

WRESTLING WITH SOCIAL VALUE: AN EXAMINATION OF METHODS AND APPROACHES FOR ASSESSING SOCIAL VALUE IN HERITAGE MANAGEMENT AND CONSERVATION

Case Study Report: Cables Wynd House, Edinburgh

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Full acknowledgement and grateful thanks are given to all the individuals who participated in this study.



Image 1: Exterior of the House (East-facing/private balcony side), showing the distinctive bend



Image 2: Interior of the House, one of the three public access balconies. Responses to this photo included that it appeared 'clean', and a 'nice, warm, inviting place', which contrasted with some people's expectations and experiences



Image 3: photo exhibit in the vestibule of the House

Images 1, 3 & 4 taken by Elizabeth Robson
Image 2 taken by photo group member, Colin McKenzie. Reproduced with permission

Fact it is a listed building, an iconic building. Up there architecturally speaking, when built, way it was built, Council should maintain that status. It's a treasure and they should keep looking after it and the residents.

Male tenant of 5 years

Grandma is the second oldest tenant in the building, lived over the road and moved in here when it was built ... Dad and his sister grew up here. Crazy when you think about it.

Female visitor

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1. Summary

This report is based on approximately three weeks of FTE research conducted over a period of six months (March-September 2019). It was completed through a combination of researcher-led and participatory activities. The aim was to identify the variety of communities and range of social values associated with Cables Wynd House, an A-Listed building in Leith, Edinburgh.

Cables Wynd House (hereafter ‘the House’) is a place of residence, employment and a social hub. This research suggests it is **a place of significance for multiple communities**, with respondents expressing **a range of values and perspectives** (positive and negative). Key findings:

- First and foremost, the House is valued as a place of **home and safety**.
- Community connections and the sense of ‘**community spirit**’ is also important. This depends largely on personal experience, with tenants tending to characterise the House according to their landing or specific network of relationships.
- Another relational aspect is **family connections**, with multiple generations having lived in or grown-up knowing the House.
- These social connections support values of **belonging**, to community and place.
- Many respondents also expressed a strong connection to, and knowledge of, the wider area and were positive about the House’s **location**.
- There was a high-level of awareness of the House’s **listed status** and some appreciation for the building’s **design and architectural significance**, as well as concern regarding its maintenance.
- There was an emphasis on aspects of **care and attention**. Comments were principally concerned with the physical appearance and cleanliness of the House but revealed feelings that were informed by lived experiences and social relations (past and present). This suggests perceptions of the building are influenced by how people are positioned with regard to the **social structures and behaviours** they associate with the House.

This report provides an initial indication of the values and communities for whom the House is of significance and suggests potential areas for further research, such as the aspect of **multi-generational connections** to the House. However, there are some recognised **limitations in participation and scope**, particularly with regard to non-English-speaking residents. The lack of functioning residents’ association illustrates a degree of fragmentation within the wider tenant community and low levels of participation (also seen during the Listing consultation) risks masking the full range of perspectives and values.

2. Description of Site

Location: Cables Wynd House, also known as the ‘Banana Flats’ on account of its distinctive bend (see Image 1), is located within the Kirkgate area of Leith, Edinburgh. Leith is a part of Edinburgh that has been shaped by the presence of the docks, port and industrial manufacturing. The name Cables Wynd is likely a reference to the earlier presence of a wire works in the area. Between the 1950s and 1970s, Leith was the focus of slum clearance programmes, which resulted in a number of large public housing developments. The Kirkgate development is bounded by Tolbooth Wynd to the North, Cables Wynd to the West, Yardheads to the South, and New Kirkgate to the Southeast (see map in Annex III). Today it is an area of housing and light industry, with good transport links to the centre of Edinburgh.

Design: Cables Wynd House was built between 1963 and 1965. It is a 10-storey concrete-slab block of 212 flats with private and public access balconies. At the time of construction, it was the largest block of flats in Edinburgh and was possibly the most accomplished architecturally, characterising the ‘New Brutalism’ style, which highlights the materials and form of a building’s construction. It also closely followed the then-emerging theoretical interest in community planning, using external access decks as a way of recreating the civic spirit of traditional tenement streets.

