'Hard-to-Reach' or 'Easy-to-Ignore'?

A rapid review of place-based policies and equality

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Contents

Place-based policies and equalities – a rapid review

Executive summary

This review details the findings of a rapid evidence synthesis of academic literature, grey literature – research findings and evaluation – and statistical analysis on place-based policies and dimensions of equality. The main findings of the review with relevance for Scotland are:

- The evidence for the ways in which particular equalities groups may benefit, or not, from place-based policies is quite sparse and we can make few definite conclusions.

- Overall, in place-based policies, socio-economic inequality is much easier for policy-makers to understand and focus on, compared to the complexities of exclusion and deprivation faced by equalities groups.

- The differing spatial distribution of equalities groups in Scotland suggests any future place-based policies should have equalities as a key focus.

- 17 per cent of those responding to successive waves of the Scottish Health Survey, classifying themselves as not heterosexual, also live in the 15 per cent most deprived neighbourhoods, making this group disproportionately represented in these neighbourhoods.

- In the past there has commonly been a wholly unintentional "blindness" to equalities in place-based policies, with a presumption that all will, or can, benefit equally from improvements in socio-economic outcomes.

- Place-based policies can explicitly focus on equalities groups, but often in a negative or problematising way – for example disabled people as a group needing to gain employment to reduce welfare benefits expenditure.

- Scotland has a long history of place-based policies and continuing small, local projects focused on equalities groups. The lessons from these should be more broadly disseminated.

- Engagement with place-based policies by local residents is often quite low; one large programme in England only managed to reach 20 per cent of residents in the targeted deprived neighbourhoods.

- Place-based policies are particularly effective at delivering physical renewal and environmental improvements.

- The holistic nature of place-based policies means they are often associated with improvements in wellbeing and place attachment outcomes. In the most ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in England there is evidence that some outcomes for certain BME groups were particularly improved by place-based policies.

- Place-based policies often fail to make sustained improvements in socio-economic outcomes because the root cause of problems is outwith the neighbourhood, at the scale of the town, city or greater.

We recommend:

- An ongoing focus on improving equalities data at a neighbourhood level, particularly using the 2011 Census as a basis for understanding ongoing trends.
- Community Planning partners should also ensure they are using whatever equalities data is broadly available – particularly around gender and age.
- Equality Impact Assessments based on a broad evidence base, and using techniques such as logic modelling, should be embedded into the implementation of any future place-based policies to assure an equalities focus even if statistical data at the neighbourhood level is not available.
- The new statutory duties on equalities outcomes and positive duties may also be effective policy tools for CPPs to deliver an equalities dimension to place-based policies.

Introduction

This review details the findings of a rapid evidence synthesis of academic literature, grey literature and statistical analysis on place-based policies and dimensions of equality. It has been prepared in response to a call from the Equalities and Human Rights Commission in Scotland to draw together the evidence to better understand:

- Who is most likely to benefit from a socio-economic place-based focus to delivering policy in Scotland and who is most likely to be excluded?

- How can place-based anti-deprivation policy be nuanced to address the inequalities that groups experience when they do not live within the tightly defined geographical areas, or whose needs may require additional interventions?

- What are the implications of a socio-economic or purely place-based approach, for equality groups in terms of equality of opportunity, and of outcome, and for good relations more generally?

- What are the implications of a socio-economic or purely place-based approach for public authorities in line with the National Performance Framework and Single Outcome Agreements?

- What monitoring mechanisms would need to be in place to track the extent to which positive outcomes are being achieved by members and non members of equality groups resident in areas targeted for place-based interventions?

The first half of the review provides an overall synopsis of the experience of place-based policies in Scotland and present policy debates around public service reform and preventative spending.

Using evidence derived from Scotland, the rest of the UK and international examples, we then go on to discuss, firstly the general positive outcomes for all that can be delivered through place-based

policies, and secondly, a discussion of the problems and criticisms of place-based policies. This is used to set the context for the analysis from an equalities perspective.

The second half of the paper analyses place-based policies and the most deprived neighbourhoods in Scotland, from an equalities perspective. We provide a summary of the evidence of the experience of equalities groups in deprived neighbourhoods and in place-based policies.

To highlight the significance of this in a Scottish context, we provide a statistical summary of the distribution of equalities groups in the neighbourhoods in the bottom 15 per cent of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD).[1] We then assess whether these trends are being reflected in Scottish Government policy and Community Planning Partnership (CPP) Single Outcome Agreements (SOA). We conclude by highlighting key gaps in the evidence and data and suggesting ways in which place-based policies might successfully incorporate equalities dimensions in future.

Policy context

The 2010 Independent Budget Review and 2011 Commission on the Future Delivery of Public Services ("The Christie Commission") have recommended radical change to the way public services are delivered in Scotland in response to falling revenue and rising service demand. This is within a broader framework of public service reform driven by the outcomes-focus of the National Performance Framework.

Of particular concern among some policy-makers is the long-running issue that certain neighbourhoods are characterised by high concentrations of poorer outcomes in their populations. This is recognised explicitly in the Christie Commission report:

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[1] For clarity of language, in the rest of this review these neighbourhoods are referred to as the most deprived neighbourhoods in Scotland, and this term should be read as meaning those datazones in the bottom 15 per cent of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation.

> *'The most acute levels of deprivation tend therefore to be highly localised, with a spatial clustering of poor outcomes.'[2]*

In the context of the present challenging policy environment, this has led to renewed attention on neighbourhoods as being effective sites for policy intervention to challenge the interlinked problems that individuals and households face and deliver better outcomes.

A report by the Improvement Service in 2011 highlights the stark difference in outcomes between neighbourhoods in the bottom 15 per cent of the SIMD and others in Scotland, linking this to possible cycles of socio-economic deprivation existing within the neighbourhood.[3] The Christie Commission acknowledges this evidence and recommends using a place-based approach to socio-economic policy, informed by previous area-based regeneration, to tackle the significant inequalities in Scotland.

This re-focusing on place is within a broader programme of service redesign around coproduction and strategic reorganisation to tackle complex problems. Indeed, the Christie Commission report goes on to say:

> *'Evidence indicates that tackling these multiple problems in isolation addresses neither the experience of negative outcomes through people's lives, nor their root causes.'*

This review looks at these multiple problems and possible links to negative outcomes from an equalities perspective. Specifically, we seek to understand whether individuals who share an identity with the protected characteristics under the Equality Act (2010)[4] might:

- Face specific barriers to accessing place-based policies

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[2] Christie, C. (2011). Commission on the Future Delivery of Public Services. Edinburgh, Commission on the Future Delivery of Public Services. p .56.

[3] The report: Mair, C., K. Zdeb, et al. (2010). Making Better Places: Making Places Better - The Distribution of Positive and Negative Outcomes in Scotland. Broxburn, The Improvement Service makes this argument, although the availability of neighbourhood-level deprivation data from the SIMD 2004 onwards has highlighted this issue more generally.

[4] The protected characteristics under the Equality Act 2010 are: age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion and belief, sex and sexual orientation.

- disproportionately benefit from place-based policies
- Be geographically distributed so as to miss any potential benefits
- Be geographically concentrated in the most deprived neighbourhoods so they might be expected to benefit

History of place-based policies in Scotland

The policy proposals contained in the Christie Commission report and the 2011 Scottish Government regeneration strategy *Achieving a Sustainable Future,* begin to signal a return to place-based socio-economic policies and community regeneration. Scotland has extensive experience of place-based approaches through programmes like Glasgow East Area Renewal (1976-1985), New Life for Urban Scotland (1988-1999) and the Social Inclusion Partnerships (SIPs) (1999-2003).[5] The network of thematic SIPs focused on specific groups across a local authority rather than a specific neighbourhood to engage with some equalities groups.[6]

From Scotland's previous experience of place-based policies we can take the following lessons:

- The place-based focus was effective at delivering physical change and environmental improvements in neighbourhoods;

- It could deliver socio-economic change, but much of this was not sustainable beyond the duration of funding;

- A place-based focus could build capacity for ongoing partnership working.

