardens, hedges and the street layout. The rebellion against this wall, and its ultimate demolition, has echoes of Foucault's (1980: 86) previously mentioned perception of 'power' being successful in proportion "*to its ability to hide its own mechanisms*".

Engels (1892), describing 19th Century Manchester, also found the classes to be segregated, with the working classes living in the inner city, while the upper classes resided in country estates. This segregation was further replicated in the actual internal layout of the houses. Grand Victorian country houses functioned as a model of class segregation, with grand stair cases for official family and public use, built to impress visitors, while there were also small and functional back stairs and corridors hidden away for use by the servants (Conway and Roenisch, 1995). The phenomena of class segregation was also portrayed by Gans (1962: 5-6) in Beacon Hill, Boston, "*as one descends the slope, the status of buildings and people decreases*". Such class segregation within British cities is still prevalent. Gated communities can be considered as the most extreme example, and yet gated communities have existed previously, such as in 19th Century London, which was guarded and gated although, according to King (2004), less publicised.

Harvey (2008: 33) argued that class segregation was the motivating factor in the case of Haussmann's '*improvement*' program in Paris in the 18th Century, where he "*deliberately engineered the removal of much of the working class and other unruly elements from the city centre*". The recent gentrification of Paris, New York and London has had a similar effect. Plolasky (2010: 42) made a similar observation about the 19th Century, pointing out that this was a European wide phenomena whereby "*social reforms aimed at controlling workers through the redesign of the built environment of Europe's crowded urban capitals*". Sticking with this line of thought, the UK slum clearances could be seen as a form of social control through the built environment.

Returning to and encapsulating all five aspect of 'power' described by Dovey (1999); *force, coercion, manipulation, seduction and authority,* it is also essential to understand that the built environment reflects and/or mediates existent power relationships within society, rather than actually creating them. At the same time, all these aspects are rarely present in the built environment in a pure form, but rather present themselves in various combinations.

Architectural use in the Lived World

As discussed earlier, Barthes (1997: 168) suggests that the discourse between the city and society is created partly "*by living in it*". Meaning is added by the inhabitants to the city or/and the built environment. Rapoport (1980) discussed

semi-fixed features in this context, whereby individuals and groups express their identity through, for example, graffiti, house plants and pictures. This he argues is particularly significant if they have little or no input in shaping their built environment. Rapoport (1980), in a broader context, thought that major elements conveying meaning in the built environment include people and their appearance and behaviour, since they reflect cultural and sub-cultural values and norms. This adding of meaning was also discussed by Butler (1997) who considers areas of gentrification, whereby new residents renovate historic buildings, which reflects a yearning for a long gone era, which they associate with social stability. Similarly, Butler (1997: 45) acknowledges that history "*becomes a commodity in the eternal search to find expression for individualism and distinction in a society based around mass production and consumption".* Further, but in a slightly different context, internal features such as doors and windows are changed within privately owned ex- council housing, to allow them to be differentiated from council housing. Such differentiation needs to be seen in context with a sense of identity as well as the underlying discourse which perceives homeownership to be positive, as was discussed earlier (Cole and Furbey, 1994).

Meaning is also added through, for example, disrepair and boarded-up and broken windows, which provide visual signs within the built environment "*that no one cares*" (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). At the same time, it could be argued that graffiti is also an expression of identity, which can be seen in context with, as discussed previously, with a sense of disobedience and the crossing of boundaries (Cresswell, 1996). Wilson and Kelling (1982) take the view that graffiti and vandalism reinforces a criminal stereotyping of an area and increases a sense of

fear. They also suggest that this leads to an increase in crime, because there is a sense that no one interfered with minor vandalism, therefore it will increase. Wilson, a criminologist, and Kelling (quoted in Smith, 2010), a political scientist, thought this would lead to what they termed financially potent people leaving an area. Security cameras and burglar alarms can also be seen as visual markers of insecurity, due to the fact that they are a constant reminder that there is crime about to be committed. However, the importance of such signs and symbols can be overstated, as Cole and Furbey (1994: 111) have argued. The perception society and people have of *"a particular residential environment will depend crucially upon their active response to its message in the light of experiences, past and present, deriving from class, gender, race, nationality, the media, and many other individual and collective encounters and aspirations".* Cole and Furbey's (1994) argument was reinforced by a research project, which looked at identical apartment blocks, in both Breda and Leiden in the Netherlands and discovered that social problems could not be attributed solely to the physical structure of the building, or its management, but rather to historical occupancy patterns and the structure of the local housing market (Van Kempen and Musterd, 1991).

Conclusion

Architecture can be conceptualised as a multi-layered language, which has been interpreted from different theoretical perspectives. This language of the built environment is created and understood within a historical, social and cultural

milieu, and can be viewed as a '*social practice*', reflecting social values and norms (Lefebvre, 1996).

Various theorists have read an expression of 'power over' or 'power relationships' that exist within society, in the built environment. Foucault (1991), who considers power relationships in terms of state, institutions and society, argues that social behaviour is influenced by the structure of the building, although latterly he differentiated this claim and argued that the power relationship needs to be a prerequisite of such behaviour changes. Nevertheless, architecture can shape movement and, therefore, behaviour. Walls, fences and changes in surface material create and articulate barriers and boundaries (Newman, 1972; Lefebvre, 1991). Such boundaries and barriers allow for the creation of segregation and can also be seen to reflect class relationships. Class relationships, in themselves, are also reflected within the built environment. Social housing was designed predominantly by middle and upper class planners and architects, and was thus imbued with their own habitus (Bourdieu, 1990c; Cole and Furbey, 1994). Consequently, social housing incorporates middle class values, while rejecting those of the working classes (Robbins, 2000), taking no account of structural inequalities that exist within society.

In the tradition of architectural determinism, it was perceived that the behaviour and lifestyle of inhabitants could be changed through the development of the built environment. In this way social housing was considered by powerful urban actors to be a remedy for social ills. Gans (1968), by contrast, argued that the focus on the physical was too narrow to create such social change. It has also been argued that

'architectural determinism' was a pretext to allow the visual repackaging of undesirable housing or housing areas, with the primary aim of creating profit, rather than as a wish to bring about social change, which is another key strand in the literature on architecture and power; its use for the creation of capital.

The built environment, as an 'consumer good', can enhance the competitiveness of urban places within an increasingly globalised world (Zukin, 1993; Harvey, 1993). This is achieved not only through its appearance but also through its actual physical structure, as the built environment tries to influence behaviours that create capital. Simultaneously, the statement of class, capital or state power can also be directly, consciously and intentionally expressed by placing either dominating or monumental architecture within a landscape (Harvey, 1989; Dovey, 1999). So, the built environment is ultimately an expression, or reinforcement of power, as opposed to creating power relationships.

The built environment also plays a part in the visual expression of group or individual identities, through the lived aspects of architecture, with semi-fixed changes or additions to the built environment, through renovations, decorations or vandalism; an expression of identity that Rapoport (1980) found particularly significant for those who have had little or no input in shaping their environment.

All of these interpretations refer to visual aspects, to different degrees, as a significant factor, as the visual allows society to interpret the built environment. Therefore within the next chapter, visual methodology is explained and explored, as this is the chosen research method adopted for this case study. The first three

chapters of this thesis examined various theoretical aspects, which are briefly recapped in these paragraphs. Further gaps in the body of literature are considered. The main themes of the first chapter considered city as a place; with its segregations, neighbourhoods, community and sense of place. This is set into a time continuum, considering changes from industrialisation to post-modernity and related theoretical interpretations. Another theme in the first chapter was globalisation and the dynamic it creates in context with the local; which Savage *et al* (2008) described as *'global local dialectic'*. Although Savage *et al* (2008) looked at *'global local dialectic'* in terms of a gentrified area in Manchester, there is a gap within the literature in relation to the operation of this dynamic within regenerated housing estates. The literature considers *'multiple identities of places'* such as in Massey's (1993; 1995) study of Kilburn High Road, London. This thesis specifically considers Raploch as a meaningful location with multiple identities and, therefore, adds to the literature in terms of the place specific creation of a meaningful location.

Further, considering the linguistic landscape, which is also discussed in this chapter, there are also significant gaps in the literature exploring linguistic signs in non bilingual areas, with the existing literature pertinently focuses on bilingual countries such as Israel (Ben-Rafael, *et al* 2006). Therefore this theory has had to be adapted to examine the significance of power inequalities within a regenerating council housing estate in Stirling, Scotland, as they are manifest within the linguistic landscape; as they are embedded in the theory on bilingual linguistic landscape.

The main issue discussed in the second chapter of the literature review was council housing policy. Council housing is considered from its beginning, which was influenced by philanthropists and utopian concepts, through its heyday following the Second World War to its reduction as a con sequence of the right to buy policy (Ravetz; 2008). Regeneration is another main focus, whereby various theorists consider similarities with current regeneration policies and gentrification (Atkinson and Kintera, 1999; Ward, 1991; Lee and Davidson, 2005; Ostendorf, 2005; Blomley, 2004). These similarities are in terms of social composition, the built environment as well as benefits for owner occupiers in economic terms. Even though there is literature in this field there is limited evidence in terms of how these changes are perceived in visual terms. Therefore this thesis addresses this gap in literature.

The final chapter of the literature review considered the built environment as a 'social practice'. The built environment can be seen as a form of language which is created and read in a particular historical, cultural and social milieu. There seems to be gaps in the literature as there is limited research on this in term of architectural interpretation by the community that have experienced, or are experiencing, the process of regeneration, the only exception being a study by Van der Dose *et al* (2008) on a regenerated neighbourhood in the Netherlands, using 'autodriven photo-elicitation'. Considering the UK, Hickman *et al* (2011) also utilised this visual methodology, but the regeneration that they focused on was primarily an individual house improvement program. This thesis therefore contributed to literature by focusing on an entire estate which experienced a

substantial and sustained regeneration program that led to significant social and physical changes.

Although Charlesworth (2000) considered the phenomenological experience of working classes after conducting interviews in Rotherham, there seems to be a gap in the literature in terms of substantiating his claims. By adding a visual component it could be argued that this thesis adds to the understanding of the phenomenological experience of being in the body. The photo therefore allows an insight into the visual perception of an individual person. This also ties to Bourdieu's observation that a photograph permits an understanding of the person's social realm, given nobody creates images in a social vacuum.

Chapter Four

Methodology

Introduction

Initially, within this chapter, the selecting of research methods are discussed. As became apparent in the last section on the built environment, the visual has great significance in the creation of meaning for the wider society. This is why the chosen research method, in this case study, focuses on the visual component. As the photo is the core visual component utilised by this study, its historical use in social sciences is considered as well as the ambivalence towards its use in the actual research process. Subsequently the method of 'autodriven photo-elicitation' is examined theoretically, through initially focusing on the actual photo and, finally, in combination with the participant interview. The second part of the interview process, which entails the use of a photo elicitation in conjunction with historical photos and a street plan as well as a semi structured interview, is also discussed. The embeddedness of this method within the actual case study is also examined.

The actual participants, and the process of recruitment, are also of relevance to this chapter, as well as the research process itself. The analysis process of both the visual and the oral elements, as independent entities and a holistic unit is also

detailed. The ethical aspects, such as transparency and anonymity, as well as the relationship between the participants and the researcher, are also considered in this chapter. Further, the legal implications of using photos in the research process are debated. Finally, the perceived limitations of the study are considered, along with a reflection on the entire research process as a whole.

Choosing a research method

The research method chosen for this research was 'autodriven photo-elicitation' as it was considered most appropriate. Ethnographic research was initially considered, but ruled out, as it was felt by the researcher that it did not allow an insight of both perspectives, as she would have needed to either live in the newly developed Raploch, or established Raploch (Bryman 2004, Flick 2007). Moving within both areas was ruled out as it would have been impractical. The 'autodriven photo-elicitation' and semi-structured interviewing was seen as having a clear advantage in that it allowed the established participants to express their embedded experiences of the regeneration into a historical context.

A pure semi- structured interview was seen as limited in its scope because of the visual nature of the regeneration and, therefore, ruled out as the sole means of data collection. The visual component almost allowed a phenomenological understanding of being in the place expressed by the participants through photos.

The primary disadvantage of a focus group approach was the impact of group dynamics, which could potentially have repressed issues such as sectarianism;

historically an issue which had much resonance within the area. This issue could have made participants potentially uncomfortable, especially if they were from different religious backgrounds (Madriz 2000).

To address the research question: **What perceptions have the residents of Raploch on their lived experience in the area as well as on the regeneration process?** as well as the three objective which focus on the sense of place, the physical and the social changes the qualitative method of 'autodriven photo-elicitation' was selected because it permits the consideration of the visual changes occurring within the environment that are considered by its participants to be significant; such as changed architecture and design. At the same time it also allowed the participants to create their own distinct image of the area outwith that offered by the media's perception. Thus, in order to gain a greater insight into the residents' views on changes within the area, they were asked to create photos, which were then considered as a starting point for in-depth, qualitative interviews. Thus, this methodology adds to existing research on regeneration, by allowing participants to build their accounts from a self-created visual perspective.

To further investigate the lived experience of the regeneration, the second half of the interview process was composed of two parts; a semi-structured interview and a further photo elicitation exercise, which involved discussion around a map of the regeneration (Appendix 12), using historical images taken along by the participants themselves, and some sourced by the researcher (Appendices 5 to 10). This allowed for an interpretation of the Raploch's historical context; the significance of history within this area has been established in previous research

on this community (Robertson *et al,* 2008a). Participants were also asked to provide written titles for all the photos they had created, to give additional focus to their perceptions of the regeneration process. In addition, professionals who work with the community, in a professional capacity, were recruited and interviewed, to broaden the perspective of the lived experience in Raploch.

Photographic use in social sciences

The history of photography and sociology have, as Becker (1974: 3) points out, *"approximately the same birth date",* namely the 1830s. This was when Comte's writing became the starting point of western sociology, and Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre presented *"his method for fixing an image on a metal plate"* brought about the birth of photography. The underlying link between these two disciplines is the "*exploration of society*".

Social commentators have also long utilised photography to depict society, in both the 19th and early 20th Centuries; Jacob Riis (1997), for example, who documented in his book "*How the other half lives*" the living conditions within the slums of New York in the 1880s. Becker (2000) cites Lewis Hine, a contemporary of Riis who, with his photos of child labour, is attributed with changing both social perceptions and welfare legislation in the United States. Hines, in contrast to Riis, had a sociological background and tried to encourage a discourse on issues of equality which would, in turn, encourage social change (Stanczak, 2007). Heisley and Levy (1991: 257) also point out that the *American Journal of Sociology* from 1896 to

1916 "*routinely included photographs to dramatize the need for social reform*".

These photos need to be seen in the context of the then social reform movement.

Rosler (2003) was critical of these photographing social reformers as they

promoted, "*to give a little in order to mollify the dangerous classes below*".

Consequently, they endorsed the unequal wealth distribution. She also points out

that within the workers movement, documentary photos were used to promote

socio-structural changes, rather than a focus on charity. In contrast to the photos

of, for example, poverty and criminals, which Hamilton and Hargreaves (2001)

describe as 'the damned', they considered 'the beautiful', which they also captured

within photos of celebrities and the rich. Therefore, photos cover the whole

spectrum of social life. Further, Eco (2003) argues that a single photograph can not

only conjure up a whole concept, it can also symbolise a condensed version of a

series of events, as well as referring to a wider pool of previously seen images and

narratives. However, the use of photography in a wider sociological context

declined, and the discipline became essentially text based. The photography of

social issues moved into the realms of galleries and museums; part of the art world

(Stanczak, 2007).

Documentary photography, which continued to play an increasingly important

part in mid to late 20th and early 21st Century society, has been criticised for

portraying power inequalities, whereby the *"powerful, the established, the male, the*

colonizer typically portray the less powerful, established female and colonized"

(Harper, 2000: 32). From a Marxist perspective, documentary photography acts to

reinforce the perception of the powerful being rightly powerful, as well as

legitimising their position within society. Digital photography and its distribution

via the internet as a publishing platform could potentially lead to a democratisation of photographic images. That said, such platforms, given their antecedents, are embedded within existing power structures. It is also the case that new power platforms such as Facebook, copyright all photographic materials on their sites and make them part of their business.

For Rosler (2003: 264) there is a risk that documentary photography becomes merely a voyeuristic activity, entertaining the viewer just as watching "*astronauts, entertained us by showing us the places we never hope to go".* Voyeurism was conceptualised by Sigmund Freud (quoted in Henning, 2000), at its most basic level, as the person who is watched becoming objectified by the onlooker, being quite unaware of the gaze and the pleasure it thus creates. Consequently, to Freud's understanding of voyeurism Henning (2000: 171) argues "*that to some extent photography, by the very nature of the medium, invites voyeuristic looking*". Therefore, people making photos might feel vulnerable, because making a photo of someone, or somewhere, can be seen as an intrusion. This, combined with the heightened sense of security as a result of both terrorism and paedophilia, creates a sense of uncertainty as to what is acceptable to photograph and what not. So at a time when photography has become almost universal in electronic devices there is great concern and suspicion as to the images we choose to capture.

An ambivalent relationship of photos in sociology

Sociology's rejection of visual material, Becker (2000: 87) saw as a wish to associate with disciplines that use visual materials sparingly and thus are considered to be more scientific within the social sciences; disciplines such as economics and political science. Similarly, Heisley and Levy (1991) argued that because of sociology's need to be perceived as scientific, the use of photography declined as a research method because of its perceived 'messy' and unsystematic nature. Simultaneously, Becker (2000) believes that there is also a desire to dissociate with history and, in particular, anthropology, long considered the "*least scientific discipline*". Natural sciences such as biology and astronomy make extensive use of photographic material; therefore it could be argued that the abandonment of photography by sociology is perhaps rather more ideological than scientific.

Harper (2000) sees the limited use of visual images within sociology, until they re-emerged in the 1960s, as one consequence of the approach pursued by the Chicago School of Sociology, which inadvertently did not use visual research methods and thus set a precedent for the future of sociology. Further, Banks (2005) points out that sociology is perceived mainly as '*disciplines of word'*, therefore there is a sense that photos are primarily illustrating or supporting. Emmison and Smith (2004: 11) conversely argue that even though photos were only marginally used within social science this should not be *"posed as a failure to observe or to take note of the visual world"*, but rather the visual found itself translated into text.

A return to the visual was marked by, for example, Foucault (1991), who with the visual aid of an architectural drawing of Jeremy Bentham's 'Panopticon' prison, explained his perception of power. Although not strictly speaking a photo, it is still a visual image, which illustrates a social issue (Banks, 2007). This device also allowed theorists to draw links between power and the visual in context of CCTV cameras, which have become considered a modern day 'Panopticon' (Fyfe and Bannister 1996). Simultaneously, Emmison and Smith (2004) argued that a Faucauldian tradition also led to a decrease in the usage of photography because it was seen as a classification tool, which again creates unequal power relationships.

Bourdieu (1990b: 6) contemplated the significance of photos and argued that a photograph illustrates an insight into a social group because "*the most trivial photograph expresses, apart from the explicit intention of the photographer, the system of schemes of perception, thought and appreciation common to a whole group".* Hence, the photographer does not only portray what he or she sees in a social context, but is also part of it, although they are missing from the frame. While Pink (2007) partially agrees, and considers the impact of visual culture on the person who makes photos, she argues that Bourdieu's perception minimises both individuality and creativity. She quotes Rapoport (quoted in Pink, 2007: 35), to strengthen her argument for the individual *" as a seat of consciousness, as well-spring of creativity, as guarantor of meaning as opposed to the dissolved, decentred, deconstructed individual actor and author as he or she appears in Durkheimian, Structuralist and Post-Structuralist schools of social sciences".* Nevertheless it could be concluded that both points of view, even though disagreeing, recognize the

creation of knowledge by photographs, rather than being a simple means of illustration (Pink, 2007).

It has been suggested that every photographic image lies, because it emphasises certain aspects, while blending out others; it is always an "*interpretation of reality*" (Goldstein, 2007: 75). Goldstein (2007: 78) further adds that the interpretation of a photo is similar to the mind's interpretation of reality, where "*two individuals observing the same reality might disagree*". He exemplifies this through research involving highly technical photography, mammography, where nevertheless, interpretations can vary, "*different viewers (radiologists) see different things*". On the other hand, it could be argued that all research should be in search of this bias within the participant, because it is this subjectivity, if found within a number of participants, that allows an insight into their social context. Conversely, various photographers such as Garry Winogrand see photos as *"a captured bit of reality"* (quoted in Goldstein, 2007: 62). This perspective only partially agrees with Hines' observation that "*while photographs may not lie, liars may photograph*" (quoted in Goldstein, 2007: 62). It is worth bearing in mind the anthropologist Collier's (1992: 5) observation that "*we moderns are poor observers*". Through utilising the camera to produce a photo we are required to focus.

Research Design: The theoretical context

Autodriven photo-elicitation process: The photo

Photographs, as part of the research process, have been criticised for not being able to capture social power imbalances, given that these can be invisible and abstract (Prosser, 2000). The work of Rotman (quoted in Collier, 1992) challenges this assumption. Rotman considered social relationships within a hospital cafeteria, through photographing the sitting patterns of staff members. He established with his photos that people with the same occupation would sit together, over-riding other social factors such as race. However, Rotman also worked in the hospital and thus had an understanding of the social, hierarchical and occupational backgrounds within the hospital environment. It is, therefore, essential to understand the context in which photos are made. This was highlighted by Goldstein (2007) who considers a photo of doctors examining a patient. The perception of the viewer arguably changes with the contextual knowledge that it was created in Buchenwald. Therefore Collier (1992:5) perceived that photos can only be comprehensible through a *"human response because it can open the camera's eye to meaningful use in research".* For that reason Collier developed a combined method which entails both a visual and oral component. Collier (1992) used photos that were created either by the participants or the researcher; these are later introduced into the interviews. He called this method 'photo interview', but subsequently it has been referred to as 'photo-elicitation'. This research method has been used by Charles Suchar (2004:

150), who considered two gentrified areas in Amsterdam and Chicago, whereby he found, by using primarily photographic evidence and photo-elicitation, that the gentrified Western Harbour neighbourhood of Amsterdam encouraged "*distinct patterns favouring families with children and an economically diverse set of housing options*". Where the photos are made by the participants it is referred to as 'reflexive photography' or 'autodriven photo-elicitation'. The latter terminology will be used within this thesis (Lapenta, 2011; Clark-Ibanez, 2007).

For this study the researcher decided to use a visual methodology, namely, 'autodriven photo-elicitation'. With Raploch undergoing a regeneration program, and given that society attaches meaning to the built environment, as was discussed in the previous chapter, such an approach was considered not only appropriate, but also highly relevant. As a visual component of the environment the photo became a tool of quest. The second part of the interview process involved two elements; the first part being a semi-structured interview, while the second was a photo elicitation which incorporated historical photos of the area as well as a plan of the rebuilt housing area.

The actual process of making a photo is significant, and is poignantly described by Becker (1974: 15); "as *you look thorough the viewfinder you wait until what you see "looks right" until the composition and the moment make sense, until you see something that corresponds to your conception of what's going on*". This description highlights the different choices and decisions a photographer makes when creating an image. Photos are thus considered a "*reflection of the photographer's point of view*" (Harper, 2000: 29). At the same time, Rose (2007: 238) points out that it

allows "*research participants a means to reflect on aspects of their lives that they may usually give little thought to*". Lapenta (2011: 206) adds that "*photographs allow people to 'view' themselves from a distance, outside their everyday live(s)*", thus increasing the chance of seeing familiar images from a different perspective. Van der Does *et al* (2008) also found in an 'autodriven photo-elicitation' in a regenerating Dutch neighbourhood, that the photo making process allowed participants to discover previously unnoticed, or taken for granted aspects of community life such as the ethnically distinct seating arrangements in a playground.

Banks (2005:179) considered post-modern critique, which looked at the researcher as a social being that influences the research process and, therefore, suggested *"that social research is itself a social activity"* which, as a result, led to "*necessitating a metanalysis*". To counteract such post-modern criticism Harper (1998: 34) argued "*Participatory photography would seem to offer visual sociologists an ideal opportunity to 'see through the lenses of the cultural other', something the post-modern critique demands*". Therefore it could be argued that photos created by the participants decrease research bias, and are less likely to overlook important participant defined aspects (Clark-Ibanez, 2007; Lapenta, 2011).

Autodriven photo-elicitation process: combining the photo with the interview

The actual face-to-face interview is significant for gaining an understanding of the missing third dimension offered by two dimensional photos (Stanczak, 2007). The use of the visual and the oral, within autodriven photo-elicitation, allows for a triangulation, as the two data strands can be looked at separately, permits an insight into a society from two different perspectives (Flick, 2007; Flick, 2006). Therefore the two forms of qualitative data allows for the development of an in-depth understanding of the residents' perception of Raploch's regeneration. In order to set the current regeneration into its historic context the researcher sourced historical photos, as well as asking all participants to bring photos of each decade of the Raploch housing estate's existence along to the interview. The aim of these additional historical photos was to trigger 'ethnographic memories' of long-term residents, but also to capture the perceptions of the newcomers about the old Raploch (Harper, 2000). Van der Does *et al* (2008) found that all photos stimulate the memories of participants. This is consistent with what Roland Barthes (2003:28) argued in "*Camera Lucida*", that photos, in this case an old photo of his deceased mother, stimulate intense and emotional memories; such as "*the brightness of her eyes*". To aid the triangulation of the data participants were asked after the interview to provide written titles to each of the photos they had created. This allowed them further reflection on the images they had created and to condense the meaning each photo had for them. Therefore interpretation within this research exercise had three distinct components for each participant: the

actual photo making process; the interpretation of the photos orally; and, the interpretation of the photos in a written form.

This combination of visual and oral qualitative data resonates with the chosen 'case study' research design, which, as Yin (1994: 123) states, utilise "*multiple sources of evidence*". To describe a case study Gillham (2010: 7) initially defined the case as *"a unit of human activity embedded in the real world; which can only be studied or understood in context; which exists in the here and now; that merges in with its context so that precise boundaries are difficult to draw*". Bryman (2004: 49) notes that, most commonly, a case study is associated with "*a location, such as a community or organization*". Whereby, in this case, the focus is on Raploch, a council housing estate within Stirling. Keddie (2006) considers community studies as one form of case study. A case study as Harley (2004: 325) points out is "*useful where it is important to understand how the organization and environmental context is having an impact on or influencing social processes".* Raploch is currently experiencing major changes in both its social and physical environments. The research design, in this instance, tries to clarify the distinct features of the case.

Bryman (2004) argues, the case study cannot be used to generalise, which is a major criticism of the use made of this research design. It is also argued that a case, in its uniqueness, can only be of interest in itself, therefore there is no capacity to generalise. Within case studies concerning communities there are certain aspects that clearly cannot be generalised; the ones which are influenced by place specific local historical or geographical aspects, such as the old-town in Jerusalem, which is a very distinct neighbourhood influenced by a long history of being an important

geo-political centre. Contrary to this argument, Gerring (2007: 37) suggests that through case study *we gain better understanding of the whole by focusing on a key part"* (Gerring, 2007: 1), therefore implying a certain degree, or ability to generalise. For example, case studies involving communities with similar social make-up and cultural context will have aspects that allow for greater generalisation, for example, a historical working class mining community in Ayrshire will have many distinct similarities with a historical working class mining community in Fife, or Northumberland, but less so with a present day Chinese mining community.

Photographs, researchers found, serve as an interview stimulus and in so doing produced more emotionally complex, as well as multi-layered sets of responses (Wagner, 1978). This, Harper (2002) argued, is due to the fact that visual data is processed in a different part of the brain, an evolutionarily older part of the brain. It is thus argued, that images go into the deeper unconscious than words would by themselves. Further, Lapenta (2011: 203) suggests that "*images creates the possibility for different observers to interpret their contents according to their identity of views, native knowledge and ethos".* This relates to what is termed a 'polysemic quality' which can lead to multiple unpredictable interpretations of the same images (Harper, 2002; Lapenta, 2011). Therefore the use of photographs allows for a wider and more complex variety of interpretation, providing a more in-depth understanding of the subject of the case-study.

With the starting point for the dialogue within the interview being the actual photos made by the participants, the power relation within the interview is thus

rebalanced to some extent between researcher and participants. Hence, this research method can be considered empowering for participants (Guillemin and Drew, 2010). This form of co-operation between the researcher and the participant allows the latter to take some ownership of the project, and the exercise becomes a form of co-production. Such a rebalancing is particularly relevant in exploring cases where there is an obvious power difference, due to "*status, age, clas*s *or gender*" (Clark-Ibáñez, 2007: 174), as was the case in this research. Therefore Gould (quoted in Lapenta, 2011: 206) states that 'autodriven photo-elicitation provides *"a means for informants to have increased voice and authority in interpreting their own lives, social context, and a 'perspective of action' that helps make their life-views and social systems meaningful to outsiders"*. Samuels (2004: 1530) considered this aspect as "*bridging the culturally distinct worlds of the researcher and the researched".* Collier (1992: 99) similarly states that *"photographs can be communication bridges between strangers that can become pathways into unfamiliar, unforeseen environments and subjects".*

So, although the interviewer effect still needs to be considered, it is greatly reduced (Gilbert, 2008). This change in the power relationship also encourages and stimulates the interview process because participants are able "*to explain and identify content and educate the interviewer with his wisdom*" (Collier, 1992: 106). Another factor which this process brings to the interview is that the places and spaces within the photos are constructed by the participants and, therefore, such familiarity creates a sense of comfort. Van der Does *et al* (2008: 63) also found that the familiarity of speaking about photos, similar to when a family consider their photo-album, "*encouraged a positive feeling*". Collier (1992) found this to be a

process of rapport building, because the photos were being discovered together. This means, however, that the researcher needs to ensure that the participant shares also the '*taken for granted knowledge',* which is depicted within the images (Prosser, 2000). So, by introducing a third element, the photo, to the interview process, alongside the researcher, the focus moves away from the participant and is moved onto the image, thus relaxing both participant and researcher (Collier, 1992). Viewing photographs naturally leads to side by side positioning, which is less intimidating than the normal face-to-face seating arrangement.