Demographics: Post-industrial Leith is a diverse part of the City. It is a multi-cultural area, with the MacDonald Road Library on Leith Walk described as a “hot spot for foreign culture” (Respondent 3.3). Census data from 2011 for the postcodes including Cables Wynd House (<https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/>, Output Area S00107051) shows significant percentages of the population born outside the UK (19.6%) and identifying with ethnicities other than White Scottish or British, including Polish (11.4%), Asian/Asian Scottish/Asian British (5.3%) and other (6.8%). Leith also encompasses some of Scotland’s most deprived areas, according to the Government’s Index of Multiple Deprivation (<https://simd.scot/#/simd2020/BTTTT/9/-4.0000/55.9000/>). The data zone including Cables Wynd House being within the 5% most deprived data zones in Scotland.

Popular Culture: The building and its location have frequently been used as subjects for photography and filming. In the 1990s, Cables Wynd House gained popular attention after it featured in Irvine Welsh’s internationally acclaimed novel, ‘Trainspotting’ (published in 1993, film based on the novel released in 1996). ‘Trainspotting’ is a reference to the drug-dealing that the neighbourhood was infamous for in the 1980s. In 2007, the building was used during filming of the television drama ‘Wedding Belles’, also by Irvine Welsh.

Formal Heritage Status: In January 2017, following a period of public consultation, Cables Wynd House was added to the national list of buildings of special architectural or historic interest. Listed buildings are assigned categories according to their relative importance; Cables Wynd House is category A: outstanding (see the Statement of Special Interest: <http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/LB52403>).

3. Research Process

The research informing this site report took approximately three weeks FTE and was conducted principally over a period of six months (March-September 2019). This case study used an extended approach, with a combination of researcher-led and participatory activities. The activities carried out were:

- Questionnaires/structured interviews (10 responses), mixture of written and face-to-face;
- Semi-structured interviews (7), conducted in-person with tenants, heritage professionals, Council officials and representatives of local organisations;

- Photo-elicitation with a local photo group (5 participants, not tenants), capturing images of the Cables Wynd House and its surroundings, followed by discussion on the resulting images;
- Photo exhibition, a selection of the photos were displayed on notice boards in the entrance vestibule of Cables Wynd House for several days (see Image 3). Comments were solicited from tenants and visitors (in-person).

These activities were supported by on-going observation whenever I visited the site (13 visits over the 6-month period) and monitoring of public participatory media (i.e. Instagram) for posts related to the site. I also reviewed the documentation and publicity surrounding the listing process in January 2017.

4. Communities

Cables Wynd House (hereafter ‘the House’) is a place of residence, employment and (through being home to so many people) a social hub. Council staff advised that the flats are normally almost all occupied, although there has been an increased frequency in turnover (potentially related to changes in policy for managing housing stock).

The research identified a number of **communities of interest, identity and geography** for whom the House is of significance:

- Tenants, including specifically:
 - Long-term tenants
 - Multi-generational families of tenants
 - Newly-homed tenants
- Relations and friends of tenants
- People interested in architecture/design
- People ‘born and bred’ in Leith and/or identifying as ‘Leithers’
- Council employees based at or responsible for the House
- Young people, e.g. those making use of the park and basketball courts
- People interested in literature/film

This is not necessarily an exhaustive list and individuals may identify with more than one of these groups simultaneously or move between them depending on time and context.

It is noted that there are communities for whom the House is of significance for reasons closely aligned to the listing criteria (i.e. for architectural and design interest, as well as the literary/film connections). This was reflected in comments from some respondents and images and comments posted online. Given that these values are already considered in the significance assessment and listing process, I did not focus specifically on reaching out to these communities. However, design and aesthetic factors are included in the Statement of Social Value in as far as they were mentioned and supported the other social values (seen Annex I).

There are communities of residents that I was unable to engage in the activities due to language barriers. Council officials had indicated that there were a number of Arabic-speaking first-generation in-migrant families living in the building. However, language was a factor in a higher number of cases than I had anticipated (just over 10% of face to face questionnaire encounters were with non-English-speakers).

That the House is of significance for some people does not imply that the communities identified have unmixed views about the physical, social and emotional environment. Positive and negative experiences had shaped the values expressed. I have done my best to reflect the diversity and conflicting perspectives in the Statement of Social Values and the wider report, while noting limitations in participation and scope.