The Scottish Government has reduced the place-based focus for socio-economic policies in the *Achieving Our Potential* tackling poverty framework. The Fairer Scotland Fund lessened the emphasis on focusing expenditure on datazones in the bottom 15 per cent of SIMD and CPPs were encouraged to look more broadly at poverty and

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[5] Fyfe, A. (2009). <u>Tackling Multiple Deprivation in Communities: Considering the Evidence</u>. Edinburgh, The Scottish Government.
[6] Macpherson, S., R. Goodlad, et al. (2007). <u>Learning the Lessons from Thematic Social Inclusion Partnerships</u>. Edinburgh, Communities Scotland.

inequality. The three social poverty frameworks – Achieving Our Potential (2008), The Early Years Framework (2009) and Equally Well (2008) – also signalled a shift to focus on early-intervention in policy and coping with what is referred to as "failure-demand" adding to expenditure.

Failure demand on public services is defined as expenditure on services to deal with crises for individuals and in households, such as drug abuse problems, rather than investing in services to make an impact before these problems emerge.

Previous place-based policies in Scotland reflected the spatial patterning of deprivation and it is important to recognise how this differs from elsewhere, especially England. The construction of large housing estates on the edges of Scotland's town and cities in the 1930s and post-war era means that the majority of our most deprived neighbourhoods are in these peripheral areas.[7] Scotland does have some inner-city diverse neighbourhoods, such as Govanhill, but the scale of these compared to inner-city neighbourhoods in cities like Bradford and Leicester is quite different.

Different patterns of development planning and migration in England mean there is greater predominance of deprived neighbourhoods consisting of poor quality inner-city owner-occupied housing. The spatial pattern of deprivation we see in Scotland is shared in *some* towns and cities in the north of England. It is also important to note that while inner-city neighbourhoods in England tend to be diverse, particularly ethnically diverse, peripheral housing estates in Scotland and the north of England are traditionally much more homogenous.

Delivering outcomes through place-based policies

In this section we consider what positive outcomes can be delivered for neighbourhoods and communities through a specific focus on places. We present this evidence to assess whether communities generally will benefit from place-based policies, notwithstanding equalities characteristics. The benefits can be summarised as:

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[7] Turok, I. and N. Bailey (2004). "Twin track cities: Competitiveness and cohesion in Glasgow and Edinburgh." Progress in Planning **62**(3): 135-204.

- Improvements in place-based indicators, such as perception of neighbourhood
- Improvements in related indicators, such as mental wellbeing and confidence, and social capital and trust
- Improved holistic partnership working through a focus on place

Much of this evidence comes from Scotland and England, although we draw on international examples where appropriate. The New Deal for Communities (NDC) programme, aimed at 39 of the most deprived neighbourhoods in England, ran between 1999 and 2010. The national evaluation has produced a wealth of evidence on what works in place-based policies.[8]

As discussed above, it is important to recognise the different spatial distribution of populations in England and Scotland. Many of the communities that benefited a great deal from the NDC – such as ethnically diverse inner-city neighbourhoods in London – just do not exist in Scotland.[9] We emphasise this difference, where appropriate, in the evidence presented below.

The greatest positive outcome generated by many place-based approaches has been physical renewal within neighbourhoods. Redevelopment and refurbishment, increased tenure diversity and better housing management have all led to populations stabilising, neighbourhoods becoming more attractive to new residents and existing residents having a more positive image of the neighbourhood.[10] The impact of this on existing and new residents in terms of their own self-confidence and pride in their homes is important, although it is often difficult to fully capture within evaluations.[11]

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[8] See also: Tunstall, R. and Coulter, A. (2006). Twenty-Five Years on Twenty Estates: Turning the Tide? York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation; Griggs, J., Whitworth, A., Walker, R., McLennan, D. and Noble, M. (2008). Person- or Place-based Policies to Tackle Disadvantage? Not Knowing What Works. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

[9] Lawless, P. (2006). "Area-based urban interventions: rationale and outcomes: the New Deal for Communities programme in England." Urban Studies **43**(11): 1991-2011.
Robson, B., K. Lymperopoulou, et al. (2008). "People on the move: exploring the functional roles of deprived neighbourhoods." Environment and Planning A **40**(11): 2693-2714.

10 Tunstall, R. and Coulter, A. (2006). Twenty-Five Years on Twenty Estates: Turning the Tide? York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation

11 Fyfe, A., MacMillan, K., McGregor, T. and Reid, S. (2009). Informing Future Approaches to Tackling Multiple Deprivation in Communities: Beyond the Fairer Scotland Fund. Edinburgh, The Scottish Government; Manzi, T. and Jacobs, K. (2009). 'From a 'society of fear' to a 'society of

Because physical renewal produces rapid and positive change, it has often been a priority. This leads to strong progress on outcomes for residents' satisfaction with their neighbourhood, for example a 27 per cent increase in related indicators for the New Life for Urban Scotland programme between 1989 and 1999, and a 29 per cent increase in NDC neighbourhoods over a decade.

The benefits of this are great, although the poor quality of housing and the environment before a regeneration programme can make any improvement in conditions a significant enhancement.

The NDC evaluation demonstrated that this increase in residents' satisfaction was also linked to further positive outcomes – particularly around feelings of safety and fear of crime, positive wellbeing, and improvements in mental health.[12] The evaluation also revealed weaker associations between environmental improvements and improved trust and "bridging" social capital to wider social networks, including service providers, in the community.

This improvement was greatest within diverse, inner-city neighbourhoods. In the peripheral housing estates elsewhere in England (similar to those in Scotland) similar improvements were made, although they were less pronounced.

The GoWell regeneration research programme in Glasgow has also demonstrated similar changes in the transformational regeneration areas and among the "outmovers" who moved to new or better homes. Positive views on the external appearance of their homes were 20 per

respect': the transformation of Hackney's Holly Street estate.' Regenerating London: Governance, Sustainability and Community in a Global City. In: Imrie, R., Lees, L. and Raco, M. (Eds.). London, Routledge: 273-288; Matthews, P. (2012). "From area-based initiatives to strategic partnerships: have we lost the meaning of regeneration?" Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy **30**(1): 147-161.

[12] Batty, E., C. Beatty, et al. (2010). Improving Outcomes for People in Deprived Neighbourhoods: Evidence from the New Deal for Communities Programme. London, Communities and Local Government; Beatty, C., M. Foden, et al. (2010). Exploring and Explaining Change in Regeneration Schemes: Evidence from the New Deal for Communities Programme London, Communities and Local Government; Lawless, P. (2011). "Understanding the scale and nature of outcome change in area-regeneration programmes: evidence from the New Deal for Communities programme in England." Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy **29**(3): 520-532.

cent higher among those who had moved compared to those who remained within properties awaiting regeneration. This was also linked to improved satisfaction and wellbeing, with two-thirds of outmovers agreeing with the statement that their homes helped them feel a sense of progress in life, compared to only half of those who remained.

This regeneration has also produced similar improvements in general wellbeing. Outmovers had greater trust and more social interactions among their neighbours, and felt safer in the neighbourhood. Unlike the NDC, this has *not* led to improvements in mental health and wellbeing. It is suggested this is because of poor levels of mental health and wellbeing when these individuals moved to new homes, especially compared to the population who are remaining in the regeneration areas.[13]

Overall, the lessons from both Scotland and England are that physical improvements delivered through place-based policies are important in improving outcomes around place satisfaction and linked to this, wellbeing and safety.

The holistic approach of place-based approaches can make a real difference to quality of life in neighbourhoods – improvements in one outcome can lead to indirect improvements in other outcomes. It is unclear what approach the new place-based focus in Scotland will take and how much emphasis there will be on physical renewal or partnership working between services with a spatial focus on community regeneration. It appears that the holistic change in the delivery of services – using cross-cutting approaches to tackle cross-cutting issues – is one of the primary drivers identified by the Christie Commission in favouring place based approaches to socio-economic policy in Scotland.

One of the drivers supporting a place-based approach in Scotland is that area-effects may be present. By this, we mean that the disparity in outcomes in the most deprived neighbourhoods and other neighbourhoods is so great that the neighbourhood *itself* must have a role in producing outcomes – that the concentration of deprivation is having a negative impact on outcomes.

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[13] GoWell (2011). Moving Out, Moving On? Short to medium term outcomes from relocation through regeneration in Glasgow. Glasgow: Glasgow Centre for Population Health.

This negative impact would be above and beyond any characteristics associated with the individual or household, such as poor health or unemployment. The literature and evidence on this topic is large and has emerged from work in American inner-city "ghettos".

