Understanding the Lifeworld of Social Exclusion

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Abstract

In seeking to explain social exclusion, politicians, academics, and commentators alike have highlighted the role of social relationships in securing life chances. In recent years, these discussions have been characterised by three debates; those around the underclass, social cohesion and social capital. Each offers a commentary on the causes of social exclusion and community breakdown which is rooted in a focus on the social interactions within deprived neighbourhoods. As a result these debates raise many questions about the relationship between people, place and the public realm.

This thesis contributes to our understanding of these issues by looking at these issues using a social psychological approach. Using a methodological framework grounded in the paradigm of social representations it analyses the cognitive actions of individuals and groups within a locality. This reveals how they generate and maintain a "cultural stock of knowledge", the social relationships which underpin this "lifeworld" and its influence on the life chances of the residents. In particular this research looks at the impact of this lifeworld on public services and regeneration projects in the research area, seeking to understand what effect the lifeworld has on their success or failure.

This thesis builds on previous studies grounded in sociological and anthropological research methods in two ways. In the first instance it confirms the importance of socially constructed knowledge to social structures and the role they play in life chances. Yet using a social psychological approach also offers an innovative way of exploring how socially constructed knowledge is created.

maintained and changed by individuals and groups in their mental processes. In doing so, this thesis shows how important such knowledge is in determining social networks, social acts and social change. It therefore reveals how a social psychological approach to social exclusion can complement other forms of research into this phenomenon.

Understanding The Lifeworld Of Social Exclusion

Chapter One: Why would we want to understand the Lifeworld of Social Exclusion?

Concern about the impact of poverty and inequality on society is not a new discussion to the UK. Nor are the on-going political and academic debates about the responsibility of the state in relation to these issues. From the creation of workhouses to the introduction of social security, throughout British history successive governments have been concerned with alleviating poverty. In recent decades these debates have been shaped by discourses around the concept of social exclusion (Page 2000; De Haan 1999). This interest has been given new impetus in the last eight years under the Labour Government which has made tackling social exclusion a priority. In 1997 it set up the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) to co-ordinate this work across Whitehall.

There are many arguments about the definition of social exclusion (Levitas 1998; Burchardt, Le Grand & Piachaud 2002) but, broadly characterised, this is a debate about the impact of poverty and deprivation on both the quality of life and life chances available to individuals and particular communities within society. Here I draw on the concept of life chances as defined by a recent Fabian Report which uses the term because "it combines a concern about opportunities with a concern about the factors that affect opportunities" (Fabian Society 2005; p.13). Whilst the concept of quality of life brings to mind the present condition of society, the idea of life chances also reflects how these debates look at the long term and sustained consequences of disadvantage and inequality on peoples' lives.

Thus this is a debate not just about contemporary equality of opportunity, but also about the social, environmental and economic factors which throughout a person's lifetime may determine their life outcomes.

The concept of social exclusion brings into question how these factors are related to a number of other social ills which are in turn are both cause and consequence of poverty and inequality themselves. These include factors such as poor educational attainment, poor health, persistent unemployment and high levels of crime. At its inception the SEU described social exclusion as:

> "A shorthand label for what can happen when individuals or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown. The Government has policies that are targeted at reducing all of these individually, but the Government programmes have been less good at tackling the interaction between these problems or preventing them arising in the first place."[1]

As this definition reveals, the debates around social exclusion bring together an awareness not just of the impact of poverty on peoples' lives but also of how many of the problems listed interact which each other. Thus, this is a debate not just about the way in which poverty affects peoples' lives, but also the way in which the experience of these problems is often interconnected. To that end there is now a substantial body of research which shows how individuals who experience one of these factors tend to have a higher chance of experiencing the others as well (Gordon et al 2000). Critically, existing research has also shown that

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[1] Social Exclusion Unit introductory leaflet, Cabinet Office 1997.

the chances of experiencing any of these factors increases as income levels decrease (Barry 2002).

If the social exclusion debate can be said to have broadened the awareness of the consequences of poverty for society, it has also increased interest in a wider range of causes of deprivation as well. Thus, the social exclusion debate has increased interest in the social as well as economic origins of deprivation. Research has focused on how social structures such as the educational system and social relations such as family may help mitigate or exacerbate economic conditions (Kiernan 1998: Hobcraft 1996: Glennerster 1998). In short there is a concern to find out what is social about social exclusion. This interest in social structures and relations has also been motivated by a recognition that some social groups within society appear to be more at risk of social exclusion than others. Research has shown that factors such as gender, ethnicity and disability exacerbate the likelihood of the experience of deprivation (Modood et al 1997: Burchardt 2003).

In tandem with this interest in how specific groups of people appear more at risk of social exclusion than others has also been a recognition that some neighbourhoods appear more at risk as well. Research has consistently shown that there is often a geographical dimension to the experience of social exclusion with particular parts of the UK being much more likely to suffer from high crime, poor housing or poor educational attainment (Parkinson and Kearns 2001 : Buck 2001: Lupton and Power 2004). Whilst interest in neighbourhood effects pre-dates the discussions of social exclusion, the combination of these debates has led to a greater attention on the social structures and social relationships which are present

within those geographical areas. In her review Taylor (2000) highlighted how many of the policy initiatives the current Government has put forward to tackle geographical deprivation are similar to those instigated by previous administrations in previous decades. However, as Taylor pointed out, what is new to both these policy initiatives and the current academic debates around social exclusion is a focus on the community and social relationships which exist within deprived areas.

Thus, whilst previous discussions of neighbourhood effects have looked at how environmental factors, such as poor housing, affect their occupants the social exclusion debates have brought into sharper focus the covariance of these factors within particular areas (Power and Tunstall 1995). At the same time the interest in how some social groups appear to be more at risk of exclusion than others has moved from a solely quantitative analysis of the existence of certain social groupings, such as the presence of those from Black and Minority Ethnic communities, within a neighbourhood. There is now a concern to explore what role the community bonds or cultural values individuals who live in the same area possess and how this impacts on their experience of poverty.

Within this debate the terms culture and community are often used interchangeably, with both being used to refer to the notion that there is a set of values, ideas, behaviours and identities which are held by individuals and groups which in turn are seen to influence life outcomes for their holders in various ways. In these debates social exclusion becomes a function of community membership, whether that community is defined through a social category such as ethnicity or by virtue of residence in a particular location. This is because exclusion is seen as

an inevitable consequence of the social relationships, or lack of them, in which those who are part of these communities or neighbourhoods participate.