Image 4: Notice in passageway outside the main entrance to Cables Wynd House

5. Findings

Below is a summary of the main findings (see Annex I for the full statement of social values):

5.1 Place of home – First and foremost Cables Wynd House is experienced as a home and, for the most part, a place of safety and belonging:

- Older and longer-term tenants in particular had memories of moving in when the House was new and bringing up their families. Other tenants moved into the House after being in temporary accommodation or homeless and experienced relief at having a place of their own.
- Correspondingly, negative experiences and memories normally relate to the day-to-day experiences of living in the House, practicalities and interactions with neighbours.

5.2 Connections to community – the sense of ‘community spirit’ and communal relationships were important in how the House was valued:

- For those with a network of active relationships the House is viewed positively in terms of the feeling of community. However, responses such as “I keep myself to myself” (male tenant aged over-65) and “people in here find it quite lonely” (female tenant) indicate that broad statements, i.e. ‘everyone knows everyone’, are actually limited to particular social groups or communities.
- The physical space itself shapes these social interactions, for example there is limited shared space for gathering or for children to play (see image 4). As in any residential area, it is their immediate neighbours that impact most directly on other tenants (whether positively or negatively). Rather than the building as a whole, tenants tended to characterise the House according to their landing. Responses highlighted that tenants know what is going on in the House, with the implication that their knowledge is perhaps better than that of the authorities.
- Another aspect of connection was multi-generational residency or association, with tenants that moved into the House in the 1960s still in residence, having raised families and in some cases had family members return as tenants in their own right, and other tenants having grown up locally knowing the House: “Nan grew up here, me, my mother-in-law, a lot of history” (photo exhibit response).

5.3 Belonging – Many of the respondents expressed a strong connection to Leith and were positive about the wider location:

- People were often explicit about being from or wanting to live in Leith and responses revealed a determination to remain in the House or in the area, i.e. “Leith's convenient area, amenities around, convenient and comfortable” (female tenant aged 25-35); “Born and bred in Leith... wouldn't want to be anywhere else” (male tenant aged 45-55);
- Responses also revealed a determination to remain in the House or in the area, i.e. “Wife wouldn't move even once incapacitated; brought family up here, been here 50 years, not moving” (male tenant aged over-65); “Leithers don't want to move out of Leith” (Council official).
- Discussions on the photographs and memories of living in the House demonstrated knowledge of the local area and how those places had changed over time: “Used to cycle it [Leith Water walkway] with my daughter. Used to play there when it was a railway as a kid, different world then, horses and carts when I was a kid” (male tenant aged over-65).
- This attachment contrasted with negative expressions and feelings (sometimes from the same respondents), e.g.: “Everyone wants to go - no one wants to be there” (male tenant aged 45-55); “People stuck here forever, never going to get out. People came here with young children, want to get out and have a garden.” (female tenant).

5.4 Quality of lived experience – The degree to which the House was perceived to be receiving care and attention, whether from the Council or from the tenants, affected how it was valued. Comments were principally concerned with the physical appearance but revealed feelings that went beyond the present physicality and were informed by lived experiences and social relations (past and present).

- Responses to the photo exhibit showed how the images contradicted some people's expectations and perceptions: “Looks a lot different to how it looks when you're in it... Looks like landing 5, looks very clean” (response to Image 2).
- There was a focus on cleanliness in other responses too, which linked it with desirable communal behaviours and norms, suggesting that ‘clean’ and ‘care’ are experienced and understood not only as material matters but as an analogy of the social order (see e.g. Douglas 2002 [1966]: 4). This could explain why, for some people, representations of a clean environment did not match up with their lived experiences.
- There was a high level of awareness that the building was listed, though most people indicated that the official status had not changed their feelings toward it. Of those that said it had, there were both positive and negative reactions, mirroring the range of opinion seen at the time of the listing consultation. However, some tenants responded that the design features supported their positive feelings about living in the House: “From the outside the first impression is not so good but when go inside and see the design of the flats, if into design then you change your mind” (male tenant).