The evidence from Scotland and Europe is mixed. Qualitatively, practitioners and policy-makers can perceive that there is a specific culture, or concentrations of problems, in some neighbourhoods that have a negative impact on individuals.[14]

Quantitative evidence, which can control for individual and household impacts on outcomes, suggests a much more mixed picture. If the concentration of deprivation in the neighbourhood does have an impact, it is very small in relation to socio-economic outcomes. It is predominantly individual or household characteristics that predict outcomes.

Analysis of data from Scotland suggests it is the selection of neighbourhoods by residents, rather than any specific concentration of negative outcomes in a neighbourhood, that leads to geographic concentrations of poor outcomes.[15]

Given this mixed evidence, we cannot presume that improving outcomes for some individuals in these neighbourhoods will produce a virtuous circle of improvement for the whole neighbourhood.

Broadly, place-based policies can make limited differences to some outcomes, particularly around wellbeing, satisfaction with neighbourhood, neighbourhood sustainability, and confidence and feelings of efficacy. In the next section we address the evidence as to why place-based policies struggle to make a sustainable impact or impact on other outcomes.

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[14] Atkinson, R. and K. Kintrea (2004). "'Opportunities and despair, it's all in there': practitioner experiences and explanations of area effects and life chances." Sociology **38**(3): 437-455.

[15] Atkinson, R. and K. Kintrea (2001). "Disentangling area effects: evidence from deprived and non-deprived neighbourhoods." Urban Studies **38**(12): 2277-2298; Galster, G., R. Andersson, et al. (2010). "Who Is Affected by Neighbourhood Income Mix? Gender, Age, Family, Employment and Income Differences." Urban Studies **47**(14): 2915-2944; van Ham, M. and D. Manley (2010). "The effect of neighbourhood housing tenure mix on labour market outcomes: a longitudinal investigation of neighbourhood effects." Journal of Economic Geography **10**(2): 257-282.

Critiques of place-based policies

Turning now to the problems of place-based policies, across the literature the main challenges identified that are pertinent to this review are:

- That the root causes of many problems are not in the neighbourhood itself
- That place-based policies can miss the links to broader strategies and policy and can deliver an "inward-looking" approach
- That community engagement is not always comprehensive or fully inclusive

A key lesson learned from previous place-based policies in the UK and elsewhere has been that, although problems manifest themselves as a particular concentration of poor outcomes in specific neighbourhoods, the root causes of these problems are to be found elsewhere, and particularly at different spatial scales.[16]

At a most basic level, a key issue is that the majority of people experiencing poverty do not live in deprived neighbourhoods.[17] As can be seen in Figure 1 overleaf, there are households from all income quintiles distributed across Scotland, including a small percentage from the highest income quintile in the most deprived neighbourhoods. Even in the bottom income quintile, the majority of households do not live in the most deprived neighbourhoods (calculated from years 2008 and 2009 of the Scottish Health Survey).

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[16] Rae, A. (2010). "Learning from the Past? A Review of Approaches to Spatial Targeting in Urban Policy." Planning Theory & Practice **12**(3): 331-348.

[17] Chatterton, P. and Bradley, D. (2000). "Bringing Britain Together? The limitations of area-based regeneration policies in addressing deprivation." Local Economy **15**(2): 98.

Figure 1: Percentage of households living in most deprived neighbourhoods, by household income quintile
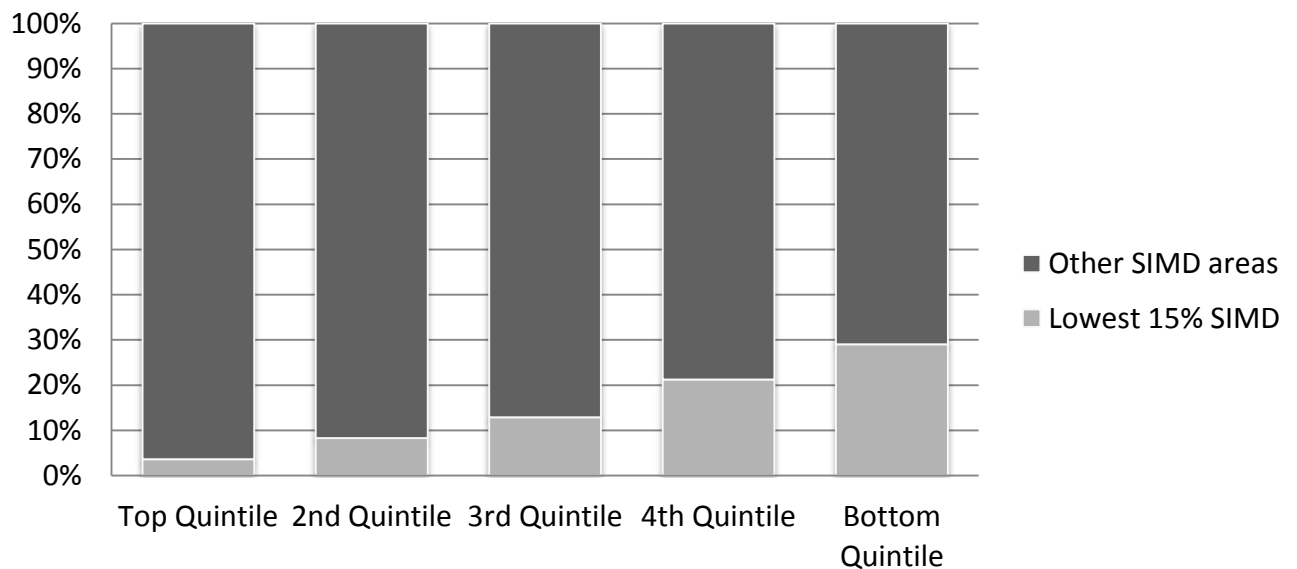
The challenges of socio-economic inequality and poor outcomes in health, wellbeing and education linked to inequalities, are predominantly outside of the neighbourhood. The outcomes manifest themselves in neighbourhoods because individuals choose to live, or find themselves housed, in the most deprived neighbourhoods. For example, we can tackle worklessness within the neighbourhood, but if the broader regional or national economy will not support employment then problems in the neighbourhood will persist.

A further related issue is that neighbourhoods and their residents are dynamic, and neighbourhoods themselves differ. It is easy to characterise the most deprived neighbourhoods as "sink estates" made worse by cycles of deprivation. The evidence suggests that the most deprived neighbourhoods differ a great deal from each other. Some are "elevator" neighbourhoods where many residents move on to better outcomes after a short residence.

Even the most deprived neighbourhoods maintain levels of deprivation, rather than create spirals of poorer outcomes.[18] Some of this dynamic is shown in the analysis of population change between 2001-2010, across deciles of the SIMD in figure 2.

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[18] Robson, B., Lymperopoulou, K. and Rae, A. (2008). "People on the move: exploring the functional roles of deprived neighbourhoods." Environment and Planning A **40**(11): 2693-2714.

Whereas the most deprived neighbourhoods are seeing consistent falls in population, the least deprived are seeing increases in population. The population dynamic means that the improvements delivered by place-based policies "leak" out of the neighbourhood. Many NDC neighbourhoods did not see the expected improvement because residents chose to move away when they had the opportunity.[19]