Defining what constitutes community is a difficult process especially at a neighbourhood level (Mumford and Power 2003; Richardson and Mumford 2002). As one commentator has reflected on both the academic and public policy debates "community can mean everything or nothing".[2] In this research I have taken the definition put forward by Richardson and Mumford of community at a local level to refer to the "social infrastructure" that "makes neighbourhoods into social systems" (Richardson and Mumford 2002: p.203). In this definition they encompass both the shared consumption of services and facilities which are often provided on a geographical basis, and the social networks and social customs which are part of the social organisation in a location. Their work then looks at how neighbourhoods are affected by changes in both these factors.

Three specific strands of thought have, I argue, been influential in increasing interest in these social organisational structures at a local level. The first strand centres on the concept of an "underclass" and the discussions considering whether cultural values affect life chances. The second debate is around the concept of social cohesion. These have looked at how social relationships, particularly amongst those of differing ethnicities, prevent or encourage social exclusion. The final interrelated strand of debate is around social capital. These are interested in how social relationships allow individuals and communities to access resources. As I will discuss in the next chapter, many aspects of these debates are not mutually exclusive. Furthermore, all have sought to offer explanations as to

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[2] "View from the Top" by David Walker Guardian Newspaper Wednesday 27th July 2005

how social relationships and the cultural ideas, values and activities that define them affect life chances. So too in all three of these strands there is a strong emphasis on how social relationships which are geographically defined are connected to social exclusion.

Taken together these three strands of debate - the underclass, social cohesion and social capital - now offer a substantial body of theoretical debates around the impact of social interactions at a local level on social exclusion. However, much of the actual research into neighbourhoods has looked at particular facets, such as poor educational attainment or healthcare services in a locality, rather than the social relationships present *per se* making it difficult to confirm or refute the theories themselves. There are also many limitations with the way in which these debates characterise the social relationships they consider. I will discuss in the following chapter how frequently these debates have taken a simplistic approach to social relationships, seeing the presence of any social relationship as equally influential to all their participants. This discussion will show how some of these debates are based on an analysis of cultural values or social relations as a quality of collective entities such as communities or social groups. However, the evidence posited for this is given at an individual level such as personal behaviour. This means that variation within communities or social groups, either socially or spatially defined, is not often acknowledged or analysed. As a result I argue that the relationship of the individual to the norms, values and ideas which are communicated as part of social interaction has not been fully explored.

My research seeks to make an original contribution to our knowledge of social exclusion by looking at these issues from a different perspective. It will focus on the role social relationships play within a deprived neighbourhood as a source both of opportunities and resources. Thus the research will address the question of what is social about social exclusion. It will also look at how those who participate in these social relationships at a local level themselves view these factors and what impact this may or may not have on their life chances. It is the argument of this research that considering this psychological context can shed new light on the complex subject of social exclusion.

By investigating how individuals who live in an area designated as a place of deprivation think about the various facets of their local environment I will explore how the ideas, values, social norms and social interactions present in a geographical area impact on the life chances of residents. I believe that the role that individuals and communities can play in interpreting their own environment, each other and the opportunities and resources available to them is an integral part of understanding the life chances experienced by individuals and communities. In this way I will show why this is an aspect of social exclusion whose importance is at presently undervalued.

In developing a research project to investigate these issues I have been influenced by those social theorists who have sought to integrate an overarching analysis of social and economic structures with an appreciation of the relationship these have to the cultural and social milieu of modern life. In particular I believe the work of both Habermas and Bourdieu brings together an appreciation of the power of economic relationships to create and maintain social inequalities with

recognition that these inequalities pervade not just wider social structures but the communicative content of everyday life.

It is for this reason that I have chosen to draw on the Habermasian notion of a lifeworld in defining my research project. Habermas (1986) described the lifeworld as the "cultural stock of knowledge", the content of which helps to socialise the individual into the economic order of modernity. This is because culturally learnt knowledge helps us explain, and predict in a meaningful way, the world around us. We gain this understanding through our interactions with society, learning and developing our own stock of knowledge and experience on which to base our common sense of everyday life. In this way the concept of the lifeworld acknowledges that we do not start each morning as a "tabula rasa" coming to terms with our environment anew. Instead we are meaning-seeking beings that actively use a wealth of experiences, ideas, images and predictions we already have to comprehend our everyday existence.

Habermas's work highlights how those experiences and ideas are not accidental but instead the product of a particular social order. Thus, their content helps to assimilate us into that order. Others have defined similar concepts. For example, Bourdieu described the "habitus" which is "a system of acquired dispositions" (Bourdieu 1990:p.13) each person develops in life whose content conditions our actions and practises in everyday life. Again in Bourdieu's work the contents of the habitus are not benign, but instead purposefully uphold the social order. For both theorists the social and cultural artefacts of society are not minor elements of modern life, but part and parcel of its shape and form because they express the social structures. These authors share the recognition that how we

understand the world around us is not an accident of perception, but systematically shaped by the social forces of modernity to help reproduce existing social structures. In an unequal society the lifeworld, or our individual habitus, serves to replicate those inequalities because it socialises us into a way of thinking and acting which supports and sustains them.

Whilst social policy perspectives such as Habermas and Bourdieu can offer a way of appreciating the relationship between the macro economic structures and the micro everyday cultural and social experiences that constitute the lifeworld, their perspectives focus predominantly on the societal level at which these phenomena occur. In particular they do not explore how the lifeworld is perceived by the individual or offer a way of understanding how individuals interact with social structures through their everyday practises. Furthermore, this analysis offers an overly static view of the relationship between cultural practises and the social order, in which the lifeworld tends to reify existing social structures and inequalities.

In the next chapter one of the problems I consider with the current discussions on the role of social relationships in social exclusion is that they are too broad brush. This is because they seek to identify often complex phenomena at a societal level and so tend towards generalisations about the level of uniformity between group members. This also reiterates the static perspective these sociological analysis have of such social relationships which is at odds with the dynamic reality of modern culture in which there are a multitude of competing and contrasting ideas and values held by both individuals and groups. I believe that to understand the importance of social relationships to life chances requires a

theoretical approach which can fully appreciate the intricacies of the social interactions which underpin such relationships from both a social and individual perspective. To that end, I have chosen to bring to the concept of the lifeworld an analytical framework grounded in a social psychological approach.