6. Implications

Housing as heritage - In the 55 years since it opened, Cables Wynd House has been a place of residence for many hundreds of people. In addition to the physical affordances of the building and its primary function as housing, it is also a hub for, and generative of, numerous social networks, relationships and interactions between tenants, local residents, staff and visitors. These relationships shape the social values the House holds. As an attribute, ‘community spirit’ depends largely on personal experiences and networks; some people felt there was a greater sense of community in the past, while for others it was a positive aspect of their current experience or thought to be improving. However, many respondents also reflected on the

isolation and exclusion experienced by some tenants and how this was a factor of both the **social and physical environment**. It follows that preserving the values of home and belonging (and the ‘civic spirit’, identified in the listing as one of the design ambitions of the building) depends on more than maintaining the structure. It requires an understanding of and supporting to the social processes associated with the building and the communities that call it home (see e.g. Malpass 2009). Improvements to the physical environment may not be experienced as ‘care and attention’ if lived experiences more broadly are of social disruption.

Impact of listing - There was a high level of awareness among people contacted as part of this study that the House has listed (90% of questionnaire respondents). While most indicated that the listing itself had not changed their feelings towards the site, building on the point above, some people expressed a disconnect between the interest taken in the building and the attention paid to residents’ interests and priorities: “The Queen has a listed building but does she have problems with heating like us?” (female tenant). Some respondents also negatively associated the listing with a perceived lack of maintenance: “Since the new status it has gone downhill drastically. Council are hanging back.” (male tenant).

Differentiation - Experiences and values were highly differentiated between groups and individuals. While some people expressed a strong connection to Leith, others were keen to distance themselves from the area and the House due to negative perceptions, “the Trainspotting stereotype” (male tenant aged 45-55). The degree to which people felt safe and connected depended on their personal experiences and relationships. While the sense of community was expressed positively as ‘everyone knowing everyone’, it was evident from other comments that in practice some people and groups ‘keep themselves to themselves’. The lack of functioning residents’ association illustrates a degree of fragmentation within the wider tenant community and low levels of participation risk masking the full range of perspectives and values.

The approach taken in this study was to engage with local authorities and community groups as an initial point of contact and to reach out to local residents and tenants through them (as mentioned above, there was no functioning residents’ association in place for tenants of Cables Wynd House during the period of this study). As was the case in response to a recent Council questionnaire (2 responses received) and the Historic Environment Scotland Listing consultation meetings, the numbers of participants and the levels of engagement overall were quite low. This was not limited to particular communities, but there are undoubtedly perspectives that this research has not captured.

In terms of addressing the **limitations in representation and scope**, complementary research could be conducted with:

- **Non-English-speaking residents:** when conducting the questionnaires, a number of people were not able to answer questions in English (verbal or written); their perspectives are therefore not captured in this Report. In order to ensure there are equal opportunities to participate, outreach in Arabic and potentially other languages should be included in any future research, to facilitate engagement with these communities.
- **Young people:** I did not conduct any activities specifically with young people. Many of the tenant households are families with children and several people spoke about visiting the House when they were younger, as well as making observations about the use of the play facilities by young people/restrictions or limitations on children playing in other parts of the building.
- **Multi-generational connections:** this aspect spontaneously emerged during the study and could be an interesting facet to explore further, particularly while some of the original generation of tenants from the 1960s are still in residence.

Annex I: Statement of Social Value

This Statement is an attempt to illustrate the range of values associated with Cables Wynd House. Values are not static and are liable to change over time. In addition, this Statement is based on a limited number of inputs from individuals who do not claim to speak for or represent the views of their entire community. It should therefore be considered as indicative of the diversity of values for communities with interests in the site, rather than comprehensive or definitive.

Note on language: Quotations include the following Scots words: ‘nae’, meaning no or not any; and ‘wee’, meaning small (see relevant entries in the Dictionary of the Scots Language: <https://dsl.ac.uk/>).

Place of home - First and foremost Cables Wynd House is experienced as a home and, for the most part, a place of safety and belonging (also see below). As one tenant responded, he would be “surprised if there’s a resident that doesn’t [have a special connection to the House]”:

- Older and longer-term tenants in particular had memories of **moving in** when the House was new and bringing up their families: “Moved in 3 months after it opened... Wondered what it was going to be” (resident of 52 years); “Took pics myself when moved in. Was all open then, no railings or concierge ... Glad they didn’t knock it down, wouldn’t have wanted to move” (photo exhibit response, resident of 40 years).
- Some tenants move into the House after being in temporary accommodation or homeless. The feelings associated with **having a place of their own** were recalled by one respondent, whose strongest memories related to their first night in the House: “Having been homeless for some time it was a great relief despite having no furniture at all” (male tenant aged 45-55).
- Correspondingly, negative experiences and memories normally relate to the **day to day experiences** of living in the House, about disruptive works in the kitchens, mice getting into the flats, broken heating, and noise from neighbours or the basketball court. A few people had experienced violence or disturbances that had left them feeling unsafe in the House.