Figure 2: Population change in SIMD deciles, 2001-2010
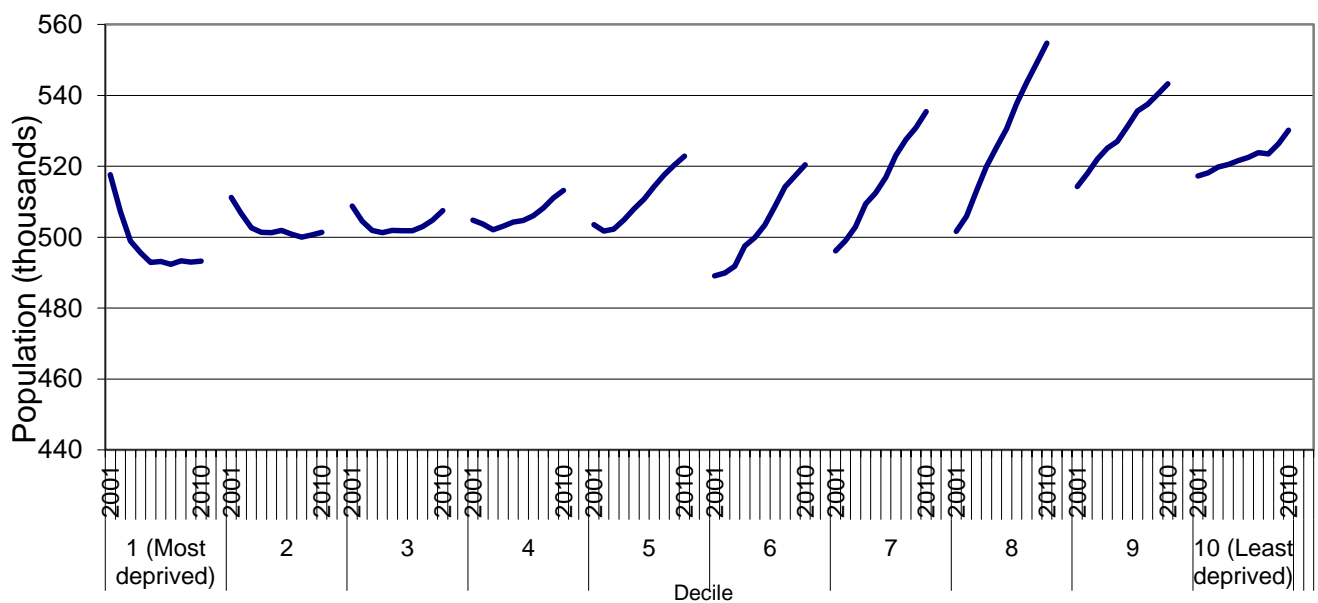
Another criticism of place-based policies has been that they lacked what has been termed a "strategic" focus – linking neighbourhoods into wider socio-economic networks in towns and cities, or wider public services. Policies that focused on physical renewal and capital investment, for example, delivered construction jobs in the short term, but often failed to match employers to an adequate supply of skilled employees within neighbourhoods.[20]

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[19] Lawless, P. (2006). "Area-based urban interventions: rationale and outcomes: the New Deal for Communities programme in England." Urban Studies **43**(11): 1991-2011.
[20] Turok, I. (1992). "Property-led urban regeneration: panacea or placebo?" Environment and Planning A **24**(3): 361-379.

Community regeneration programmes, such as the SIP programme in Scotland could be inward-looking, focusing on the neighbourhood, and therefore limited in their ambitions to make better outward links to labour markets and public services.[21]

If place-based programmes focus too much on small projects within the neighbourhoods, they can also fail to influence the strategic expenditure decisions of major statutory partners that could make an enormous difference to outcomes. Indeed some partners may use the targeting to actually withdraw some services.[22] Further, the difficulty of "bending the spend", using extra regeneration resources to lever-in further resources, is an on-going challenge within Scotland.[23]

One of the key drivers for a place-based focus to social policy in Scotland is that the neighbourhood – usually the datazone – is seen as the best scale at which to engage communities and encourage the co-production of outcomes. If communities and individuals can be encouraged to become owners of their outcomes, and share in the delivery of policy, then it will be more effective and cost less.[24]

Delivering this level of cooperation and engagement in place-based policies has been a challenge. Formal community engagement and partnership working with communities has, in the past, been tense, with competing priorities between statutory partners and community groups.[25]

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[21] Hall, P. (1997). "Regeneration policies for peripheral housing estates: inward- and outward-looking approaches." Urban Studies **34**(5): 873-890.

[22] Dabinett, G., Lawless, P., Rhodes, J. and Tyler, P. (2001). A Review of the Evidence Base for Regeneration Policy and Practice. London, Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions; Lawless, P. (2004). "Locating and explaining area-based urban initiatives: New Deal for Communities in England." Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy **22**(3): 383–399; see also the Welsh Assembly Public Accounts Committee report on the Welsh place-based policy Communities First: National Assembly for Wales Public Accounts Committee (2010). Communities First. Cardiff, National Assembly for Wales.

[23] Fyfe, A. (2009). Tackling Multiple Deprivation in Communities: Considering the Evidence. Edinburgh, The Scottish Government.; Fyfe, A., MacMillan, K., McGregor, T. and Reid, S. (2009). Informing Future Approaches to Tackling Multiple Deprivation in Communities: Beyond the Fairer Scotland Fund. Edinburgh, The Scottish Government.

[24] This clearly runs through the *Equally Well* and *Early Years Framework* strategies.

[25] Hastings, A., McArthur, A. and McGregor, A. (1996). Less Than Equal? Community Organisations and Estate Regeneration Partnerships. Bristol, The Policy Press.

Community engagement practices are continually improving, but evidence from the NDC suggests that even engagement in a day-to-day way is a challenge – only 20 per cent of residents had any contact with any of the projects set up in the neighbourhoods over the decade of the programme.[26]

To conclude this section, while overall place-based policies have achieved some successes, they have also faced many challenges in delivering sustainable, generational improvements in outcomes. Lessons can be learned to improve their effectiveness, but some of their drawbacks cannot easily be overcome. This is important to bear in mind when we consider what the experience of equalities groups has been within place-based policies.

The experience of equalities groups in place-based policies

The previous two sections have summarised the general experience of place-based policies in the UK, trying to bring out the lessons learned for Scotland. In this section we focus specifically on impacts for equalities groups. The evidence can be summarised as:

- The outcomes for equalities groups are mixed and the evidence is unclear
- There is some evidence women have a disproportionately negative experience of place-based policies
- The evidence relating to minority ethnic communities is mixed, differing between groups and on various dimensions of inequality
- In diverse neighbourhoods in England, some minority ethnic residents did seem to benefit disproportionately from place-based policies
- Community engagement with equalities groups in place-based policies has often been ignored or difficult to achieve
- Place-based policies are often "blind" to equalities issues or just see dimensions of equality, such as disability, as problems to be tackled

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[26] Beatty, C., Foden, M., Lawless, P. and Wilson, I. (2010). Exploring and Explaining Change in Regeneration Schemes: Evidence from the New Deal for Communities Programme London, Communities and Local Government.

Outcomes for equalities groups

Long-standing research can inform our understanding of the interactions between equalities groups and place-based policies. New migrants, facing financial and social exclusion due to racism, are often concentrated within poor quality private housing in inner cities; lone-parents in higher housing need are often concentrated within neighbourhoods dominated by socially rented housing; historically gay and lesbian households who might have been excluded from mortgage finance would settle in low-demand neighbourhoods; and there are evidenced links between worklessness, poor local environment, and long-term disabling poor health.

As such, using place-based programmes to improve outcomes for specific equalities groups might, in some cases, be particularly effective. Members of "communities of interest" have to live somewhere.

Distribution of equalities groups in Scotland

TABLE 1: OVERLEAF

Table 1 overleaf shows a number of different equalities groups and their over-representation or under-representation in the 15 per cent most

deprived neighbourhoods in Scotland.[27] The most over-represented groups have been marked red, while under-represented groups are shown as green. Groups which have a similar percentage of individuals in deprived areas as the general population are marked yellow.

There are considerable differences between groups. Disabled people and those with long-term illness are much more likely to be living in deprived areas, particularly if they are both disabled and ill. Ethnic minorities are also strongly over-represented in deprived neighbourhoods.

The differences in outcome by religion are also striking. Nearly a third of Muslim people live in deprived areas. It is worth noting that Catholic people in Scotland are almost equally over-represented in the most deprived areas.

Catholic religion in Scotland mainly indicates Irish ancestry, and Irish background is associated with socio-economic disadvantage in Scotland.[28]

A more minor, but still statistically significant difference can be observed between people with heterosexual and other sexual orientations.[29]

People who identify as heterosexual are less likely to live in deprived areas than people with other sexual orientations. The category 'refused' has been included, as the number of people who refused to answer the question exceeds all non-heterosexual orientations combined.

This category may be indicative of people who felt unable to disclose their sexual orientation, even though sexual orientation was asked as a self-completion question in the Scottish Health Survey.

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[27] If any group were evenly distributed throughout Scotland then 15 per cent of that group should also be in the 15 per cent most deprived neighbourhoods.
[28] Abbotts, J., Williams, R., West, P., Hunt, K. and Ford, G. (2004). "Catholic Socio-Economic Disadvantage in the West of Scotland: A Narrowing of Inequality." Scottish Affairs **49**(Autumn).
[29] These are people who responded to the question on sexual orientation by describing themselves as not heterosexual, but did not refuse to answer.