Social psychology is a discipline grounded in considering how social interactions between individuals, individuals and groups and groups and groups operate. It has been described as the "social anthropology of modern society" (Moscovici 1987: p.517). This description reflects how social psychology provides a detailed body of research into the cultural and social practises, ideas and norms of modernity. In essence it is the study of the lifeworld par excellence because it takes as its concern how interactions between differing individuals and groups generate knowledge and so influence their life chances. It therefore offers a body of work which I believe complements the sociological work of Bourdieu and Habermas. Whilst social psychological researchers have only recently begun to contribute to the debates around social exclusion, there is a substantial body of research into social interaction which I have been able to draw on in framing the research approach this thesis presents.

In particular I have been strongly influenced by the social psychological paradigm of social representations and the work of Serge Moscovici (1984: 1988: 1998). Moscovici identified social representations as the supply of psychological and cultural images, ideas, values and actions which we use to understand and communicated about the world around us: in essence common sense in action. In this way social representations appear as the verb to the noun of the lifeworld as they are the way in which the lifeworld is operationalised. Thus, as the lifeworld is

the "cultural stock of knowledge", so social representations are the individual components of this collection. They are the backbone of knowledge which informs the ideas, images, identities and behaviours groups and individuals use in everyday life to communicate with each other about any topic. It is this knowledge and the information it generates which in turn we use to understand the topic in question and to communicate about something. Whilst Moscovici first posited the paradigm of social representations in the early 1960s, there is now a substantial body of research and analysis which draws on this idea and offers further theoretical and empirical clarification on how these processes operate (Doise 1990: 1993, Farr 1990, Wagner 1995). Thus I propose to use a social psychological spotlight to illuminate an area of social policy interest.

In this research I will show how this "cultural stock of knowledge" used by residents within a deprived neighbourhood is critical to defining the attitudes, activities and aspirations of those individuals. The thesis will explore how this lifeworld is an important resource for both individuals and communities, offering them the intellectual tools with which to understand both their current situation and future prospects. Within the context of a neighbourhood this approach offers a way of analysing which social relationships, if any, are critical to forming the lifeworld at a local level. It is then possible to investigate what impact the contents of this lifeworld can have on the life chances of both individuals and social groups in the locality. This then will help refine our understanding of how activity within the lifeworld both perpetuates and challenges inequality.

Yet social representations theory not only offers a way of understanding how such knowledge is used but also how it is created. I will therefore also explore

how both individuals and groups in their communication with the world and each other come to develop this common sense. Analysing the process of representation by both individuals and groups reveals that the way in which knowledge is created is not accidental. I will show how through the representation process individuals and groups can actively participate in the social construction of knowledge and so either reinforce, or challenge, social structures. In this way I argue social representations theory offers a dynamic account of the relationship between individuals, socially constructed knowledge and social change.

To investigate the issues I have raised in this discussion I chose to conduct fieldwork in an area of the UK designated as a poor neighbourhood by the Government policy agenda. The research area was a small geographical area in receipt of Neighbourhood Renewal funding to tackle the prevalence of factors such as poor health, poor educational attainment and persistently high unemployment. Drawing on previous social representational research approaches, I interviewed one hundred members of the local community. This consisted of seventy residents and thirty gatekeepers who were individuals who worked in the research area but participated in the shared discussions in the locality.

In these interviews I looked in detail at how the participants viewed themselves, their neighbours - or the residents of the research area in the case of the gatekeepers - the local environment and the projects seeking to regenerate the area. I used the information gathered from these to build up a detailed picture of the social representations circulating in the research area and the sense of community, social values, ideas and practises which these representations helped

to support and sustain. The bulk of this thesis details the evidence gained from these discussions.

The thesis is structured in the following ways. Chapter Two provides an overview of the debates around neighbourhoods and social exclusion. It will consider in detail the three debates I identified that have characterised discussions of what is social about social exclusion. Chapter Three then sets out the social psychological analytical framework I used in the research. It also details the methodology behind this research. In keeping with the neighbourhood research approach to which this thesis seeks to contribute, the fourth chapter offers a detailed quantitative analysis of the levels of social deprivation present in the research area. This offers a counterpoint to the qualitative nature of most of the research presented and helps to provide the reader with an overview of the economic and social context in which the research took place.

These three chapters act as a background to the main body of research findings which are presented in chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight. Chapter Five starts by considering process of representation, showing the way residents and gatekeepers shared ideas, images and attitudes which they then in turn drew on in their everyday life. This chapter will analyse how social representations help generate the common sense on which both residents and gatekeepers draw. Yet, as well as showing the similarity in the shared representations participants had, it will also show the differences in representations. This will reveal how the lifeworld is not an arena of thought control but a site of contested and contradicting ideas and images reflecting the different perspectives of those who contribute to it.

Chapter Six then moves to the content of these representations in more detail and the way in which the participants viewed the social relationships in the research area. As already discussed, these social relationships are the source of much theoretical debate. In this chapter I will look at what evidence can be found to either support or refute the portrayal of neighbourhoods and poor communities identified in Chapter Two. In particular this chapter will consider the debates around social cohesion and social capital, looking at how those who live in close proximity with each other interacted and what resources and opportunities this offered to residents. Chapter Seven then moves to consider how the residents interacted with the public realm in the area, showing the representations residents held influenced their consumption of public services and participation in the political and civic structures. It will show that the way in which residents represented the neighbourhood they lived in had substantial implications not just for the democratic culture of the research area but also the Neighbourhood Renewal work itself. Chapter Eight then offers a detailed examination of the issues raised by the previous three chapters from the perspective of the gatekeepers. This chapter will look at their contribution to the ideas, images and values circulating in the research area and how in turn they used these in their work. This chapter will investigate how their views corroborated and conflicted with the views of the residents and what this meant for the efforts to regenerate the research area.

The final chapter of this research will then return to the central premise of this research. It will discuss how taking a social psychological perspective to the social exclusion debate offers fresh insight into the topic. Looking at the issues raised by the theoretical debates about what is social about social exclusion, this

chapter will argue public policy must recognise the importance of the psychological context present within a neighbourhood to the future life chances of its residents. In its entirety, this research seeks to contribute to the debates identified by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) in its emphasis on the theme of social stability and social exclusion – what is the relation between social values and divisions in society and does diversity necessarily mean deviseness? Thus, by researching the nature of social exclusion from a psychological perspective, the research seeks to contribute to our understanding on the role of cultural and social values in both creating and tackling social exclusion.

Chapter Two: Just what is Social about Social Exclusion?