Connected community – the sense of ‘community spirit’ and relationships were important in how the House was valued, supporting values of safety and belonging. With so many flats, the House contains a population comparable to a small village. The number of people of all ages who are currently, or have been, resident in the House means that there is an extensive network of relations, friends, and other contacts such as health visitors that are familiar with the House, extending the field of relationships.

- For those with **a network of active relationships** the House is viewed positively in terms of the feeling of community: “[E]veryone knows everyone. No horrible feelings. Everyone is approachable, the staff as well” (female tenant); “If moved elsewhere would miss it ... people are friendly, good, no problem with you” (female tenant aged 25-35).
- Others felt the **‘community spirit’** had declined since their early years in the House, as their children grew up and tenants changed, with a sense that today people are “Not encouraged to try and meet and talk” (male resident). Responses such as “I keep myself to myself” (male tenant aged over-65) and “people in here find it quite lonely” (female tenant) also suggest that ‘everyone knows everyone’ is limited to within particular social groups or communities (also see point on social cohesion under ‘Care and Attention’).
- **The physical space itself shapes social interactions.** There were references to talking to people on or from balconies, but as one respondent observed, “three or four newcomers [on my landing], don’t really know them. Never came and introduced themselves, nowhere for them to go and say ‘Hi, I’m new’”

(female tenant). Visitors also commented on the fact they did not see many people in the communal areas when they were in the House, “Actually, when we were in [the flats], was sort of like a ghost town” (photo group member).

- As in any (particularly high density) residential area, it is their immediate **neighbours** that impact most directly on other residents, whether positively or negatively. Rather than the building as a whole, tenants tended to **characterise the House according to their landing**. “Comes and goes, depends on who your neighbours are... Get a ne’re-do-well on a landing, then quiet sometimes” (male resident aged over-65) “Never had it [drug dealing] on my section of the landing – quietest bit” (male resident). This and other responses that highlighted that tenants know what is going on in the House, with the implication that their knowledge is perhaps better than that of the authorities.

Multi-generational/family connections – although there is a tendency to think of a concrete building as ‘modern’ and therefore recent, the flats have been housing tenants for 55 years, more than enough time for three generations to have grown up living in or around the House. In other contexts, three generations of association might be expected to lead to memories, attachment and value, but in the case of social housing developments this multi-generational connection seems to have passed largely unremarked upon. The connections surfaced in the research in several ways:

- There were memories of **moving into the House** when new and bringing up children, i.e.: “Lived here since 13 December 1965, when I was 9 months old” (male resident); “Three sons grew up here and they are 54, 52 and 42 now” (male resident of 52 years); “after 2 years my daughter was born, she stayed during her student breaks” (male resident of 38 years).
- There were instances of **multiple generations returning to the House** as tenants in their own right: “My daughter stays here too” (male resident of 20 years); “Nan grew up here, me, my mother-in-law, a lot of history” (photo exhibit response).
- There were **extended family** members connected with the House, although they were not tenants themselves: “My aunt’s lived here over 20 years, visited regularly all my life” (female aged 18-25).

Belonging – Many of the respondents expressed a strong connection to Leith and were positive about the wider location:

- People were often explicit about **being from or wanting to live in Leith**: “Lived in Leith all my life. Had a house, but was dying to get back to Leith” (female tenant); “Lived in New Town 10 years and here 5 years. Wish I had spent that time in Leith” (male tenant); “Love Leith, like where it’s situated” (female tenant aged 45-55); “Born and bred in Leith... wouldn’t want to be anywhere else” (male tenant aged 45-55).
- From the communal balconies, the House provides a **wide view** of the local surroundings: “Would miss the view, can see Arthur’s Seat” (male tenant aged over-65); “gives you the, sorta the impression that Edinburgh sweeps right across from the Banana Flats to the Castle” (photo group member); “Amazing to think you’ve got all that in one view” (photo group member).
- Almost all of the photographs prompted discussions on points of reference within the wider landscape, revealing **memories or knowledge** of the local area and how those places had changed: “there used to be a pub there” (male tenant aged 55-65); “there used to be the big store there and there was shops and then the wee park, at the back of the wee park used to be Leith hospital” (photo group member).
- Memories of living in the House also **connected it with the wider area**, such as the walkway along Leith Water, which runs close by the House (see map in Annex III): “Used to cycle it with my daughter. Used to play there when it was a railway as a kid, different world then, horses and carts when I was a kid” (male tenant aged over-65).