TABLE 1: OVERLEAF

Table 1: Percentage of equalities groups in the most deprived neighbourhoods

Individuals	Percentage of whom live in bottom 15% SIMD areas
All	
Men	14.4%
Women	15.7%
Health problems / disability	
Disabled	22.0%
Long-term illness	22.5%
Disabled AND long-term ill	27.5%
Neither long-term ill nor disabled	12.8%
Ethnicity	
White	15.0%
All non-White ethnicities	22.9%
Religion	
No religion	14.8%
Church of Scotland	12.4%
Roman Catholic	26.3%
Other Christian	8.6%
Buddhist	9.3%
Muslim	27.1%
Other religions	14.4%

Sexual orientation

Heterosexual		13.4%
Gay / lesbian / bisexual / 'other'		17.0%
Refused		17.6%

Gender, health, disability and ethnicity were calculated from years 2001-2008 of the Scottish Household Survey. Religion and sexual orientation were calculated from years 2008-2009 of the Scottish Health Survey.[30]

Although some groups might be over or under-represented in the most deprived neighbourhoods, it does not then mean that they will gain disproportionate benefit, or alternatively be spatially excluded, from place-based policies.

In the rest of this section we review whether specific groups are disproportionately affected. We look at the protected characteristics in turn, although within the scope of this review we have very little, or no evidence for some groups, and some protected characteristics have been combined where the evidence available makes this sensible. Generally, the evidence suggests policy-makers focus on socio-economic inequality when designing and delivering place-based policies, to the detriment of other equalities dimensions.

Sex, and pregnancy and maternity

Evidence found for this review suggests three key issues for women in place-based policies, which mean the outcomes they experience are disproportionately negative. Firstly these policies fail to appreciate the gendered experience of poverty and unemployment; secondly they do not have a full understanding of the gendered experience of space and how this is linked to other outcomes; and finally a lot of community activism and volunteering is done by women, placing an undue burden on them.

In terms of the gendered experience of poverty, both the drivers of poverty and individual responses to poverty are gendered, and can be linked to place. Long term trends in the labour market have enabled

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[30] Specific details of the methodologies of these surveys are available from www.scotland.gov.uk/statistics

more women to access work, but this is disproportionately low skilled shift work. This creates specific patterns of in-work poverty and deprivation along with differing travel needs and care needs among women.

Taking these factors together, it is reasonable to assume that this will have produced a spatial patterning of gendered deprivation that we do not yet fully understand.[31] A further dynamic to this, recognised by both the Scottish Government and the UK Government Department for Work and Pensions, is the impact of the recession on women's employment, particularly the fiscal retrenchment when 60 per cent of the public administration workforce in Scotland is female.[32]

Experience in England does suggest that a place-based focus on employability support targeted at women can improve outcomes, but this must be supported by gender-specific projects.[33] The impact of the changes in the labour market on men has also been recognised, with older men in particular more likely to experience longer durations of unemployment.[34]

More broadly, evidence from Sweden deepens our understanding of the link between gender, poverty and place. This suggests that when people spend more of their time in neighbourhoods due to their lifestyles, as women who work part time and have children do, they are more likely to be negatively affected by the neighbourhood if it is particularly deprived – one of the area-effects discussed above.

Conversely, if these people live in more socio-economically mixed neighbourhoods then they are likely to do significantly better than others due to the positive area-effect. In effect, these groups, including women,

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[31] Grant, L. (2002). "Addressing women's economic disadvantage in local economies: the limitations and benefits of partnerships." Policy & Politics **30**(1): 97-113

[32] Communities Analytical Services (2011). The Position of Scotland's Equalities Groups: Revisiting Resilience in 2011. Edinburgh, The Scottish Government; Stafford, B. and Duffy, D. (2009). Review of evidence on the impact of economic downturn on disadvantaged groups: Department for Work and Pensions - Working Paper 68. London, Department for Work and Pensions; Parekh, A., P. Kenway, et al. (2010). Monitoring Poverty and Social Exclusion in Scotland 2010. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

[33] Grant, L. (2002). "Addressing women's economic disadvantage in local economies: the limitations and benefits of partnerships." Policy & Politics **30**(1): 97-113.

[34] Stafford, B. and Duffy, D. (2009). Review of evidence on the impact of economic downturn on disadvantaged groups: Department for Work and Pensions - Working Paper 68. London, Department for Work and Pensions.

receive a greater "dose" of the negative or positive effects of living in particular neighbourhoods.[35]

Analysis of the 2001 census showed a disproportionate number of lone mothers in the most deprived neighbourhoods in Scotland[36] and these households are likely to have particular demands in terms of childcare to support employment. The findings of the Growing up in Scotland survey also demonstrate the challenges of childcare for many households is managing the mixed economy of childcare, with private provision and informal provision from family and friends supporting statutory nursery provision around a precarious work-life balance.

Lone parents in part-time work are much more likely to use three or more childcare providers than an unemployed lone parent.[37] Childcare and early-intervention projects focused at the most deprived neighbourhoods would need to fully understand these dynamics in target populations to improve outcomes.

The experience of place-based policies is also gendered. Evidence from GoWell suggests that the experience of being rehoused as part of a physical regeneration programme is more unsettling for lone mothers, with 42.9 per cent finding the upheaval disruptive compared to 27.5 per cent of couple parents. This is the case even though lone parents were given greater choice about where to move to and to what sort of home.[38]

Women have also been heavily involved in delivering place-based policies as community activists. The evidence suggests that women get involved for different reasons than men – to help the community rather than to help themselves or their own situation – and are also involved more heavily, with many hours of voluntary effort being unrecognised.[39] Once engaged in community activities, there is evidence this experience

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[35] Galster, G., R. Andersson, et al. (2010). "Who Is Affected by Neighbourhood Income Mix? Gender, Age, Family, Employment and Income Differences." Urban Studies **47**(14): 2915-2944.

[36] Scottish Executive (2005). Social Focus on Deprived Areas. Edinburgh, Scottish Executive.

[37] Bradshaw, P. and F. Wasoff (2009). Growing Up in Scotland: Multiple Childcare Provision and its Effect on Child Outcomes. Edinburgh, The Scottish Government.

[38] GoWell (2011). Moving Out, Moving On? Short to medium term outcomes from relocation through regeneration in Glasgow. Glasgow: Glasgow Centre for Population Health; see also Gosling, V. K. (2008). "Regenerating Communities: Women's Experiences of Urban Regeneration." Urban Studies **45**(3): 607-626

[39] Grimshaw, L. (2011). "Community work as women's work? The gendering of English neighbourhood partnerships." Community Development Journal **46**(3): 327-340.

is gendered and women can lack the confidence to be fully engaged, or feel more comfortable in the domestic setting of community groups, rather than formal service provision and service-delivery partnership environments.[40]

For minority ethnic women there is a second aspect to this disadvantage, as they have to overcome structural, economic and cultural barriers to their participation, even though their experience as a traditionally hard-to-reach group makes them a specific focus for engagement activities.[41]

Race, and religion and belief

In terms of ethnicity, it is important to reiterate that what we know of the spatial distribution of the minority ethnic population in Scotland is that it differs from England.

An ongoing issue across the UK, but particular pertinent in Scotland, is that the small numbers of minority ethnic populations make statistical analysis difficult.[42] However, a recent review of literature and databases related to poverty and ethnicity in Scotland has suggested ways forward, including through the use of administrative datasets.[43]

While the minority ethnic population is concentrated in the four main cities, small numbers of individuals are dispersed across all thirty two authorities, including remote parts of the Highlands and Islands.

In Scotland, this means it is likely that we have far more homogenous white, working-class neighbourhoods and far fewer neighbourhoods with the sort of diversity of inner-city areas in England. Much of the evidence comes from the NDC programme in England, so not all the lessons and outcomes are directly, or fully, transferable to Scotland. Any analysis

[40] Jupp, E. (2008). "The feeling of participation: everyday spaces and urban change." Geoforum **39**: 331–343.
[41] Beebeejaun, Y. and Grimshaw, L. (2011). "Is the "New Deal for Communities" a New Deal for Equality? Getting Women on Board in Neighbourhood Governance." Urban Studies **48**(10): 1997-2011.
[42] Pemberton, S., Alty, C., Boylan, R. and Stevens, C. (2006). "Regeneration for all?: Measuring and enhancing levels of Black and other racial minorities' economic activity." International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy **26**(5/6): 229-244.
[43] Netto, G., Sosenko, F. and Bramley, G. (2011). Poverty and Ethnicity in Scotland Review of the Literature and Datasets. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

that looks at minority ethnic groups as a whole will also miss differences between different ethnic groups.