In the previous chapter I gave a brief overview of the argument that this research project will make. I identified how the discussion of the social relationships considered integral to social exclusion has been dominated by three particular discourses about the "underclass", social cohesion and social capital. In this chapter I propose to look in detail at those debates and what evidence there is available to either support or refute their arguments. This chapter therefore serves as a literature review of the debates to which this research seeks to contribute.

It is important to note that this thesis does not view social exclusion as solely a phenomenon of social relationships. This research has been informed by the "working definition" of social exclusion set out by Burchardt, Le Grand & Piachaud (2002). They wrote "an individual is socially excluded if he or she does not participate in key activities of the society in which he or she lives" (Burchardt, Le Grand & Piachaud 2002: p.30). Whilst these authors identify four different dimensions of exclusion – consumption, production, political engagement and social interaction - this thesis is primarily concerned the dimension of "social interaction" and how at a local level this affects life chances. This does not mean that this thesis intends to rank these dimensions or imply one is more important than another. As these authors identified, given the nature of social exclusion it is critical to have a multi-dimensional and dynamic approach to tracking its existence and the impact of measures to tackle it within British society. Thus this thesis seeks to help in the process of refining the measurement and public policy

interventions particularly around our understanding of the social dimensions of social exclusion.

Chapter One highlighted how in defining the social dimensions of social exclusion there has been interest in the social relationships present at a neighbourhood level from two directions. Firstly, this interest has come from those concerned with a long tradition of neighbourhood research and the analysis of deprivation within geographical areas. Secondly, at the other end of the spectrum, those interested in the social causes of persistent poverty and inequalities have come to focus on the evidence of a spatial dimension to these issues. This chapter will begin by considering how neighbourhoods have become the focus of interest, both within academic debates and Government policy making around the social exclusion agenda. I will then explore the second category of research into neighbourhoods. In the introduction I identified the three strands of thought which I argue have defined interest the social causes of poverty at a neighbourhood level. In particular I will discuss the legacy of the underclass debate and the ongoing discussions around social capital and social cohesion. As part of this, I will highlight how these discourses have characterised the importance of social relationships not just to individuals but to regeneration initiatives and the vibrancy of civic life.

Having outlined these theories, I will show there is concern about a lack of research into the issues these debates raise, and the need for further investigation into the questions posed about the relationship between poverty and culture. This chapter therefore serves a double purpose to this thesis. It sets out the current debates and relevant ideas into which this research seeks to offer insight. It also

serves to show how at present there has only been limited investigation into the way in which those who live or work in a deprived neighbourhoods view their localities and each other and what relationship this has to their life chances. As such I argue the psychological context of neighbourhood remains relatively unexplored. The following chapter will then outline how the research presented in this thesis seeks to address both the current debates and shed new light on this aspect of social exclusion that I argue is at present undervalued.

Social Exclusion and Neighbourhoods

In his "genealogy" of social exclusion De Haan (1999) discussed how the term social exclusion was first attributed to the French academic Rene Lenoir (1974). Lenoir described how economic and social changes were causing the social fabric of France to disintegrate, leaving increasing numbers of individuals and groups out of the structures of mainstream society. De Haan detailed the debates surrounding social exclusion and the role of the state which Lenoir's work engendered both in France and amongst the wider European body politic. Indeed, the concept has now pervaded European political discussion to such an extent that the European Union has been "committed" to fighting social exclusion, for example within the Amsterdam and Maastricht Treaties, since the beginning of the 1990s. The exception to this trend, as De Haan pointed out, is the UK. Deacon and Bradshaw (1983) chart how during the 1970s and 1980s, British discourses were much more centered on proving that the welfare state had either abolished or propagated poverty. It was only in the mid 1990s, when the concept of social

exclusion became more prominent, that the emphasis moved from a wholly economic focus on the effects of low incomes to a broader interest in the connection between a range of social phenomena and deprivation (Alcock 1997).

Social exclusion may be a relatively new concept to British social theory discussions, but over the course of the last fifteen years it has become its main concern. As Page commented:

> "One reason for the speed with which it has been taken up may be that it describes a phenomenon that already existed, but lacked a suitable name. There is not single widely accepted definition of social exclusion. Like "poverty" it is a term that describes a concept that is recognised intuitively, but is much harder to define."
> (Page 2000: p.4)

The relationship between the concepts of poverty, deprivation and social exclusion is subject to much argument and often used interchangeably (Allen, Cars and Madanipour 1998: Oppenheim et al 1998). Several authors have catalogued the differing discourses which define discussion of social exclusion in the UK (Byrne 1999: Levitas 1998: Somerville 1998) and I do not propose to repeat them here. Of particular interest to this thesis is the way in which those discourses and the public policy process around social exclusion has developed a neighbourhood focus. Yet for public policy to take a neighbourhood focused approach to tackling deprivation is not original. As Taylor has pointed out

> "to those who remember the wave of initiatives that were put in place to tackle urban deprivation in the late 1960s, there is a familiar ring about current policies" (Taylor 2000: p.1020).

There is certainly a strong body of evidence to support such an approach, emanating originally from the long tradition of research within urban geography and social policy around the impact of the physical environment on life chances.

This research has identified "neighbourhood effects" which detail the concentration of deprivation within spatial areas (Atkinson and Kintrea 2001: Parkinson and Kearns 2001: Buck 2001: Lupton and Power 2004). So too research has identified how the spatial provision of services, or non provision, can be critical to understanding the problems associated with social exclusion (Mohan 2002). Smith (1999) discussed the pros and cons of an area based approach, considering the evidence of co-variation of various indicators of deprivation and geographical areas. As she highlighted, from a purely practical standpoint the concentration of the problems identified with social exclusion in particular places makes a neighbourhood perspective on public service delivery rational.

These debates have in themselves been hugely influential in informing the approach the British Government has taken towards social exclusion. In 1998 the Government published a report "Bringing Britain Together: A National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal" (Cabinet Office 1998) setting out the evidence that poverty and social exclusion had become concentrated in "worst estates" which had defined their policy approach. Following this, in January 2001 the Government set up Neighbourhood Renewal Unit (NRU) and published its Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy "A New Commitment to Neighbourhood Renewal: National Strategy Action Plan". This argued that within the UK where a person lived could disproportionately affect their life chances so that public policy

interventions should ensure that "within 10 to 20 years, no-one should be seriously disadvantaged by where they live" (Cabinet Office 2001a: p.2)

This strategy put neighbourhoods at the forefront of tackling poverty and deprivation. It concurred with Smith's argument that this approach was suitable because the majority of the population access the resources which can help overcome social exclusion within their immediate locality. To complement this strategy the NRU was set up to coordinate this approach through the work of the eighteen "policy action teams". These were government cross-departmental groups set up to tackle issues such as housing management and access to financial services. In addition, a Neighbourhood Renewal Fund of £800 million was set up to channel funding into the eighty eight most deprived areas in the UK. The money was designed to be used by local authorities to achieve a series of benchmarks relating to outcomes around employment and education, health and social care within deprived neighbourhoods.