- Some responses revealed a **determination to remain** in the House or in the area, i.e. “Wife wouldn’t move even once incapacitated; brought family up here, been here 50 years, not moving” (male tenant); “Leithers don’t want to move out of Leith” (Council official).
- This contrasted with **negative expressions and feelings** (sometimes from the same respondents) of being stuck in the House itself: “Why put us with the junkies? Everyone wants to go - no one wants to be there” (male tenant aged 45-55); “People stuck here forever, never going to get out. People came here with young children, want to get out and have a garden. Kids can’t get out and play, disabled kids, can’t keep an eye on them when up high. Have a young baby now and eventually will get out” (female tenant).

Care and Attention – the degree to which the House was perceived to be receiving care and attention, whether from the Council or from the tenants, affected how it was valued. Comments were principally concerned with the physical appearance but revealed feelings that went beyond the present physicality and were informed by lived experiences and social relations (past and present).

- The Council policy is that flat doors should not be changed or repainted by tenants. The “sameness and similarity” (photo group member) of the communal areas, counteracted by small personal touches such as door mats, was negatively interpreted by visitors, whose initial impressions of the House were that it was ‘bleak’, ‘drab’ and ‘dirty’.
- Similarly, responses to the photo exhibit showed how the images contradicted some people’s **expectations and perceptions**. This was the case for photo group members: “gives it a sort of appearance as a nice, warm, inviting place. I thought it was quite spartan but it does nae look like that there”; “That’s remarkable, the whole building there was not one bit of graffiti that I could see, in the whole building”; and those viewing the photo exhibit in the building: “Makes it look nicer”; “Looks a lot different to how it looks when you’re in it... Looks like landing 5, looks very clean.”
- The difference between **how the house looks and how living in it is experienced**, implied in the final comment above, is also reflected in this response: “[The photo exhibit has] not captured the true meaning of the flats. I’ve been here 2 years, Friday or Saturday night or a sunny day and that park will be full of people drinking, I can hear and see them from my balcony” (female tenant).
- The issue of cleanliness was also picked up on by other respondents, for example when commenting on past ‘community spirit’: “Tenants used to clean the building, wash the landing every day for a week and then passed on to the 5th flat and on like that, and clean the stairs between landings once a month” (male tenant). It is noted that, although experienced in the context of a specific building or neighbourhood, studies have shown that changes in **social cohesion and neighbourly reciprocity** of the sort being described here are society-wide issues (see e.g. Putnam 2000; Forrest & Kearns 2001).
- The comments on **cleanliness and behaviour** suggest that ‘clean’ and ‘cared for’ are experienced and understood not only as material matters but as “analogies for expressing a general view of the social order” (Douglas 2002 [1966]: 4) and perceptions of the building are influenced by how people are positioned with regard to the social structures and behaviours they associate with the House.

Design and aesthetic values - Most people indicated that the official recognition of the building’s importance through listing had not changed their feelings toward it, though it had perhaps changed their expectations regarding maintenance and care. Responses given to the listing decision ranged from interest to incredulity.

- For some tenants, the **design features** supported their attachment to the House, e.g. “From the outside the first impression is not so good but when go inside and see the design of the flats, if into

design, then you change your mind” (male tenant of 5 years). This same respondent referred to the building as iconic and said, “[I] feel privileged, fortunate to be in it.”

- Another person, responding to the images in the photo exhibit, said, “I always thought the block was kind of unique, like the way it looks, the balconies.”
- However, there were other comments suggesting that listing had resulted in a lack of **maintenance** and feelings that there was a disconnect between the status conferred on the building and the **attention paid to residents**: “The Queen has a listed building but does she have problems with heating like us?” (female tenant of 7 years).