Cameras as a research tool

Photographs are not just socially, but also technically constructed. Thus, the tool used for making them has an impact, because photographic cameras are differently perceived and used (Harper, 2000). While, with digital cameras and mobile phones photos can be edited, deleted and re-shot very quickly, with a traditional film camera this is not possible. Therefore the relationship between different cameras and the photographers possibly influences the actual choice of photo. Croghan (2008) also points out that the camera, as a technical apparatus, has limitations in what it can actually visually represent.

Within this research participants were given a single use disposable film camera. The prime disadvantage of such cameras is that they can be considered as stigmatising, due to their simple technology and low price. On the other hand, their technical simplicity provides a useability advantage when compared with a

complex digital camera. They are also more cost effective (Rose, 2012). Single use

disposable film cameras do create relatively high quality pictures, and because

they are cheap a few cameras can be given out at the same time, rather than having

to share a digital camera between participants.

'Semi-structured interviews'

 A semi structured interview (Appendix 4) was deemed to be the most appropriate

in combination with an 'autodriven photo-elicitation' because it allows the search

for *"individual historical accounts"*, which are required to understand "*how a*

particular phenomenon developed", such as the regeneration process in Raploch

(Robson, 2002: 271). Simultaneously, the interview as a form of conversation is

widely accepted by participants as a form of "*understanding their world and their*

lives" (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009: 1; King, 2004). Further, the semi- structured

interview allows both a certain standardisation, as well as, flexibility in the

process, which was considered a further advantage. To ensure that the images of

the residents remained the predominant focus of the research, key informants

took part in a semi-structured interview without having created any images.

Participants recruitment

The aim was to recruit a range of Raploch residents. This included people who live

in the historical council housing area, have close family and community ties to the

area, or have historically been a resident; these participants will be referred to as the 'established residents'. There was also an aim to recruit participants who have moved into the new owner-occupied housing in the regenerated part of Raploch; the term 'new residents' will be used denote to these participants. In addition a few key informants were recruited. O'Leary (2010: 172) described key informants as, *"insiders – those who sit on the inside of an organization, culture or community and who are willing to share the realities of that environment".* The incorporation of key informants allows for a broadening of the perspective on the community, through their insight on that community gained in the course of their working, in this case with residents of the Raploch area, in a professional capacity. Information about the exact profession of these participants is extremely sensitive in the current economic climate; therefore they can only be listed as key informants, rather than specifying their profession. This perception was reinforced by a participant who specifically expressed a fear of cut backs and speaking out in the context of the research project. On the other hand, one of the key informants did not want to be anonymised. Therefore, all names of participants within this thesis were changed to pseudonyms, with the exception of one; Tony Cain.

Participants for the research were accessed through gatekeepers, as well as a combination of convenience and snowball sampling. These three types of non-probability (non-random) sampling have been criticised for being less representative of a population, but as Gaskell (2000: 41) points out, when considering a social milieu such as the Raploch, *"qualitative research is not counting opinions or people but rather exploring the range of opinions, the different perspectives"*. Simultaneously Flick (2007: 29) argues that there is a balancing act

between Gaskell's (2000) perception and a need to be "*able to represent the relevance of the phenomenon*". Snowball sampling has been criticised as having a further potential weakness, namely if it accesses participants by following on from one individual or within one organisation it leads to a skewed sample, which is potentially too similar when compared to the wider social context.

To reduce these effects, twelve different organisations such as the churches, schools and community groups were contacted over the time span of the research. This form of accessing a sample is supported by Clark- Ibáñez (2007: 175), who found that "*in terms of access, institutional support or insider connections are common prerequisites for conducting photo elicitation interviews*". Further, this way of accessing the sample, she argues, is of significance because this method, due to the visual component is more intimate than a face-to-face interview; demanding more of an investment on the part of the participants.

Initially six organisations were sent letters of introduction (Appendix 1) and asked to forward these to potentially interested individuals. On the information sheets were contact details which encouraged interested people to contact the researcher for further information about the actual nature of the research. Of the six organisations which were sent out information sheets, only three organisations replied. Two of these argued that due to their own organisational time limitations they were not able to contact potential participants. This limited interest needs to be seen in the context of Raploch as an area that has been researched quite extensively, historically as well as at present. On the other hand, one organisation and gatekeeper was particularly interested because he had been told by various

residents of previous research projects they had enjoyed taking part in. This, they informed the researcher, encouraged them to get in touch. Rather than handing out information sheets to the potential participants this gatekeeper provided names and phone numbers. This meant the researcher informed potential participants over the phone about the research. If they agreed to participate they were sent an information sheet (Appendix 2) along with a camera, a pre-stamped return envelope and photograph instructions (Appendix 3).

There were some difficulties recruiting participants. An organisation which was accessed through a key informant was initially interested, but the gatekeeper of that organisation became increasingly apprehensive about the visual component of the exercise, due to the age of the group they were gate keeping. Even after being provided with ethical assurances by the University, in the form of a letter from the research supervisor, they still decided to take the request no further. The researcher further gave an oral explanation on various issues which were of concern to the gatekeeper, but that was ineffective. There was a sense that other factors, such as internal time pressures on the gatekeeper and various cancelled meetings with the researcher, due to heavy snowfall, also impacted on the contact. The gatekeeper, through seeking unattainable guarantees, such as a 'photographic consent' and 'appropriate consent', ensured an effective block on the research process. It was also the experience of the researcher that even after people had agreed to participate, this sometimes did not happen. After many weeks of waiting for cameras to be returned, and making follow up phone calls, several other participants stopped taking phone calls and, therefore, excluded themselves from the research, for reasons known only to themselves.

After the initial process of recruiting through the primary gatekeeper, both key informants and participants were exhausted. The researcher was required therefore to change tack and was able to access participants through convenience sampling via social networks at the University of Stirling as well as through contacts in Housing Studies within the University. The researcher changed the initial process of the cameras being returned by post, because a few participants reported that their cameras had been lost in the post. The researcher, thereafter, asked participants to hand their cameras back to their gatekeeper. The researcher also felt that this gatekeeper, by having an emotional link to the participants, might be able to facilitate a higher rate of return of the cameras.

The researcher simultaneously tried to gain access to potential participants by approaching them in an institutional setting directly, again gaining access with the assistance of a gatekeeper. These potential participants were informed orally about the research and after agreeing to take part they were again given a camera, an information sheet, photo instruction and a pre-stamped return envelope. Due to complexities of the situation it was felt by the researcher that it was inappropriate to ask for direct contact details of these potential participants. Even though the potential participants had seemed interested they failed to get back in touch with the researcher and, therefore, self-excluded. The researcher also visited other local groups trying, to recruit participants, with similar results.

Difficulties in accessing and recruiting participants for 'autodriven photo elicitation' were also experience by Van der Does *et al* (2008) in their study of a

regenerated Dutch neighbourhood. The visual aspect of the research study, rather than attracting participants, created a sense of apprehension. The researcher's practice of informing potential participants in person, once in a group setting and once one-to-one, was changed because she felt that potential participants considered the first meeting and oral explanation as the actual interview itself, and did not want to commit further; in the form of creating photos and participating in an additional interview. Therefore the researcher started to give gatekeepers the necessary package for recruitment, including the information sheet, camera, pre-stamped envelope and photo instruction letter. Recruitment, therefore, persistently proved a significant challenge in executing this study.

The Participants

Eventually, and after a great deal of time and effort, twenty one participants were recruited to take part in the research (n=21). Eight participants took part in a semi-structured interview.

'Autodriven photo-elicitation'

Of the thirteen selected for 'autodriven photo elicitation', seven were female (Jacky, Marissa, Victoria, Kelly, Louise, Martha and Emily) and six were male (Jack, Josh, Daniel, Bruce, Ciaran and Jean-Luc).

Established residents - 'Autodriven photo-elicitation'

Eight participants who took part in the 'autodriven photo-elicitation' lived in the established part of Raploch, whereby two had recently moved out (Josh and Victoria) but still maintained close links through family ties. The social economic background of these participants was mixed; two were unemployed (Jacky and Daniel), one was a clerical worker (Kelly), three were semi-skilled working in the service industry (Jean-Luc, Louise and Victoria) and two were professionals (Jack and Josh). Jacky, Josh and Daniel were in their twenties to early thirties, while the remaining participants within the established Raploch were all in their late forties to early fifties.

Table 1: Established Resident Participants- autodriven photo-elicitation

Pseudonym name	Gender	Age	Occupation	Length of residents &/or connection with area	Children	Religious Back ground	Tenure
Jacky	female	20+	Unemployed	< 20 years – since childhood	yes	Roman Catholic	renting
Daniel	male	30+	Unemployed	< 10 years	yes	Atheist	renting
Kelly	female	50+	Clerical worker	< 40years – since childhood	no	Church of Scotland	Home owner
Jean-Luc	male	40+	Service industry	< 5 years	no	Church of Scotland	renting
Louise	female	50+	Service industry	< 40 years – since childhood	Yes - adult children	Roman Catholic	Home owner
Victoria	female	50+	Service industry	<40years – since childhood	Yes – adult children	Roman Catholic	Home owner
Jack	male	40+	Professional	> 2 years	no	Church of Scotland	renting
Josh	male	20+	Professional	< 20 years – since childhood	no	Roman Catholic	renting

New residents - 'Autodriven photo-elicitation'

Five participants of 'autodriven photo-elicitation' had recently moved into the new owner occupied housing in the area and therefore they are considered as new residents. Their social economic background was similar, all were professionals (Ciaran, Bruce, Marissa, Emily and Martha). Further, all five were in their late twenties to early thirties. Emily had links with the area, as she has grown up in Raploch, had moved away after finishing her university degree, but she moved back after a few years and bought a new house in the regenerated part of Raploch.

Table 2: New resident participants autodriven photo-elicitation

Pseudonym name	Gender	Age	Occupation	Length of residents	Children	Religious background	Tenure
Ciaran	male	30+	Professional	N/A	no	Atheist	Home owner
Bruce	male	30+	Professional	N/A	no	Atheist	Home owner
Marissa	female	30+	Professional	N/A	no	Atheist	Home owner
Emily	female	20+	Professional	Born and raised in Raploch – returning after absents	yes	Roman Catholic	Home owner
Martha	female	20+	Professional	N/A	no	Christian	Home owner

Semi-structured interview

Eight participants took part in a semi-structured interview. Four were female (Sarah, Chloe, Stacey and Pamela) and four male (Max, Dave, Andrew and Tony Cain).

Established residents - Semi structured interview

Three participants of the semi structured interview were retired and in their seventies and eighties. They had initially been approached to take part in the autodriven photo elicitation, but because of their personal physical limitations they were not able to make photos.

Table 3: Semi-structured interview participants, unable to take photographs

Pseudonym name	Gender	Age	Occupation	Length of residents and or connection with the area	Children	Religious background	Tenure
Sarah	female	80+	Retired	Since the development of Raploch council housing	yes – adult children	Church of Scotland	Home owner

| Chloe | female | 70+ | Retired | < 50 years | yes-adult children | Converted from church of Scotland to Roman Catholic | Home owner |
| Max | male | 80+ | Retired | Since the development of Raploch council housing | yes – adult children | Roman Catholic | Home owner |

One participant, Dave, who had grown up in Raploch and still had links with the established community, took part in an initial interview, but later self-selected himself out for reasons unknown to the researcher. Therefore, he did not take part in the complete 'autodriven photo elicitation' process.

Table 4: Initial interview participant, who self-selected out

Pseudonym name	Gender	Age	Occupation	Length of residents and or connection to the area.
Dave	male	50+	Professional	< 5 years – since childhood

Key informants – semi structured interview

Finally, all four key informants who took part in a semi-structured interview were professionals, working for organisations which are concerned with Raploch.

Table 5: Key informant interview participants

Pseudonym name	Gender	Occupation
Stacey	female	Professional
Pamela	female	Professional
Andrew	male	Professional
Tony Cain (not anonymised)	male	Professional

Considerations as a lone researcher

As a lone researcher it is significant to consider and distinguish between two forms of danger in undertaking fieldwork, namely situational and ambient danger (Lee, 1995). Ambient danger is in most cases predictable, such as the danger of meeting a person with a violent history, however, situational danger is a little more difficult to envisage as it could arise in any given situation, requiring the researcher to make an assessment of potential risks in order to maintain the safety of the participants, and herself. Within this study the researcher had limited access to information concerning participants' personal history. To reduce both forms of danger the researchers met participants where it was reasonable, in public spaces such as coffee houses and in an office at the University. At the same time, the researcher had to consider participant's circumstances, especially if they were elderly or had child care responsibilities, and wished to be interviewed in their home. Therefore as a safety measure the researcher carried a mobile phone and made her partner aware of where and for how long she was in a certain location.

Research in progress – doing field work

Prior to the interview stage the researcher contacted and visited the Stirling Council Archives and the Stirling Smith Art Gallery and Museum in order to source historical photographs of Raploch. The researcher selected the historical photographs from the surprisingly limited amount of material available, which was even sparser after the 1930s. The researcher decided to take one image from each category available, to ensure both various interpretation opportunities as

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well as providing memory triggers. Further, the researcher thought that this exercise would allow the participants to introduce their own historical photos. As an individual a young milk lady was chosen because she represented working women (Appendix 5). As a social group, a Girl Scout group was chosen, as this was considered to be a social activity (Appendix 6). Three landscape photos were also selected because they reflected different historical landscapes; old Raploch farm, a row of cottages with a view of the castle, and a view from the castle before any council housing development (Appendices 7 to 9). These three photos were chosen as they allowed an insight into the changes that had occurred historically, with the purpose here being to trigger or stimulate the concept of changes over time. To this initial selection of photos the researcher added one historical photograph (Appendix 10), which had been published in the local newspaper, the Stirling Observer in 1980s (University of Stirling, 2013). The researcher was made aware of this photo by one of the participants (Jack).

Initially, as mentioned above, participants who took part in the 'autodriven photo-elicitation were given or posted a package which included a pre-stamped envelope, which was addressed to the researcher, a single use disposable camera, a research information sheet and photo instructions. Clark- Ibáñez (2007) used written photo instructions within her 'autodriven photo elicitation' work. She found this to be constructive because it would remind the participants, at a later stage, of all the significant factors of the research, such as the interview, for example, that would take place after the photos were developed. Further, within the photo instruction letter participants were invited to bring along their own historical photos, although, only two participants actually brought along historical

photos. Both of these photos were of a professional nature, a postcard and a photo that had been in the newspaper. The researcher orally emphasised and subsequently changed the wording on the instruction letter to encourage participants that she was looking for personal photos, rather than just professional portrayals of the area, but residents did not respond to this request. Again, this illustrates personal consensus about what constitutes an appropriate image, and the power of the visual. To increase confidence they were also assured that they could withhold any historical photos of a personal nature, on an individual basis, from the public; any photograph provided would only be seen by the researcher and her supervisor. But none came.

Within this context the researcher handed out and posted thirty seven single use disposable cameras, of which she received back just thirteen. One participant wanted to create photos with her own digital camera, but the researcher resisted this, after due consideration, deciding that the fundamentally different technology could have a significant enough impact on the data collected. Further, the researcher discovered in one case within the interview process that the participant had taken along the gatekeeper, while making the photos. Again, this could have potentially influenced her choice of photos. The researcher was able to conduct consequently thirteen 'autodriven photo-elicitations' from March 2010 to January 2013; the researcher was not able to contact one other participant from whom she had received a camera.

At the start of each interview the participants' permission was sought to record the interview and transcribe it verbatim. The participants were orally informed to

ensure that they were aware of the reasons for the research, as well as that their anonymity would be kept, as far as is reasonable. Furthermore, participants were advised that they could withdraw from the research at any point, as well as that the information given by them could possibly be used in future publications. Thereafter the participants were asked to sign a consent form, which detailed the same information (Appendix 11).

As the first part of the interview was 'autodriven photo-elicitation' it was dominated by the photos shot by the participants. Participants were asked about the choice of photographs they had made and the personal meanings that they attached to these images. Prior to the 'auto driven elicitation' exercise the photos were numbered to ensure that none went missing. The numbering made it also possible to match the audio-recording with the specific photos being discussed. Initially they were numbered on the back but this was revised after the first interview, since the researcher felt that turning the photos to look at the numbers interrupted the flow of the interview. Thereafter small labels were attached to the top of the photo to ensure that the researcher as well as the participants could clearly see the number. At the same time, the numbering allowed for the chronological sequencing of the images. The photos were laid out in sets of five, to put them into a context of the time they were shot, which helped in the recall process. This limited number of images was specifically designed not to overwhelm the participants. No photos were removed once they were put on the table, to allow participants to refer back to previous images as well as to see their photos as a holistic collage.

After finishing the 'autodriven photo-elicitation' aspect of the interview a semi-structured interview took place, whereby the photos created by the participants were not removed but rather stayed present to act as a visual reminder. This second stage interview was the same for all participants, including the three established residents who were unable to make photos due to physical impairments, and the four key informants. The questions in this part of the exercise focused on experiences residents had of the changes taking place within Raploch, on a physical as well as social level. The historical photos were introduced in order to set the redevelopment of the Raploch within a broader historical context. Finally, a street plan of the envisaged 'renewed' Raploch (Stirling Bridge at Raploch, 2009) was shown to the participants, which depicted the rebuilt housing area, whereby the different private companies, as well as the social housing, were each represented in a different colour. This plan allowed an insight into the envisaged layout of spaces, such as green spaces, roads and parking, within the regenerated Raploch (Appendix 12). The length of the individual interviews varied from between forty minutes to, in one case, two hours.

After finishing the interview, participants were asked to give written titles to the photos they had created, to provide additional focus to their perceptions of the regeneration process. The photos were either physically glued on a sheet of paper, with a space next to each for the title, and given or posted to the participants; or e-mailed in electronic form, depending on the participants' preference. The researcher received four set of pictures with titles from established residents (Kelly, Daniel, Jack and Jean-Luc) as well as three from new residents (Martha,

Ciaran and Marissa). The researcher then tried to approach participants who had not created titles of photos, on various occasions, but was unsuccessful.

Data Analyses

When considering 'autodriven photo elicitation' Collier (2001: 45) points out that this method has aspects of "*direct analysis and is the foundation of indirect analysis*". Therefore, within the interview with the participants the analysis of the data has commenced. The 'autodriven photo-elicitation' and the semi-structured interview were all audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. The transcript included noises and pauses, given that these often seemingly trivial parts within an interview can come to be of great importance within the data analysis process. A study in a health setting made clear the significance of such minute details within a transcript, such as an utterance which communicated understanding of the patient to the doctor (Silverman, 2001). To manage the generated data the researcher employed NVivo. This computer program allowed the researcher to process the photos, by highlighting certain areas within the image, as well as creating links between the transcript, photo and participants. Both sets of data needed to be considered holistically, but also as single entities. Whenever considering a photo as part of the qualitative data exercise there needs to be some consideration that even though they can be seen as part of reality, they can only be understood in context, because they only reveal a small frame within a wider visual, social and cultural context. The analysis process between the oral data and the visual data cannot be clear cut, but rather is interwoven. On the other hand, a photo within the

'autodriven photo elicitation' method could not be degraded to a simple illustration of the interview. It can be argued that there are unconscious aspects within the photo of which the participant might not even be consciously aware (Radley, *et al* 2003). Therefore, if this unconscious knowledge is not given merit in its own right it is lost.

Photos do not only reflect the social and individual world of the photographer, but are also read and interpreted by the researcher, who has to consider their own social and personal background to ensure non-bias when analysing photos. Therefore Pink argues "*any research situation*" "*need(s) to be reflexively unpacked*" (Pink, 2008: 131). Another issue which needed to be considered, while analysing the data was, as mentioned above, that photos are never neutral because there are "*no social neutral technologies*", but rather they are "*embedded in a complex historical, social and ideological frameworks*" (Banks, 2000: 19). Photos are also being influenced by aesthetic fashions, as represented in the wider visual contexts of advertising and other medias. Therefore, there is a need to consider photos as "*complex coded cultural artefacts*" (Prosser, 2000, van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001: 89).

Collier (1999) developed a four stage process to analyse such data, which is a combination of an open and structured procedure. This analysing process was not strictly followed, and other researchers' experiences in 'autodriven photo-elicitation' were also taken into account. At the same time, there was a consideration of photos that were made out of 'opportunity', for example, images which are made when walking to the Post Office where, the camera was posted

(Croghan *et al,* 2008). The transcript was separately, but also simultaneously

analysed. However, the visual and the audio data took precedence within the first

stage of the analysing process.

Within this *first stage* an open-ended viewing took place, where first impressions

of the photo, and its overtones and subtleties were noted by the researcher. Also,

questions posed by the photographs were written down. Radley *et al* (2003)

listened to their interviews on a tape recorder, while simultaneously looking at the

photos, to ensure that the unconscious elements which might be presented within

the photos were not lost by focusing solely on the oral interview data. Similarly,

the researcher also opted to listen to the interviews while viewing the photos.

In the *second stage* an inventory of the photos was made in the context of the

research question, as well as the development of some provisional categories. To

enhance this stage, and to allow a different perspective, the photos were turned on

their head (Knowles and Sweetman, 2004). This takes the photo out of the

everyday viewing perspective and allows the observer to see aspects that are not

usually noticed, such as shapes and materials. Further, the photos were looked at

in their temporal sequence to allow their narrative to emerge, as various

participants had created a walk, or story of the Raploch. In this context the titles

that participants had given the photos were also carefully considered, because

they allowed a completion of the narrative. Therefore, the photos also needed to

be seen in context with each other. After this the transcripts were analysed by

reading and re-reading the interviews. In this open coding process a "*breaking*

down, examining, comparing, conceptualising and categorising" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 61) of the transcript took place until initial categories emerged.

In the *third stage* of the process the analysis became more structured, through the development of specific questions, such as why a particular building was a recurring subject across participants, as well as looking at other specific details, such as examining where the photos had been made from. Within this stage the pictures were thoroughly inventoried; distances within the photographs were measured, the presence of historical buildings and structures noted, and the position of the photographer considered in relation to other objects. At the same time the researcher was aware that aspects such as distance and movement had practical considerations for the participants, such as access to a particular area. However, this allowed for a comparison between the photos. Within the transcript the categories were set back into context, causes and patterns of interaction, while axial coding in this research included the visual data (Bryman, 2004). This led to core categories emerging in the process of 'selective coding'. This process was carried out repeatedly to ensure that the categories were saturated from the data and nothing was excluded.

Finally, following Colliers' (1999) model of analysing the data, within the *fourth stage* the researcher returned to all field notes, laying all photos out and re-listening to all interviews to ensure that themes and their inter-relationships were all reconsidered in an open manner.

Ethical Issues

To fulfil ethical responsibilities the researcher primarily followed the guidelines of the Framework for Research Ethics 2010 issued by the Economic and Social Research Council, the Social Research Association Ethical Guidelines (2003) and, finally, the Statement of the Ethical Practice for the British Sociological Association (2002, 2004). Further, given the use of photographs, the British Sociological Association's Visual Sociology Statement of Ethical Practice (2006) was drawn on.

Ethical issues concerning transparency and anonymity

As well as informing all participants about the scope of the research via an information sheet, the participants were also orally informed by the researcher personally about the research projects aims. The participants were also made aware of the methods, both visual and oral, and how they related to the research process. As already noted, participants were asked to sign a consent form to indicate that they understood the context of the research, as well as their ensured anonymity within any written work. Permission was also sought about being audio taped in case there was a sense that their anonymity was lost through the audio taping. Further, they were assured that the audio tape would be destroyed after the research was finished and only a limited amount of people would have access to the recording, such as the researcher and a University of Stirling approved transcriber. Additionally, participants were also made aware that they could

withdraw from the research process at any point, and could stop the recording at any time during the interview.

Ethical issues concerning the relationship between participant and researcher

The researcher ensured all participants did not feel obliged, or even coerced into taking part in the study. This was to a degree guaranteed by the fact that the research could not take place without the participants doing the first step and sending back the camera. In the majority of cases the researcher did not have the means to get back in touch with the participants if they did not send the camera back.

When considering ethical issues within any research the power imbalance, between researcher and participants, needs to be considered. As mentioned previously, as the photos made by the participants dictate the opening, and developing structure, of the interview process, this redresses the power balance in favour of the participant (Clark-Ibáñez, 2007). Despite this arrangement for making participants more comfortable, the researcher was required to avoid over familiarity through maintaining a professional rapport, between the participants and herself, this was carefully observed.

Ensuring the well being of participants is paramount within any research project. This is echoed in the Statement of Ethical Practice for the British Sociological association (2002), "*physical, social and psychological well-being of research*

*participants is not adversely affected by the researc*h" (British Sociological

Association, 2002: 2). The researcher thus had a duty towards the participants that

they did not come to any harm. The researcher considered various free of charge

counselling services to which participants could have been refereed to if the

necessity would have arisen, such as 'Stirling and District Association for Mental

Health' (SDAMH) (http://www.stirlingmentalhealth.org.uk/index.html). This,

however, did not arise as an issue.

Ethical issues concerning photos

Participants were made aware that the photos they created could be used in any

future publication resulting from this research, therefore permission for their

reproduction was sought. This stated that if photos were published in the context

of the research they would also be anonymised with only pseudonyms attached.

Nevertheless, by being taken at a specific location, namely Raploch, there is a

possibility of identification, especially as participants made photos of their homes.

That said, as Flick (2007) points out, it is significant that photos, once permission

is given, are also empowering the voice of a community, to be seen as well as

heard.

Participants were thus allowed to withdraw single photos. This was only taken up

by one participant, who chose to remove a photo depicting an individual, who they

felt would not want to be part of the research. At the same time, they did want to

show their significance to them, but did not want to share the photo with the

wider public. Participants were also made aware through the photograph instruction letter that if they wished to portray individuals in their photos, the faces could be blurred to ensure anonymity and to protect the privacy of these individuals. Although not applicable, given none of the participants provided photos of this nature, they were assured that these photos could be withdrawn as well.

Legal considerations

It has been argued that making photos in public spaces is covered by Article 10 of the Human Rights Act, 1998, which states that there should be freedom of expression. Wiles *et al* (2011: 688) state that "i*n the absence of specific legal prohibition, such as a statute or local ordinance, researchers are legally entitled to take photographs in public places such as streets and public parks".* Even though in this research the participants were creating the images, this interpretation could still be considered applicable. Making photos of buildings in public spaces is covered by Section 62 of Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, which states that copyright laws are not infringed by the making of photos of a building. Further, within this Act there is a 'moral right', which is arguably also applicable in this research context. As Wiles *et al* (2011: 689) paraphrase, the "*owner [of the photo] have the right not to have their image shown in a belittling or deprecating way*". The copyright of all the images used in this research is held by the participants as they are the creator of the images, as it is stated in Section 11 of the Copyright, Design and Patent Act, 1988. However, in this instance, the researcher

sought and acquired through the consent form the right to reproduce these images in the thesis as well as other publications.

Conclusion

The ambivalent relationship between photography and sociology is all too apparent, particularly in a historical context. Historically sociological studies did not use photographic evidence. There was a general impression that the use of photographs was not considered scientific. Consequently, sociology in particular became essentially a text based discipline. Further this was enhanced by various theorists being critical of photos and considering them voyeuristic as well as a representation of their control, power and knowledge relationships, in context with a Focauldian tradition. On the other hand, photographs were considered by theorists such as Bourdieu, whose perception Les Black (2009: 474) paraphrased as "*it* [the photos] *both portrays the social world and it betrays the choices made by the person holding the camera*". Collier (1992) saw great advantages through using photos within the research process and developed the 'photo elicitation' method. This method was developed into 'autodriven photo-elicitation' which combines photos created by participants with a subsequent related interview, which allows for a broadening of the context, long a criticism of solely photo based research. This research method answers the post-modern critique on social research as a social activity which is too strongly influenced by the researcher as a social being, to the extent that it can be empowering.

The data collection and its analysis proved both highly challenging and complex. However, it also allowed an in depth insight into participants' perceptions of the housing neighbourhood they live in. Therefore, in the next chapter, these findings will be set out, by starting with a description of the case study area.

Chapter Five

'Backlighting the case study': Raploch

Introduction

This chapter first considers the case study of Raploch in more detail, through initially focusing on geographical and census data. This is followed up with a discussion about the history of Raploch, which has been, and still is, strongly associated with poverty, segregation and stigmatisation, from the 16th Century to the first council housing. With Raploch being the site of council housing for most of the 20th Century, the management of that housing right up until the most recent regeneration exercise, started in 2004, is also considered. This regeneration was triggered by a negative media representation of Raploch, combined with overt stigmatisation, deprivation, poor quality housing, and perceived mismanagement by the council. The demolition and regeneration of a large part of the estate is discussed as is the organisational structure of the agencies involved in this work, as well as the public policy background. The Masterplan of the Raploch Urban Regeneration Company is also described in this chapter (The Scottish Government, 2008). Thereafter, the social as well as the physical changes planned by the regeneration process are discussed, as well as the potential conflict between the creation of profit and the benefits that may accrue for the community. Finally, the

Raploch Community Business Plan (2004, 2011, 2012) is discussed, which poses the basic question, is the project one of regeneration or gentrification?