In 2004 the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit published "Making It Happen in Neighbourhoods: The National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal – Four Years On" which reaffirmed the commitment to working within neighbourhoods (ODPM 2004). Alongside this, the Strategy Unit published "Improving the Prospects of People Living in Areas of Multiple Deprivation in England" in January 2005 which continued to put the Government's case for a neighbourhood focus in tackling social exclusion (Cabinet Office 2005). As the progress of the Neighbourhood Renewal agenda within Government attests, the emphasis on neighbourhoods as the locus of social exclusion has come to dominate not only service delivery but policy and rhetoric on social exclusion. Indeed, the Strategy

Unit report noted that there are now over seventy separate area based initiatives targeting deprivation at a neighbourhood level funded by central Government.

As Taylor (2000) has commented, it was in the 1990s that such urban regeneration initiatives were first merged with a restoration of interest in community and social relations at the same level. In particular this has occurred alongside attempts within social geography and urban policy research to move from ecologically grounded descriptions of neighbourhood to definitions which also encompass not just the physical but economic, social and cultural relationships which are spatially situated (Galster 2001). Reflecting this merger, Ruth Lupton's discussion of the interest in neighbourhoods identified two distinct strands of neighbourhood research. She highlighted the tradition within British sociology of studying communities which are geographically based (Young and Wilmott 1957). Furthermore, as I described in Chapter One, she also identified an alternative set of debates which:

> "reflects a growing interest in the effects of neighbourhoods on individual social and economic outcomes. Here, the neighbourhood as an entity is of less interest than its impact on the people who live in it" (Lupton 2003: p.2).

It is this second strand of thinking which I argue is defined by the debates around the underclass, social exclusion, social capital and social cohesion. This reflects a move from an emphasis of neighbourhood research as concerned with a purely spatial examination of the impact of services to a more mixed discussion of the social and cultural factors at play in any geography. In the following sections of this chapter I will focus on these debates both within academia and Government

policy. I will show how they have characterized neighbourhoods, focusing especially on the debates around social capital which I argue has come to dominate discussions of what is social about social exclusion. As Lupton has commented "rarely has the neighbourhood enjoyed as high a profile in public policy as it does today" (Lupton 2003: p.1).

The Underclass and Community Breakdown

The first strand of social thinking which I argue has influenced discussions of the link between social relationships and social exclusion are the debates around the notion of an underclass. Now largely discredited, I do not propose to develop in detail this argument but I believe the impact of these debates on social policy around social exclusion has been substantial. This term has now become a politically charged concept and has largely been abandoned (Somerville 1998). This was mainly due to the way in which it came to be associated with the work of one particular writer Charles Murray whose work argued that the behavioural conduct of the poor was at the root of their continuing poverty. Murray wrote:

> "The underclass does not refer to degrees of poverty, but to a type of poverty. It is not a new concept. I grew up knowing what the underclass was [...] they were defined by their behaviour."
> (Murray 1996: p.23)

Murray, and those who agreed with him, argued that state welfare systems were encouraging this behaviour and so poverty. They argued for cuts in welfare

provision to encourage the poor not to be "dependent" on the state and so take action to alleviate their own position (Mead 1992).

Murray's argument that cultural forms of behaviour were linked to poverty is not a new argument and in their discussion of these debates Taylor Gooby and Dean (1992) highlighted how poverty has been discovered as a problem through British history. Indeed, in the 1960s Oscar Lewis's anthropological studies of the "culture of poverty" showed the "effects upon character" poverty had (Lewis 1965). He argued a "social pathology" developed from living in poverty which in turn affected the life outcomes of future generations such that poverty could be inherited. In the same vein, in the 1970s Keith Joseph, the then Secretary of State for Health and Social Services, gave a series of speeches detailing the cycle of deprivation (Joseph 1972).

Both Lewis and Joseph focused on the idea of learnt behaviours which kept individuals in poverty in contrast to economic factors. Yet as Macnicol (1987) pointed out, whilst many contemporary commentators on the underclass view this debate as having originated with Oscar Lewis's work, similar ideas of a pauper class have existed in British society for over two centuries. Indeed the first public provision to aid poverty "poor relief" in the eighteenth century distinguished between those who were "genuinely" poor and "paupers" who were supposedly poor due to their own laziness.

Murray's thesis was strongly discredited at length by most academics in the UK. His arguments were refuted for being both politically motivated and without empirical foundation (Kleinman 1998: Walker and Howard 2000: Taylor Gooby and Dean 1992). As Walker and Howard have argued, the evidence of a

socially homogenous or self-aware group who could be said to share such a set of values was non-existent as those who experienced persistent unemployment came from a variety of backgrounds and tended to move in and out of employment rather than be permanently unemployed. However, these ideas did cross the political divide in the UK. The main left wing exponent in the UK of this approach was Frank Field MP who argued welfare was the "enemy within" because its rules made dependency inevitable when there were few well paid jobs available (Field 1996: 1997). Others argued the underclass was a way of identifying the wider effects of economically based divisions on society without acknowledging the role of the state in tackling deprivation (Townsend 1998). As Somerville (1998) described, some writers argued structural relationships within the labour market disadvantaged particular sections of society and so created an underclass (Wilson 1990). Indeed, the term "underclass" had been used by Rex (1973) two decades earlier to describe the economic position of "other than white" minorities in UK society.

Another response to Murray which again began in America but also came to influence UK discussions was communitarianism. Communitarian discourses shared the "underclass" analysis that culturally learned values caused people to behave in ways which excluded them from the mainstream of society, but explicitly sought intervention by the state to correct immoral values and so reintegrate those individuals. Etzioni (1998: 2000) and Selznick (2002) stressed the role of family and education in teaching the appropriate forms of behaviour for civic life. Etzioni argued those who experienced social exclusion required the "restoration of moral voices" to guide them in acceptable conduct. He argued

social inclusion would require Governments to propagate communities which offer such guidance. He identified good communities as "self regulating", using shame and pride to teach their members good conduct thus associating community with conformity. Thus the socially excluded are excluded by holding a culture which does not propagate social control.