Annex II: Comparators and References

As a direct comparator, Pendlebury et. al. (2009) discuss the case of Byker, a social housing development in Newcastle. Against the backdrop of a proposed listing, they explore how the neighbourhood is valued by residents and professionals (what makes Byker ‘unique and special’) and the potential impact of the listing. Findings that are similar to this case include the focus on community, the impact of physical characteristics of the building, and tenants’ distinction between parts of the development or places within it. They conclude, as seen here, that the listing itself was not an especially important issue, barring concerns about future improvements to the building or marginal benefits (2009: 197). Although Byker overall houses a much larger population, their observations of differentiated, complex and contradictory values apply equally in this case.

Also taking Byker as one of his cases, Malpass (2009) expands on some of the challenges inherent in taking occupied ‘council housing’ and valuing it according to formal listing criteria. One of the critiques he identifies is that, “Listing tends to place heavy emphasis on the building itself, as an object of importance in itself, abstracted from the context in which it was created and separated from the people who use and interact with it” (2009: 205). He advocates for flexibility and ‘reasonable freedom’ in ensuring heritage housing meets with residents’ changing needs and expectations; warning against elevating such buildings “over the cultural processes and achievements of which they are a reflection” (2009: 213).

In *Towerblocks* (1993), Glendinning and Muthesius address the theory and practice of modern social housing programmes, from their post-World War II heyday through to the social breakdown and rehabilitation of buildings in the 1970s and 1980s, noting the different practices and attitudes seen in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Although Cables Wynd House is not specifically referenced, there are parallels with the architectural theory and overall trajectory described for other Scottish developments from the 1960s.

Douglas’ classic “treatise on the idea of dirt and contagion” (2002: xii) explores how taboos function to maintain social order, using concepts of ‘dirt’ to compare practices across cultures. She describes the complex relationship between pollution ideas and morals, showing how such ideas are used to buttress public morality or draw attention to behaviour considered threatening to social structures (2002 [1966]: 160-172). While some of the comments made with regard to cleanliness at Cables Wynd House undoubtedly related to material concerns, it was a repeated motif, suggesting that at times “pollutions are used as analogies for expressing a general view of the social order” (Douglas 2002 [1966]: 4).

Putnam’s (2000) book explores declining civic engagement, reciprocity and communal ties in America. He describes the operation of social capital (‘bonding’/within and ‘bridging’/between groups) and identifies trends across society, showing that these issues are not limited to particular groups or neighbourhoods.

Forrest & Kearns’ take this idea on, looking at social cohesion and social capital with regard to different types of neighbourhood in Britain, showing (as Putnam does) that there are society wide trends. They raise a distinction between “neighbourhood and neighbouring”, suggesting that neighbouring is the more important quality in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, where people haven’t ‘bought into’ a neighbourhood due to the physical environment (2001: 2130). However, they warn of a bias in the research, focusing on deprived neighbourhoods for policy reasons, meaning “concepts such as social capital become part of ‘deficit theory syndrome’ - something lacking in individuals or communities” (2001: 2141), rather than a resource and dynamic seen in all neighbourhoods. Both sources highlight that, although largely seen as positive, social capital also has a ‘downside’, in that strongly bonded groups can effectively exclude others and/or pursue aims that are more widely considered anti-social (Putnam 2000: 21-22; Forrest & Kearns 2001: 2141).