Raploch

Raploch, which is also referred to as 'the Raploch', lies within the north part of the City of Stirling. Geographically it sits between the Castle Hill, which is topped by Stirling Castle, a meander of the River Forth and the historical bridge; 'Auld Brig'. It is also quite close to the Wallace Monument. It has thus been described as an "*in between place*" (Pollock and Sharp, 2012: 5; Robertson *et al,* 2008).

The Raploch is strategically placed for commuters, since it is within a short distance of the M9 and the City of Stirling train station, which links Stirling with Glasgow and Edinburgh; both reachable within an hour. A map of Raploch within the greater context of Stirling (Ordnance Survey, 2007) is attached in the appendices, as is a map of the neighbourhood itself (Ordnance Survey, 2013).

Map 1 - Stirling

Source: Ordnance Survey (2007)

Map 2 - Raploch
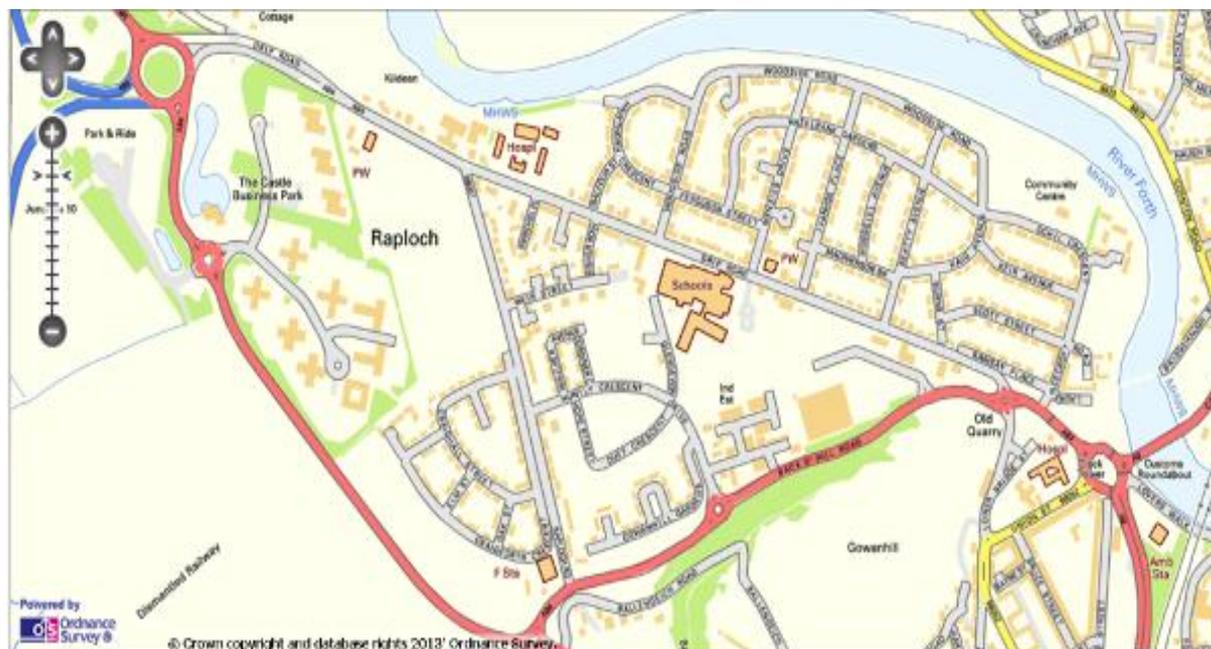
Source: Ordnance Survey (2013)

According to the Census of 2001, the population of Raploch, covering an area of 4.1 km², was 3205, living in 1354 households. In terms of housing tenure Raploch was a combination of rented council housing (67.8%), housing association (3.5%), private renting (2.1%) and owner occupied housing (18.6%)(Stirling Council, 2004). Comparing the data from to 2001 to 2011 it becomes obvious that the changes led to a noticeable shrinkage of the population to 2,890 inhabitants from 3,205 (Scottish Census 2011, Stirling Council, 2004). The number of households increased to 1,405; as a consequence it can be assumed that each household has less individuals living in them. Owner occupation has increased to 26.1%, whereas the council housing tenure has decreased to 56.3%, while the housing association tenure has increased to 9.8%.

Walking along Drip Road it becomes apparent that the two sides of the road are significantly different in architectural style. The north side along Drip Road is predominantly two story housing, developed in the mid 1930s by Stirling Council. Coming out from Stirling centre there are a few atypical houses for the area, such as detached Victorian houses as well as a modernist Church of Scotland building, mixed in with the council housing. Half way along Drip Road is the so called 'Coronation Block' which was designed and built in 1936 in honour of the accession of Georg IV. This building is unusual for council architecture within Raploch as it incorporates "*Scottish baronial vernacular*" in its design as well as being three storeys high (Robertson, 2008). There are also some small shop units containing businesses, such as convenience stores as well as fast food take-away's and a betting shop, further along Drip Road. On the very edge of Raploch, coming from Stirling centre, is Kildean Hospital, which is at present serves as a Mental Health Resource Centre. The housing to the north of Drip Road can be described as archetypal within council housing estates in Scotland. The area predominantly consists of flats and a few detached and semi-detached houses and terraced houses. The council housing estate is adjacent to the River Forth. There are various green and open spaces within the area on the north side of Drip Road as well as a playground.

The buildings incorporated in the south side of Drip Road are a mixture of newly built apartment blocks, which are three to four storeys high, as well as terraced semi-detached and detached housing. Coming in from Stirling centre on Drip Road there is initially the 'Back of Hill' Pub followed by MacDonald's, with foot access only. Further along the road is the Salvation Army building. Adjoined to the

Salvation Army there is another footpath leading to a Sainsbury's Supermarket. Further along there is brown field land and some business units. The schools and the Raploch community campus are approximately half way along Drip Road, on the south side across from the afore mentioned 'Coronation Block'. Next to the Raploch Community Campus is a large open paved area referred to as 'Village Square'. There are benches, seating and sculptures placed in the square. Next to the 'Village square' is site 5 of the regeneration development situated. The majority of high density flats are placed on the periphery of the new development (Appendix 12) on site 5 of the regeneration development.

Map 3 - Site 5 of the regeneration within Raploch (outlined with thick black line)

Source: Ordnance Survey (2013)

This site of Drip road is therefore dominated by blocks of flats, this "*layout's primary function in urban design terms, is to form the main 'wall' of the street around the centre of the village*" (Stirling council 2004: 3). Along from the new development on Drip Road are industrial units and a now closed down pub called

'Gallaghers Bar', which was still operating at the time of the research. Road access through the regenerated area on site five is limited as the roads end in *cul-de-sac*, in contrast with the historical council housing on the north side of Drip Road where the majority are through roads. There are also a limited amount of public green spaces within area five. A characteristic of the design is the existence of courtyards, which have limited public access due to being surrounded by fences. Outside area five there is an all-weather football pitch, as well as various council developments and the Forth Housing Association building.

The area as a whole to the south of Drip road is adjacent to an 'A' road, the Back O'Hill Road, which is located underneath Castle Hill and the Castle. Along the Back O'Hill Road are various council houses that are predominantly boarded up, and only a limited number of inhabitants are still living in them. A notable building on the Back O'Hill Road is the Fire Station within the Raploch. The Back O'Hill Road is now the direct access to the motorway and its major turn off to Raploch is via Raploch Road. On Raploch Road are various developments, both by the Council and Forth Housing Association, on either side, as well as some shop units. It is also the main access road for part of the owner occupied developments only. This description of Raploch is specific to the time period the research took place.

A history of Raploch pre council involvement

The Raploch has a long history of stigmatisation and poverty dating right back to the 16th Century. Historical evidence corroborates that from the 16th to the 19th

Century the area was associated with the production of poor quality, coarse wool clothing. At this time the Raploch was a salmon fishing, farming, and textile weaving community (Robertson *et al,* 2008a). It also provided a range of services to the garrison stationed in the castle, and this is perhaps how its reputation was fostered (Robertson *et al,* 2008a).

Following the Potato Famine, from 1845-1852, Irish immigrants settled in the area. The perception of the area thus changed and it became viewed as a largely Irish community, even though only 23% of the population in 1851 recorded their origins in Ireland. Its distinction from the rest of Stirling was also apparent, as it was described, in official accounts, as an Irish village, with inhabitants speaking with an Irish dialect (Robertson *et al,* 2008a). Being identified as a village also distinctly classed it as separate from Stirling. The stigmatising of these immigrants becomes apparent in a perception voiced in the late 19th Century, that, when "*the 'Irish' went away on their annual bark-stripping work – bark being used in the tanning process – the crime rate in Stirling fell substantially*" (Robertson *et al,* 2008a: 24). The religious persuasion of the majority of Irish immigrants, Roman Catholicism, allowed a further distinction from the rest of Stirling, which was predominantly Scottish Presbyterian Protestant. Similarly the 'Tap o' Toun' slum, which was situated underneath the Castle, was, due to the poverty of Roman Catholics, disproportionately populated by this faith group; who then moved into Raploch following the slum clearances (Robertson, 2013). It has been suggested that the fact that an Irish minority was used to break local mining strikes further encouraged antipathy against the Irish and their associated religion, Roman Catholicism, throughout Scotland (Robertson *et al,* 2008a). It is essential to keep in

mind that there were fundamental power inequalities between the majority Protestant and the minority Roman Catholic groups, which in this case led to historical discrimination and thus poverty (Dimeo and Finn, 1998).

These historical population movements are still evident in the Census of 2011, which showed that 23.5% of the Raploch population were Protestant and 23.0% Roman Catholics (Scottish Census, 2011). However, religious denomination was not found to be a "*key marker of identity and difference*" within present day Raploch, even though *"there is a degree of tribal rivalry"* (Robertson *et al,* 2008a: viii, 92). The limited number of sectarian incidents, when compared with the past, were linked to there being a long established Roman Catholic community in the Raploch. It has been argued that the historical existence of sectarianism in Scotland has been attributed to Protestant and Roman Catholic Irish immigrants bringing rivalries that had existed between them in Ireland, over to Scotland (Rosie, 2004; Bruce *et al*, 2004). At the same time, Robertson *et al* (2008a: 94) suggest *"that religious rivalry has been displaced by football, or that the two have become so intertwined as to be inseparable"*, whereby the two Glasgow football teams reflected the two sides; with Celtic being associated with Roman Catholicism and Rangers with Protestantism.

History of council housing in Raploch

Council housing was built in Raploch by Stirling Council, in various stages from 1928 onwards. These buildings were primarily constructed for low rent payers

from the slum clearances taking place at the 'Tap o' Toun' over the 1930s, but also from St. Ninian's (Robertson *et al,* 2008b). Both these locations had high proportions of mine workers. The slum clearance encouraged the stigmatisation of the estates because they were seen as '*rough*', in part a reflection of their mining populations (Cowan, 2001). Due to the capital budgetary restrictions, and to ensure low rents, the council decided to build housing with lower building specifications and a higher density than comparable previous developments in the Stirling area (Robertson, 2013). This resonates with other council house developments throughout the UK, whereby quality was compromised through pressure for quantity, in order to clear the slums (Burnett, 1986). However, this was done in the case of Raploch *"against the advice of the local Sanitary Inspector and the Scottish Office",* who warned of the consequences of "*fewer bedrooms in ratio to the occupation and thinner walls",* fearing the creation of slums of the future (Robertson *et al,* 2008a: 25). Therefore, it can be argued that this discourse about the built environment, in the form of low quality housing, expresses semiotically, not only to the residents but also to wider society, a sense that this community has little value; especially as in a capitalist society such monetary terms are in reality a social judgement of worth (Eco, 1997). This mirrors Robbins' (2000) observation that the working classes are aware of their social standing within society, or what Robertson (2013) referred to, in the context of Raploch, as "*knowing your place*". There is a class dimension to this segregation, which clearly encouraged separation between different social classes. As a consequence, as Robertson *et al* (2008a: 40) suggest, this council estate was developed intentionally, at a distance from the city centre; a local councillor argued for this particular location because it "*kept that class of tenant by themselves, and everyone*

would be satisfied". This comment needs to be seen in context with the concurrent, prevalent perception of the Chicago School of Urban Sociology, which saw such a practice as being justifiable in terms of social Darwinism; that different communities live in different urban areas as a consequence of natural habitat (Park, Burgess and Mackenzie, 1925). At the same time, this 'placing' of slum dwellers is also a reflection of a long established power relationship between powerful urban actors and Raploch, whereby the former force their resolutions of social improvements, right up to the present day, on this location (Cole and Furbey, 1994). The creation of the Raploch, therefore, according to Lefebvre (1976), could be seen as an ideological and political intervention of categorising social groups into particular social places; in this case a poor minority being placed by powerful urban actors in a place of social exclusion. Further, this highlights the '*social spatial dialectic'* and the significance of utilising places as a form of social control (Soja, 2008; Lefebvre, 1991). Thus the development of low quality council housing, at a physical distance from Stirling, was just a further concretisation and a physical inscription into the landscape, which extended from a long social memory of the Raploch as a place of poverty and segregation (Hayden, 1995).

Due to the combination of historical stigmatisation as well as poor quality housing, the social situation deteriorated in Raploch in the 1980s and 1990s; even though various improvement programmes and new build expansions of the area had taken place in the 1930s, 1950s and 1970s. At this time, there were numerous empty properties throughout the area, and this was particularly the case in the Glendevon area, which had been built immediately after the Second World War. Tony Cain, one of the key informants, who has long worked for the Housing

Department, pointed out that between 60% and 70% of these properties were empty. This he argued was a consequence of the poor quality of this housing stock, which had seen insufficient improvements, coupled with the opportunity for potential tenants to access higher quality property:

> " *the physical quality of these houses is poor. We didn't modernise them well enough through the 80s. They don't stand up, they don't compete with other houses in the area. People aren't gonna want to live in them because they are physically less good than other houses they can reasonably expect to get."*
> (Tony Cain)

At the same time, he points out that *"there was still a core of well established [residents]in there, surrounded by a big chunk of empty properties"*. Similarly, Robertson *et al* (2008a) found long-term established families with community ties within the whole of the Raploch. This also resonates with Young and Willmott's (1957) study, in the East End of London, where they found strong social networks within a long established working class community. Correspondingly, Gans (1999) observed a similar phenomena in a working class area in Boston. This focus on the community ties within working class communities has also been criticised for romanticising working class areas, without considering their hardship and poverty, which has kept them in such locations (Cornwall 1984).

To fill these empty properties the council introduced an allocations program which reduced the requirements and stipulations for being awarded housing in the area,

and this in turn created a very transient and problematic population group who moved into the Raploch area.

Tony Cain also described the area at the time, and especially Glendevon, as having:

"*a high concentration of what you would call Giro jobs, people who intended taking the address for the sake of claiming benefit and living somewhere else*".
(Tony Cain)

These empty properties encouraged the creation of drinking dens, where:

"*people, who would just move into what was effectively an unoccupied property...drink themselves daft, do a lot of damage to the place, and then the next day they drink in somebody else's house*".
(Tony Cain)

Therefore, Glendevon became increasingly associated with crime and poverty, further exacerbating the historical stigmatised narrative of Raploch. This stigmatisation and criminal association is to this day reflected within local newspapers such as the *Stirling Observer* in 2011(Robertson 2011), which headed an article online with "*Raploch dad jailed for assaulting snowball thrower*", resonating with Robertson *et al's* (2008a) observation on media reporting, whereby individuals are referred to as being from Raploch rather than from Stirling.

Returning to the 1980s and 1990s, wider social changes within the UK also need to be considered, as a move away from a Keynesian Welfare State towards a neo-liberal individualistic ideology which favoured homeownership became increasingly seen as the natural form of housing, and, as less of a burden on the economy than state funded housing (Saunders, 1990). Perceptions of council housing tenants, such as those in Raploch, also changed, whereby they became labelled, *en masse,* as 'non-aspirational' when compared to homeowners (Saunders, 1990). The discourses of this time period were manifold, but in essence there was a developing neoliberal dominance; on one hand council tenants were seen as being unjustifiable recipients of tax subsidies, while on the other there was a sense that they paid rent without receiving any benefit in the form of capital gain (Saunders, 1984; Jacobs *et al*, 2003).

This also coincided with the Right To Buy (RTB) policy, which although encouraged by government, had a limited take up in deprived council estates such as Raploch. Forest and Murrie (1991) established various parallel characteristics that explained why so few properties were being sold, which also applied to Raploch: buildings being multiple occupancy; being associated with slum clearance; and being labelled as 'sink estates'. The limited uptake of the RTB policy within the Raploch area was still evident in the 2001 Census, where 18.6% of residents were owner occupiers compared with the 67.8% who were council tenants. In the 2011 Census the percentages changed with 26.1% being owner-occupiers and 56.3% council tenants. This is of significance, in the current context, because as Robertson *et al* (2008a:91) state, "*more than ever before, class identity*

can be linked directly to house tenure and local house prices". The general reduction

of council housing due to the RTB policy, which saw the sale of more popular

Stirling council housing, intensified social problems in Raploch, because the

council had fewer housing options for people, leading to 'social tenure

polarisation', further exaggerating the stigmatisation of the area (Robertson *et al,*

2008, Paris, 1995).

Raploch became a so called 'sink estate', "*whose name is synonymous with tales of*

drug addiction, alcoholism and social deprivation" (Pollock and Sharp, 2012: 5).

Raploch's sense of place is also partially created by the media (Cresswell, 2011). A

similarly negative media discourse about council housing estates was revealed by

a study in Northern Ireland, by Devereux *et al* (2011). Interestingly, in the case of

Raploch, the media representation has also carried positive aspects of the estate,

such as an entire series called *Raploch Lives,* which gave voice to the personal

ambitions of the community, and the reporting of the Big Noise youth orchestra,

which also has direct BBC involvement (Raploch Community Partnership, 2013).

Deprivation is still tangible at present, whereby three of the four datazones of the

Raploch area rank, as of 2012, on the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation

(SIMD) as being among the lowest 5% of the most deprived areas within Scotland.

The SIMD considers seven domains: employment, income, health, education, skills

and training, geographical access to services, prevalence of crime and poor

housing (Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2012). These three data zones,

which lie just off the shore of the river Forth, are also the most deprived within the

City of Stirling. The fourth datazone falls under the 5% -<10% most deprived areas

within Scotland, and are therefore, only modestly less deprived. This data needs to be seen, however, in context with the social economic make-up of all four areas. According to the 2011 Census, 56% of people were economically active. The area thus has a relatively high unemployment rate of 8.9%, in contrast to the 3.9 % for the rest of Stirling. Another particularly noticeable difference with the rest of Stirling is the high proportion of 'long-term sick and disabled', which is 15.1 %, compared with 4.1% for Stirling. This statistical account, explaining deprivation within the area, also further stigmatises Raploch, which can be viewed as being welfare dependant and unemployed (Scottish Census 2011).

The historical combination of mismanaged properties, poor housing quality, stigmatisation, deprivation and the limited success of previous house improvement programs, led eventually to the decision to demolish large parts of the council stock and to regenerate these cleared areas. The current regeneration programme cannot be seen as a single episode, but rather within the context of previous improvement and regeneration programs. The most recent of these, predating the current program, was the 'Stirling Partnership for Urban Renewal' (SPUR), which had a greater remit than solely the Raploch as it also included other parts of the 'Top of Town' in Stirling. These combined geographic areas were referred to in this programme as 'Castleview' and was part of an unsuccessful 'Priority Partnership Area' (PPA) bidding process. Forth Housing, as a social housing provider, got involved in the late 1990s by bidding for the 'New Housing Partnership' initiative, and the new houses created allowed the council to re-house residents and start demolishing within Raploch in the late 1990s. This chronology

of events was provided by Tony Cain, who had previous involvement in all of these initiatives.

The regeneration policy for Raploch

The current regeneration of Raploch is facilitated by an 'Urban Regeneration Company' (URC); the concept of this policy being adopted from an English model (Jones and Evans 2008). The URC was initially introduced in the 1990s and became a significant policy instrument in the 2000 Urban White Paper in England and Wales. The main difference to previous English regeneration programs was that rather than excluding local authorities, they were involved in the regeneration (Jones and Evans 2008). As McCarthy (2007: 53) points out, the URCs in England were, after evaluations, considered as having "*significant potential to increase the confidence of and investment from the private sector*". In Scotland, local authorities were also not excluded from regeneration, but rather they were not given the funds to actually participate. This approach, both North and South of the border could be seen in the context of neo-liberal ideology, and its aspiration to reduce the involvement of the state in the direct provision of housing.

In a broader historical policy context, the Raploch regeneration, even though it incorporates a social housing contribution by Forth, seems to be part of a *laissez faire* tradition, which finds housing to be the responsibility of the individual, rather than the state (Blakemore and Griggs 2007). There are currently six URCs in Scotland, and Raploch was awarded Pathfinder status by the then Scottish

Executive, given the earlier PPA work. The Raploch Urban Regeneration Company (RURC) is a co-operation between private and public organisations. The private companies involved are George Wimpey East Scotland Ltd and Cruden Homes (East) Ltd working as part of a consortium called R3, which stands for Raploch, Reinvented and Regenerated. The public organisations within this private public partnership are Stirling Council, NHS Forth Valley, and Scottish Enterprise Forth Valley (RURC 2011). The community is represented on this body by Raploch Community Partnership (RCP), whereby the aspect of community involvement was given great significant in context with the Masterplan (Scottish Executive, 2008a; Pollock and Sharp, 2012). The entire regeneration programme should, according to the initial plans, be implementing from 2004 until 2014. These initial dates had to be revised due to macro-economic events, following the financial crisis of 2008, which severely impacted on the housing market.

The organisational structure of the Raploch regeneration

Two companies were established for the purpose of this partial regeneration; firstly Raploch Urban Regeneration Company Ltd, which has charitable status, whereby this organisation is "*a guarantee company*" which "*does not have share capital, but has members who are guarantors instead of shareholders*" (Shiel and Smith-Milne, 2007: 10). The liability in this case is a symbolic £1. The second company, the Raploch Urban Regeneration Company Landholding Ltd., presides over 62 acres of land, that was provided by Stirling Council at effectively nil cost, and which stays in their possession until the houses are sold; the land and thus its

cost was never to be in the possession of the building companies, who were selling the houses. This approach to development was introduced to potentially protect the public purse, as well as to ensure the progress of the development, given the house builders were not required to pay for the land until each individual house was sold. At the same time, the developers under the regeneration process had to agree to pay a land fee, which had to be negotiated prior to starting a new site (Shiel and Smith-Milne, 2007).

The land on which the new development took place is physically separated by Drip Road, the main road that runs through the historical council estate. The south side of the road is the focus of all new housing developments, and other development activities, whereas the north side is the old council estate which is not being improved. Therefore the road as a physical barrier could exacerbate and emphasise, similar to the classic study by Elias and Scotson (1965), a differentiation between the 'established' and the 'outsiders'; especially in the context of Raploch council housing estate's reputation as a 'sink estate'. Robertson *et al* (2008) found that Drip Road has long had a dividing aspect within the historical council estate, pre-dating regeneration. Glendevon was a new part of Raploch, built after the war to the south side of the road. This, in turn, echoes Newman's (1972: 60) suggestion that street design has a significant impact on the creation of territory, whereby streets can shape "*created, territorially defined, blocks and areas*".

The Masterplan

The Raploch URC is underpinned by a Masterplan, which according to the then Scottish Executive (2008a) has six aims:

- regenerating a rundown housing area,

- proposals based on an economic vision and financial plan,

- speed and certainty for developers who follow the Masterplan,

- architects involved at every stage of the development project,

- building a sense of ownership among local people,

- public realm improvements including a new village square.

In addition, the Masterplan is underpinned by five objectives, which are referred to in the RURC report (2012: 9):

- properties - which focuses on the "*Diversity tenure and architecture, increased property value and all new housing meeting relevant standards*"

- place - the stated aim being *"Greater satisfaction with the neighbourhood, integrated development*" as well as "*improved public realm"*

- partnership - is understood to be achieved through *"consulting the community, procure private sector partners and involve the public sector"*

- prospects - the main aim in this objective being "*Economic prosperous, enhanced training and employment opportunities, growing local businesses*" and "*increase average income*"

- people - this objective, in more detail, aims to make "*Deprivation a thing of the past, a growing thriving community, a fit and healthy community and provision of facility*" and a "*renewed sense of confidence in the Raploch*"

These six aims and five objectives echo, as Pollock and Sharp (2012: 6) point out, "*the tangible and intangible benefits sought through the regeneration process.* Whereby it could be argued that the tangible aspects are the built environment, while the intangible are the social and economic changes within the community.

Social aspects of the regeneration in Raploch

Social mixing, through introducing owner occupation within the Raploch, was another aspect by which the Scottish Executive (2006) sought to achieve social change in regenerated areas; even though various studies have found that different social groups did not mix despite sharing the same neighbourhood (Butler, 1997; Butler and Robson, 2003; Allen *et al,* 2005). However, Allen (2005) did suggest that a combination of other factors, such as a high quality physical environment, better local services, and mixed tenure, all served to increase residents' contentment with the locality. However, Atkinson and Kintrea (2002) argued that social mixing does not adequately address the underlying issue of

segregation, namely economic inequality. Therefore, according to this perspective, a focus on policies that would decrease income inequalities would be more appropriate to address segregation within Raploch.

As part of the bidding process for the contract, in which ultimately the R3 consortium was successful, a Community Benefits in Procurement (CBIP) clause was introduced. This clause sought to create social change within the area, and is defined by the Scottish Government: (2008:1) as *"There is potential for public procurement projects to impact on training, employment and investment in a local community and its longer-term regeneration. The CBIP Program focused on one area - targeted recruitment and training - where there is scope for incorporation of community benefit clauses in public sector contracts"*. One aspect of CBIP is to encourage R3 to sub-contract to Stirling based companies, as well as provide 225 training places for apprentices and operatives over the initially planned ten years of the regeneration programme. The RURC is providing training places via the 'Community Enterprise' (RURC, 2012). The Community Enterprise business programme has two strands, one is a training centre which is SQA or Learn Direct accredited and, the second, a landscape gardening and road reinstatement business (Ball, 2011). The government outsourced services, such as filling training places for the community enterprise, through, for example, Triage Central Limited, which is a private company *"delivering the Government's Welfare to Work agenda"* (Triage Central Limited, 2012; Stirling Ignition, 2013). Agencies such as the Job Centre Plus or Stirling Council also purchase training places from the Community Enterprise business (Ball, 2011). Again the community enterprise element needs to be seen within a neo-liberal tradition, whereby services which were previously

provided by the government are outsourced, but still financed almost exclusively by the public purse. The RURC in its 2011/12 Annual Report (RURC, 2012) states that 19 people were able to acquire full-time employment through their training program. This needs to be seen critically because it does not consider long-term retention of employment, especially as the training focuses on areas within the economy which have struggled due to the economic down turn, such as construction and horticulture. At the same time, especially considering the referral process via the Job Centre Plus and Stirling Council, there is not necessarily any link between the trainees and the Raploch community. Community Enterprise is trying to evaluate their service, using well-being questionnaires before and after the program, by focusing on any impact in terms of confidence and self-esteem building (Ball 2011). The results of this work are still awaited.

Regeneration and the physical changes within architecture

The actual regeneration process started with the demolition of buildings to the north of Drip road, mirroring historical demolitions of the past, such as slum clearances, implying that through such demolition, social issues would be solved (Gans, 1999; Cole and Furbey, 1994). This thus resonates with 'architectural determinism', which holds that behaviour, within areas such as Raploch, can be altered positively by changing the nature of the built environment (Gans, 1968). Pollock and Sharp (2012:9) argue that demolishing areas within Raploch was "*visual eradication of a problematic past*", but they further elaborated that "*the*

palimpsest landscape persisted as a social dynamic held in the memories of those living in the area". This again has echoes of the concept of history in place, whereby landscapes are inscribed with social memories which in turn, influence the perception of the current place (Hayden, 1995; Cresswell, 2004). Glynn's (2009:86) observations on a Liverpool housing estate, which similarly to Raploch lay on a dominant access road, found that a senior official argued for its demolition because this would create a more '*pleasant outlook than is currently there'* when driving into the city. In Raploch, Drip Road was bypassed and a new route into Stirling was created to the south of Drip Road.

The private builders were initially planning, for the complete regeneration, to develop 900 houses of which 250 were to be built for social renting by Forth housing association, and 650 were to be sold by the developers for profit. The initial plans for the regeneration had a completion date of 2014. This, however, was revised due to macroeconomic events, caused by the global financial crisis of 2008, which severely impacted on the housing market. Therefore, only one site (Site 5) with residential properties has been developed to date

Map 3 - Site 5 of the regeneration within Raploch (outlined with thick black line)

Source: Ordnance Survey (2013)

The initial plan, for this site, was to develop 120 residential properties, which was to incorporate 90 properties for sale and 30 for social homes (Raploch Urban Regeneration, 2007). Arguably, the financial crisis also impacted on the development of Site 5, leading to an increased property density, with 211 residential properties finally being built, of which 161 were for sale and 50 for social housing (Stirling Bridge at Raploch, 2009). Therefore it could be argued that the falling house prices, and as a consequence the decrease in profits for the developers, encouraged a greater density. Therefore, it could be argued that the development on site 5 in Raploch, as a fixed place, had to accept changes with regard to housing density to continue to attract capital from the developers (Harvey, 1989, 2006). Within the most recent Raploch Urban Regeneration Annual report (2011/12), the target for finishing the development was recorded as 2018. Taylor Wimpey, on its current webpage (17/01/2013), however, does not feature any new houses for sale in the Raploch area, and Cruden homes has only one remaining mid terrace villa for sale, on Site 5 (5/06/2013).