The ethnic diversity with and between neighbourhoods in the NDC programme provides us with a good evidence base for understanding the links between place-based policies and improvements in outcomes for places and people. In some NDC neighbourhoods 90 per cent of residents were white, while there were seven partnership neighbourhoods where white residents were less than half the population in 2002.[44]

In the broader discussion above, we presented the positive impact of the NDC on perceptions of the neighbourhood. In relation to their experience of the neighbourhood, black residents saw better outcomes than white residents in relation to satisfaction with the area, and Asian residents enjoyed better outcome change than white people in relation to indicators such as fear of crime and feeling safe after dark.[45]

To summarise the broader evidence from the NDC, those neighbourhoods that were ethnically homogeneous, i.e. white, working class, single tenure neighbourhoods, had significantly worse outcomes than more ethnically diverse neighbourhoods.

In an overall index, the ten neighbourhoods that achieved the greatest improvement in the NDC programme between 2002 and 2010 were more ethnically diverse: 65 per cent of residents in these ten neighbourhoods were white in 2002 compared with 79 per cent in the remaining 29 areas. The homogeneous peripheral housing estates did particularly poorly in relation to people-related outcomes with the evaluation surmising that 'there may be fewer job opportunities locally, public services may be poor, mobility limited, and prevailing 'cultures' less welcoming of change.'[46]

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[44] Rausch, C. and D. Gillborn (2003). NDC Evaluation Phase 1 Research Report 12: Black and Minority Ethnic Inclusion. Sheffield, Sheffield Hallam University.
[45] Beatty, C., Foden, M., Lawless, P. and Wilson, I. (2010). Exploring and Explaining Change in Regeneration Schemes: Evidence from the New Deal for Communities Programme London, Communities and Local Government.
[46] Ibid. p.45

Looking at the outcomes for people in the NDC programme adds further evidence suggesting that certain ethnic groups can gain specific benefits from place-based programmes when they are targeted at ethnically diverse neighbourhoods. These neighbourhoods performed better on outcomes around worklessness and health.

In terms of education outcomes at English National Curriculum Key Stage 3 (aged 14) the achievement of children from black Caribbean, other black and Bangladeshi ethnic groups improved significantly compared to white children.[47]

In the NDC areas where ethnic minorities were living in less ethnically diverse neighbourhoods, they particularly benefited from small projects focused on their needs.[48]

A key dynamic widely recognised as increasing ethnic diversity in neighbourhoods across the UK is immigration from the new EU accession states and other countries. Both the NDC programme and GoWell in Glasgow have found that many of the immigrants moving to deprived neighbourhoods are those most able to leave their country of origin. This means their outcomes, especially in terms of education and health, have improved socio-economic indicators at the neighbourhood level.[49]

The neighbourhoods in which migrants new to Scotland find themselves in are not necessarily similar. A particular issue has been the housing of asylum seekers in homes in Glasgow. Racially motivated attacks, and widely reported suicides in 2010, have brought the experiences of these individuals, households and families into the public eye. Analysis of the

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[47] Fordham, G., Batty, E., Cook, B., Knight-Fordham, R. and Pearson , S. (2010). Improving attainment? Interventions in education by the New Deal for Communities Programme. London, Communities and Local Government.

[48] Rausch, C. and D. Gillborn (2003). NDC Evaluation Phase 1 Research Report 12: Black and Minority Ethnic Inclusion. Sheffield, Sheffield Hallam University

[49] Lawless, P. (2011). "Understanding the scale and nature of outcome change in area-regeneration programmes: evidence from the New Deal for Communities programme in England." Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy **29**(3): 520-532; GoWell (2011). Moving Out, Moving On? Short to medium term outcomes from relocation through regeneration in Glasgow. Glasgow: Glasgow Centre for Population Health; Kearns, A. and Whitley, E. (2010). Health, Wellbeing and Social Inclusion of Migrants in North Glasgow. Glasgow, GoWell.

evidence from the GoWell cross-sectional survey of residents of this area presents a mixed picture.[50]

The data suggests non-migrant residents have poorer general health and are more likely to visit the GP than migrants, although this could obscure higher rates of hospital admissions among migrants not registered with a GP. Measures of general wellbeing show that migrants have poorer outcomes than non-migrants.[51] Further, a third of these respondents have experienced racial harassment compared to a fifth in other areas and migrants are less likely to know their neighbours than non-migrants.

The public discourse around immigration has been particularly charged at the UK-level. The resulting community cohesion policies have attracted considerable criticism in terms of both their validity and effectiveness.[52]

The Netherlands has had a similar experience of immigration and a public discourse that emerging geographic concentrations of migrants in specific neighbourhoods would lead to social exclusion and a failure of integration and cohesion. The evidence from the Netherlands of the actual experience of migration in major cities appears very mixed. Young migrants themselves, and other young people living in these neighbourhoods, do seem to do particularly well. This is likely a product of the characteristics of the migrants and the neighbourhoods themselves, which are predominantly inner-city gentrification areas.[53]

Age

In terms of age, we know broadly that deprived neighbourhoods tend to have a disproportionately younger population than more affluent neighbourhoods. Youth employment has been, and continues to be, a mainstream focus of place-based policies, and positive outcomes are

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[50] Kearns, A. and Whitley, E. (2010). Health, Wellbeing and Social Inclusion of Migrants in North Glasgow. Glasgow, GoWell.
[51] This is measured by the Warwick-Edinburgh Mental Well-being Scale (WEMWBS)
[52] Flint, J. and Robinson, D. (2008). Community Cohesion in Crisis? New Dimensions of Diversity and Difference. Bristol, Policy Press; Ratcliffe, P. and Newman, I. (2011). Promoting Social Cohesion: Implications for Policy and Evaluation. Bristol, Policy Press.
[53] Musterd, S. and Ostendorf, W. (2009). "Residential Segregation and Integration in the Netherlands." Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies **35**(9): 1515-1532.

captured within evaluations. The GoWell study does provide some evidence as to the impact of regeneration programmes on older people, with older residents more likely to remain in transformation areas and less likely to want to move than younger residents.[54]

The paucity of evidence around age is of interest given the evidence around the relationship between employment, and specifically that older men tend to have longer durations of unemployment.[55] Age is also a dimension of equality where data often is available at a neighbourhood level but is not fully explored.

Disability

Disability is often the focus of place-based policies. Programmes often have targets to reduce the number of Incapacity Benefit or Employment Support Allowance claimants.[56] This is considered in greater depth below. Within the scope of this review we did not find evidence on outcomes for disabled people from place-based policies.

Sexual orientation and gender reassignment

Within the scope of this review we did not find any evidence on outcomes for LBGT groups from place-based policies. There is evidence of some of the barriers to inclusion faced by LBGT tenants in socially rented housing.[57]

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[54] GoWell (2011). Moving Out, Moving On? Short to medium term outcomes from relocation through regeneration in Glasgow. Glasgow: Glasgow Centre for Population Health.

[55] Stafford, B. and Duffy, D. (2009). Review of evidence on the impact of economic downturn on disadvantaged groups: Department for Work and Pensions - Working Paper 68. London, Department for Work and Pensions.

[56] Edwards, C. (2001). "Inclusion in Regeneration: A Place for Disabled People?" Urban Studies **38**(2): 267-286.

[57] LBGT Housing Project (2007). Safe and Secure: LBGT Experiences of Social Housing in Scotland. Edinburgh, Stonewall Scotland; Triangle Wales and Stonewall Cymru (2006). The Housing Needs of Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual People in Wales. Cardiff, Stonewall Cymru.

Engagement of equalities groups in place-based policies

Much of the academic evidence around equalities groups and place-based policies focuses on their engagement in partnership arrangements and whether equalities groups are included in decision-making which then reflects their specific needs.