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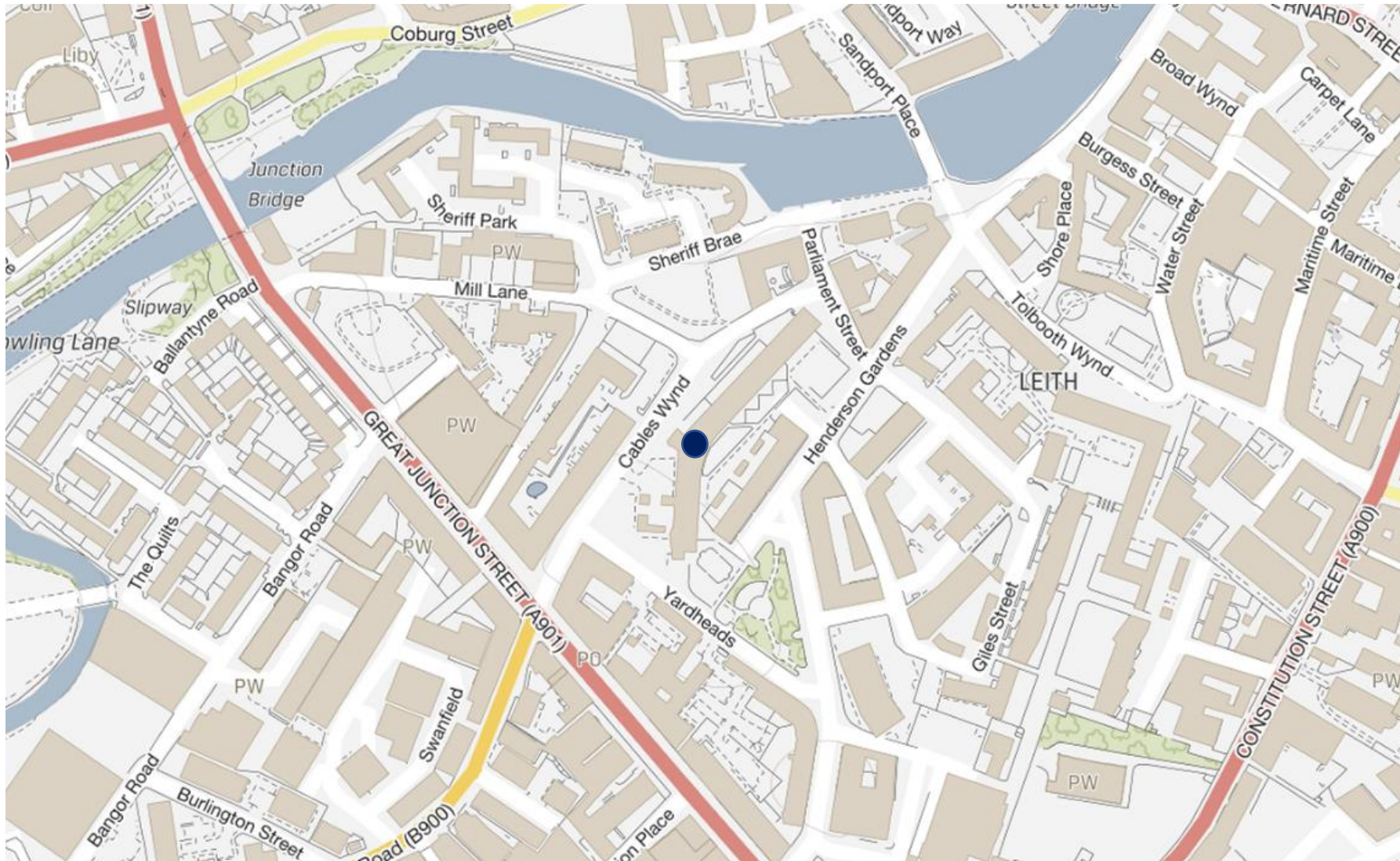
Scott Calonico produced a short documentary based on interviews with Cables Wynd House tenants, titled *Banana Republic* (2015): <https://www.scottishdocinstitute.com/films/banana-republic/>

Annex III: Table of Contributors

Respondents 3.1 and 3.2	HES staff members				
Respondent 3.3	Representative of local community group				
Respondent 3.4	Edinburgh Council staff member				
Respondents 3.5	Tenant, male (residency = 52 years)				
Respondents 3.6	Tenant, male (residency = 5 years)				
Respondents 3.7	Tenant, female (residency = 7 years)				
Respondents 3.8, 3.9, 3.10, 3.11, 3.12	Members of local photography group (not tenants): 4 female and 1 male, all aged over-50)				
Questionnaires (1-9)	Tenants: gender, age range and duration of residency given below (years)				
	Male, over-65, 12 yrs	Male, age not given, 20 yrs	Female, 25-35, 7 yrs	Male, 35-45, 5 yrs	Female, 45-55, 1 yr (+ previous tenancy)
	Male, over-65, 38 yrs	Male, 45-55, 10 yrs (+ 9 yrs previously)	Male, 45-55, 35 yrs	Male, 45-55, 11 yrs	
Questionnaire (10)	Visitor: female aged 18-25 (relative of resident)				
Photo exhibit responses	Tenants (18) and visitors (2: one visiting a relative, another visiting a friend)				

Annex IV: Map of Location

Cables Wynd House and surrounding area. Map downloaded from <https://canmore.org.uk/> and annotated to indicate the House with a dot.



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