How then does this discourse affect the characterisation of neighbourhoods as a source of social exclusion? Certainly within these debates neighbourhoods are critical as the scene of inculcation into bad forms of behaviour. Here proximity equals influence and the "ghetto culture" infects all residents:

> "Britain has a growing population of working-aged, healthy people who live in a different world from other Britons, who are raising their children to live in it, and whose values are now contaminating the life of entire neighbourhoods - which is one of the most insidious aspects of the phenomenon, for neighbours who don't share those values cannot isolate themselves" (Murray 1996: p.25).

The inference in this argument is that the problems neighbourhoods face, such as lack of jobs or poor healthcare, are not matters to be solved by state intervention but indicators of the cultural values of residents.

There is also evidence that this debate was influential on the present Government and its approach to social exclusion. For example, the Commission on Social Justice report (1994) on which the Government's welfare policies were founded discusses the need to break welfare dependency. So too, in opposition the Labour Party regularly highlighted "the underclass"; the 1997 Labour Party election manifesto contained a pledge "to stop the growth of an 'underclass' in Britain" (Labour Party 1997). Now in Government the Labour Party has ostensibly

moved towards a different discourse. John Prescott, then responsible for the SEU acknowledged:

> "Nowadays, "social exclusion" is part of the everyday language of policy-makers, politicians and professionals such as teachers and social workers. Yet a few years ago, it was virtually unheard of. We talked about "poverty" or "the underclass". But "social exclusion" was confined to academic circles. Changing the jargon doesn't mean much in itself, but, in this case, it indicates a fundamental shift in the government's approach to tackling this significant social issue. It indicates that we have developed a sharper understanding of social problems and the complex links between them" [3]

However, the concept of a culture of dependency on the state for those in poverty continues to shape policy and political discussions. In an article entitled "It really is the end of the something for nothing days", Tony Blair wrote people "have a responsibility to accept work, train themselves for jobs, be flexible in the jobs they take and avoid dependency where they can."[4] So too it was suggested the Government would withdraw child benefit for "feckless" parents who "let" their children persistently truant from school[5].

Most recently the themes of the underclass debate have started to reappear in ministerial discussions the in the first half of 2005. This has been with an explicit acknowledgement of the influence of Etzioni[6] and led to a Government crusade against "a culture of disrespect[7]". The press coverage and public debate has been framed within the presumptions of the underclass discourse that parents

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[1] "The Blairites Big Dilemma" The Guardian Tuesday January 15th 2002.
[4] "It really is the end of the something for nothing days" Daily Mail 10th May 1998.
[5] "Blair Plans to Punish Bad Parents" Sunday Times April 28th 2002.
[6] "Guru of Shame Advises Blair" Sunday Times 22nd May 2005.
[7] "US-style uniforms for yobs in new disorder crackdown" The Observer Newspaper May 15th 2005.

of young offenders are responsible for a moral breakdown within society which results in poor behaviour by young adults or "yobs". This mainly punitive discourse firmly lays the blame for incivility in society at the door of the individuals' parents and the choices they make in parenting such as what time to spend with their children or the family eating habits. In the reporting of this debate the signs of social exclusion such as crime, unemployment and poor educational attainment are linked with social breakdown at a neighbourhood level through the depiction of no-go areas, dominated by unruly thugs.

It is these forms of rhetoric which have led some to argue that whilst the Government has dropped the language of the underclass from its discussions of social exclusion, they have continued to be influenced by the idea that learned behaviours are critical to life chances (Lister 1996:2000). Colley & Hodkinson (2001: p.335) stated "appearing to re-instate a concern for the social, it [the Government] locates the causes of non-participation primarily within individuals and their personal deficits." These authors argued the use of an "aggregated concept of social exclusion" whereby the socially excluded are identified by categories and stereotypes reflect the influence of the "underclass" discourse and its concerns about the "deficits of individuals" as personifications of a trend.

It is certainly true that both in popular and political mythology the concept of dependency retains currency - as does a stated need to address deviant behaviour associated with social exclusion. Walker and Howard comment:

"while neither the more dramatic of Murray's conclusions nor even the existence of an underclass are widely accepted among academics in Britain, many popular commentators have taken as gospel the existence of welfare dependency." (Walker and Howard 2000: p.12)

However, others have pointed out how the Government's actual policy approach towards welfare and social exclusion in office has not reflected this viewpoint (Hills 2002). So too others have argued that its effect has been felt in other ways and that the contentious nature of underclass debate has led to a dismissal of any analysis of the role of culture in social exclusion (Perri 6 1997a). As these authors show, whilst Murray's ideas may have been rejected by the mainstream of policy and academia in the UK the controversial impact of the ideas of the underclass lingers on.

Social Cohesion and Community Breakdown

The second strand of debate about the social causes of social exclusion revolves around the discussion of the conditions under which social relationships bring people together; in short the concept of social cohesion which is then presumed to manifest itself in community. Whilst these debates are not limited to those areas with large concentrations of people on low incomes, interest in social cohesion and community has been dominated by a concern that these factors are linked to social exclusion. This is in part due to the social capital debates which

have made these links and as I will discuss there is a large overlap with the discussions around social capital.

A rough caricature of the social cohesion debates is to say that they are about how the perceived connection between social relationships and social stability. This is manifested through social order with those social groups who are more cohesive living in a more harmonious fashion (Halpern 2005). This differs from the social capital debates which focus on a wider range of manifestations of the benefits of particular social relationships and which I will examine in the next section of this chapter. Furthermore, the social cohesion debates have been dominated by a particular concern around whether cohesion can be achieved or maintained amongst people who come from differing ethnic backgrounds. Most pertinently for this research, in common with both the underclass and the social capital debates, the discussions around social cohesion have also been dominated by a geographical focus.

It is within the social cohesion debates that the term community is often used loosely to refer to notions of collective solidarity. As Kleinman (1998: p.10) stated "the current vogue is that social inclusion has something to do with community, with networks, with belonging". Within the debates about social exclusion, the excluded are depicted as lacking these qualities. Whilst many writers have discussed how the concept of "community" is open to many interpretations (Howarth 2001: Hoggett 1997) I argue in these debates it is often used to describe social group similarity because it is this which is assumed to be the quality of social relationships which generates social control.