Even though the development was not completed to the planned extent, it still incorporated owner occupied houses and flats, as well as social rented houses and flats, resulting in a new social composition within the area. In tandem with the new housing, the regeneration also incorporated the development of the Raploch Community Campus, which was funded separately by Stirling Council Schools Private Public Partnership (PPP) project. The Campus takes a central position within the Raploch, on Drip Road, and incorporates a non-denominational school and a Roman Catholic school, as well as a special needs education facility. Further, the campus also provides teaching facilities for Forth Valley College, as well as sport facilities and office space (Scottish Executive, 2009). Within the regeneration process the campus building could be considered a trophy building, which takes 'centre stage' within the Raploch. Similarly to other trophy buildings, such as the Guggenheim Museum in Bilboa in Spain, if so to a lesser extent, it tries to repackage perceptions of an area and to create new associations with that area (Jones 2010). The later development of the Forth Valley College to the North East of Raploch, on the site of the old Kildean Cattle Market, also had the same intentions.

It also should be acknowledged, that in a post-modern context architecture is a 'consumer good' and needs to compete in a globalised world to attract moveable capital (Zukin, 1993; Gottdiener, 1995; Harvey, 1993). Consequently, the Raploch needs also to be seen as a place which participates in such '*global local dialectics*' (Beck, 2002; Urry, 2002). So this highlights that the Raploch cannot be seen as a single entity, but rather as a social relationship; "*the geographical beyond, the world beyond the place itself*" (Massey, 1995: 183). This perspective needs to be set

against Castles' (2010) perception, that there are places of exclusion, inequality and poverty, which are predominantly excluded from a globalised world. Regeneration was seen as a means of moving Raploch from one position to the other.

Capital creation and community participation; a conflict

Even though, as Massey (1993) points out, there is a complex relationship between society and capital, profit creation still needs to be considered as an influential factor, especially as the Raploch regeneration includes private developers who have a distinct and particular focus on creating profit for their company. This perception is mirrored by Glynn (2009: 75), who argued that *"Regeneration is big business, with money to be made not just in the actual development but also through the promotion of high-yielding economic sectors such as the retail trade or tourism and – most importantly – through the associated financial services and speculative activities".* This, she emphasises, was particularly the case in poor neighbourhoods on prime sites which, before regeneration, had limited economic value or benefits. Therefore there is a conflict of interest between the consortium and the community; with the former having the primary aim to create profit while the latter wants the regeneration to benefit the community. It could also be argued that the private company operates from a stronger position of power, especially as the community is deprived and has limited political agency. Considering the power inequality between the different parties, and in context with community participation in the Raploch, Pollock and Sharp (2012: 2) are concerned about "*the*

citizen's capacity to negotiate on a level playing-field with other stakeholders". In the wider context Raco (2000: 574) considers community participation as a "*neo-liberal objective of creating active citizens to promote self-reliance, local initiative and reduce 'dependence' on the welfare state".* Raco (2000) further adds, that community participation can be used to legitimise and justify the reduction of the welfare state; which, in the context of housing resonates with Glynn (2009), who saw regeneration as a Trojan horse with a neo-liberalistic content.

This perception of citizens' participation assumes that territorial communities are all inclusive, therefore carrying Tönnies (2001) romantic notion of a closely tied social network. But as Elias and Scotson (1965) established, clear segregation can take place between different social groups, such as class, within any neighbourhood, and these fault lines can also exist in terms of race or religion as well as gender and sexuality (Valentine, 2001). These fragmentations were also present in the Raploch community; having a geographical as well as social aspects these distinctions were "*very subtle and hard to observe if you are not from a particular area*" (Robertson *et al,* 2008a: 69). This fragmentation potentially further weakens the power of the community in relation to the private and public stake holders. From a Foucauldian position, the 'prescription' of community participation by the state, through the regeneration process, within a working class area, such as the Raploch, needs to be seen critically, and we should question whether a comparable expectation would be made on a middle class area (Pollock and Sharp, 2012). Such political engagement, rather than empowering communities "*often encourages alignment with institutional and government objectives*" (Pollock and Sharp, 2012: 4). Pollock and Sharp (2012) also point out

another aspect which could impact on the success of the regeneration, in the context of community participation, namely the need to develop trust within the community. Notably, in the 2007 compiled profile of the Raploch, which was referred to as the 'community signature', 47% *"felt that decisions were made elsewhere"* (Pollock and Sharp, 2012: 6). Pollock and Sharp (2012: 7) exemplify this difficulty, of gaining trust and subsequent community participation in the Raploch art project, by quoting Fisher who stated that "*the locals had grown wise to officials presenting them with grand-sounding schemes that mostly came to nothing."* This perception needs to be seen in context. Bottom up policy making within the Raploch regeneration was, according to Pollock and Sharp (2012), compromised when residents were confronted with the complete closure of Drip Road, the major road, with little notice, rather than just the closure of one lane as was originally planned. This can lead to the perception, of local residents, that community participation is a token exercise, rather than facilitating real involvement (Pollock and Sharp, 2012).

Raploch community business plan: Regeneration or gentrification*?*

The initial business plan of 2004 has to be understood from a pre-financial crisis point of view, which considered house prices in the new economic context of globalisation; easy access to mortgage capital, and house prices that were 'forever rising', which became a thing of the past following the financial crisis of 2008. Thus almost all data in the initial business plan, beside the baseline of 2004, has to be

considered as obsolete. However, it still allows an insight into the initial mindset for this regeneration project. For example, there was the reserved bidding system, which gave the locals a 28 days priority purchase for the newly developed houses, by Cruden and Wimpey, for owner occupation, "*to increase local ownership*" (Shiel and Smith-Milne, 2007: 15; Scottish Executive, 2006). This needs to be seen in the context of the average annual income of the area, which, according to the Raploch Business Plan in 2004 (RURC, 2004), was just £6,240. This poses the intriguing question about affordability and the reality of house sales to the local community, especially with the estimated 2012 cost of an average house being £178,000. Even though one of the targets of the business plan was to raise the average income of the community to £29,170, it was left unanswered whether this was to be achieved through the influx of a new owner occupying population, or through changes within the social economic make up of the established community (Shiel and Smith-Mile in 2007). Glynn (2009) is very critical of the fact that property values are considered to be a measurement of success in any regeneration program; she thus suggests a direct link between regeneration and gentrification. Various other theorists consider a link between regeneration policy and gentrification since both lead to a new social mix, changes within the architectural landscape as well as increased property values (Atkinson and Kintera, 1999; Ward, 1991; Lee and Davidson, 2005; Ostendorf, 2005; Blomley, 2004). Another association can be drawn from the fact that conventionally understood gentrified areas are strategically well located places in the context of the city. Raploch is strategically well placed in context with major employers, such as the University of Stirling, the College, and Stirling Council, as well as having close proximity to Stirling City centre and motorway links with the central belt of Scotland. On the other hand

London (1986) argues that, as it is a state intervention, it cannot strictly be classified as gentrification. On the other hand, Shiel and Smith-Milne (2007) have argued that the regeneration in the Raploch did increase the choice of housing in the area, but we must here consider Glynns' (2009) opinion about the accessibility of the new owner occupied housing, for the established community, given that it can only be bought by people with sufficient access to capital. This encouragement by the government, of regeneration through homeownership, has an underlying discourse that embraces aspiration and independence, which are promoted as being 'normal' (Saunders 1990). Therefore it could be argued that the regeneration process, due to the fact that the main stakeholders are the middle classes, tries to replicate middle class values in terms of their habitus in the Raploch (Robertson 2013).

Conclusion

It is evident that there is a long and uninterrupted history of poverty and stigmatisation within the Raploch, which dates back Centuries. The physical distance to Stirling city, which is not at all far, but is exaggerated by a social distance, encouraged the placing of individuals from the slums of Stirling into low quality council housing (Robertson *et al,* 2008). Research also found the area to have a strong community and extended family ties which, partly developed through necessity out of poverty (Robertson *et al,* 2008). The situation deteriorated, with the mismanagement of unpopular low quality housing, resulting in easy access to these houses by a problematic section of society. This took place

at a time when policy reflected the political ambitions of neo-liberalistic ideology, which considered both the welfare state, and therefore council housing, a burden for the economy. Reducing the welfare state became a subsequent necessity (Saunders, 1990; Forest and Murrie, 1991; Glynn, 2007). The positive perception on homeownership, as well as the limited take up of the RTB policy, saw similar council estates labelled as 'sink estates', a process that was further emphasised by the media. This, in turn, led to various improvement programs and, finally, to the current regeneration scheme, whereby part of the original estate was demolished and rebuilt by a private public partnership. The interest of the private partnership, which is primarily to create profit, possibly runs counter to the public interest and, therefore, there is an inherent conflict. The new development of owner occupied housing was designed to and has changed the social composition of the area. This differentiation is potentially emphasised by the fact that the new development is physically separated from the established council housing, by what had been the main road through the estate. Regeneration, it has been argued, can be considered as repackaging of the consumer good 'housing', to aid competition in a globalised world (Zukin, 1993; Gottdiener, 1995; Harvey, 1993). The newly repackaged houses in the Raploch were built to be sold and, therefore, to attract the middle classes. This process reflects their habitus, especially as the houses are designed by the middle classes, which resonates with the concept of symbolic violence (Savage *et al*, 1992; Bourdieu, 1984). As within other regenerated areas, there are aspects of gentrification in the process, such as a rise in property values, a marked change in the built environment, as well as change in the social mix, even if there is limited displacement. As the British economy has not significantly improved since the financial crisis of 2008, the future of the regeneration project is highly

questionable, especially since the private building work seems to have stopped

completely. We now turn to consider the residents, both old and new, of this

process of regeneration.

Chapter Six

Connection with the past: Raploch as a place with history

Introduction

This chapter is the first of three which will focus on the findings about participants' experiences of living in an area which is currently undergoing regeneration. The regeneration encompasses far reaching social and physical consequences for its residents, with new housing and infrastructure being built as well as owner occupiers moving into the area. Within these chapters the data from the auto driven photo elicitation interviews, the semi-structured interviews, and the photo titles are presented and discussed. The data is organised thematically rather than in terms of methodological type; therefore photos, interview data as well as photo titles are discussed jointly. If appropriate, in the final section of these chapters, the photos will be discussed separately. This ensures that the photos are not just illustrative, but also seen as a single entity, reflecting choices the participants made in terms of wanting to represent Raploch.

The following sections contain an analysis and discussion of the findings illustrating the participants' construction of Raploch as a place with a significant historical link. The Raploch as a 'historical place' was a theme that frequently

emerged from the interviews and the photos. This is arguably reinforced by the fact that Stirling Castle as well as the Wallace Monument are predominant features in the landscape. The special significance of the castle for the residents, within the historical landscape, became apparent as each resident mentioned it at least once within the interview, as well as it frequently emerging within the photographic evidence. Other historical structures such as the Wallace Monument, old Stirling Bridge and Victorian buildings also featured in photos, and were mentioned in some interviews. At the same time the landscape and landmarks triggered personal memories of experiences and processes within a particular place. Hence, the established as well as the new residents of the Raploch regarded the historical landscape as a significant aspect of their lived experience.

The historical buildings and landscapes were considered by the participants from various perspectives. The responses of the participants to the historical images that were sourced by the researcher are discussed separately, in the last section of this chapter. These aspects are particularly significant as they allow, in amalgamation, for the creation of the *meaningful location* Raploch; a place with an affirmative historical identity.

Historical structures as boundaries and geographical reference points

The built historical landscape was seen as a reference point geographically, whereby participants referred to boundaries and edges, as well as considering it within a wider geographical setting.

Figure 1: Jean-Luc (2012) *Old Bridge and Wallace Monument.*

Jean-Luc made a photo of the River Forth from the Old Bridge, as well as a photo of the Old Bridge from the Raploch side of the river. Within the interview he referred to this bridge over the River Forth as a boundary, or edge, of the Raploch; thereby emphasising territorial markers of the area:

> *"…that's the old bridge that's the edge of the Raploch."*
> (Jean-Luc 40s)

This reference to boundaries and edges resonated with Agnew's (1987) definition of place as being closely interlinked with the physical environment; i.e. the Old Bridge *and* the river, which flows under it. The river as well as the bridge are what Newman (1972) defined as real barriers, which through their physicality create and reinforce territory. In turn these real barriers, along with symbolic barriers, create *locality* and therefore attach meaning to space, which consequently becomes *place* for the people of the Raploch (Cresswell, 2008; Agnews, 1987). These historical landmarks also arguably create a distinct territorial community as Willmott (1986) described. Therefore as Story (2001:7) argues, territory "*can play*

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an important role in the formation of peoples' self-identity", which Robertson *et al* (2008) described, in the local dialect, as a sense of 'come fae' the Raploch. This rootedness in the area is exemplified by Kelly who considers her biographical link with the place Raploch:

> *"Well I mean the Raploch is...where I grew up; I've got a lot of happy memories of the Raploch. My family, we all grew up here. Um...and we had a fantastic childhood um...even going to the school yes we had a good life. And it still is yes."*
>
> (Kelly 50s)

The difficulty of defining territory in space becomes apparent when considering Emily, who also saw historical landmarks as defining points but took into account a much greater radius than Jean-Luc when referring to her photo:

> *"....we have got the castle in one direction and then you have got the hills behind the Wallace monument you can see right off to the Trossachs..."*
> (Emily 20s)

Figure 2: Emily (2012) *Untitled.*

Emily's understanding of territory is potentially influenced by her movement in her daily commute by car to Edinburgh, in comparison to Jean-Luc who lives within walking distance of his place of work. Therefore, it could be argued that the perception of territory is defined in terms of experience, daily movements and rhythms of life. Further, Kelly's childhood experiences, resonating with Husserl's 'lifeworlds' (quoted in Markus,1993), have impacted on her perception of the territory; as a child from the Raploch she regularly went around the castle hill to the other side to play at the remains of a royal 15th Century garden and monumental earthworks (Digney *et al*, 2012), known by the local community as the 'cup and saucer':

> *"They call it the King's Knot, that's the cup and saucer, that's what they call the King's Knot the cup and saucer. That's the one around at the bottom of the castle just along here. Um...and it's shaped...there's a big hollow in the middle and it's the cup on the top and then they called it the saucer. We used to go up there every year and roll our eggs because there are humps and..."*
> (Kelly 50s)

"...you could go up the back way, over by the back walk, and down and that was you in the cup and saucer. We used to do it every Sunday."

(Kelly 50s)

Figure 3: Kelly (2012) *King's Knot: Known locally as 'cup and saucer'.*

Even though she does not state that she perceives the 'cup and saucer' as part of the Raploch she implies it belonged to her childhood territory.

The public history of Raploch creating place identity

From the research data it became clear that the history of Raploch was a significant aspect of the place identity, as attributed by both the established as well as the new residents. The participants considered, in this context, the physical environment such as buildings and historical artefacts, as well as narrated history. The participants had a great interest in detailed historical knowledge and wanted

to share this with the researcher. Among the books given to the researcher, by participants, was a book on the historical objects in the Stirling area (King, 2011).

The significance of history to the area was apparent from the contribution of Dave, who had grown up in Raploch and gave the researcher a very detailed background, which he added was of great pride to the people of Raploch. He particularly focused on James V, who was called the 'Gude man o' Ballengeich' and visited the area in disguise to see how the ordinary folk lived, and had dinner with people in the area. This historical narrative allowed the Raploch to be seen not only as a place of poverty and segregation but also a place visited by the king, who arguably represents power and wealth. The historical narrative by the participant resonates with an account given by Tuan (2008), who describes a visit to Kronberg castle in Denmark, where Shakespeare placed his play Hamlet. While at the castle he remembered the play and imagined Hamlet's movements, therefore the castle was brought to life by the foreknowledge that Tuan (2008) had of the place through the play. It could be argued that the myths of James V in Raploch creates a place identity going beyond the physical structures.

On the other hand Kelly, a long established resident, focused on the material historical artefacts, such as the cannons and the Beheading Stone on Cowan hill, rather than historical narratives:

> *"the cannons, that's a picture of the cannons. Don't they look absolutely marvellous, you'd think somebody had just polished them hey that's what they're like! And I mean they've been up there for absolutely years upon years*

upon years. But I think because the weather was so good that night and it was

so warm and hot and everything looked so bright even the beheading...I mean

that stone is absolutely clarty [laughter] but it looks so good there."

(Kelly 50s)

Figure 4: Kelly (2012) *The Cannons.*

Figure 5: Kelly (2012) *The Beheading Stone.*

The physicality of the historical artefacts of the area, such as the cannons and the

Beheading Stone, but also the castle and the Wallace monument, can be seen

almost as a physical proof or legitimisation of the historical narrative constructing

Raploch as a place of importance. Further, due to these material historical

structures, or as Agnews (1987) called it '*locale',* the Raploch becomes a

'*meaningful location'.* This resonates with Harvey (2006) who similarly argues that

'*material space'* such as the cannons and the Beheading Stone, construct place by

being experienced physically through touch and sensation. Kelly also focuses in

her photos and comments on the value wider society places on the historical

artefacts of the area, such as the canons; expressed semiotically by them being

highly polished. In this context the plaque on the Beheading stone needs to be

noted, as Kelly locates it dominantly in the photo. The plaque can be considered as

part of the 'semiotic landscape', which can be seen as official legitimisation of the

Beheading stone as a genuine historical artefact by the Stirling Natural History &

Archaeological Society. Therefore, the historical significance of Raploch is not only

legitimised by the physicality of the historical artefacts but also by the care these

historical artefacts receive by official bodies.

The sense of pride of being in a historical place is conjoined with a sense of

ownership of this history, and the historical artefacts such as the castle, which is

reflected in the comments of Louise, an established resident who seems to

consider the colour of the castle in a similar vein as one would the colour of one's

living room walls. Here she recounted a meeting she had with the person

responsible for the renovation work to the castle, and rejected the repainting of

the castle:

"I don't know what they coated it with – what a mess! Oh the architect, I knew who I was speaking to, I knew who I was speaking to I said I come out my front door and I think to myself Disney World! He went you're joking! I went I'm not joking! I said the grand kids are having kittens and they're only wee! But it's true I mean the castle….that stone years ago I mean did they have paint that far back? It would be stone. Right they would have certain dyes but they would'nae paint, the castle was never that colour its like Mickey Mouse's castle – come on! Have you ever been to Disney World?"
(Louise 50s)

It could be argued that through attributing historical meaning to Raploch the participants were trying to redress the 'sense of place', as an impoverished and segregated place, of which the participants were aware, as Louise's comment about the media shows:

"But do you know, see what the papers write? I'll never get over what the papers write, they print what they want, they made out the Raploch was some sort of hell hole; it was never a hell hole."
(Louise 50s)

Therefore the participants focused rather on Raploch as a place with historical significance, and not just locally but one which is acknowledged by broader society. Or as Blokland (2008: 1594) suggested, they were trying to change the "*dominant imagery of what the neighbourhood symbolises*".

To offset this stigmatisation established residents particularly focused on the castle, as it can be considered as having an 'iconic' role in the Stirling area. Lefebvre (2003) discussed this in context with the Eiffel Tower in Paris, which, similar to the castle in Raploch, had acquired an iconic role aside from its original propose. The socially constructed meaning of the castle has moved from being a military and monumental deterrent, to being an icon, which can almost be seen as a symbolic representation of Stirling as a whole. Therefore, the participants in the Raploch wanted to recognise these historical structures as icons that represent their area in particular. Consequently, the identity of the place Raploch, depending on the interpretation of the discourse, can contain incongruities due to the multiple identities of place; it can be a place of poverty and/or a place of power. This highlights the multiple identities of place, which incorporates a discourse between the present and the past (Massey, 1995). The strong focus on the historical features of the landscape, by the established residents, could be a reaction to the changes locally, brought about by the regeneration; where the castle especially represents an impression of permanency and therefore creates a sense of security in a changing world.

Ciaran, a new resident within the owner occupied housing, also considered the multiple identities of place, through the discrepancy between the predominant discourses of deprivation and visual symbols of wealth which he found in the Raploch:

> *"...somebody they wouldn't associate that image, you've got a nice hedge and trees, Victorian houses, they wouldn't necessarily associate that with Raploch,*

because that looks like it could be in King's Park perhaps in Stirling which as

you probably know is a richer, wealthier kind of established um...um...you

know."

(Ciaran 30s)

Figure 6: Ciaran (2012) *Victorian Villa on Drip Road.*

This exemplifies the socialisation of perception on value, which is decoded from architectural styles. This building is seen in association with wealth due to its Victorian architectural style, which semiotically does not fit into the rest of the council estate, and is therefore, as Ciaran argues, 'out-of-place' in Raploch. Therefore, newcomers, like Ciaran, were aware of the 'reputation' of the area and were trying to reframe the dominant discourse for themselves, by considering perceived positive aspects such as the historical buildings. This resonates with the famous quote by Lefebvre (1991: 26) who suggested that*"(Social) space is a (social) product"* full of perceptions and interpretations rather than a neutral container*.* These historical structures were simultaneously used by residents who had moved into the area as a form of justification for moving into a stigmatised area. This becomes apparent when considering Marissa, who mentioned, beside

other factors of convenience, the castle and its physical closeness as a justification for moving to the Raploch:

> *"I am it seem that we are really close I walked it been about it only takes me about half an hour and only because steep hill it takes that all to get to the castle half an hour walk slow pace walk and I am at the castle maybe...it just shows that although it's like the Raploch its meant to be this everything you know god I have heard so many names that everybody you know that ehm why did you move there."*
>
> (Marissa 20s)

Therefore, the newcomers perceived the historical buildings similarly to the established residents, in terms of a form of historical cultural value of place, with a wish to redress the discourse of stigmatisation. At the same time, it could be argued that both groups, the established and the new residents, developed a place identity by referring to historical landmarks.

The imposing structures of Stirling Castle

The multiple identities of place also becomes apparent when considering the contributions of Jack, an established resident, who added that the castle also impacted on the people due to its monumental structure. He focused on the physical position of the castle as dominating the landscape and looking down at

Raploch. Jack further made a direct comparison between Edinburgh and the Raploch, in terms of proximity to the castle:

> "...in Edinburgh it would be like walking along Princes street there is just a sense that you get the feeling that there is something bigger ahm looming over you and and it just kind of it must effect the way you feel where you live just by having this eh this hills or history around about you perhaps you don't think about in those terms but but   I do ah ahm so yah so just to show its quite a distinct area the Raploch in terms of where it is and in terms of its lay out."
>
> (Jack 40s)

This is a form of coercion in architecture, which Dovey (1999) defined as coercion through domination, reflected not only in the position within the landscape but also, as with other monumental architecture, the extensive use that was made of material and manpower in its construction. This can be understood in terms of the phenomenological tradition, where the castle and its imposing position and structure is experienced through the body and therefore perceived as a powerful presence; hence Jack describing the sense of "*something bigger ahm looming over you*". The observation Jack made, of the castle impacting on how people feel, strongly resonates with Harvey's (2006: 279)*'space of representation',* which aids the construction of place; "*the lived space of sensations, the imagination, emotions and meanings incorporated into how we live day by day".*

For Eco (1997), the castle, which was originally a defence structure, is therefore symbolically and functionally a building which wants to reflect strength and power

over the surrounding area. This symbol of the castle as a powerful structure looming monumentally over places is so strong that it has been utilised at various times in literature; with arguably the most famous being 'The Castle' by Franz Kafka (1957).

Scottish national identity in Raploch

When describing his photo Bruce highlighted the historical significance of the castle. He further elaborated on the Scottish identity he had observed in the area; linking the historical aspects of the castle with the patriotism demonstrated by the flag in this image, as he suggests:

> *"...it's very historic, this is kind of the back of the hill is what everybody describes it as. But it's so close to Stirling Castle that it's a fabulous thing um...people in this area um...are very nationalistic you know you can see this from different elements that there are Scottish flags in and around the area. But I thought it was just really good between the flag and Stirling Castle itself."*
>
> (Bruce 30s)

Figure 7: Bruce (2012) *Untitled.*

Therefore, Stirling castle as a 'national heritage' can be considered as part of a narrative process, which reinforces the national and local identity, as well as a sense of shared historical memory. This resonates with the perception that *"place-making also occurs as a collective process"*, rather than solely as a result of individuals' attachment to place (Blokland, 2008: 1594).

This focus on history as well as on the Scottish flag resonates with Anderson's concept of imagined communities (1983), where he suggests that there is a need for nations to create history and to have common symbols in order to construct a national sense of community. Although Anderson considers nations in his discourse, this concept can be applied, as Rose (1990) suggested, on a smaller scale, to communities such as Raploch whose community identity is arguably created through its history. Consequently, this "sense of 'whence we came' is central to the definition of 'who we are'", arguably allows for an association with the past (McCrone, 2002:52). The development of a national and local identity is conceivably encouraged by the castle, which is associated with a perceived golden

age in Scottish history, *"a period in history when the nation was 'itself'"* (McCrone, 2002: 53).

The picturesque nature of historical structures

The picturesque nature of the castle is a recurring theme within the interviews when referring to the photos; as with Ciaran, who described the castle as his preferred view:

Figure 8: Ciaran (2012) *Clean Laundry Strung Out Under the Castle.*

> "*...one of my favourite views...*"

> (Ciaran 30s)

Similarly Marissa considered the picturesque view of the castle; in her case from her living room:

> "...and then at night its completely lit up and then lights go right up to the sky and on to the castle its absolutely gorgeous sitting here at night."
> (Marissa 20s).

The aesthetic perception of the beauty of the castle has to been seen in context with the sociologically created perception of a valuable national heritage; as can be seen in the visual representations in postcards showing these historical structures. Therefore, the touristic use of the landscape as a resource, by romanticizing castles in general within the Scottish landscape, needs to be considered here. The ambient lighting which Marissa describes, literally highlights the visual significance of the castle and its iconic role as an identity marker, not only for Stirling but also for the imagined community of the nation of Scotland; and also for Marissa living in the Raploch, looking out from her living room.

However not only the view of the castle was considered, but also the returning gaze, the view the people had of the landscape from the castle as Jean-Luc voiced:

> "I tell right now the only reason they built it there is because you can see it from the castle so when the tourists come and look at the castle they don't want to see boarded up houses."
> (Jean-Luc 40s)

Similarly, Martha, a new resident, considered the return gaze from the castle, but also the view from the motorway, when referring to her photos:

> "...its a shame eh there has been a lot of work done in the area and it looks a lot better but this bit which is probably the area that most people will see driving under the castle or looking down from the castle actually its still all boarded up and it hasn't been knocked down yet..."
>
> (Martha 20s)

Figure 9: Martha (2013) *Derelict.*

Figure 10: Martha (2013) *Delayed Renovation.*

Figure 11: Martha (2013) Families Refuse to Leave.

Jean-Luc and Martha are here considering the regeneration process as associated with the tourism industry, which arguably places a greater emphasis on the visual perception of landscape. While they both considered the same issue, Martha considering it a short fall that the regeneration had not improved the landscape visually for the people looking down from the castle as well as driving past on the motorway, whereas Jean-Luc perceived the visual poverty as a reason to regenerate, which resonates with Glynn's (2009) argument about the desire to hide poverty visually.

This can be also seen in context with Massey's (1995; 1993) concept of '*multiple-identities of pl*ace', whereby Raploch is also a part of the landscape of the tourist destination of Stirling castle. Consequently, she points out that 'local uniqueness' of place as created "*is always already a product of wider contacts*" (Massey, 1995: 183). Jean-Luc interpreted the place identity of the Raploch landscape as constructed by the tourist industry, as a form of threat to Raploch; therefore this *'multiple-identity of place'* potentially creates conflict. This also resonates with the concept of 'socio-spatial dialectic', whereby, as Jean-Luc argues, the tourism industry through its consumption of the visual landscape, which includes Raploch, impacts on this space through the desire of powerful urban actors to beautify and regenerate (Soja, 2008). Concurrently the tourism industry encourages and reinforces the focus on the castle in its iconic role, which encourages it to be an identity marker of the space Raploch. At the same time it can be seen in context with what Urry (2002) described as '*global local dialectics'*. Simultaneously Jean-Luc's comment is a reflection of the general mistrust of the decision making process within the area, and the perceived interests which they serve, resonating

with the community signature of the Raploch, as referenced by Pollock and Sharp (2012), where 47% felt that decisions about the community were made somewhere else.

Concurrently the castle was also emphasised as an everyday experience, as exemplified by Ciaran, who gave his photo (figure 8) the title 'Clean Laundry Strung Out Under the Castle'; similar to Kelly's reference to the castle as, "*that's just the view of the castle*".

Figure 12: Kelly (2012) *Stirling Castle.*

Historical aspects and property value

The significance attributed to the castle becomes obvious when considering the previous section. A sense also emerges that the castle can be seen as adding value to the properties in its vicinity (Harvey, 2008). New residents especially seem to view the castle as a value adding aspect of their property. This becomes apparent when considering Bruce, who as an owner-occupier and newcomer to the area,

states that when taking into account the views of the castle, the desirability of his property is increased:

> *"...Stirling Castle, clearly in my view so I can go out the back and I can see it's a new build and I've got the property there. And I've got a great view of Stirling Castle you know? So if I ever sold the property I'm hoping that someone would want to purchase it for that reason but there will be no further development uh...on the zones that are here so I'll always have that view you know? And it's a beautiful view particularly on a sunny day when you go out in the mornings you know?"*
> (Bruce 30s)

The castle as a selling point can be strongly associated with gentrification and the desire for historical architecture, which allows for the expression of identity. Hence history, as Butler (1997) argues, allows people to express themselves and underline their perceived individuality within a society of mass consumption and production. It also allows the developers not only to repackage the housing in architectural terms, in a globalised world, but also to simultaneously utilise the landscape to frame the newly developed housing. The castle allows for the movement of the focus of potential purchasers of the houses from the council estate to the castle, which lies on the opposite side of Raploch. This strongly resonates with Zukins' (1995) 'symbolic economy', whereby the castle could be considered as an 'original feature' within the landscape, adding value to the real estate. The symbolic economy is also apparent in the rebranding of the area, in context with the owner occupied housing, which was sold under the name Stirling

Bridge Raploch rather than just Raploch.