As discussed in the next section on data availability in Scotland, the lack of evidence and data on small equalities group – particularly minority ethnic individuals and communities – can make engagement difficult. The overwhelming socio-economic problems of the most deprived neighbourhoods mean these can be the predominant focus of any intervention and it can be assumed that tackling these will help all residents equally. Further, communities of place and interest are often treated separately without acknowledgement that the two may be inter-related.[58]

There are examples of very good practice of engaging equalities groups. In Scotland, the 14 thematic SIPs that focused on particular groups have provided examples of good practice and lessons learned in engaging across dimensions of equality. Many of these partnerships developed their role as one of advocacy, providing bridges for enhanced inclusion between mainstream service providers, place-based SIPs, and the groups involved. They also developed innovative ways to engage what had previously been considered "hard-to-reach" groups.[59]

A review of Single Regeneration Budget partnerships in England from the perspective of disabled people showed a small number of those partnerships also providing a similar role.[60] Although there was some success from the thematic SIPs, the evidence from evaluations was that they faced barriers around a lack of influence over individual partners,

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[58] Maguire, R. and Riddell, S. (2005). The Treatment of Equalities in Regeneration Outcome Agreements. Edinburgh, The University of Edinburgh, The Moray House School of Education; Pemberton, S., Alty, C., Boylan, R. and Stevens, C. (2006). "Regeneration for all?: Measuring and enhancing levels of Black and other racial minorities' economic activity." International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy **26**(5/6): 229-244.
[59] Macpherson, S., Goodlad, R. and McKenzie, C. (2007). Learning the Lessons from Thematic Social Inclusion Partnerships. Edinburgh, Communities Scotland.
[60] Edwards, C. (2009). "Regeneration works? Disabled people and area-based urban renewal." Critical Social Policy **29**(4): 613-633.

cultural barriers to change, and a lack of responsiveness to issues of concern.

This focus on engagement of equalities groups continued with the Community Regeneration Fund and the Fairer Scotland Fund.[61] Across Fairer Scotland Fund proposals, 33 per cent had a focus on thematic groups across CPP areas, rather than specific neighbourhoods. However, engaging with these communities, rather than spatial communities, was widely regarded as being more difficult.[62]

More often, equalities groups are a specific focus of place-based policies, or associated socio-economic policies, for example through projects to tackle youth unemployment or projects to help disabled people enter employment. However, the latter is often a product of a desire to reduce the number of people on disability-related benefits (a common target within SOAs).

This puts the emphasis on the activities of disabled people to become included, rather than recognising the barriers that wider society put in place preventing equality of participation and opportunity.[63] The policy targeting of benefits claimants for employability initiatives is also likely to overlook those equality groups which either under-claim on the benefits to which they are entitled, including certain ethnic groups.[64]

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[61] Maguire, R. and Riddell, S. (2005). The Treatment of Equalities in Regeneration Outcome Agreements. Edinburgh, The University of Edinburgh, The Moray House School of Education.
[62] Fyfe, A., MacMillan, K., McGregor, T. and Reid, S. (2009). Informing Future Approaches to Tackling Multiple Deprivation in Communities: Beyond the Fairer Scotland Fund. Edinburgh, The Scottish Government.
[63] Edwards, C. (2001). "Inclusion in Regeneration: A Place for Disabled People?" Urban Studies 38(2): 267-286; Hall, E. (2010). "Spaces of social inclusion and belonging for people with intellectual disabilities." Journal of Intellectual Disability Research 54(1): 48-57.
[64] Netto, G., Sosenko, F. and Bramley, G. (2011). Poverty and Ethnicity in Scotland Review of the Literature and Datasets. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation; Platt, L. (2007). Poverty and Ethnicity in the UK. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

The "blindness" of place-based policies to dimensions of equality

The issues around participation in place-based policies also highlight a wider problem – that many of these policies are unwittingly blind to equalities groups.[65] This extends to monitoring, evaluation and analysis, as well as implementation. Across previous place-based and regeneration policies, equalities groups are very rarely the focus of funding bids or actively led proposals – only 1.3 per cent of Single Regeneration Budget bids in England came from a minority ethnic community or perspective.[66]

In implementation, policy-makers can often find it difficult to consider equalities perspectives, or ensure the voice of diverse groups is found. For example, around disability, awareness and engagement might focus on specific disabilities, or use representatives from a health and social care perspective to speak for disabilities groups, reinforcing a medicalised perspective on disability.[67]

Alternatively, equalities will be mainstreamed across a socio-economic, place-based policy, such as a Regeneration Outcome Agreement, but the policy detail demonstrates little awareness of the particular barriers and exclusion faced by equalities groups.[68]

A much more problematic angle to this "blindness" is the problematisation of groups within place-based policies. For instance, in the aftermath of the urban unrests in 2001 in Northern England, analysts have observed the tendency for politicians to problematise Asian youth rather than to address the wider social, economic and material deprivation in the area.[69]

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[65] This was apparent in the research literature, our analysis of policy documents below, and reflects the views of policy-makers contacted as part of this research.
[66] Pemberton, S., Alty, C., Boylan, R. and Stevens, C. (2006). "Regeneration for all?: Measuring and enhancing levels of Black and other racial minorities' economic activity." International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy **26**(5/6)
[67] Edwards, C. (2001). "Inclusion in Regeneration: A Place for Disabled People?" Urban Studies **38**(2): 267-286.
[68] Maguire, R. and Riddell, S. (2005). The Treatment of Equalities in Regeneration Outcome Agreements. Edinburgh, The University of Edinburgh, The Moray House School of Education.
[69] Flint, J. and Robinson, D. (2008). Community Cohesion in Crisis? New Dimensions of Diversity and Difference. Bristol, Policy Press

While this may not be the case in Scotland, it is important to recognise that complacency around issues relating to ethnicity and other equalities groups may marginalise specific groups or produce negative outcomes. Further, this blindness to equalities and diversity can also mean that place-based policies fail to be aware of the multiplicity of identities of residents that produces multiples barriers or opportunities – for example as women, members of an ethnic minority group and residents experiencing poverty and social exclusion.[70]

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[70] Beebeejaun, Y. and Grimshaw, L. (2011). "Is the "New Deal for Communities" a New Deal for Equality? Getting Women on Board in Neighbourhood Governance." Urban Studies **48**(10): 1997-2011.

Recognition of dimensions of equality in existing policies

Across the social policies in Scotland reviewed, there is a broad assumption that there are communities of interest and place-based communities. However, the relationship between these categories is not well understood – as explored above. Conversely, the extent to which the most deprived neighbourhoods have specific populations of equalities groups has not been examined closely. Our analysis suggests that specific equalities groups do have particular geographic distributions and these may be being overlooked. The "blindness" to equalities, discussed above, is apparent.

However, more positively, certain policies do target specific equalities groups. For instance, the priority placed on early intervention in the *Early Years Framework* and *Achieving Our Potential* will specifically benefit lone parents, women and children. Increasing policy emphasis on planning for the health and social care needs of an aging population is also evident. Similarly, the clear line of sight emerging from the Equally Well test sites and broader shifts towards coproduction will benefit older people and disabled people through person-centred delivery of care. Moves to remove the barriers between health and social care will also benefit these groups.

Any new place-based approach in Scotland will be implemented within the broader framework of the National Performance Framework, SOAs, the three social policy frameworks and the recently announced regeneration strategy, *Achieving a Sustainable Future* (2011). The Scottish Government is presently working with CPPs on the delivery of the regeneration strategy and is continuing partnership working on delivering the three social policy frameworks. Some place-based initiatives are emerging, such as the approaches piloted in the *Equally Well* test sites.

For this review, we carried out a light-touch rapid assessment of all 32 Single Outcome Agreements (SOAs).[71] The SOAs set the framework for ongoing action by public services in Scotland, including the prioritisation of expenditure, and inform the planning and delivery of services by community planning partners. It is therefore important to understand how

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[71] The spreadsheet produced for this is available at: http://bit.ly/soasequalities

SOAs conceptualise the relationship between equalities and place in order to assess how this might inform any new place-based policies or be improved.

In presenting this analysis, we recognise the existence of a large number of specifically focused initiatives which concentrate on removing barriers for equalities groups that exist "under the radar", carried out by public services, housing associations and voluntary organisations, which were outwith the scope of the review. We also recognise that many specific equalities strategies may be "beneath the waterline" of SOAs, contained in the policies that deliver outcomes.