It is difficult to delineate the discussions around social cohesion and community. Kearns and Forrest identified how these debates are often vague and there is a lack of clarity as to what social cohesion actually "is" and how this is related to life chances. However, this does not prevent the term from being influential:

> "Typically it is used in such a way that its meaning is nebulous but at the same time gives the impression everyone knows what is being referred to. The usual premise is that social cohesion is a good thing, so it is conveniently assumed that further elaboration is unnecessary....the kernel of the concept is that a cohesive society 'hangs together'; all the component parts somehow fit in and contribute to a society's collective project and well-being; and conflict between societal goals and groups, and disruptive behaviours, are largely absent or minimal" (Kearns and Forrest 2000: p.996)

As this description revealed, there is a concern within these discussions that social order and control are related to social cohesion and, importantly, vice versa. These debates presume social order requires social cohesion and the evidence of indicators of deprivation such as high crime rates or poor educational attainment is also taken as evidence of social breakdown (Meegan and Mitchell 2001) Watson (1999) pointed out that in these debates social heterogeneity is seen "as a form of social disorganisation" in itself, with the diversity of poorer communities contrasted with the apparent uniformity of the characteristics of those living in more affluent areas.

This discourse has influenced discussion of the role of neighbourhoods because of the implication areas that have higher levels of poverty are less likely to be places of social order. As Kearns and Forrest commented:

"the current orthodoxy in much research and policy is that societal cohesion builds from the bottom up via the social practices and relations within residential neighbourhoods" (Kearns and Forrest 2000: p.1010)

Thus, the head of the SEU Moira Wallace stated "it is essential that neighbourhoods are not seen simply as places, but above all as communities" (Wallace 2001: p.2165). This highlights the assumption shared material conditions within a locality equate to shared social and cultural dispositions. Indeed, in common with the debates around the "underclass", the discussion of social order and an absence of anti-social behaviour have also encouraged an emphasis on personal behaviour. Kearns and Forrest went on to identify within the debates around social cohesion several "constituent" dimensions of cohesion including "common values and civic culture" which reflected a "common set of moral principles and codes of behaviour" (Kearns & Forrest 2000: p.997). These debates therefore focus predominantly on the social relationships and their behavioural norms between individuals and between groups at a local level. This is in contrast to broader definitions of a socially cohesive community which identify the functions of a "social infrastructure" that bring together both services and resources and social networks and organisation (Richardson & Mumford 2002).

As Kleinman (1998) and Meegan and Mitchell (2001) point out, much of the interest in social cohesion, social conflict and deprivation has focused on ethnic diversity. This can be seen not least in the Government appointed Cantle Report into the riots in Burnley and Oldham in 2001 (Home Office 2001). This report recognised that the riots were racially motivated and argued this reflected a

social disunity. It explicitly linked social exclusion to this social disunity by arguing many of the policies designed to tackle social exclusion would also "contribute effectively to the development of community cohesion". It also focused on the cultural causes of social disunity. It stated that tackling the problems which caused the riots required:

> "A civic identity which serves to unite people and which expresses common goals and aspirations of the whole community can have a powerful effect in shaping attitudes and behaviour. Shared values are essential to give people a common sense of belonging" (Home Office 2001: p.12).

These debates identify ethnicity as a key marker of culture, viewing cultural differences between differing ethnic identities or a lack of access to a common identity between those who share resources within a geographical area as likely to cause community breakdown. In response to concerns around ethnicity and social cohesion, the Government set up the Community Cohesion Unit within the Home Office which has focused attention on how to improve community relations, with the emphasis being on ethnicity as the primary identifying mark of community. At the same time there is a belief that neighbourhoods with a greater level of ethnic diversity will be more likely to be less cohesive because of the level of diversity *per se* (Goodhart 2004).

In response to this debate, Watson argued that in these discussions community is viewed as shorthand for a simplistic concept that all members are similar in all aspects. She maintained that it is critical to understand the tensions that exist within communities that arise from differences and to distinguish

between "where they are productive and where they simply represent concentrations of disadvantage." (Watson 1999: p.91) Others have argued that the focus of the "community cohesion" debates around social relationships between differing ethnic groups displaces attention from the real causes of inequality and racial prejudice in British society (Ben Tovin 2002). Others have argued the need to maintain a theoretical separation of concerns around neighbourhood, community and identity. As Healey pointed out:

"These days, many people live in several networks at once, choosing alternative identities and living with the possibilities of multiple identities. Social networks intersect with each other and cluster in particular places, but these places are not necessarily residential neighbourhoods. They may not even be physical spaces but may exist on the airwaves or the Internet." (Healey 1998: p.55)

Healey's comments reflect how viewing community and questions of cohesion or division at a solely geographical level raises the danger different social groups which co-exist in particular areas will be lumped together. So too it is possible important social relationships which influence life outcomes may not be adequately understood because they exist beyond geographical borders. In response to this, Watson called for an acknowledgement that within any neighbourhood individuals, households and communities will have access to different resources and opportunities and that such variation should be acknowledged. As such she echoed those who look for a range of resources including social order and control to be available through social relationships. It is an interest in the resources available through social interaction which defines the debates around social capital.

Social Capital and Social Exclusion

The third strand of discussion around the social relationships relevant to social exclusion is perhaps the most influential in recent years on Government policy making. These are the debates around the concept of social capital, both as a function of neighbourhood relations and in its own right as an indicator of life chances. These debates contain echoes of the ideas already discussed and to that end the distinction between the social capital and social cohesion debates is blurred. The concept of social capital has become increasingly popular and there is now a rich debate about it, with contributions linking it to a range of topics including economic conditions (Woolcock 1998) health outcomes (Campbell et al 1999; Campbell 2000) levels of crime (Cote and Healey 2001) or engagement in the public realm (Hall 1997).

In his review of the social capital debates, Portes (1998) identified the development of the concept through the work of Bourdieu (1985) and Coleman (1994). Portes argued it:

> "stands for the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures" (Portes 1998: p.6).

Coleman sought to use the term to "import the economists' principle of rational action for use in the analysis of social systems proper" (Coleman 1988: p.S97) seeking to use the concept as a way of categorising the benefits accrued to

individuals through their social contacts. Coleman argued that, like "credit slips", individuals will accrue social capital through good deeds or acts of trustworthiness which can then be cashed in at a later date. Thus, it makes sense to individuals to act in social ways which will help accumulate such goods.