Jack as an established resident perceived the layout of the houses for sale as being influenced by the castle's position:

> *"Quite interesting eh that they would put the ones for sale on the outside cos presumably they have got the better views obviously the folk live in there*
>
> *would look onto the castle and obviously they would look onto the castle."*
> (Jack 40s)

This resonates with the view that urban design is influenced by market forces through focusing on the interests of the consumers, who, in this case, are the buyers of the houses in Raploch (Harvey, 1989; Gottdiener, 1995; Zukin, 1993).

Raploch as a lived personal historical narrative

The significance of the oral personal history became apparent to the researcher as she received a book of oral history from Kelly, an established resident, called *Raploch lives* (Lindsay *et al,* 2004)*.* This book was collated by St. Marys Primary and Raploch Primary school and published by Stirling council. Historical buildings as well as landscapes were also used as a reference point for established residents

to incorporate in their own personal biographies, as well as to contextualise historical processes such as the opening-up and closing-down of businesses.

For example, Victoria created this photo below showing a car park and a supermarket, behind which is the castle hill.

Figure 13: Victoria (2012) *Untitled.*

Within the interview Victoria set her narrative into the historical and natural landscape of the area. She considered various businesses, which are currently in the area, and also businesses that have long since ceased to exist but are still present in her memory. She uses the landscape and the castle as a reference point of the present and historical narrative:

> "...it used to be total grass, there was grass at the back area, I think that's Sainsbury's actually. And you're looking up on to the castle and all this here there was a place called Renton's Cash 'n' Carry and you had Appleyard

Garage and it employed a lot of mechanics and cleaners and that in the

Raploch area. And now its just...this is where the campus is starting but what

I can remember of it you had Renton's Cash 'n' Carry, you had Appleyard and

you were looking up on to the castle and it was just all grass verges."

(Victoria 50s)

Alongside the historical processes Josh also considered his personal biography, as well as his family's experience, in the context of the historical landscape. He considered the area where his primary school was situated before being demolished:

"...this is where my primary school used to be and that school was there

since...maybe early 1900s, maybe 1920/1930 because I can remember my

grandfather saying it was like a prisoner of war camp they used it for as well

and that's all been knocked down now. I mean I went to that primary school,

my mother went to that primary school as well, I'm not too sure about my

grandfather but uh...yeah that primary school was there for years."

(Josh 20s)

Figure 14: Josh (2012) *Untitled.*

There was a sense of loss attached to the demolition, especially as the history of going to this primary school was an experienced shared by the whole family. Simultaneously, these buildings carried an oral history of being a prisoner of war camp. This sense of loss created by the demolition became especially apparent in Louise's case, whereby she considered the physical buildings of the school and the chapel as part of herself, which represented part of her personal biography as well as representing the changes within the area:

> *"The same with the old chapel, I've been in the new one once because I said I would'nae go into it when they knocked the old one down because I was baptised there. I made my communion confirmation and I was married there, and my kids were baptised there, and they had their communions and confirmations but they didn't get married there. So I said I would'nae go back into it but I went in once, it was somebody's funeral. That part of it for me…they took…it was me personally, it was part of me they chapel and the schools, the two schools, and the Raploch Road with the…travelling people. They built a house there and they stayed there and that was all familiar, right they had to…they had to take all that away I suppose but the schools that was*

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> *a big part of me and the chapel and the market has been made into a*
>
> *college..."*
>
> (Louise 50s)

Louise therefore kept a brick, which symbolised for her the history of her being in the chapel and the school:

> *"...and it was a wrench for me, I felt really sad about that. I took pictures and*
>
> *things hey and I've got a brick! [Laughter] Do you know what I use it for?*
>
> *I've got it wrapped up in Christmas paper and I had this thing for the window*
>
> *for the grandkids hey, well it's for me as well."*
>
> (Louise 50s)

Similarly Chloe suggests that memories are lost with the regeneration of the Raploch:

> *"...to me the Raploch thinking that it was long years ago to be its nae the*
>
> *Raploch anymore cause they took all the memories away fae it."*
>
> (Chloe 70s)

These places and their historical narratives were part of established, long term residents' biographies. These historical, biographical narratives allowed the established community to create meaningful places. Simultaneously these places represented the memories as well as triggering them. This resonates with Casey (1987: 186), who considered place memory and described it as "*the stabilizing*

persistence of place as a container of experiences that contributes so powerfully to its

intrinsic memorability. An alert and alive memory connects spontaneously with

place, finding in it features that favour and parallel its own activities. We might even

say that memory is naturally place-orientated or at least place-supported".

Louise's brick can be seen as a physical link to the biographical memory, as well as

the experience of being in the physicality of the school and chapel. This arguably

has aspects of the phenomenological tradition, of being in the place, through the

physical, sensory experience of the brick. Considering Agnews (1987), this

biographical history creates a sense of place which in turn is an aspect of creating

the *meaningful location* Raploch. Simultaneously the participants were enmeshed

with feelings of loss and change, having a sense that through the demolition of the

buildings a part of their memory and their community is forcefully taken. This

sense of loss, which has an underlying discourse of nostalgia, can also be seen, as

Blokland (2003) has argued, as a symptom of an increasingly fractured

community. Blokland (2008: 1608) also argued that there is an underlying

discourse within these historical narratives that "*creates symbolic representation*

that help to define who is and who is not part of the 'community'", therefore they are

creating insider and outsider groups, in terms of establishment of residency, in

these illustrations. This is particularly significant as only the established

community is able to be part of the insider group who experience the history of the

Raploch. This mirrors the Elias and Scotson (1965) observations on Winston

Prava, whereby the length of residence determined if people belonged to the

established or the outsider group. At the same time this sense of loss of community

resonates with Davidson and Lee's (2009) concept of 'displacement'. This is not

direct displacement, but rather focuses on the changes in the social composition. As a result of these changes, working class communities, such as Raploch, are placed into a partially middle class community, which is substantially different to their own community.

Historical images as a trigger for memories of Raploch

The photos the researcher had sourced prior to the research, from the Smith Gallery and the Stirling Council archive, were primarily perceived with amazement due to the changes the area had undergone from being a rural area to a residential area, by the new as well as the established community. The historical landscape photos were also utilized to set Raploch in a geographical context. Therefore the majority of participants tried to establish the geographical relationships between the historical and the current layout of Raploch. For example, Daniel's statement highlights the astonishment felt over the changes that have occurred within the area, as he juxtaposes the historical landscape photos with the map of the regenerated Raploch (appendices 6, 7, 8, 9 and 12):

> *"God almighty! That's where my house is these days, that's where my house is, its so different, there's not even a fire station and my son would be devastated! [Laughter] No that's brilliant! There's a road there now, there's a road going along there now, the top road just at the back of here. Big changes hey? Where did all the people come to make up the Raploch you*

know? Where...from this to the other photo that was...from this to that?

Where did they come from, did they ship them in or..."

(Daniel 30s)

Various participants such as Marissa tried not only to set the old photos into the context of the Raploch now, but wanted to find the buildings in the photos (appendix 7):

"...its good nice to see them I love old photos like that try to figure out next time I go for my walk I will look for that house."

(Marissa 20s)

Therefore, the participants wanted to establish a link between the historical images and the present day. The landscape photos, as well as the photos with people, were primarily viewed from a sense of historical nostalgia, or just as acknowledgment of facts rather than triggering real memories. This could be expected, as most photos are from a time period which precedes the majority of participants' birth. The participants, especially the established residents, distanced themselves from the content of the photos and clarified that they were taken before their time and therefore were of limited relevance to them; such as Victoria:

"Oh right! That was before my time!"

(Victoria 50s)

Sarah, on the other hand, recognised herself in the photo of the young girl scouts and the researcher gave her the photo after finishing the interview. The photo triggered a memory of her childhood in Raploch with her family, in a close knit community (appendix 5).

The researcher also asked the participants to provide personal historical photos. The participants did not provide any personal historical photos even after clarification that these photos could add to the knowledge about Raploch. The predominant perception is illustrated by Emily's comments that these photos could not add anything to the understanding of Raploch, but were rather just of a private nature:

> *"...all the photos we would have I mean there are photos of when I was a baby and stuff they are literately just in your garden its not sort of scenery or what you thought you know like from the castle looking down or something."*
> (Emily 20s)

At the same time it could be argued that this reflects the understanding of history, and what is seen as relevant, such as 'official' rather than personal history. Simultaneously, historically, far less photos were made due to the development cost, this consequently impacted on the amount of photos that people had in their possession.

The photos of historical structures as a separate entity

The participants' photos that include the castle and the Wallace monument are particularly interesting, because these structures are predominantly small within the images. In some of the images the researcher, if she had been unaware of the castle's position, may not have been able to distinguish it herself in the photos, but rather seen it as a rock formation or a cluster of buildings. The fact that the photos were made with a single use disposable camera could have contributed to this limited visibility, due to the fact that there is no zoom function, and because in the process of taking photographs there is often a discrepancy between perceived distance and how that distance is reflected within prints, which leads to subjects within photos often seeming smaller on the image than in real life.

At the same time it could be argued that participants were aware that the visual of the castle from the Raploch was limited, in comparison to the other side of the hill, as this photo from Kelly shows; she shot this image from the other side of the hill to allow the researcher a more detailed view of the castle.

Figure 15: Kelly (2012) *Castle Overlooking King's Knot.*

Jack created the next photo, which exemplifies the limited view of the castle from the Raploch in comparison to the other side of the hill as Kelly depicted.

Figure 16: Jack (2012) *Keeping the Kids off the Streets.*

Never-the-less, the participants considered these structures as close and imposing within the interview, which could be a reflection of the embeddedness of the significance of these structures, and their iconic role in the area. Simultaneously, it could be argued that this also reveals the castle as a binding factor within the concept of imagined communities, in context with the 'locale' Raploch, as well as with Scottish national identity. This sense of cultural embeddedness, rather than the visual reality, is also apparent when considering Kelly's photo from the other side of the hill. This photo also reflects a certain sense of ownership of the whole castle as part of Raploch, even the side of the castle which is not visible from Raploch.

These historic buildings, in a greater photographic context, are often present in postcards and tourist snapshots; therefore it could be argued that the participants

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were influenced by this way of seeing historical buildings, as well as of creating pictures of historical buildings. This resonates with the perception that photos are socially constructed artefacts, whereby the photographer is influenced by the dominant perceptions with which an object is viewed (Banks 2000). At the same time the frequent cultural depictions of these historical structures could have been a contributing factor why these buildings emerged so strongly as a theme. Simultaneously this could have led to the fact that the photos of the historical buildings, similarly to postcards, had no people present, but were, rather, bare landscapes. Kelly gave historical postcards of the Raploch to the researcher, which resonated strongly with the photos the participants wanted to recreate.
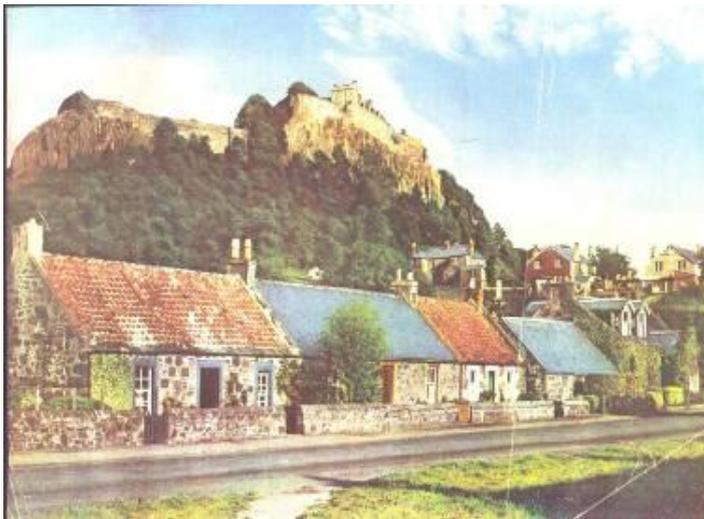
Figure 17: Kelly (date unknown) - copied from a postcard.

Conclusion

Historic structures served multiple functions within the concept participants had of Raploch. They were understood as boundaries and geographical markers, which in turn defined the community's location as well as creating a sense of identity and

belonging. Similarly to being geographical reference points, the historic buildings were also biographical reference points, which allowed individuals to create a narrative of the area, building on the changes they had experienced, and in turn establishing a connection to the place, Raploch. These narratives would also comprise detailed historical knowledge, as well as a sense of living under the 'looming castle', which strongly resonates with the ideas of phenomenologists, who saw a close link between 'being' and 'space', whereby space is experienced through the body (Husserl 1970, Lefebvre 1991, Heidegger 1997). The physicality of these historical structures as well as the care they received by the wider society could be also seen as a legitimisation of Raploch as a significant historical place.

Belonging and attachment to place was further encouraged by a sense of ownership over the castle. This sense of ownership, and consequently pride, is also linked to the significance the castle has in the construction of Scottish national identity. By considering further aspects, it could also be inferred that the participants living in the Raploch perceived the castle as a significant feature, because it created a sense of security through its permanency in a changing world. Simultaneously, significant historical structures, through their uniqueness, allow for differentiation within a globalised world. Concurrently, by considering the historical environment, it allowed participants to move their focus from the outsiders' perception of the Raploch as a place of poverty and crime. Therefore, the historical buildings allowed the participants to create an alternative identity of place with historical significance. All of these aspects resonate with Harvey (2006) as he considered social practices which construct place, or, as Agnews (1987) refers to it, a '*meaningful location*'.

These historical structures were also understood in context with market forces, allowing for increased property desirability, as well as creating a perceived necessity for regeneration of the area, for the benefit of the tourist gaze. Therefore there is a sense that there is a discourse between the multiple identities of the place Raploch.

Chapter Seven

Divisions, segregation and fragmentation within Raploch

Introduction

Raploch emerged as a place of division, segregation as well as fragmentation from both the oral and visual data. Participants, in considering their life in Raploch, reflected on the fundamental changes the area had undergone physically, through the development of new buildings, as well as socially by the moving in of owner occupiers to the newly built houses in the area. The findings related to participants' consideration of these divisions, segregations and fragmentations will be discussed within this chapter.

'New' and 'old' Raploch

Juxtaposing the new and the old in the Raploch was a re-occurring theme, especially in terms of the housing stock. Marissa, a new resident, made these two images which exemplify this contrast, and it shows the two sides of the Drip Road. The first photo shows the traditional council housing while the second features the new buildings, which are separated by the road. The titles she gave each photo

further illustrate her perception of there being two very different areas, separated by the road.

Figure 18: Marissa (2012) *Old side of Drip Road.*   **Figure 19:** Marissa (2012) *New side of the Drip Road.*

When referring to the two photos Marissa considered the photo on the left as showing that this side of the road was '*run down',* while the other side was new and nice:

> "*...this is again the opposite side of the street and these flats here it doesn't actually show quite as much as what I have seen yet these are really run down".*
>
> (Marissa 20s)

" ...this corner everything is just new. It's just really well it's just houses and flats and the fact that it's got this nice pavement...it's just very new. I just quite like it."

(Marissa 20s')

Similarly Martha perceived the difference between the new and the old, making a series of photos and photo titles to illustrate this viewpoint. The numbering of the photos is kept in this instance to clarify which photos Martha is referring to:

Figure 20: Martha (2013) photo 12 *There are Two Sides to Every Story.*

Figure 21: Martha (2013) photo 10   *The Other Side to the Story*

Figure 22: Martha (2013) photo 11 *No New Flats Here.*

> *"...it kind of shows the kind of right hand side of the street looking at the photo 12 the right hand side of the street is where all the new flats are the new campus is ehm all the new regeneration if you go to the left hand side of the street its all the original houses original shops and behind those are photo 10 and 11 which are all the old houses that have been in the Raploch for years which are still very run down..."*
>
> (Martha 20s)

By focusing on the difference between old and new, the new residents considered new as positive while the old was negative. This is particularly interesting as it became apparent in the previous chapter that old, or historical buildings, were viewed as positive in a different context. But in this instance they are considered to be negative. Therefore, arguably, the discourse of the 'old' Raploch's long historical stigmatisation and segregation impacts on the perception of the new residents. At the same time, the built environment in the form of the '*original houses original shops*' is a visual reminder of this history as a '*sink estate',* and resonates with the concept of the built environment as a discourse. This is especially significant as the proximity between the new and the old Raploch, as the

participants pointed out, was on either side of the road. This proximity, in context with the positive negative discourse, leads to a desire on the part of the new residents to differentiate themselves from the old run down area by focusing on the difference between the old and the new Raploch, thus highlighting their otherness to the outside world. This is particularly important as homes as well as neighbourhoods are considered as identity markers, especially as the new residents, as property owners, have bought into the new Raploch and its associated place identity as a place of regeneration, rather than the 'old' stigmatised Raploch. Simultaneously, this highlights the fact that both places, 'old' and 'new' Raploch, are not understood as a single entity, but rather the new residents interpret each place in context with the other. Therefore the 'new' Raploch, as a place, is understood in terms of the 'old' Raploch, and vice versa.

At the same time, housing in the old Raploch represents, for the new residents, a '*cultural phenomena'.* As Eco (1997) describes, both areas have primarily a residential function, but that expression, in terms of the architecture of the houses, is fundamentally different in terms of design, and this is interpreted within a social context. The stigmatisation also became apparent in a comment by Martha when she considered a childhood memory and how the Raploch was a place she only entered by accident:

> "...*you never went there you were not allowed to go down there when you were little you were not allowed to you know we didn't drive through there cause there is no reason to drive through there to get anywhere it is just a housing estate you never went down that area and you weren't if you know if*

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you accidently walk down that way you got a bit freaked out had to you know

you run the other direction."

(Martha 20s)

Thus the social context does not only include the historical stigmatisation of Raploch, but also the general negative perception of council housing, as the literature has revealed, a perception influenced by different factors such as a negative media representation, and the positive portrayal of homeownership while seeing council housing as housing of last resort for the economically excluded (Cole *et al,* 1999; Forest and Murrie, 1991; Malpass, 2005).

Within the data it became evident that the new residents perceive that the old site has not been sufficiently regenerated and can still be characterised as '*very run down',* as Martha points out. This focus by the new residents on the need for further regeneration highlights a potential conflict between the new and the established residents because the latter might not want to be regenerated (Smith 1996). At the same time, this perception highlights that the new residents perceive that decisions should be made for Raploch, which resonates with the previous historical top down housing policy, whereby powerful urban actors found resolutions for council house residents (Cole and Furbey, 1994). The new residents, reflecting attitudes reminiscent of historical social reformers who encouraged slum clearances, considered the redevelopment as progressive and positive and did not want that such changes impacted negatively on the community. There was also an underlying notion that communities, such as those

resident in the historical Raploch, should be re-modelled to simulate their own middle class communities.

To consider the difference between the old and new, the new residents selected images other than those of the built environment, such as this one by Bruce who explained his choice in the interview.

Figure 23: Bruce (2012) *Untitled.*

> "*...was looking for something that represents my dislike of this area and a can of Special Brew it's a typical thing in this area you know ehm it was a choice between that and the dog poo ehm which is just to say yes it is a new area yes its under development kind to see that the length of the grass is maybe not maintained quite as well as could it have kind of weed coming through you know so again you got something that's old that versus something that's new but that very much typical of this area.*"
> (Bruce 30s)

This image is arguably packed with various social meanings as it not only depicts a beer can as a an object of litter, but simultaneously this object can also be seen as a value judgment by the new residents, given Special Brew, a relatively cheap, high alcohol content lager, is arguably associated with alcoholism. It could also be argued that this photo of a can of beer can be viewed as a symbol of alcoholism and poverty and, therefore, not only represents the present, but also condenses all the previous historical narrative and images of Raploch, the sink estate (Eco 1997). This also reveals group relationships, whereby the established residents of the Raploch are seen by the new residents to be a homogeneous deviant group, resonating with Elias and Scotson's (1965: xvi) observation whereby "*the more powerful groups look upon themselves as the "better" people, as endowed with a kind of group charisma with a specific virtue shared by all its members and lacked by the others*". This could also be considered as group cohesion, or group identification of the new residents as regenerators.

Litter also emerged as theme for the established residents, but rather than considering it as a characteristic of the area and its inhabitants they viewed certain individuals, or the council to be responsible. This becomes apparent in Jacky's comment whereby she argues that the insufficiency of collections as well as a fee to remove large items imposed by the council encourages fly tipping:

> "*…this is like really common as well, it's like a lot of people dump their rubbish because you only get like a small bin and it gets emptied fortnightly. Obviously you can't fill it with TVs, they don't pick up TVs and the council take a charge off you to pick up like larger goods, bed frames, and like TVs, and like*

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just larger items, sofas and stuff. So a lot of people tend to like dump it in the parks...well what's meant to be parks, or wasteland again. And this is just really really common, or if their bin is full one week they [...8.02] it's not really nice."

(Jacky 20s)

Jacky's statement is linked to the fact that she is part of the established community and, therefore, wants to protect group identity by attributing deviant behaviour such as fly tipping to individual, infrastructural and social economic aspects. It also highlights the micro-spatial systems within a community which are often perceived to be homogeneous from an outsider's perspective, but from an insider's perspective this is far more complex. Jackys' observation also highlights the social economic reality of an area where the average income was in 2004, just £6,240 and, therefore, additional waste removable charges for large items is a relatively high proportion of income (Raploch Urban Regeneration Company, 2004).

'Out of place' and 'in place' architecture

Data from this research suggests that established residents had a very ambivalent perception about the new architecture. While they found the new houses and flats aesthetically pleasing, they also thought that it was 'out of place' in the Raploch. Several established participants compared the architecture of the new buildings in the Raploch with buildings abroad. Kelly, was reminded of architecture in Spain, thus implying it was out of place in Raploch:

"I don't know, these flats put me in mind of flats you get in the likes of Spain and the hot countries, you know when you go into an apartment because the ones around the corner they have wee verandas that they can come out and sit on."

(Kelly 50s)

Similarly, Louise considered the architecture out of place:

"...set of flats just right down...across from the school and I'm not too keen on them. I think it's the layout of them, it's like...its like being in Benidorm!"

(Louise 50s)

Victoria considered the new buildings in the context of the whole Raploch as being similar to Legoland, the brightly coloured theme park made of plastic building blocks:

"I think it's a bit like Legoland, I think they've rammed all these houses...the campus is beautiful and they've got up to date...right up to date with all the stuff and that hey but the houses I feel are all just...cluttered.

(Victoria 50s)

This perception of 'out of place' architecture resonates with various theorists, who argue that post-modern architecture has limited reference to the local. In this case both balconies and flat roofs are not an architectural feature within the Scottish

context, as participants argued. Simultaneously by drawing associations with *Legoland,* Victoria's comments strongly resonates with Baudrillard (1997) who in considering post-modern architecture, saw it as ignoring the social and cultural context of its environment, and thus being artificial. Victoria thus reads the 'simulacra', or symbolic representation (Baudrillard, 1997), of these new Raploch buildings as being 'out of place'.

The regeneration process, in repackaging the area in architectural terms, entails aspects of what Dovy (1999) referred to as 'power over', whereby through the repackaging of the 'place' Raploch a notion emerges within established residents of an occupation or intrusion by a 'foreign' architecture, rather than a sense of blending and merging of the established with the newly built Raploch. There is, therefore, also an underlying notion and fear that through the regeneration and the construction of new buildings the character of the neighbourhood is fundamentally altered and becomes foreign: an unknown territory to the established community. The notion of 'out of place' is a representation of the established community's reinterpretation of Raploch as a place . Therefore the established community realigns their place perception with the redeveloped physical place Raploch.

This sense of 'foreign' architecture also needs to be seen in the context that housing for the working classes is primarily a utilitarian aspect of life, a place to live, whereas for the middle classes it is a consumer good reflecting identity (Allen, 2008; Zukin, 1993; Bourdieu, 1990c). These changes in the built environment can also be understood in terms of displacement, which Davidson and Lee (2009) did

not only see as a physical displacement, with old residents moving out, but also through changing the place to exemplify security and home. Changing a working class place into a new middle class community is an indirect form of displacement. Again this resonates with gentrification, whereby in this case it is what can be described as 'new build gentrification' (Davidson and Lee, 2009).

The sense that the new buildings in Raploch are aesthetically pleasing, while at the same time being 'out of place' resonates with Hamnett and Whitelegg (2007: 122) who have argued, in a similar context, that changes in the built environment *"may well be accompanied by growing feelings of relative deprivation on the part of existing residents."* As a consequence it could be argued that the 'out of place' architecture is a physical representation of wealth and, therefore, highlights the relative deprivation of the old Raploch, hence its rejection by the established community.

When considering if architecture is 'in place' or 'out of place' several established participants simultaneously compared and contrasted the built environment, between the new built and established housing areas. This aspect becomes particularly apparent in Jean Luc's comments when referring to his photos of the new built flats.

Figure 24: Jean Luc (2012) *New Flats.*

Figure 25: Jean Luc (2012) *Built and Sold.*

Figure 26: Jean Luc (2012) *Doubtful if it is to Existing Raploch Community.*

> *"…ah but I think they look out place there if it was a brand new scheme brand new area and all the houses were like they are and there was a gap before you get the normal house and you would say fair enough, but them being right across from there looks out of place. It always look its run down they've nay thought to try and blend it into the rest o the area that's my opinion anyway."*
> (Jean Luc 40s)

Jean Luc did not only consider the physicality of the built environment, but also the cleanliness around a building frequently photographed, the Raploch Campus:

Figure 27: Jean Luc (2012) C*ampus Front.*

> *"I said I think as a stand alone it looks quite nice and it looks clean and and*
>
> *organised and so does the campus. The campus looks very and its very well*
>
> *maintained cause something there is nae paper nae rubbish or anything so its*
>
> *so mean its very clean and everything looks very functional and and I don't*
>
> *think it brings anything new to the area I still think like the sandstone*
>
> *buildings are far nicer then these wooden and concrete monstrosities, but eh*
>
> *if it was just the campus and nae flats I wouldn't think to much about it but*
>
> *the clash between the two is quite jarring especially its on one side its like left*
>
> *side good and right side bad you know..."*
>
> (Jean Luc 40s)

These comments by Jean Luc also highlight that attached to such comparing and contrasting was a value judgment, '*left side good and right side bad'*, whereby this value judgment is physically expressed for the established residents not only by the architecture, nor by not building '*normal houses',* but also by the cleanliness around the campus. This 'out of place' notion by the established working class residents can be understood within Bourdieu's (1987) concept of habitus.

Both the planners and architects have incorporated their own middle class habitus into the architecture, partly unconsciously, through their sense of aesthetic, but also quite overtly to attract middle class people to buy these newly created buildings in the Raploch. This, in turn, given their own and different habitus, repels the long established working class residents. Concurrently these new buildings physically legitimise the habitus of the new residents through discrediting the established communities' culture. This architecture can thus be seen in context with what Bourdieu (1990c; 1984) described as *'symbolic violence'*, whereby there is a sense of intrusion and rejection expressed through the design of this redefined built environment which chooses to not incorporate '*normal houses'*. As a consequence such '*symbolic violence'* can be considered as a criticism of the established working class community, their taste and lifestyle. This simultaneously also expresses a sense that the 'old' Raploch is still in need of regeneration and, as a consequence, this was seen as a further threat to that established community. *Symbolic violence* is arguably also enacted on the established community by being 'gifted'; such as, the campus. Such giving, for Bourdieu (1992: 23), was also *"a way of possessing: it is a way of binding another while shrouding the bond in a gesture of generosity"*. The underlying discourse, therefore, is that the regeneration, in itself, demands a reciprocal act from the established community; the need to change.

As a consequence to this perceived intimidation the community experienced a sense of threat, which was articulated by Jack:

"...I feel that and I feel too that it is a mixture of old and new obviously and that's maybe and I have only been there a couple of years so it doesn't make me too uncomfortable that mixture of old and new, but maybe for somebody who has been in there a lot longer than me it maybe has a threatening effect."
(Jack 40s)

The use of language by Jack in terms of 'threat' resonates with Smith's (2002) perception of gentrification, where he adopted a language associated with war, such as frontier, to express the sense of violence entailed in the process of gentrification. Therefore, the gentrified areas in the regenerated Raploch are perceived to be a violent act by the established community. This subtle form of violence, or intimidation, is expressed, in this instance, through the built environment. Such '*symbolic violence*', "*can only be exerted on a person predisposed (in his habitus) to feel it, whereas others will ignore it*" (Bourdieu, 1992: 51). Bourdieu (1992: 51) further adds that this "*lies in the relation between the situation or the intimidating person (who may deny any intimidating intention) and the person intimidated*". This sense of threat is, therefore, expressed in the built environment through the juxtaposition of the new and old, and thus needs to seen within the social context of Raploch as a deprived area and the relationship it has long had, and still has, with powerful urban actors.

This also needs to be seen, in particular, within the context of the previously mentioned 'community signature', whereby 47% of people in the Raploch perceived that decisions about the community were made out with the area (Pollock and Sharp, 2012). This sense of not being able to be part of the decision

making process was also mentioned by Pamela, a key informant. She referred to the process of managing the empty fields, which were part of the regeneration development plan, which were not developed due to the stop in the regeneration process.

> *"Huge big piece of land on the other side of Raploch this concept of a green arena and basically it's to plant wild flowers on it. They won't hear of anything it will get lots of awards they hope for biodiversity and stuff but is it what people want they were not actually asked they will not hear of anything semi permanent going on I suggested goal posts."*
>
> (Pamela - key informant)

By contrast, Jack highlighted that the historical 1930s church hall did fit into to the area:

Figure 28: Jack (2012) *St Mark's Parish Church of Scotland a Memory from the Past.*

> *"I just think its a nice looking building it just seems to tie in really well with the area and it looks historical even given its age kind of as I said 1930's there*

there about and obviously has a bit of history and has always been planted

there ehm it kind of fits in with the rest of the place."