Those SOAs that assessed the role of place and place-based policies in delivering national outcome 7 (*We have tackled the significant inequalities in Scottish society*) focused on closing the gap between the most deprived neighbourhoods and the rest of the area. SOAs predominantly focused on communities of place *or* interest with no links made between the two.

Very few SOAs broke down neighbourhood indicators into equalities dimensions such as gender or age. If dimensions of equality were linked to place, or the most deprived neighbourhoods, it would serve as a rationale for more policy attention. Examples of these can be found in identifying a high concentration of lone mothers, mothers who smoke during pregnancy and individuals with long-term ill-health in the most deprived neighbourhoods who were in need of more policy attention. Attention was also focused on moving people off incapacity benefit into work in the most deprived neighbourhoods.

Many SOAs also used their allocation of Fairer Scotland Funding on projects to tackle the specific barriers faced by one or more equalities groups.[72]

Where data was available, for example on ethnic diversity from the 2001 census, a minority of CPPs did mention the proportions of their population in BME groups; or similarly, some CPPs used administrative data to understand how migration, particularly from EU accession states,

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[72] Fyfe, A., MacMillan, K., McGregor, T. and Reid, S. (2009). Informing Future Approaches to Tackling Multiple Deprivation in Communities: Beyond the Fairer Scotland Fund. Edinburgh, The Scottish Government.

was impacting on public services. Nowhere was an attempt made to describe, or infer, the location of BME individuals from engagement with communities or data sources such as citizen's surveys/panels.

Some CPPs did use administrative data to add to their analysis, for example on the number of school pupils with English as a second or other language. Continuing work by the Scottish Government and the Improvement Service on developing local indicators for equalities groups is therefore worthwhile. The use of harmonised questions on household characteristics in surveys by CPPs should provide a greater evidence base.

The review highlighted two issues that need to be explored further as the implementation and monitoring of SOAs continues and a place-based approach to improving outcomes is delivered. Firstly, what is the role of the Scottish Government and the UK Government in leading the focus of SOAs? For example, quite often the consideration of equalities groups in SOAs reflected wider policy concerns, for example: young people and employment; older people and policies to encourage re-ablement in communities; poor health and wellbeing and links to wider inequalities; women as victims of domestic violence; and helping disabled people back into work.

Secondly, how can best practice be encouraged to entrench an equalities focus into any future place-based approach to delivering policy? In meeting statutory duties, CPPs should build on best practice in carrying out Equalities Impact Assessments (EIAs) on SOAs.

For example, reflecting more general emphasis in recent health and social care policy, a key trend across SOAs was the demographic pressures on services from an aging population with increasing problems of ill-health and mobility. The EIA of the Edinburgh Partnership SOA highlighted the negative emphasis of the outcomes and indicators relating to this, and the linked outcomes around enabling disabled people to access employment, rather than a focus on active citizenship and coproduction.[73]

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[73] City of Edinburgh Council (2009). Equalities Impact Assessment of the Edinburgh Partnership Single Outcome Agreement, Edinburgh: The City of Edinburgh Council.

Another best practice would be the explicit recognition of inequalities beyond socio-economic or place-based characteristics, despite a lack of data. A good example of this is Comhairle nan Eilean Siar and the Outer Hebrides CPP, who have used logic modelling to infer the impact on equalities groups of their outcomes even without data at a local authority level. If a place-based policy is going to emerge from "below the waterline" of SOAs, then a similar exercise at a neighbourhood level could ensure evidence on the impact on groups is taken into account. Similarly, a report on behalf of Glasgow City Council and Glasgow CPP used more up-to-date survey and administrative data to infer how the size of equalities groups within the City might have changed since the 2001 Census.[74]

The evidence from the successful inclusion of certain equalities groups in the thematic SIPs and some of the Fairer Scotland Fund proposals provide evidence on how best this might be achieved.[75] There is a broad range of very good practice in Scotland in working with equalities groups in specific places by different organisations. A further role for the Scottish Government is to support these organisations and CPPs to gather together the evidence on what works, through monitoring and evaluation, to understand what produces the most beneficial outcomes and equality of opportunity, and why.

Key challenges in taking this work forward are the continuing sluggish economic activity and the specific impacts this is having on neighbourhoods and equalities groups, and the associated impact of fiscal retrenchment on the capabilities of CPPs. Many of the third-sector projects who might be most able to assist the inclusion of equalities groups in place-based policies are being most impacted by the many small cuts that are being taken at the margins of budget decisions.[76] The emerging projects in CPPs around outcome-informed budgeting, such

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[74] ODS Consulting (2010). Equality Groups in Glasgow: Horizon Scanning and Community Consultation. Glasgow: Glasgow City Council.
[75] Macpherson, S., R. Goodlad, et al. (2007). Learning the Lessons from Thematic Social Inclusion Partnerships. Edinburgh, Communities Scotland; Fyfe, A., MacMillan, K., McGregor, T. and Reid, S. (2009). Informing Future Approaches to Tackling Multiple Deprivation in Communities: Beyond the Fairer Scotland Fund. Edinburgh, The Scottish Government.
[76] SRF (2011). Regeneration in a Recession: Reality, Resources and Resilience. Glasgow: SURF; Asenova, D., Bailey, S. and McCann, C. (2012). Spending Cuts: Mitigating Risks for Scotland's Disadvantaged Communities: Interim Report 2. Glasgow, Glasgow Caledonian University

as the Totally Dundee initiative, could help the process of mainstreaming equalities into resource allocation decisions.[77]

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[77] http://www.totallydundee.info

Conclusions and recommendations

The evidence presented above suggests that, across the UK, place-based policies have often found it very difficult to incorporate equalities. The data we have analysed and the evidence from previous initiatives does suggest there are particular ways that place-based policies can disproportionately benefit, focus-on, or miss many equalities groups. This evidence is scarce and inconclusive. We cannot say that, because specific equalities groups may be disproportionately present in the most deprived neighbourhoods, they will necessarily benefit from place-based policies.

Because of the focus on socio-economic dimensions of inequality, many place-based policies have considered equalities groups as "hard-to-reach". A more helpful conceptualisation might be that these groups are "easy-to-ignore". The development of equalities outcomes from April 2012 may provide a further impetus for CPPs to ensure these groups do benefit from place-based policies.

As the Scottish Government carries work forward with CPPs on reviewing community planning, delivering outcomes, and delivering a place-based focus to policy, it is important that policy-makers are clear what they mean by place-based policies.

The regeneration strategy *Achieving a Sustainable Future* suggests both policies focused at physical renewal and capital investment, and continued investment in community regeneration through focused projects and additional expenditure. Each approach has specific strengths and weaknesses and may impact on equalities groups differently.

The evidence from reviews such as this, and evidence gathered by CPPs and the Scottish Government in the ongoing improvement of equalities indicators, needs to be used in implementation and monitoring to get a more nuanced picture of the dynamics between place and the other dimensions of equality.[78] Specifically, this needs to pull together the evidence on locational choices and presence of equalities groups and the impact of this on their outcomes.

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[78] See also the Joseph Rowntree Foundation research programme at Glasgow Caledonian University Mitigating Risks for Scotland's Communities: http://www.gcu.ac.uk/mrsc/

Analysis of the Annual Population Survey through Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics, supplemented by fresh analysis of the results of the 2011 census, in line with the 2005 *Social Focus on Deprived Areas* report, will go a long way to providing this evidence base.

The specific policy implications deriving from this review are:

- A continued focus on improving data on equalities groups, including from *ad hoc* research by CPPs and the use of the Scottish harmonised survey questions across local citizens surveys.

- Greater emphasis on the importance of carrying out equality impact assessments at the level of single outcome agreements and any "below the waterline" policies for specific neighbourhoods.

- Greater use of logic modelling by CPPs and local partnerships to reveal implicit assumptions in place-based policies and to bring out a focus on *possible* positive and negative impacts on equalities groups.

- The need for greater awareness among policy-makers and practitioners of the evidence relating to the differential impact on equality groups and techniques to infer impact from this.

- Further evaluation at a local level of specific projects and approaches to engaging equalities groups and dissemination of this at a CPP and national level.

- The need to consider some specific approaches under the new positive equalities duty, relating to one or more equality groups which can complement the general policy of mainstreaming, focused on those persistently in the lowest income deciles and resident in the most deprived neighbourhoods.