(Jack 40s)

Architecturally this building is quite different to the majority of the Raploch area; nevertheless Jack categorises it in terms of fitting very well into the area. Therefore, this could be considered as further evidence that the fitting in of a building, or it being seen to be 'out of place' is not only understood in terms of physical difference, but rather in terms of social context and the historical background of the buildings. Arguably, this building can also be understood in context with the historic structures discourse, discussed in the previous chapter. These buildings are considered to be of historical value and are utilised to represent Raploch as a historically significant place.

Nevertheless, the interrelationship between 'in place', 'out of place' and social context also becomes apparent through photos which were *not* made, or buildings which were *not* discussed, by either the new or the established residents. One such building is St. Mark's Parish Church, situated in a prominent location on Drip Road, and is a 1960s modernist building, thus significantly different in its architectural style to the rest of the area. On the other hand, religious sensibilities need to be considered here, but as other participants made photos of the Roman Catholic Church and Jack of the Church Hall, it could be argued that this had limited impact. Therefore, being 'out of place' or 'in place' may have nothing at all to do with the architecture, the visual, but rather with the social context and the meanings the buildings represent for the residents.

'Out of place' architecture – height, density and volume of buildings

Another aspect of the 'out of place' context, in terms of the built environment, was the height of the new apartments, which was perceived as a negative aspect by the established community, and this was frequently mentioned within the interviews, such as by Jacky who stated that, *"no one likes them because they don't want flats, they want houses or detached"* (Jacky 20s).

Daniel, an established resident, on the other hand, found the flats aesthetically pleasing while at the same time making a direct association with tower blocks, thus highlighting the significance he attributes to their height:

Figure 29: Daniel (2012) *Untitled.*   **Figure 30:** Daniel (2012) *Untitled.*

"It's nice, its welcoming, it's not scary, it's not all uniform, it's not all...do you know like tower blocks used to be. Thirteen storeys, or eight storeys, window, window, window, window, window..."

(Daniel 30s)

The focus on the height of the buildings needs to be seen in context, with British high rise council housing and the negative association these developments have as places of deprivation, vandalism and crime, as well as a general preference of detached and semi-detached housing (Coupland, 1997). Therefore, it could be argued, that the height of the apartment block is particularly relevant for the established community, which has experienced stigmatisation and might be concerned with a potentially new association with stigmatised high-rise buildings. This also alludes to historical problems with public stairs in Raploch flats, which led to improvement programs in the 1970s and 1980s whereby the flats were remodelled to create less usage of common staircases. As Tony Cain stated:

> *"... so they would take away the common stairs which were a frequent management problem in the area. People did not like living on common stairs frequent complaints about common stairs ..."*
> (Tony Cain - key informant)

The remodelling of flats through this historic improvement program entailed strengthening a negative perception of flats. Only through embracing the greater social context can a better understanding of the environment be achieved, but also the place specific history clearly impacts on the interpretation of this aspect of the built environment.

Various participants, such as Pamela, a key informant, observed that the established residents were surprised that the new development involved flats constructed in four story high buildings:

> *"That's that's nearly finished people were very surprised flats going up especially four story flats ehm and I don't think when they did the consultation that people actually realised the height of the building and when you refer to something as a dwelling when actually it's ah flats."*
>
> (Pamela - key informant)

Pamela implies that there was, what Dovey (1999) described, as *manipulation* through ignorance. The residents of Raploch were not explicitly informed about the height of the buildings, but rather were 'surprised' and, therefore, quite unaware of the height of the building. Pamela further suggests that there were other aspects of concealment, by referring to the flats as dwellings, which encouraged a misunderstanding rather than added clarification.

At the same time, this process reflects power relationships within the area, which reinforces a sense that "*decisions are made elsewhere*" (Pollock and Sharp, 2012). The change in the height of the flats also reflects the changes in housing density, within site 5, from 120 residential properties initially, to 211 properties which were finally built (Stirling Bridge at Raploch, 2009). Therefore, arguably the built environment, in this case the four-story high flats, symbolise a physical representation of power relationships in Raploch, with the powerful urban actors being dominant. At the same time, this can also be seen as an indicator that the established community still perceived that decisions were made elsewhere, rather

than them being properly consulted about the height of the buildings. This resonates with Foucault's (1991) concept of power and knowledge, especially as the place Raploch was 'diagnosed' by powerful urban actors to be in need of regeneration, which as a consequence created a sense that discussions and decisions were made somewhere else.

In a similar vein various participants considered the campus as an expression of power because of its monumental structure:

> *"...it's nothing too novel, the campus is okay, its a little bit kind of imperialistic*
> *you know it looks like Rome has just landed in the middle of Raploch..."*
> (Andrew - key informant)

Therefore the sheer volume of the campus created a sense of domination and intimidation within the Raploch, which Dovey (1999) referred to as 'coercion' through domination. This is especially significant as the campus can be considered as the 'trophy building' within the regeneration process and, therefore, can be viewed as a physical representation of the whole regeneration project.

The road as a boundary prior to the regeneration

Robertson *et al* (2008) found in a previous study of Raploch that internal divisions and fragmentation within the estate are long established and historic, whereby residents stated they came from Drip Road the closer they were in proximity to

Stirling city centre. Similarly in this research Sarah pointed out that she perceived herself as coming from Drip Road rather than the Raploch:

> *"It's all classed as the Raploch now its totally unacceptable for me I live in the Drip Road."*
>
> (Sarah 80s)

This perception on territory by Sarah resonates with Lefebvre (1991:193) who argues that "*the relationships established by boundaries are certainly of the greatest importance..., along with the relationship between boundaries and named places".* By claiming the named place, in this case Drip Road, as a place of home, a sense of belonging is established. The significance of naming territories, and association with them, was also observed by Collison (1963) in Summertown Oxford, where roads names became a particular point of conflict with the private property owner not wanting to live on the same named road as the council tenants, to avoid association. Therefore it could be argued that living in the Drip Road allows association with the Drip Road as a territory, which allows simultaneously a disassociation from the Raploch as a territory and its discourse of deprivation and crime. Hence it is a form of protecting the self-image of a territory group in comparison to the stigmatised other group. In contrast to Summertown, within the historical council housing in Raploch there was limited class differentiation. However, as Josh pointed out when recalling his childhood in the Raploch, Drip Road created a boundary between two different territories on either side of the road. He suggests that within these two areas there was no significant social difference in religion or class:

"...this side of the Raploch the other side because I stayed on this side of the Raploch and it was nothing to do with class divisions or religion or anything its just that's how...the Drip Road that road splits the Raploch in two. So it was just the other side and people on this side would call our side the other side!"

(Josh 20s)

Therefore this resonates with Elias and Scotson (1965), who established in Winston Parva that belonging to the same class does not necessarily create community, rather , within the class group there can exist 'in group' and 'out group' divisions. Similar observations on fragmentation within a community were also made by Roberts (1974: 17), who found "*each street had the usual social rating; one side or one end of the street might be classed higher than another*". Within this research on the Raploch it was not possible to determine if there were long historical underlying aspects, such as length of residency, creating power inequalities, such as within Winston Parva, which led to the fragmentation within the community. As Robertson *et al* (2008) points out, these differentiations are so nuanced that from the outsiders' perspective it's difficult to determine aspects of the microcosm Raploch represents. Therefore, prior to the regeneration there was a sense of two distinct territories separated by the Drip Road, which arguably was reinforced by the previously mentioned juxtaposition between the old and the new architecture, as well as the 'out of place' and 'in place' built environment discourse.

Two distinct communities on each side of the road

From the photo as well as the oral data there was a strong sense of two distinct and separated communities, which were separated physically by the Drip Road. This sense of two communities also became clear when Bruce described this photo, even though it shows a road in the established council housing estate he referred to it in terms of difference between the new as well as the established community:

Figure 31: Bruce (2012) *Untitled.*

> **"…**it's a different community, you almost have kind of a left hand side or a
>
> right hand side development."
>
> (Bruce 30s)

For Ciaran, Drip Road created a physical boundary, which he would not usually cross. He later adds his perception on the community on the opposite site of Drip Road:

"I suppose uh…psychologically I see Drip Road as a kind of…as a bit of a boundary between where I usually go on foot…"

"I say I've been there um…I've um…um…that sounds awfully middle class but I have used a seamstress that works from up on the other side. But there are a lot of feral children you know running around and whacking street furniture and um…congregating and being quite menacing around the shops. I do use the shops near the site and I was quite pleased that they had slim line tonic for my gin and tonic!"

(Ciaran 30s)

Similarly, Marissa, a new resident, considers aspects of difference on the 'old side of Drip Road', where she observed residents sitting in their front gardens, watching her intently, drinking alcohol as well as swearing while children run around:

"… I don't know if there is anything area around the back if you like sit and do anything like that they sit in the front garden which is that's good to get your sunshine that's fine that no problem but they got their cans and the rest and they are staring and the bairns are running like daft and they gona get up and get their piss and say no you hear this: oh man god you know you got this f… here …"

(Marissa 20s)

With these observations that the new residents made of the 'other side', their sense of two communities became reinforced with an underlying discourse of 'us' and 'them'. This being arguably reinforced by Drip Road as a physical barrier, as Ciaran pointed out, which Newman (1972) referred to as a symbolic barrier as it does not literally change movement but it creates awareness of another space. Simultaneously it reinforces already existing social relationships within Raploch.

Considering Bourdieu's perception, the participants observed a different habitus to their own middle class habitus and therefore found it as not legitimate behaviour. Ciaran as well as Marissa evaluated the behaviour of the established council house residents in terms of their own middle class values and norms. As norms and values are significant in terms of community building, these observations of the new residents reinforce a separate group identity, rather than a shared group identity with the established community. Ciaran especially wanted to clarify to the researcher that he considered himself middle class and in a power position over the 'seamstress', therefore dissociating himself from the working classes and their habitus, and clarifying his class and power position within the place Raploch. It could be argued that he wanted to dissociate himself from the established residents, especially as arguably there is such a close spatial proximity with the associated stigmatising discourse. Such stated observations by the new residents resonate with social reformers of the 19th Century and their descriptions of the chaotic street life of the working classes (Robbins 2000). At the same time, the established community was not invisible to the owner occupiers, but still present, which is different to what Butler and Robson (2003) found in London,

where the established community was invisible to gentrifiers, who only consciously recognised people similar to them.

The established community also considered the new owner occupiers in terms of difference whereby, for example, Jacky perceives the people who moved into the owner occupied houses as 'foreigners' or 'outsiders':

> "...there is like a lot of different people, like a lot of foreigners, and...not foreigners but a lot of outsiders have bought the houses..."
> (Jacky 20s)

Similarly Kelly considers the new people in the Raploch:

> "I mean there's...there's so many many strangers walk up and down the Drip Road now you don't know who they are. Years ago you knew everybody but not now because of the regeneration or the new houses. People moving in from other areas, coming from other parts of the world, you know moving in here, living here"
> (Kelly 50s)

Therefore the new people in the owner occupied houses were seen as different and strangers. It could be argued that the notion of 'out of place' architecture, which was discussed earlier, is interrelated with the perception of 'strangers' moving into the area. This also echoes with the previously mentioned perception of 'displacement' by Lee and Davidson (2009), which focuses on the change of

place and incorporated the social composition. There is also an underlying discourse of 'us', in this instance the established community, and 'them', the stranger or outsiders, the people living in the owner occupied housing. At the same time, the participants' experiences with 'foreigners' and 'strangers', mirrors Tönnies (2001) discussion about a 'Gemeinschaft' with close knit ties to a 'Gesellschaft'.

At the same time these observations by the established participants resonates with 'the established' and 'the outsiders' noted by Elias and Scotson (1965). In the Raploch there is also a sense of ownership, within the established community, over the area, which becomes apparent in the fact that the new residents are referred to as '*foreigners*', implying that the established community perceived themselves locals. However, mirroring what Savage *et al* (2005) found in Manchester, there was no evidence that the new owner occupiers or 'outsiders' internalised these roles of having less of a moral claim than the established community over the area. The majority of the new owner occupiers did not question their moral right to being in the area, which is reflected in their sense of having the right to suggest changes and improvements within the wider area occupied by the established community. Bruce, for example, made a photo of a building he would like to see demolished:

> *"...now this is a brown site maybe somebody owns this and it could be knocked down that could be in time a house or something like that depends on the building who owns it and what it is..."*
>
> (Bruce 30s)

Figure 32: Bruce (2012) *Untitled.*

Conversely, Ciaran on the more extreme end of the spectrum, as a new owner occupier, considered himself to be a pioneer within the Raploch:

> "*I mean if you like the…if you like the pioneers like us and the other people who'd been…had money down for a long time, we're quite close...*"
>
> (Ciaran 30s)

Even though Ciaran had internalised a sense of being a 'foreigner' he had reframed it in context with being a pioneer, who had invested in the area, therefore suggesting that he considered himself as having a moral claim to the area. Smith (1996: XIV) considered this exact term 'pioneer' in context with gentrification, and argues that it has an underlying discourse which *"suggests a city not yet socially inhabited; like Native Americans, the urban working class is seen as less than social a part of the physical environment".* Consequently, it could be argued that new residents considered the Raploch in terms of 'us' and 'them', similarly to the established residents, but with a different pretext of bringing improvement and

investment into the area which consequently allows moral justification to claim the area.

There was an underlying fear of losing the community, by the established residents, whereby not everybody can be recognised and be known anymore. Thus this again resonates with Tönnies (2001) and his perception on loss of 'Gemeinschaft', which is characterised by close social networks. Even though the regeneration reinforced this sense of loss of 'Gemeinschaft', some established residents observed these changes prior to the regeneration process, such as Chloe and Max, as long established residents, when talking about old neighbours and how this relationship changed:

> *"You could leave your key in this thing and when your neighbour needed anything they opened your door and took it and refunded it when it when they were finished when they got all they needed. They'd replace it. Now if leave your door open you have nae floor boards, (both laughing)."*
> (Max 80s)

Therefore, it could be argued that the participants of the established Raploch area considered themselves historically to be part of a *territorial community,* with strong social ties, as Willmott (1986) described. This description of the historical Raploch, by Chloe and Max, with its close knit working class community, resonates with various classic and contemporary community studies (Young and Willmott, 1957; Gans, 1999; Watt 2009).

Social interaction and social mixing

The social interaction between the participants living in the owner occupied housing and the established residents were limited. At the point of this research, interaction between the two groups was primarily in terms of nominal incidental encounters such as, for example, in the Post Office or shops. Marissa, a new resident, recalls her interactions in the local shop:

> *"I went in she is there is a woman one of the woman that work in there is really nice and never in a million years I would have ever have met and she has only got half her top teeth in but she is really she is actually really really nice and at once she said how are you getting on are you fine I have not seen you a few days and you know..."*
>
> (Marissa 30s)

It could be argued that these incidental encounters create a sense of community, and in this context were perceived as a positive experience by the owner occupier. There was also a sense, within the interviews, that new residents over-emphasised their incidental interactions, for example, in the shops. This strong emphasis needs to be seen within the context of social values and norms regarding social mixing, which the new residents generally perceived as positive. At the same time, this description of the incidental encounters in shops had aspects of an insider looking in, rather than being part of the community, therefore, this can be seen to be part of the 'us' and 'them' discourse.

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The established community primarily had limited social interaction with the new owner occupiers, as Andrew, a key informant, observed. He associated this lack of social mixing as loss of community, or a move from a *Gemeinschaft* to a more fragmented *Gesellschaft* within Raploch:

> *"I wouldn't say they are doing a great deal of mingling I mean there is no obligation on the people who are buying houses to come and be part of the community but you kind of feel like maybe take something away ehm the people across who lived there before the old Weir street and everything maybe a bit mad but you know they were still part of the community still you know brought the whole thing together whereas now there is just a big gap in the middle of Raploch."*
> (Andrew - key actor)

Chloe and Daniel stated that they interacted with the new residents, but the only example offered by an established resident of having direct interaction with an owner occupier was Jacky, who recounted a meeting with the mum of a friend of her son. This meeting was not incidental but rather a result of the Big Noise project, which provides children and adults from Raploch with musical instruction. She also wanted to clarify that the interaction was limited to small talk rather than being in depth:

> *"I mean we've not actually had like full blown conversations it's just there are just a few....I mean my son is friends with one of them as well so...I speak to his*

mum and stuff hey but um...as I say its just literally saying Hi blah-blah-blah

just literally through Big Noise, nothing majorly important."

(Jacky 20s)

Atkinson and Kintrea (2000: 28) made similar observations, whereby they found

that children have socially over arching friendships and this "*brought parents*

together too". At the same time, by describing the friend of her friend as '*one of*

them', she reinforced the discourse of *'us'* and *'them'.* However, similarly to the

research by Atkinson and Kintrea (2000), there was also dislike expressed of the

possibility of children mixing by Ciaran, who categorically rejected the idea of his

children visiting the local school:

> *"I think my willingness to partake of this social experiment will probably end*
>
> *there. Um...you know...similarly I wouldn't want to send children to an*
>
> *exclusive private school."*
>
> (Ciaran 30s)

An exception was Emily, who was the only owner in this research who had grown

up in the Raploch and, therefore, had closer relationships with people in the

established community such as friends and family:

> *"My family all live close by which is a bonus you know and my friends some*
>
> *people I went to school people I keep in touch with."*
>
> (Emily 20s)

Another interaction between the new and the established community was, for example, through the community partnership as well as community meetings. This involvement was limited to a minority group from the new as well as the established residents, but these individuals' involvement was very intense and vocal in these organisations and groups; resonating with Robertson *et al* 's (2008a) findings in the pre regenerated Raploch.

There was no evidence that owner occupiers and Forth Housing Association tenants interacted, within the data collected. These findings, on interactions between the established community and the new owner occupiers' resonates with various historical and contemporary studies, which found social mixing to be limited between different social groups even though they live in close proximity (Butler, 1997; Butler and Robson, 2003; Allen *et al*, 2005; Elias and Scotson, 1965; Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000). The encounters between the established and the new residents, and the qualities of these interactions, need to be seen in context with the previously mentioned discourse of '*us*' and '*them*' by the established community as well as the new owner occupiers.

Interaction within a social group

There was some evidence that the new residents interacted with their immediate neighbours who were also living in owner occupied housing, as Marissa described:

> *"Just chap somebody's door if you need something and they just chap if they need something its is it seems to be I think I don't know if it helped that we*

just had a surprise party or anything like and they guy upstairs had a

housewarming slash birthday party."

(Marissa 30s)

Similarly there was some evidence that the established participants interacted within their social group:

"I'm neighbourly, we sit out the back the neighbours and we make tea and

have a blether and that just about everyday life."

(Louise 50s)

So there was a sense of community and group identity within each group of participants established and new. This, arguably, further encourages group identity for each community, separate and distinct, which in turn reinforces the discourse of 'us' and 'them'.

Again, the previously mentioned physical barrier of Drip Road needs to be considered, as it arguably impacts on the interaction between the communities. Conversely, there was some evidence that there were interactions between Forth housing tenants and the established community, even though they lived on opposite sides of the road:

"Stirling council tenants ehm or maybe Forth housing tenants that have been

council tenants in the past its very almost incestuous everybody knows

everybody else down here ehm everybody that has been housed across their

yeah..."

(Andrew - key participant)

Therefore, arguably, the physical barrier Drip Road, reinforced the segregation between different social groups. It was, however, not as significant a barrier to social mixing than belonging to a different social group was.

Religious fragmentation

The new school building

Religion in Raploch, and the interrelationship between Roman Catholics and Protestants, emerged frequently as a theme within the visual as well as the oral data. Within this context, various participants considered the new school building, which incorporated Raploch Primary School, a non-denominational school, and Our Lady's Roman Catholic Primary school in the same building. Even though the Raploch Primary School is non-denominational, it is referred to by the majority of participants as a Protestant school; rather than as unaffiliated with a religion. The third school, Castleview School, which is also housed in the building, is a provision for children with special needs, and is only sporadically mentioned by participants to state its existence, rather than attributing any significance to it. This new arrangement, with both schools sharing a single building, was perceived as positive compared to the pervious arrangement, whereby the Roman Catholic School and the non-denominational school were housed in separate buildings at a distance from each other. On the whole it was the established residents, who considered the new school building, rather than the new residents; it is perhaps worth noting that both new and established residents had children.

Emily, a new resident who had grown up in the Raploch and had recently moved back, considered the new building as an improvement as it allowed her children to

be brought up according to her faith, but without the spatial segregation she had experienced as a child:

Figure 33: Emily (2012) *Untitled.*

> *"... yeah it's like the one dining hall I think it's good for their obviously for their faith or whatever ah Phillip* (Emily's son -anonymised) *can get that sort of education then it's not that sort of segregated way that kind of I was brought up I went to one school and my friends went to a different one we did not see each other till you got home from school at night whereas its only your actual teaching time that you are I suppose you are kept apart or get a different lesson."*
>
> (Emily 20s)

Similarly Josh considered the new building while referring to his photo. In his comment he considered the development of housing the schools in one building as positive, especially as he recalled his childhood. In contrast to Emily, who focused on inter-relationship, he considered rivalries and stated that the children from the different schools had been involved in *'running battles'*. However, at a later stage in

the interview, he wanted to clarify that these tensions decreased with age and that these were primarily attributed to school rivalries:

Figure 34: Josh (2012) *Untitled.*

Josh - *"I see this as quite a positive because there is not so much of a divide between the two schools because when I was growing up there was a big divide, religious divide as well if you like between Catholics and Protestants. But that seems to have...it's not disappeared completely but it's got easier if you like...eh.. So..."*

Researcher - *"So you could feel that when you were a kid?"*

Josh - *"Oh we used to have running battles! It would have been worse before I was...it started to sort of fizzle out when I was there but prior...maybe the 70s and stuff like that there was pretty much gang warfare!"*
(Josh 20s)

Only one established resident, Victoria, felt that the schools should have been situated separately, rather than in the same building. She perceived that being in the same building would encourage name calling and tension between the groups of children:

> "...I always felt that, but that's my belief I just felt they should'nae all be in together because kids can be cruel and they'll fight about oh you're a Proddie, I'm a Catholic, you know you always get that and I felt they should have some...divide that their...their school was here and that their school was there, that's my personal opinion."
>
> (Victoria 50s)

The majority of established participants considered the housing of both schools in one building as a move towards a more inclusive upbringing, especially as children got the opportunity to mix at break times, rather than being physically apart the whole school day. Consequently, there was the assumption, with the exception of Victoria, that this would decrease rivalry between the two religious groups in school and bring them closer together. This was seen as a counteraction against rivalries as well as spatial segregation during the school day, which participants had experienced in their own childhood. Interestingly, if participants did not highlight that faith education in separate schools was important, the concept of the separate schools sharing a single building was not questioned, but rather seen as a given that children of different religions should be taught in different institutions. Further, it is worth noting that Dovey (1999), considered the social position of a school, as an institution, may have placed it beyond question, due to it having a

formal authority in the delivery of a service for the greater good. At the same time, it also implies that religious identity was of significance to the established residents, as well as for Emily who had links to the area. However, the majority of residents did not want spatial segregation, that is, they did not want the children to go to schools housed in separate buildings, with the exception of Victoria.

As it became apparent in the previous statements, various established participants mentioned their own childhood experiences of growing up in a religiously mixed community, when discussing the new school building. The established participants seem to feel ambivalent about these experiences, whereby some acknowledged rivalries between the children of different faiths, but at the same time they emphasised the close interrelationship between the two groups. This ambivalence became clear in Louise's statement:

> *"...we used to go to chapel on a Sunday morning down past the school and then we would come up the road and we would go to Sunday School. Our friends would come to the chapel with us but sometimes they would'nae come in, they would stay outside, but sometimes we used to...we'd get sixpence for the plate which was what 2 ½ pence and if we could'nae be bothered...we used to go up the farmer's field at the side and get sweeties but we did'nae do that too often! And then we would go up the...we'd go up with the pals to the Sunday School and you got a nice wee cup of cheer, a wee cup of juice and a wee cake, sung all their hymns. We were'nae...bitter towards one another because we were brought up together, we did'nae see the sectarianism in the Raploch, that was a good place for that, you'll know there can be*

different...the divide is different but they're mates do you know what I mean?

You'll always get that, where other villages it's not like that, you're one or the

other and they hate you if you're one or the other. I din'nae hate anybody

because of the creed or their colour I'm sorry! I can'nae be like that because I

was brought up in a good place and it was a good place the Raploch. It still is,

there are still a lot of good decent people but as I say you always get the odd

idiot that's going to bring the sectarianism into it..."

(Louise 50s)

Within this comment Louise also wanted to clarify that she considered Raploch as a good place, with good decent people and, therefore, it could be argued that she did not want to present it as a place of religious divisions and tensions, but rather she counteracts the predominant negative discourse of the 'outsiders' perception of the area. At the same time, these comments showed that even though belonging to different communities of interests, religion in this case, which by its nature creates insiders and outsiders, there seems to be a strong attachment to the community and Raploch as a whole (Willmott, 1986). This conflict of alliances, to either the community of religious interest or the community of attachment, in Raploch arguably created the ambivalent description by participants of the experiences concerning religion within the area. This again resonates with previous research in the area which found strong community ties (Robertson 2013)

It could be argued, that the community, through the regeneration and the demolitions of the two previous schools, and therefore through the discourse

within the built environment, was confronted with a clear reminder of their spatial religious segregation. And for that reason it re-emerged as a theme within this research, whereas in previous research there was a sense that religious identity was losing is significance within the area (Robertson *et al,* 2008a).

Football and religious identity

Robertson *et al* (2008a: 94) also found that, to a great extent,*"religious rivalry has been displaced by football, or that the two have become so intertwined as to be inseparable",* in Raploch. This rivalry is between the Celtic Football Club, which espouses a distinct Irish Roman Catholic identity, and the Rangers Football Club which has a Protestant Unionist identity (Bruce *et al,* 2004). This interrelationship between religion and football became apparent in Josh's description while elaborating on the religious divided between the two groups in his childhood:

> *"My next door neighbour for example was a big Rangers fan and I was a big Celtic fan! And we still played football together there was no..."*
> (Josh 20s)

A similar observation was made by Marissa, the new resident, who was initially concerned about the different religions, as well as football affiliations and their interrelationship, but as she later states, the two different sets of fans meet at the chip shop which is located at almost the exact midpoint between the two pubs on Drip Road.

While discussing this she referred to two photos, whereby the first photo is an image of a pub, which is linked with Celtic and, therefore, dominated on match days by the club's colour green. The second photo depicts a pub which is associated with Rangers and is therefore associated with the colour blue:

> *"...you drive by one and it's a sea of green outside and you drive past the other and it's all blue outside and you're like 'OK' but what I will say is, and I was really nervous about it I never seen one bit of carry on and none bit of hassle I'm no a religious person and I don't think it's got a lot to do with religion any more I think."*
>
> (Marissa 20s)

Figure 35: Marissa (2012) *Bottom Pub.*

Figure 36: Marissa (2012) *Top Pub.*

> "*...there is the chip shop and that they all seem to meet and gather here yah*
>
> *hello again and loud drunken shout to each other how you are doing and*
>
> *what's happening and all the rest of it so it is great there is just no hassle*
>
> *cause I was like 'Oh no there's gonna be hassle'...*"
>
> (Marissa 20s)

Football, as both Josh's statement and Marissa's observations on the two pubs

show, can be considered as an accepted form of rivalry in the area. This resonates

with Bradley (1995: 183) who argued that "*For many people football provides an*

appropriate, or even a safe environment in which to make known otherwise

repressed or unarticulated political attitudes, cultural affinities, national allegiances

and prejudices; a focus for identification".

At the same time, as Josh pointed out, the fact that he was a Celtic fan, which is

associated with Roman Catholicism, and his neighbour was a Rangers fan, which is

seen as a Protestant club, did not hinder their play with each other, or in Marissa's

case, meeting and exchanging some friendly banter at the chip shop. This

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resonates with Bradley (1995: 184), who suggests that rivalry between the two football teams allows a displacement of the "*the conflictual or confrontational aspects of these identities to be displaced, that is re-positioned into the football arena".* Bruce *et al* (2004: 150) by contrast, rather than seeing football rivalry as a displacement of religious conflict, saw it primarily as social interaction, which *"is by and large ritualised and confined".* Bruce and Bradley's arguments appear to be applicable in this case. It is apparent there were some minor tensions between the two groups, noticeable in discussion about school and childhood, but at the same time these tensions in an adult context are expressed in the '*ritualised and confined*' environment of football.

The green house: Reacting to the symbolic

This particular building was frequently depicted by the participants, and as Jack stated while referring to his photo, it could be seen as a provocation as the feature wall is green, and green is associated with Celtic Football Club:

> "*the reason why I do not like this one is because of the colour I just can't understand why they painted it green it is green ehm not that I don't think the Raploch is particularly bothered about ehs peoples whether people are Protestant or Roman Catholic*"
>
> (Jack 40s)

Figure 37: Jack (2012) *Flats That Don't Say Much.*

Similarly, Andrew a key informant was wondering how the community would react to the green wall of the newly built house, especially as the council had previously painted metal fences in Raploch according to the council tenants' wishes, either green or blue. As noted above, blue is associated with the Rangers Football Club and has a Protestant Unionist identity (Bruce *et al,* 2004). The consequence, as Andrew a key informant, states was a targeting of houses depending on the colour of their fence:

> *"...to begin with they asked them what colour they wanted and you would go in the street there and it was green and blue green and blue all the way down and it was causing numerous problems because if you were a sectarian person you would just go and look at the window and see oh there is a green house and I just go round egg them or graffiti on their house making people really easy targets."*
>
> (Andrew - key informant)

As a consequence the council had to repaint all the fences black.

Various established residents considered the colour green on the building, and resented it, as Jean-Luc comment illustrates. While not explicitly stating the reason for his resentment of the colour green, he said that he would rather not say why while in the particular pub the interview took place. The researcher therefore assumed that the pub was affiliated with the Celtic Football Club.

> *"I am not keen on the green better not say that in here (Pub)."*
> (Jean-Luc 40s)

Even though this building could be seen as aesthetically pleasing, in a different cultural context, within Raploch the colour was seen as representative of Celtic, Ireland and Roman Catholicism and, as a consequence, it was a physical representation of various discourses which were loaded with tensions (Rapoport, 1982).

This building can be seen within the context of post-modern architecture, which is detached culturally from its surroundings, which, as we have seen, are influenced historically by Irish immigration as well as a community that supports two opposing religiously defined football teams. Thus it could be argued, as various theorists suggest, that the primary aim was to attract capital in a globalised world (Zukin, 1993; Gottdiener, 1995; Harvey, 1989). By being detached from cultural context, this colour and, consequently, this building could have further encouraged

the discourse of 'out of place' architecture, which the established community frequently voiced.

Both Jack, an established resident, and Andrew, a key participant, voiced misunderstanding and disbelief about the choice of the colour green, as well as being concerned about the consequences this choice will have. This is illustrated in Andrew's comment where he expresses the concern that Protestant sectarian slogans would soon appear on the wall:

> *"...big green wall obviously you have to remind that there are still sectarian issues in the Raploch because a lot of people different site of the line ehm we are kind of waiting to see basically we can see out of our window because we are down at the end of the building and we are just waiting to see the slogans start appearing UDP and everything suddenly appearing a big green wall seems a bit tempting for certain people..."*
> (Jack 40s)

Therefore the wall, as a large green space, through its association with Roman Catholicism and the Celtic Football Club was understood as a symbolic provocation, or threat to the Protestants and/or Rangers fans. These participants were concerned and thought that this would lead to a reaction which would try to redress the implied meaning, or the stated power that is expressed through the sheer size and prominent location of the wall, which could be perceived as belittling the Protestant and/or Rangers fans. Therefore, even though it is not a monumental building, its meaning can be understood by a group in the community

in terms of *'coercion'* through *'domination'* (Dovey 1999). As a consequence, there was a strong sense that the green wall, through its associated meanings, could encourage a form of protest expressed through the use of religiously motivated sectarian graffiti (Cresswell, 1996).

Differences in representing homes

The majority of the participants who lived in the new owner occupied housing created images of their houses or flats. Therefore, new residents expressed the significance they attributed to their home visually, as well as orally. As part of representing his home Bruce made a photo of his front door:

Figure 38: Bruce (2012) *Untitled.*

> *"It's my front door so I just bought the property in March so it was to try and say that this is my house, this is where I am, this is where I live now. Obviously there is no numbers there, but it was to symbolise you know that it's my home. It's my door, it's where I live in the regeneration area that we have."*
> (Bruce 30s)

Even though all new residents, who made photos of their houses, flats or doors, were homeowners, there seems to be no direct correlation between the creation of

photos and home ownership, especially since various established participants were also homeowners and had not created any photos of their properties. The novelty of being newly a homeowner, or moving into an area could be an explanation for this phenomenon. It could also be argued that the established residents' own homes were taken for granted rather than something new and novel. At the same time, the fact that the established residents predominantly found the new architecture aesthetically pleasing, but at the same time 'out of place', allows the inference to be made that they perceived their own houses to be 'in place', and thus less spectacular than the new development, and therefore they saw no need to create images of their '*normal house',* as Jean-Luc described them. This phenomena resonates with Allen's (2008) observations, whereby he considered that the working classes, in this case living in the established Raploch community, see a home as a place to dwell, rather than an expression of their social position or status. The new residents perhaps thus created images of their homes as it allowed them to highlight their social position, whereas this was not the case with the established residents.

Features of gentrification

Economic aspects were part of the consideration of the new residents when moving into Raploch. Various new residents were weighing up capital gains, in terms of properties' value, against the stigmatisation of Raploch. Ciaran discusses this when referring to his neighbours who live in the flats:

Figure 39: Ciaran (2012) *Nice Sky Over the Garden, Looking Out to the Hills.*

"I think they're fairly well off boys from Bridge of Allan and Dollar so they don't care about if you like the branding issues that Raploch might have, they just want a flat which is nice and new, handy for the motorway, um...potentially a future of growth..."
(Ciaran 30s)

A significant aspect of moving to Raploch was the affordability of the properties to the new owner occupiers such as Marissa:

"...do agree with the regeneration of the Raploch its been its completely benefited me it really really has I would never have as a single person buying for the first time I would never have managed to buy in my, where I stay."
(Marissa 20s)

Aside from the economic aspects, such as increased property value and affordability, there were various other reasons for the owner occupiers to move to Raploch, such as the central location in terms of closeness to Stirling city, the

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motorway, and proximity to amenities such as the local shops, as pointed out by home owning participants such as Emily:

> *"I think it's good I like living here it's close for the town its close for the amenities its handy for the motorway."*
> (Emily 20s)

Ciaran similarly considered the central position, as well as the good price. He bought his house just before the financial crisis, therefore he was worried about the discrepancy between what he paid for his property and its current value. Nevertheless he found the living space an improvement:

> *"I was looking for a central location, a new build, um ... and a good price. I don't know it it was all that good value in the end but ... um ... it was certainly a step up for us anyway in our uhm ... uh .. living space."*
> (Ciaran 30s)

This focus on the living space can be seen as a utilitarian perception on housing, which Allen (2008) considers as being a feature of the working classes. Nevertheless, in this context, it can be argued that living space was a significant factor for Ciaran moving to Raploch, even though he is middle class (2011). Owner occupiers attributed their move to Raploch primarily in terms of economic benefits, rather than social-cultural aspects attracting them to the area. So the regeneration in the Raploch was predominantly viewed as supply, rather than demand driven. The majority of new resident participants who bought into the

area were attracted by the supply of affordable properties. So, capital was attracted to the desirable land in Raploch, which strategically lay near the motorway and city centre, which was relatively inexpensive given its then residential use. Therefore, the R3 consortium arguably considered the discrepancy between the low land cost and the potential for enhancing land values with newly built private properties, which would, as a consequence, create a profitable return. This is what Smith (1979) referred to as 'rent-gap' theory whereby, in this case, it was not rent, but rather the profit from the sale of new private housing, built on relatively inexpensive land. The 'rent-gap' theory developed out of observations within gentrified areas, but due to the similarities with regeneration, theorists have argued that it too can be described as 'gentrification' (Davidson, 2008; Davidson and Lee, 2009; Glynn, 2009). The economic benefits for the private construction companies, Jean-Luc considered as the main reasons for the regeneration, rather than addressing the community aspects. He considers the discourse on community improvement as a veil for economic benefits of private companies:

> *"...they can build house on that selling for they could make money which is fair enough capitalistic society in the end of the day there is nae need to pretend about it then. I don't think. .... That's fine but don't bullshit us with community ..."*
> (John-Luc 40s)

Aside from economic benefits for the private companies, government support for the regeneration can also be seen as an aspect which encouraged the regeneration,

hence Davidson (2008) has referred to this process as '*state led gentrification*'. That said, there was limited evidence in this case of established residents mentioning any direct displacement, which is arguably another classic characteristic of gentrification. Daniel had observed some direct displacement, but added the qualification that individuals were given a choice where to reside:

> "*I know a few people who got a new house but like I say its good to have a mix, you couldn't just house everybody in the Raploch who was decanted at that time, there needs to be some kind of...there needs to be a mix of people from different walks of life, different backgrounds, its not fair to...that would be discrimination if you just took everybody that they dehoused to the Raploch. Oh there's new houses – in you come! They were given a choice at the time.*"
> (Daniel 30s)

Another established resident Josh, also considered displacement and a change in class composition within the newly built Raploch area, while referring to the map layout of the regenerated area (appendix 12):

> "*...because it seems like they're trying to generate a sort of...a sort of new class into the area like a working to middle class.*"
> (Josh 20s)

This strongly resonates with various theorists who argue that these changes in social composition, in the context of regeneration, have gentrifying features. Further, it has been argued that these new middle class residents act as a form of

social control within an area (Glynn, 2009; Furbey, 1999; Blomley, 2004) given they reduce the concentration of problematic residents within areas such as Raploch. Therefore, an intended consequence, as Uitermark *et al* (2007: 125) suggest, is "*generating social order*" within areas such as Raploch.

Letting in the new regenerated Raploch

There was also some evidence that newly built properties, developed for owner occupation, were rented out:

> "*Ehm in our building there is ten flats and only two of them are lived in by the owner the rest are all rented out and it's all to students.*"
> (Martha 20s)

A similar observation was also made by Andrew, a key informant:

> "*...yeah they are private houses, yeah eh but people ehm are renting some of these houses already.*"
> (Andrew - key informant)

These observations would suggest that some of these properties were bought solely for letting purposes. This is especially significant given that creating a mixed tenure area was a stated objective of the Masterplan (Scottish Government, 2008), as opposed to simply moving tenancy from council provision to a private landlord.

This move from council to private letting can be seen in terms of neo-liberal ideology, which favours the reduction of the welfare state. The discrepancy between private rent prices, which is profit driven, and the council, where rents are required to address housing needs also should be considered; rent prices in the private sector are significantly higher than council housing rent. Arguably private investors were encouraged by the location of Raploch, given its close proximity to the University and the new Forth Valley College, especially as a tenth of all private renters nationally are students (Kemp, 2010). The properties in Raploch arguably attract 'buy to let' investors, because they have characteristics which suited this market, given these properties are typically *"new or modern flats and to a lesser extent houses, which were seen as having low maintenance costs and the maximum potential for sale (if necessary) to the owner occupied market"* (Kemp, 2010 :134). This also resonates with Glynn's (2009: 80) observations about regenerated areas with houses attracting 'buy to let', "[they] *can attract buy to let absentee landlords and a shifting population on short-term tenancies*". Such short term tenancies, especially of young students who live for the first time away from home, had an impact on Martha in terms of noisy parties, and also problems with waste:

> *"see the bins laying out on the path meant weeks and weeks on end getting*
> *knocked over and blown about and stuff and still left in the middle of the road*
> *and things and we have and the bin store is covered in rubbish and things it's*
> *not their house they are not bothered and they haven't lived away from home*
> *before so they don't really care so much."*
>
> (Martha 20s)

This is in direct contradiction with the stated intention of the Masterplan (Scottish Government, 2008), that as an improvement the regeneration should create a mixed tenure, instead of creating a new transient social group within the area.

Owner occupation of the new housing for the established community

Exclusion from homeownership

Several established residents pointed out that the new properties were unaffordable to the established community, such as Jacky, who said:

> *"...because I mean like the majority of people here are not working or like unemployed. They can't afford to buy a house let alone buy one of those houses because they're even more expensive."*
>
> (Jacky 20s)

Similarly, Jean-Luc stated, while referring back to the images he created focusing on the new flats, that these properties were unaffordable to the community. At the same time, he considered that the regeneration was not designed to benefit the community, but rather to simply create a profit:

Figure 24: Jean Luc (2012) *New Flats.*   **Figure 25:** Jean Luc (2012) *Built and Sold.*

Figure 26: Jean Luc (2012) *Doubtful if it is to Existing Raploch Community.*

> *"...gonna build houses around it and they gonna sell the houses they are no gonna do anything for the local community and there is ne there is ne Raploch folk got these houses this fancy new flats that you see on the photos . Cause they can't afford them."*
>
> (Jean Luc 40s)

Therefore various established participants, and in particular tenants of rented properties, had a sense that the established community was excluded from owner occupied properties due to the relatively high cost of these, in relation to the income of the community. This feeling of exclusion further encourages the

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previously mentioned segregational discourse, and its sense of 'us' and 'them'. This is especially significant as home ownership is perceived as a positive choice of tenure in the British context (Saunders 1990). Even though there was limited home ownership within Raploch previous to the regeneration, due to limited take up of the 'right to buy' policy, the differences between the privately owned and the council rented properties were not as stark as they are perceived now. The new owner occupied houses are seen as '*fancy*'. The un-affordability, as perceived by established residents, also encourages a sense of relative deprivation in comparison to the new owner occupiers.

Returning to the Raploch as an owner occupier

For Emily the regeneration and the availability of the new houses encouraged her to move back to the area she grew up in:

Figure 40: Emily (2012) *Untitled.*

"...is our house and the way we were not actually planning on we had moved away from here and then we lived somewhere else for seven years and then they obviously started building you know the advertisement building the new houses around here and we weren't planning to move house but we just took the opportunity to come back here we weren't planning you know moving anywhere else."

(Emily 20s)

Moving back represents a successful outcome for one of the Scottish Executive's aims for regeneration, which argues *"it is essential to achieve tenure mix, and create opportunities for those who move up in income terms to meet their aspirations by moving up the housing ladder locally, rather than moving out"* (Scottish Executive, 2006: 42/43). On the other hand Josh, who had grown up in Raploch and had strong family ties with the area, did not consider returning:

"That's part of the regeneration though and that's houses that will be up for sale. But to be honest with you some of the houses are like over £100,000 in the Raploch. I wouldn't buy a house in the Raploch to be honest with you! Uh...but hopefully maybe a decade down the line then the area will have picked up you know and it is..."

(Josh 20s)

Dave similarly thought that that once people achieved academically, they moved out if they could. He also thought they are not really wanted back in the area by the other established residents.

Photos as a separate entity

The photos also conveyed a sense of the separation of the two communities on either side of Drip Road. Within this section it was significant for the researcher to know the social context of participants, whether they were established or new Raploch residents .

The position of the photographer, when making a picture, allowed an insight as to where they positioned themselves in term of Raploch as a place, especially in terms of the respective 'other side' of the community. The photo in this context can also be seen as an expression of the 'lifeworlds' of participants, reflecting the experience of being in the place 'Raploch', as well as the places which are entered and those to be avoided. Therefore even though photos can be seen primarily in a semiotic tradition, they also provide glimpses of the experience of being in the place, within a phenomenological tradition (Lefebvre, 1991; Markus, 1993).

New residents

All the new residents made photos of the historic council housing estates within the Raploch, and these were taken primarily from a peripheral position, or at a distance by standing either on the other side of Drip Road or on the pavement rather than by entering into the estates themselves, such as Ciaran's photo shows.

Figure 41: Ciaran (2012) *Posh Granite Pavements or Cathedral Hard Landscaping in the Desert. Sprinkling Glitter on Shit Perhaps?*

This, avoiding entering an area, resonates with Newman's (1972) observation of symbolic barriers, which can be as subtle as a changing ground surface, such as Drip Road, but nevertheless can produce a reluctance to cross. Simultaneously, this barrier can be a consequence of the social memory of the Raploch, as a 'sink estate' that has associations with poverty, drugs and crime, which creates fear and an attitude that the area is to be avoided as a territory by the new residents. Cultural norms and values, and their disparities, can also create boundaries between different social groups or classes, especially as these, Rapoport (1980) argued, are not only reflected in the physical built environment, but also in people's appearance and behaviour. At the same time, it could be argued that by not choosing to make photos within the heart of the historical council housing estate, this part of the area was not considered to be part of the new residents' Raploch.

On the other hand, Martha was the only one who entered into the area, but she did this by car, whereas all the others made the photos while walking. Thus it could be argued that in this case the car, with its sense of security, as an enclosed space, allowed Martha to cross the Drip Road boundary.

Figure 42: Martha (2013) *No New Flats Here.*

Established residents

Equally, established residents choose to make their photos of the new houses from a distance, or from the periphery. Four (Kelly, Jack, Daniel and Jean-Luc) did not enter the new area, but rather either made photos from the periphery or from the Drip Road, Raploch Road or the newly created Village Square, as Jean-Luc's examples illustrate.

Figure 24: Jean Luc (2012) *New Flats.*

Figure 25: Jean Luc (2012) *Built and Sold.*

Photos by both the established and new residents reveal aspects of 'looking in' rather than entering into the other community's sphere. Both felt uncomfortable making a photo of the 'other community', which could equally be due to respecting each other's space and privacy, as well as a reaction to its unfamiliarity. Therefore, this resonates with the social construction of place, whereby each section of society, through socialisation, 'knows their place' within a physical and a metaphysical context. Considering Bourdieu (1987), the Raploch can be understood as two 'fields', or social worlds, the established and the new Raploch, and each community avoids the other's field because of their social and cultural capital, which is reflected in their habitus. This needs to be seen within a greater social context, where clear social norms and values regarding inappropriate use of photography, where furtive photography is used in an act of violence, such as with the threat of terrorism or paedophilia, may make people uncomfortable about taking photographs in areas not commonly seen in the realm of photo making, such as residential areas.

Conclusion

The interpretation of Raploch, incorporating the regenerated as well as the historical council housing area, was fundamentally different between the new and the established residents. Both established and new residents observe the same phenomena of difference and segregation but describe it in different terms, with the former focusing on the 'out of place' discourse and the latter on the discourse of 'new' and 'old'. Therefore, the established residents tended to reject the new

buildings not on aesthetic grounds but rather because they were 'out of place' in their area. The reaction of the established residents to these new buildings could be seen as a response to '*symbolic violence*', which devalues their own built environment as well as creating a sense of indebtedness (Bourdieu, 1992).

The new residents on the other hand wanted to differentiate themselves from the stigmatised council housing Raploch by highlighting that they were living in the newly built Raploch, especially as they had bought into the area by becoming owner occupiers. At the same time the new residents considered that the 'old' Raploch is still in need of regeneration, which highlighted a sense of moral ownership over the area.

This different interpretation of the physical environment allows an insight into the social relationships between both communities, as well as each community's understanding of a wider social context. Therefore, the buildings become the physical expression of the underlying social discourse. This also became apparent in context with the perceptions on a building with a green feature wall, which was seen as a religious and football symbol, and therefore was a physical manifestation of tension between Celtic and Rangers, and Roman Catholics and Protestants. Similarly the school building which housed both the non denominational school and the Roman Catholic school, even though it was seen as bridging the divide, it also highlighted fragmentation as it did not fundamentally question the separation within the school. At the same time the perception of religious tensions was highly ambivalent, as the established residents had a very strong sense of attachment to Raploch as a community.

The sense of segregation and difference between the established residents and the new owner occupying residents is reinforced by the physical barrier Drip Road, which separates the new built Raploch development with the buildings pre-regeneration. This segregation is further emphasised by the fact that the residents on either side of the road have a clear sense of belonging to two distinctly different social groups, which are expressed in a different habitus. As a consequence there was a strong notion of 'us' and 'them' on either side of the road. This sense of us and them also became apparent when considering the photos as a single entity, where neither community entered the other's realm. Therefore the interactions between the different communities were limited only to incidental interactions, or in the context of an organisational setting.

Difference in access to capital creates another form of difference whereby various established participants felt excluded from owner occupation, due to their inability to buy housing in the newly developed area. Therefore, aspects of gentrification further encourage a sense of segregation, especially as economic as well as logistical reasons were giving for moving into the area, rather than being part of the community. Another potential fragmentation is arising with 'buy to let' properties, whose tenants have the potential to be transient especially as Stirling is a University town.

Therefore, it could be argued that the regeneration rather than creating a more cohesive community has led to the creation of a neighbourhood which can be

characterised by a range of physical and meta-physical fault lines running through social, cultural and economic terrain.

Chapter Eight

Raploch: An Inscribed Place

Introduction

Within the oral, as well as photo data, it became apparent that the participants attributed great significance to the linguistic landscape, while considering their experience of living in Raploch, a place which is undergoing a variety of significant changes, both on a physical as well as on a social level, due to the process of regeneration. The participants found the linguistic landscape to be constructed of advertising billboards, graffiti, and official government project signs, including signs that seem to promote a potential, future housing development. These need to be understood as part of the discourse within the urban space, as Barthes (1997) argues, especially as the signs were very closely considered by the participants, rather than just as being seen to make up part of the backdrop of the neighbourhood. It could be argued that through the visual methodology of this research, the importance of the linguistic landscape was allowed to emerge. These signs, billboards and graffiti, and their interpretation by the participants, provide an insight into the constructed social relationships within Raploch, as well as in a greater social context. The different inscriptions within the landscape considered by the participants, are discussed consequently within this chapter.

Official signs – reading public notices

Various participants considered official signs, which had been erected by a variety of organisations within Raploch area. The participants described these signs and their meanings in the context of their environment. Emily, for example, looked at two official signs, which used the same design features but announced two different developments, the first being Orchard House and the second Laurencecroft. She pointed out that no developments had taken place on either of these sites:

> *"...it's like an old sort of hospital but it's like creating 21st Century neighbourhood that sign has been up for years and (laughing)and it's like this singular thing it's like this parks that they are supposed to get developed that one as well no. 13* (photo) *its suppose to be a home."*
> (Emily 20s)

Figure 43: Emily (2012) *Untitled.*

Figure 44: Emily (2012) photo 13 *Untitled.*

Similarly, Jean-Luc made a photo of a sign by Community Enterprise, which was set in a field. He found that the cost of the sign was more than the upkeep of the area it is dedicated to:

> " *I know it's all just grass and stuff but that sign that sign must have cost*
> *mear money then what they spent to tidy the place up. That's what I am*
> *saying".*
> (Jean Luc 40s)

At a later stage in the interview he referred back to the photo and added:

> *"My back garden looks like that that lottery don't give me money to cut it so*
> *they must still cut that. I just thought that was quite ironic …"*
> (Jean Luc 40s)

Figure 45: Jean-Luc (2012) *Running Joke.*

Official signs can be understood as a representation of "*something other than itself*" (Backhaus, 2007: 5). Therefore, in Emily's case, the official sign found in her photo 13 to be a symbolic representation of a new residential care home, but in this context she found that the sign had not fulfilled its symbolic function, because the residential care home was never developed. Similarly, Jean-Luc saw the sign as not fulfilling its symbolic representation, as he had understood it, of maintaining the area by cutting the grass. Therefore, these signs became a symbol or physical representation of unfulfilled promises. This was further exacerbated by the perceived cost of the signs, which conveyed to the participants that these signs were more important in themselves than the apparent promises they proclaimed. Consequently, these signs need to be seen in context with the 'social spatial dialectic', as they are understood or interpreted in their situation and surrounding. This in turn resonates with previous research on the area, which found that the community were suspicious of "*grand-sounding schemes*" that did not come to fruition as was indicated on signs (Pollock and Sharp, 2012: 7). These official signs also represent a power relationship between their creators and the community which they are supposed to inform. The passivity of the observer in the discourse

presented by the sign can be seen in context with Foucault (1967, 1991), whereby the creator of the sign is in the position of power as well as knowledge. Therefore, the cryptic message on the sign can be seen as symbolically keeping the community in the dark. This becomes apparent in Emily's comments:

> "...seems to be something going on to do one thing and I don't know who owns it I don't know if that is part of it or not I don't think there has been really anything I have never seen any communication what's going happen with it."
> (Emily 20s)

Extrapolating from the theory on 'linguistic landscape', as the signs do not strictly speaking exist in a bilingual environment, they can be still seen as having the '*informational function*' of marking territory linguistically, conveying messages that are cryptic for the community, and containing official logos, such as the Lottery Fund, and also by being physically placed. Therefore, the strong reactions that these signs evoke, could be interpreted as a reaction to the '*symbolic function*' these signs express in their territoriality, as well as through their cryptic promises (Laundry and Bauhis, 1997).

On the other hand, Bruce created an image of a sign which he felt communicated very clearly to him the intention of the development:

> "It was this sign I wanted to get for you the Forth Valley college..."
> (Bruce 30s)

"...this whole area is getting redeveloped so they're moving the Falkirk Council

or it's the Forth Valley College but it's the one that was located in Falkirk

Council that is this is the whole site is getting rebuilt."

(Bruce 30s)

Figure 46: Bruce (2012) *Untitled.*

It could be argued that Bruce's interpretation of this sign was far less emotional than the other participants' contributions on the previously discussed signs, as there appears to be no discrepancy between what the sign clearly represents and what actually transpired at the site, as the Forth Valley College was built; therefore the transparent physical promise of the sign was fulfilled.

Billboards in Raploch

Billboards were another semiotic inscription within the landscape, which the participants photographed. Bruce considered this billboard in context with its

environment and saw its emptiness as a reflection of an optimistic vision offered by the regeneration:

> *"I just loved it I just love it it was blank the imagery for for a regeneration*
> *area ehm you could put anything there you know you could be anything for it*
> *you know."*
> (Bruce 30s)

Figure 47: Bruce (2012) *Untitled.*

Emily on the other hand interpreted the billboards negatively, as her comment shows:

> *"...I really don't like and I always like the ground underneath always need*
> *maintained or you know it's like right over near enough across from the*
> *schools you understand the road just a tiny bit it's just the same like to try to*
> *you know make an area better that's one thing they could get rid of or ban or*
> *whatever I don't know even how you would do that or who owns it or*
> *whatever built something in the spaces obviously there are two big*

advertisements and half the time they don't have things on them its all

peeling off as well."

(Emily 20s)

Figure 48: Emily (2012) *Untitled.*

Figure 49: Emily (2012) *Untitled.*

This shows how the semiotics of the billboard were understood fundamentally differently by Bruce and Emily (Eco 1997). Bruce saw the blank space as a metaphor of a new start within Raploch, through the regeneration, but also in terms of his own move into the area. Therefore, he considered the empty, blank space as one which allows for the development of new possibilities. On the other

hand Emily refers to the shabbiness of the billboards, as well as their emptiness, which she feels semiotically conveys a lack of care and quality within the neighbourhood. Cronin (2010) also interprets such vacant billboards negatively (2010: 147), in that they can be seen as "*a visual symbol of the ghettos*". Cronin (2010) further adds that the empty billboards are an indication that the area of their location is one that is not economically vibrant, as these advertising spaces cannot be successfully sold to companies by the agencies that lease them. Therefore, billboards also need to be understood in terms of the 'social spatial dialectic', which, given that Raploch has a history of deprivation and stigmatisation, in this context adds to the negative social discourse of Raploch.

Graffiti as communication in Raploch

Various participants made photos of graffiti within the area, especially of that on the building in the first photograph below. Primarily, graffiti was seen as vandalism. Emily, who made this photo, commented:

> "*...one area I really hate I just dislike because it is always kind of graffiti and the roads need tarred.*"
> (Emily 20s)

Figure 50: Emily (2012) *Untitled.*

Therefore her comments resonate with the general discourse of graffiti, which is seen as 'out of place' in public spaces, and conveying a general sense of disobedience and disorder (Cresswell 1996). Therefore, this graffiti can be seen as visually encouraging stigmatisation, as well as criminal stereotyping within an area (Wilson and Kelling 1982). This is particularly relevant considering the long history of stigmatisation this area has experienced, therefore the graffiti can be seen as a visual reminder of Raploch's long history of being a sink estate.

Ciaran also saw the graffiti in Raploch in terms of vandalism, but he suggests that he appreciated graffiti as art within a different context:

> *"I'm quite a fan of the graffiti artist Banksy who operates all over the world but particularly in southern England. And we don't really see any of that in Raploch and I'd quite like to see that but what we have instead is rather…Neanderthal um…scrawlings so um…"*
>
> (Ciaran 30s)

Figure 51: Ciaran (2012) *God Save The Queen: IRA Graffiti on a Small Pillar Box Under Stirling Castle.*

This resonates with Cresswell (1996) who argued that graffiti could be acceptable, depending on their context. Therefore, graffiti by Bansky is acceptable and considered as art, especially when removed from its urban context, framed and sold at an art auction in London for £750,000, whereby writing on a wall in a housing estate is seen as *"Neanderthal"* (Huffington Post, 2013).

Only one participant, Ciaran also considered the explicit linguistic meaning of the graffiti:

> *"Um…you can see somebody has scrawled on the side IRA which stands for the Irish Republic Army, which was you know um…the paramilitary organisation of the independence movement in Northern Ireland. I thought that had all kind of blown over somehow but uh…apparently its alive and kicking in Raploch. And you can see other…I dunno if you can see on the wall. I may have taken pictures elsewhere but people have scrawled FTQ or fuck the queen so…this kind of republican anti monarchist sentiment is being aired*

there by the um... I always like graffiti, I don't really like that particularly

because its not...you know its not really I don't think but uh...you know?"

(Ciaran 30s)

This observation resonates with Massey (1993), who found IRA graffiti in Kilburn High Road, London. She considered this linguistic landscape as part of the place identity of this area, which also had a historical Irish background. Therefore, it could be argued that the graffiti allowed the graffiti writers to express their group identity, which in the case of Raploch can be seen as part of a religious, as well as Irish identity, as previous research has pointed out (Robertson *et al*, 2008a). Ciaran also considered this form of graffiti as a "*very low protest*", which he elaborated on in the highly descriptive and lengthy title that he gave to the photo:

"The area retains a large Irish Catholic community, some of whom evidently enjoy defacing its street furniture with sectarian slogans such as 'Fuck the Queen'. It's like stepping back 20 years, or 200."

(Ciaran 30s)

Therefore, the linguistic discourse, in the form of graffiti, arguably highlighted aspects of secterian tension within the arear. Conversely Daniel, even though he made a photo with a clearly visible IRA graffiti, did not refer to this in the interview, but rather spoke about the Protestant School which was formerly located on this plot of land:

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"This is the site of the old school which housed the Protestant school on this plot and I didn't get a good enough photo but to the right of that on the same road was the Catholic school".

(Daniel 30s)

Figure 52: Daniel (2012) *Housing.*

Therefore, this territory arguably had a particular place identity, because it had housed the Protestant school. Therefore, the IRA graffiti could be viewed as a direct response to this place identity. This graffiti could be interpreted as compensating for the original meaning of this place, which had previously been occupied by the Protestant school. In other words, these graffiti can be seen as a form of territorial invasion, and therefore is a reflection of the religious rivalry within the area. Similarly, the utilisation of sectarian graffiti as a territorial marker was found in a study in Glasgow, which recorded a significantly higher amount of sectarian then racist graffiti (Ellaway, *et al* 2002).

Conclusion

This chapter drew attention to the participants' interpretations of the linguistic landscape. As with interpretations of the built environment, these visual markers were considered as part of a social discourse within the community. The discrepancy between the official signs, the promises they conveyed, and the reality on the ground in Raploch, created an emotional response because they were considered impenetrable and insincere. These signs also need to be viewed in the context of both, historically unfulfilled promises, such as those discovered by Pollock and Sharp (2012), and of the unequal relationship between people in the area and powerful urban actors. Linguistic markers, such as the empty and neglected billboards and the graffiti, are interpreted as a visual representation of a stigmatised area. Simultaneously, the graffiti, as a group identity marker, also visually reinforces the previous finding of religiously rivalry in the area. Therefore, graffiti in Raploch is used as a form of communication between, and territorial markers of, different group identities, such as Roman Catholic and Protestant. In conclusion, these semiotic and linguistic landscapes are a representation of the power relationships, as well as symbols of stigmatisation and rivalry, that exist both within the area, and between the area and the wider world.

This was the final chapter examining the findings about participants' experiences of living in Raploch, an area undergoing regeneration. The next chapter of this thesis will describe the conclusions that can be drawn from the research project, considering the substantive contribution it has made to both knowledge in this field, and some methodological considerations for research in general, as well as

proposing some future research investigations that could follow on from this work.

Chapter Nine

Conclusion

This thesis has explored the ongoing regeneration of Raploch, a council housing estate located in Stirling, Scotland. This was investigated through considering the lived experience of regeneration, both for the established residents who reside in the council housing estate, or who have family or historic links with the area, and new residents, who have moved into the new owner occupied houses as a result of the regeneration. In addition, key informants who worked in a professional capacity in the area were also consulted to broaden the perspective on the community. The latest regeneration programme was a response to a long history of deprivation, segregation and stigmatisation of the estate, which had led to the demolition of council housing on one side of a main road through the area. This demolition site was redeveloped by private developers in partnership with a social housing provider. As a consequence of the regeneration there were numerous changes within the area: physical changes, brought about by the construction of new buildings, and social changes, brought about by owner occupiers moving into the new housing built in the area. The utilisation of a visual research method allowed for an in-depth exploration of all these changes, giving a unique insight into the residents' perception of the regeneration process, and the lived experience of being resident in Raploch during this period of change. This method entailed participants making photos of anything that they considered significant within the estate, which were then used as the starting point for an in-depth face

to face qualitative interview. This allowed for a unique, unprompted perspective on the regeneration of a council housing estate.

Three main themes emerged as having significance for the participants, in their lived experience of the regenerated Raploch. The first of these focused on Raploch as a place with historical significance, this became tangible for the participants through the physicality of structures such as the castle and the cannons, as well as through the care these artefacts are given by the wider society. The iconic nature of Stirling Castle in a globalised tourist industry, as well as in a national identity context, further encouraged the sense of significance of Raploch as a historical place.

The second theme emerging was that of segregation and a sense of difference, which was visually perceived in the architecture, as well as socially, through the clear perception of different habitus. The participants' interpretation of the built environment, allowed the researcher a unique insight into how the built environment is conceptualised within a social context. As part of this theme, historical fragmentations within the Raploch community, which predated regeneration, became most apparent, both in terms of religion as well as territory. Aspects of gentrification further encouraged a sense of segregation and fragmentation within the community.

The final emerging theme was that of the meanings conveyed by the semiotic and linguistic landscape, which the participants read and interpreted as communication within the Raploch community. These different themes are now

considered within this conclusion, which draws together their significance in answering the research question by also considering the objectives.

What perceptions have the residents of Raploch on their lived experience in the area as well as on the regeneration process?

The first objective was to capture the essence of the experience of being in Raploch, or, sense of place.

The second objective was to get an understanding of the perception the residents had on the built environment and the physical structures within the area, and the meaning they attributed to these.

The third and final strand of objectives focused on the social changes the new as well as the established residents experienced by living in a community which is in this form newly established.

Decisions are made elsewhere: top-down decision making

There was a strong perception among participants that decisions concerning the area were made elsewhere. Therefore, there was a sense that the experience of living in a regenerated Raploch can be characterised as the assertion of power by urban actors over the community. This finding chimes with those of Pollock and

Sharp (2012), who also found that people in Raploch felt that decisions were made elsewhere. This was particularly the case for established residents, who could draw on a long history of negative experiences of such dominating power relationships, stretching right back as far as the inter-war clearance of the *'Tap o' Toon'* slum and the re-housing of the residents into Raploch (Robertson, 2008a; Cole and Furbey, 1994). Historically council housing in Raploch, within the context of the *'social spatial dialectic'*, is perceived by the established community as a place of asserted power and, consequently, one of social control (Soja, 2008; Lefebvre, 1991). This asserted power is also currently experienced by residents through the placement of official signs within the estate. The exact meanings of the signs has never been made clear to the residents, who felt they cryptically proclaimed indistinct potential projects, which never came to fruition, creating in them a sense that decisions were being made elsewhere, without any real intention of informing the community as to what was planned. Considering the linguistic landscape it can be argued that this thesis added to the current body of literature as it adapted and expanded on the theory about linguistic landscapes, which originally focus primarily on bilingual countries such as Israel. Power aspects of the physical regeneration, including the height of the buildings and the 'out of place' architectural design, created a feeling in the established residents that they had been invaded, rather than involved in the decision making process as to how the regeneration process would develop in the built environment. As a consequence of this top-down decision making, the residents rejected aspects of the regeneration, but in terms of an 'out of place' discourse rather than a complete rejection of it. Consequently, this thesis added to the current body of literature on power and its discourse expressed in the physical form. Simultaneously, this

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resonated with Bourdieus' (1992) description of 'symbolic violence', which Savage (2005) originally set in the context of the urban environment, but this thesis was able to add to the literature in terms of considering 'symbolic violence' as being perceived by the established residents in Raploch.

Considering the strength of this sense within the community, that decisions are made elsewhere, the auto-driven photo elicitation method and its empowering aspects, as detailed in Chapter 5, allowed participants to feel ownership of the research, rather than it reinforcing the dominating power relationships they felt they had long been subject to (Clark-Ibáñez, 2007; Lapenta, 2011; Guillemin and Drew, 2010).

This sense of decisions being made elsewhere led some participants to conclude that decisions about the regeneration were not favouring their interests, but rather those of the tourist industry, which would benefit from a more aesthetically pleasing view over Raploch from the Castle, or property developers, keen to sell on houses. At the same time, this perceived top-down decision making entirely contradicts one of the stated aims of the regeneration Masterplan (Scottish Executive, 2008a), namely, "*building a sense of ownership among local people*". This sense of exclusion from decision-making could have been avoided if the involvement of residents in the regeneration process had stayed meaningful, even in what became economically precarious times. Rather it was allowing profits, and mitigating a potential loss of profit, which was allowed to dictate decisions on Raploch regeneration, which was best illustrated in increasing housing density which was felt by the community to be against their interests. At the same time, this reflects the power of capital within a neo-liberal globalised world, as

examined in the literature review, whereby both nation states and political actors are unable, or ideologically unwilling to, enforce the meaningful interests of communities over the interests of profit creation (Harvey, 2006; Glynn, 2009).

Gentrification in Raploch

The findings of this thesis also added weight to the argument that the regeneration process incorporates aspects of gentrification, as was discussed in Chapter 2. The four characteristics described by Ward (1991) which make up a gentrified area were all evident and experienced within Raploch.

Social spatial reorganisation

Even though there was limited evidence that direct displacement had taken place, established residents still felt displaced in socio-cultural terms. This became apparent in their sense that the newly built Raploch was 'out of place', both physically and socially, in relation to *their* understanding of Raploch. The established residents experienced socio-spatial segregation, and thus described the new residents as '*foreigners*', which also served to highlight their 'otherness' to the new residents, while at the same time claiming the moral ownership of the place Raploch, as locals. Similarly, the new residents perceived that they too had a moral claim to the area, as they had invested into it through purchasing a property there. Segregation was also becoming particularly apparent among these new

residents', hence their suggestion that further regenerations in the established, un-regenerated part of Raploch were required. This finding corroborates the work of Savage, *et al* (2005), who argued that incomers perceive that the moral right to place does not just arise out of length of residency, but rather that it is a selected belonging.

Shared identities and differentiations

Like the established community, who saw themselves as locals, the new residents, as a group, also wanted to differentiate themselves from the established residents by focusing on the different habitus of this community, which was judged negatively (Bourdieu, 1990c; Elias and Scotson, 1965). Both groups considered the other to be homogeneous, rather than being fragmented and containing micro-spatial social systems. At the same time, this allowed each group to develop a cohesive group identity, of either being local or being a regenerator. As a consequence, the regenerated Raploch is now experienced as a segregated place, where residents do not mix socially, but rather live in distinctly different social worlds, with the exception of occasional incidental encounters in local shops or facilities. This substantiates previous research on regenerated areas, which found that socially distinct groups did not mix, despite their spatial proximity (Butler, 1997; Butler and Robson, 2003; Allen *et al,* 2005; Elias and Scotson, 1965; Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000). Therefore, the stated desire of the regeneration project to create a socially mixed community failed, and its actual practice served

to amplify, if not exaggerate a sense of difference between the established and the new residents, rather than develop social cohesion.

Changes in the built environment

The synergy between gentrification and the regeneration of Raploch is also clearly displayed within the transformed built environment, whereby, similarly to renovations within gentrified areas, the built environment has altered within the regenerated Raploch. These changes led to a comparing and contrasting by all residents, highlighting a sense of difference between the newly built and the un-regenerated Raploch. This sense of difference also became apparent in the different interpretations of buildings in the area by the two communities. Established residents, while finding the new buildings aesthetically pleasing, considered them to be 'out of place' in their neighbourhood. Therefore the buildings were rejected in terms of what they represent to the established community, a stark visual reminder that their area is in need of renewal.

On the other hand the new residents considered the area in terms of '*new*' and '*old*', whereby the old was perceived as negative and in need of regeneration, and the new as positive and progressive. This negative response to the other can be seen as a rejection of their norms and values, which these buildings express, and therefore, this data substantiates Lefebvre's (1996) argument that architecture is, in essence, a social practice. Such findings also corresponded to those of Allen *et al* (2005), who found that similar housing designs act to blur the distinction between

owners and renters and therefore discourage an '*us*' and '*them*' discourse. This finding therefore allowed a unique insight into the social interpretation of the built environment, and the meaning it is attributed by different sections in society, within different contexts, thus substantiating Rapoport's (1982) claim that the built environment can be seen as a discourse, which is understood in a socio-cultural context. Hence, this thesis was able to add to the very limited body of qualitative research and literature and makes a unique contribution to research on the perceptions of the physical changes experienced by the residents of a regenerated council housing estate (Hickman *et al,* 2011; Van der Does *et al,* 2008).

Economic aspects

The un-affordability of the newly built houses for established Raploch residents can also be seen as a form of exclusion, which again resonates with areas of gentrification, whereby communities are priced out of the market within a specific place. The affordability of property was an aspect that encouraged the new residents to move into Raploch, which again resonates with gentrification. Therefore, these findings substantiated the supply side argument within the gentrification debate, whereby, not only the residents, but also the property developers were attracted to the area because it was low cost, and also attracted governmental support (Smith, 1979). But in contrast to Ward's (1991) findings new residents were not attracted to the area by its social aspects, such as the social or historical architectural make-up of the area. Old council house neighbourhoods thus have a different cache to old private housing locales in terms of gentrification.

That said, the new residents did focus on certain historical aspects, especially the castle as an iconic structure, considering them to validate, or justify, their moving into a stigmatised area. As a consequence, this research did substantiate the importance of place identity, in terms of packaging houses for sale within the symbolic economy, as Zukin (1995) found within the USA. Therefore, the focus on the historical structures allowed for the creation of an alternative place identity from one of poverty and crime, to a place of significance and importance, a place with historical, iconic structures, and filled with historical narratives, all of which is acknowledged not only locally but also as part of Scottish national identity and a globalised tourist industry.

Regeneration reinforced, given these different aspects of gentrification, a sense of separateness between the established and the new residents, as well as highlighting already long existent fragmentations, such as historical territorialities, rather than creating, as was its stated ambition, social cohesion within the neighbourhood. The public rhetoric and actual practice of regeneration clearly differ, given the power dynamics that are present within the actual process.

Raploch as a meaningful place

In conceptualising the experiences of the residents within Raploch there was a clear sense that it was a meaningful place with multiple-identities. This research therefore adds weight to Massey's (1993) argument that places have multiple-identities, and that these are multi- layered and dependent upon the various

perceptions of people. The new and the established community within Raploch both perceived historical structures and narratives as significant in terms of the creation of the *'meaningful place'* Raploch. This discourse can also be seen as an alternative to the stigmatising discourse of deprivation, crime and segregation, which, as mentioned previously, was utilised as a justification for the new residents to buy property in the area. On the other hand the established residents wanted to deflect from the negative discourse, as it focused on their community as being in need of regeneration. As a result the established community emphasised the perceived positive aspects, the historical aspects, to the researcher. As a consequence, it could be argued that the regeneration reinforced the focus on the historical elements within Raploch as it allowed both communities to create a positive place identity. This resonates with Lefebvre's (1991:26) concept of place whereby he argues *"(Social) space is a (social) product".*

Raploch's multi-layered identity is very complex, because various actors are part of the creation of its sense of place. This becomes apparent when considering some of the place identities held for Raploch, such as, Raploch a place of economic activity, which generates profit for the developers, a place which is part of a globalised world, with the Castle acting as a significant selling point within the Stirling area as a whole, while not forgetting the significance of the panoramic tourist view over Raploch from the Castle. Similarly, it is also a place with a long history of deprivation, stigmatisation and segregation that predates the inter-war slum clearance estate reputation, as well as having a historical connection with poor Irish immigrants and, as a consequence, housing a religiously mixed community. Raploch is also a place of close knit working class families, proud of

their and the place's history, and celebrate that connection with the Raploch. It is also still a place where families live on a very limited income, often supported by various government benefits and allowances. Simultaneously, it is a place where national politicians open new schools and colleges and introduce regeneration projects, a place where journalists locate stories of crime, social segregation and pioneering youth musical concerts. This list of identities is by far not exhaustive, but it allows a first-hand glimpse into the range and variety of perceptions and interests people attribute to the meaningful place called Raploch. This listing also highlights the various tensions and conflicts that exist between different social groups, especially given that their habitus and their understanding of the meaningful place Raploch, within the globalised world, is so fundamentally different. At the same time, acknowledging these different place identities in a renewal program would allow for a more place specific regeneration, which would simultaneously avoid such *faux pas* as using a colour that is heavily loaded with divisive symbolic meaning.

Policy implication

In conclusion, there are various lessons to be found for policy-makers to counteract the sense of powerlessness that established residents experienced in the regeneration process. Official bodies should try to create signs that communicate clearly their intentions to the community. Similarly, these official signs should be removed as soon as they become obsolete, and only erected if there is a certainty that projects are to be progressed. Even though this aspect may

appear somewhat minor they have significance for the community and its understanding of itself.

'*Social spatial dialectic*' needs thought of when designing and developing buildings within an area. As it became apparent in this thesis, a significantly different architectural style, combined with simultaneously moving in a different social group, created a sense of 'us' and 'them'. Arguably, a more traditional and conventional style of architecture would have allowed for a greater blurring between these two places and people.

In terms of housing policy, it could be argued that multiple place identity within any housing area is significant enough to be considered in any decision making process. The history of a place, as well as the understanding wider society and the inhabitants have of a place, needs therefore to be appropriately scrutinised. In Raploch, for example, a showpiece house on the main through road featured a green wall. This showed remarkable cultural insensitivity, on the part of the developers, and it created anxiety among residents who feared tensions between two different traditionally distinct social groups; Roman Catholics and Protestants. Another place specific aspect is the historical stigma of being a so called 'sink estate'. Consequently, the heights of the new buildings triggered associations with multi-stories, and their underlying discourse of stigmatisation and depravation, which should also have been fully considered.

The historical memory of so called 'sink estates' also needs to be understood from the perspective of the established residents who have experienced negative

manifestations of control and power through previous social policy and action, and therefore are potentially sensitised as well as frustrated over the control exerted upon them. Hence, it is especially significant that involvement of residents in the regeneration process should be, and stays, meaningful, even in economically precarious times, rather than allowing profit and the potential loss of profit to dictate decisions on population or housing density over community interests. This is especially significant because these decisions have long lasting effects on the community. Policy-makers should, therefore, reconsider their relationships within private public partnerships, especially as the interests of these two bodies are fundamentally different; with the former primarily interested in profit creation, while the latter should have solely the interests of communities and wider society in mind. In the case of a council estate this is particularly significant, as a large proportion of people living in so called 'sink estates' are vulnerable and have a limited voice in the political decision making process.

Reflecting on the research method: its limitations and strengths

Similarly to Van der Does' *et al* (2008) experience, and as detailed earlier, the researcher found it difficult to access participants, even though she had the support of gatekeepers, as Clark-Ibáñez (2007) had suggested was a necessity. On reflection, perhaps given the need for participants to make photos prior to the actual interview, some similarities were drawn to the notion of school homework. This became particularly apparent when potential participants, who would have

been willing to take part in a semi-structured interview, when initially approached by the researcher, self excluded themselves after being tasked to make photos. Had the researcher been part of an organisation, or had a personal link to the area, through being resident there, for example, the process of accessing participants would have been less time consuming and more productive.

Further, individuals perhaps felt uncertain about where the research process was actually leading, given it involved the production of personal photos . While individuals might have had an idea about how an interview was conducted, from seeing this regularly in the media, or participating previously in one given the proliferation of such work in the estate over the last few years, the photo aspect added a quite unknown dimension to this process. There was often a sense on the part of participants, that they would post or give the cameras back straight away, without being fully aware of just how time consuming the actual photo making process would prove to be. This delay made people feel uneasy and perhaps guilty, causing them to start avoiding follow up phone calls and further postponing the returning of the camera. Another factor might have been that development of the film was included in the price when purchasing the single use camera; so had individuals used the camera for their personal use, or alternatively felt some of the images they took were not appropriate, or perhaps of a good enough quality, they might have been more reluctant to submit the camera. The change to single use disposable cameras, which did not include film development did not, however, increase the actual return rate, thus having no significant impact. On reflection, the use of a digital camera could have potentially led to a greater rate of camera return; because participants would perhaps have considered a digital camera to be

a greater investment in the research, and subsequently in them as participants. Further, using a digital camera could be considered as socially more acceptable, than using a single use disposable camera, given their ubiquity in both phones and other electronic devices.

The limited number of final participants could be seen as impacting on representation, but this exercise could never truly be representative of Raploch's population. Within any qualitative study a large number of participants is not necessarily beneficial. As Gaskell (200: 43) points out, there are only a "*limited number of interpretations or versions of reality*" as they are, especially in a social milieu, socially constructed, even though they "*may appear to be unique to the individual*". He went on to suggest limiting the actual number of participants in order to adequately analyse the resulting data, without losing any aspects; to his way of thinking the researcher must be able to "*almost live and dream the interview*" Gaskell (200: 43). Hennink *et al (*2011: 88) argued that the researcher must be *"guided by [the] theoretical principle called saturation".* This point of saturation is reached, according to Hennink *et al* (2011), when information repeats itself. Therefore, *"after reaching information saturation, further data collection becomes redundant because the purpose of recruitment is to seek variation and context of participants rather than a large number of participants with those experiences"* (Hennink *et al*, 2011: 88).

The photos created by some participants revealed a high responsiveness to the visual in the environment, and a wish to express their perceptions of the Raploch through the photographic lens. On the other hand, some participants seemed to be

apprehensive of making photos and created only a limited number, thus putting a greater emphasis on the oral component, within the interview. It proved challenging to determine the reasoning behind this, but it could be due to an oral preference, being uncomfortable creating photos, or finding the external pressures involved in this exercise prohibitive, or a mixture of all three. At the same time, this apprehension for creating photos can also be interpreted as a reaction to a heightened awareness of both paedophilia and terrorism which brings with it an underlying fear of being confronted by people from the general public when taking photos.

Within the interview process the photos provided a certain focus for participants, as well as offering a degree of control over the subsequent conversation. In comparison to non-visual research methods, the actual analysis process proved disproportionately time consuming because the photos were not only considered as a single research entity, in themselves, but also when then combined with the conversation. This needs to be balanced, however, against the fact that the combined visual and oral method generates a very rich data source. This became particularly apparent while discussing sensitive and often hidden issues, such as the religious rivalry within the established community, because photos, once taken, created a sense that the full context of the resulting image needed to be explained to the researcher, leading the participants into territory that they would not have entered had a different methodology been applied. Similarly, the intense focus on historical structures, such as the Castle, the old canons and the Victorian 'villa', emerging out of the data unprompted, allowed for a follow on detailed focus upon an aspect within Raploch that might not have been given the same

prominence using a purely oral data collection instrument. This finding also highlights the gains that can be achieved through reducing research bias within this particular research design, which helps counteract post-modern critiques that the researcher has become too prominent within the research process (Haper, 1998; Banks, 2005; Clark-Ibanez, 2007; Lapenta, 2011)

Participant produced photos had one further advantage, over purely oral data, in that they allowed consideration to be focused as to where the participant had positioned themselves when taking the image, revealing the places that they did or did not enter. This provided hard evidence on separation and exclusion in place. The photographs also allowed important strictly visual aspects, such as signs and graffiti, to be both discussed and analysed, which again may not have emerged through an interview process alone. The photographs, the physical objects arranged on the table during the interview, also allowed the participants to return to issues previously discussed, as they compared and contrasted the photographs, thus further developing and expanding on the themes as and when they emerged in the discussion.

Finally, in relation to reflection, the researcher was very much aware of her presence as a woman from a higher education institution within the actual research process. On one occasion, a participant included psychological theories within the course of the interview. On another occasion, a participant saw both the research and researcher within the context of a school project, given the age difference between the interviewer and the interviewed. Both illustrate underlying power issues that are always present within a research exercise, although the need

for both nurturing and sustenance provided through food, shows the power dynamic is not always in one direction. It is also possible that the participants treated the researcher differently, on account of her Austrian nationality, for example, discussing sensitive issues such as religion, more openly because the researcher was seen not to have any particular personal position with regard to this subject.

Future Research

All research is time bound. So it would be interesting to undertake a follow on study in a few years to see whether the changes observed within the Raploch continue to reflect a separated and socially divided community. Or has this study, given that it was conducted as the regeneration was taking place, reflected an initial settling in period, where the segregation and the 'us and them' discourse proved dominant. It would also be useful to undertake further research, in another housing estate undergoing regeneration, using the exact same visual methodology, to see if the place specific factors, such as the link with historical features, are always part of the experience of living in a place, or if this was particular to the unique qualities of the Raploch.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Letter to organizations within Raploch

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School of Applied Social Science
 Iris Altenberger
Stirling
FK9 4LA
Scotland
UK
iris.altenberger@stir.ac.uk

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a PhD student in the School of the Applied Social Sciences, at the University of Stirling. I am currently working on a research project which looks into the regeneration process in the Raploch area. I am hoping to ask people to make photos of their environment and at a later stage interview them on their choices of photos. To get a better understanding of a wider historical context I also ask the participants to take along some historical photos of the area.

I was wondering if you as a core organisation within the community would be able and interested in helping me find potential participants. The participants would benefit from taking part in the research by being able to voice their thoughts about their changing environment, not only orally but also visually. Therefore the whole research process could potentially empower participants.

A copy of the research report could be made available to you after the research is completed. The report will contain a summary of all participants' contributions rather than being broken into singular cases, to ensure participants' anonymity.

I have enclosed an information sheet, which would be handed out to potentially interested participants as well as a photo instruction letter. If you have any further question please do not hesitate to contact me by phone or e-mail. I looking forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely

Iris Altenberger
Post Graduate Research Student
iris.altenberger@stir.ac.uk
Telephone: ********
Appendix 2: Information Sheet

Information Sheet

Research into the Regeneration of the Raploch area.
My name is Iris Altenberger and I am a PhD student of the University of Stirling. I am currently undertaking a research project on the Raploch regeneration and its visual and social impacts.
What is the aim of my study?
In the last few years a lot of changes have happened within the Raploch as a result of regeneration. Such changes have been in its physical nature: such as the new-build houses which have attracted new people to move into the area. I would like to ask you about these changes and how they have impacted on you and your surroundings. This is especially important because you are a resident and I feel you will have views about these changes. I am also looking for photos you taken in the past so I can see the extent of these recent changes
What will it mean to take part in the research?
I would like you to take photos of Raploch to help me understand your world and how its changing. After taking the photos I would like to discuss them with you in an interview. If you have any old photos of the Raploch area I would like you to bring them along to help me better understand the changes occurring over a longer time period. I need to make a copy of these old photos. The interview will take about one hour. The interviews will be audio-recorded, which helps me to remember all the aspects of what you have mentioned. If you do not want to take part in the research you can drop out at any time. The audio recording can also be turned off at any time.
What happens with your interviews and your photos?
After I have thought about your photos and interviews and other people's photos and interviews I will write up a report. This report will be part of a PhD thesis. I might write articles in academic journals as well as giving presentations. Your contribution will help me to better understand how people feel about the changes occurring within a regenerated area.
How is your anonymity and confidentiality protected?
The photos as well as the interviews will be anonymous to make sure nobody can work out who you are. Only I and a transcriber, the person who helps me to type it

up the interviews, will be hearing your interview. The audio recordings will be deleted after the interviews are transcribed. Your photos without your name may be shown in the report which will be public, so any photos you don't like can be removed by you at any time. Photos of peoples' faces will be blurred to ensure people's privacy. I will store all the interviews and photos on a password protected computer.

If you have any further questions or you are interested in taking part in the research project please don't hesitate to contact me.

Iris Altenberger
School of Applied Social Science
University of Stirling
Stirling
FK9 4 LA
Tel: ********
iris.altenberger@stir.ac.uk
If you have any concerns about how I conducted the research please contact

Prof Alison Bowes Head of School
School of Applied Social Science
Colin Bell Building
University of Stirling
Stirling
FK9 4LA
Scotland
UK
01786 467696

Thank you

Appendix 3: Photograph Instruction

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PHOTOGRAPH INSTRUCTIONS

Please take photos of places and spaces which for you illustrate the changing nature of Raploch as it undergoes regeneration. The photos will have a meaning for you and/or are important to you for different reasons (e.g. positive, negative, favourite places, despised places, buildings you admire or dislike, urban areas or nature places, streets - the choice is yours entirely). People can be also part of the photos but I have to blur their faces to ensure their anonymity.

- The camera is for your use and I hope you enjoy taking the photos.
- Please take at least 10 photos but you can make as many photos as are on the camera.
- After making your photos please put the camera into the pre-stamped envelope and post it back to me.
- As mentioned in the information sheet after I get the photos developed I would like to explore and talk about them with you. It might take about one hour to discuss the photos to find out about your thoughts.
- If you have any historical photos (time period between 1920 till 2000) of the Raploch please bring them along (maximal 10 historical photos). I will need to make a copy of your old photos. If there are any people on your old photos I will blur their faces to ensure their identity is protected.
- If you have any questions please just call me ********

Please enter your contact details so I can get in touch after developing the photos.

NameAddress:
Telephone no.:

Appendix 4: Semi-structured interview questions and prompts

1. (*Looking at your pictures*) Why have you chosen these photos? What do these places mean to you?
- (where is it, materials, architecture….)
- how do you think residents feel about it, (indirect question – might give socially less acceptable answer)
- is there anything else you want to mention – this picture brings to mind.

2. What do you think of the new houses / campus / and all the other recent changes within the Raploch?
- Layout of the redevelopment?
- New road layout?
- Types of houses?

3. What does the Raploch mean to you?

4. The new houses are now starting to be occupied do you know anybody who gets a new house?
- how do you feel about the new residents?
- have you met any yet?
- Through children/school?
- Leisure acitivities / clubs / church

5. Looking at historical photos and stories you might have heard do you feel the Raploch has changed since it was build? What do you think of the past changes?
- Outcomes?

6. Looking at the map of the redeveloped area what are your thoughts about the spatial layout of the area?

Appendix 5: Photo of a milk lady

Source: Stirling Smith Art Gallery and Museum

Appendix 6: A Girl Scout group

Source: Stirling Smith Art Gallery and Museum

Appendix 7: Raploch Farm

Source: Stirling Smith Art Gallery and Museum

Appendix 8: Row of cottages with a view of the castle

Source: Stirling Smith Art Gallery and Museum

Appendix 9: view from the castle before council housing development

Source: Stirling Smith Art Gallery and Museum

Appendix 10: View of Raploch from the castle after council housing development

Source: University of Stirling (2013)
Appendix 11: Consent letter

Consent form

If you agree and with this statements please tick the appropriate boxes and sign on the bottom.

I read and understood the information sheet ☐

I have agreed to the interview being audio recorded ☐

I have been informed that I can withdraw from the research
at any time. ☐

I agree that the information I give within the research
will be used in reports, presentations and publications. ☐

Signature of participants:

Date:

Appendix 12: Map of the newly built regenerated area in Raploch