Lang and Hornburg (1999) have described how this is a debate which, like the underclass debate, has come to be dominated by the work of a particular writer Robert Putnam (Putnam 1995:2000: Putnam et al 2003). Whilst the work of Bourdieu and Coleman on social capital was value neutral, simply seeking to acknowledge social structures as generators of resources, Putnam identified particular forms of social capital which existed within societies. Thus social capital discourses which build on his work focus on the way in which social relationships and interactions integrate or exclude individuals from the social structures of mainstream society (DeFilippis 2001: Lang and Hornburg 1999).

Coleman was primarily concerned with how social behaviour helped an individual acquire capital. In contrast, Putnam has focused on how society as a whole benefits from the accumulation of social capital linking it to economic prosperity, quality of life and civic engagement. As a consequence Putnam's work has re-ignited both academic and public policy interest in the connection between social networks, social cohesion, economic outcomes and notions of civic society (Edward & Foley 1998). Following Putnam's initial work there is now a substantial theoretical body of work on the concept of social capital and its usefulness to economic and social policy making (Halpern 2005: Paldam 2005).

Putnam outlined social capital as the qualities of "successful communities". He wrote:

"The core idea of social capital theory is that social networks have value [...] social capital refers to the connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them." (Putnam 2000: p.18-19)

Thus, those communities which are not successful are those which lack the social capital to progress. Putnam's own research across differing countries showed that states with higher levels of "civic engagement" such as membership of churches, local committees or sports clubs tended to be more economically and socially productive (Putnam 2000). In this research Putnam specified two forms of social capital. Firstly "bonding" capital, which were the social bonds within communities that helped their members support each other. Secondly he identified "bridging" capital as the social links that allowed communities to interact with other communities.

Crucially for the research interests of this thesis he argued that there was a lack of both amongst those who are socially excluded:

"where social capital is lacking, the effects of poverty, adult unemployment, and family breakdown are magnified, making life that much worse for children and adults alike" (Putnam 2000: p.317).

Using this idea some UK research has concentrated on showing a lack of the traits associated with a positive "community culture" such as trust in socially excluded communities (Williams and Windebank 2000: Hibbitt et al 2001). As Butler & Robson comment

"The dynamics of social capital have therefore largely been framed in terms of improving the situation of communities thought to be impoverished in respect of their social capital 'stocks'." (Butler & Robson 2001: p.2145)

Putnam's focus for these community relationships was predominantly at the neighbourhood level. As Kearns and Forrest (2000: p.1010) point out the debates around social capital have strongly influenced neighbourhood regeneration programmes because "a key implication is that without sufficient social capital, regeneration policies will not take root or be sustainable." Putnam put his argument simply: "community matters. In places were people know their neighbour's names, crime is lower" (Putnam and Leigh 2002: p.15). Other social capital researchers have linked social capital with neighbourhood stability and the capacity of geographically based communities to thrive (Temkin and Rohe 1998).

Reviewing these debates, some contributors have commented that the way in which the social relationships which matter in tackling social exclusion have been portrayed have been defined as "neighbourliness" (Crow 1997), particularly in Putnam's conception of social capital (Lang and Hornburg 1999). Others have argued the presumption that deprived communities are somehow less neighbourly is a cultural stereotype and that many affluent neighbourhoods have low levels of social interaction. As Salmon has commented "it should be noted that the same burden of expectation is not placed on those of us who have been able to 'buy' into a better quality of life" (Salmon 2002: p.52)

Part of the difficulty in determining what social capital is and how it may manifest itself comes from difficulties in trying to measure its existence in the first place in a way that would allow comparisons between different areas and different

43

social groups (ONS 2001a). Using Putnam's premise that it is reflected in levels of associational behaviour the research evidence to support or disprove Putnam's argument is mixed. Hall's (1999) own study of associational activity in the UK disputed Putnam's analysis showing that in contrast to America overall levels of associational membership in Britain are as least as high as they were in the late 1950s. This view is supported by the UK Government's own research into social capital (Haezewindt 2003) although has been challenged by Putnam himself (Putnam and Leigh 2002).

I believe this focus on associational behaviour encourages the emphasis on neighbourhoods within social capital research. Put simply, the associational activities used to measure its presence, such as Parent Teacher Associations or sporting clubs, are often organised at a neighbourhood or geographical level. Furthermore, some researchers have argued for a solely "grassroots" approach to social capital (Paldam 2005) which inevitably prioritises local social interaction over other activities as indicators of social capital. Indeed, others have claimed that the problems in identifying a robust way to measure social capital stem from the differences between neighbourhoods (Roberts 2004).

Yet defining social capital through a relatively narrow number of indicators such as formal associational behaviour inevitably involves making assumptions about what social activities are important. As a result some have argued that this may overplay the evidence that social capital does not exist within neighbourhoods and so its role in social exclusion. Lowndes (1999) pointed out these measures may substantially underplay the amount of social capital created and maintained by women because it does not consider the informal networks which often provide

childcare. Gordon et al (2000) have argued that one of the key factors in social exclusion is the lack of income with which to participate in formal social activities such as paid membership clubs highlighting the limitations of Putnam's measures.

Thus there is a danger within social capital debates that correlations may be confused with causation. For example, Putnam can be criticised for presuming a lack of desire to participate in deprived neighbourhoods, in part caused he argued by a culture of television watching, rather than allowing for the possibility of a lack of financial means to participate as an alternative explanation. Put simply, it is expensive to go bowling but that does not mean those on lower incomes do not wish to engage in such social activities. Cattell and Herring's research (2002) showed substantial support and trust based behaviour within socially excluded communities, suggesting civicness of a community cannot be measured by membership of formal associations such a church or Parent Teachers Association alone.

These ongoing debates around how to measure social capital compound the difficulties in understanding the interplay between individual, community and neighbourhood as researchers dispute what else might be an indicator of social capital and at what level associational behaviour is important. For example, some researchers have argued for measures of social trust to be used alongside indicators of associational behaviour. Temkin and Rohe argued:

"A society with high levels of social capital is one in which individuals trust, or feel a mutual sense of obligation toward one another. This feeling of trust, then creates an environment wherein people feel comfortable socializing with neighbours and other relative strangers because people expect others to behave in accordance with social norms that encourage mutually beneficial interactions" (Temkin & Rohe 1998 : p.64)

Yet research into the relationship between trusting behaviour and membership of different kinds of organisations has shown that associational behaviour in itself does not necessarily make a person more trusting (Stolle 1998). These wrangles are often defined by what researchers identify as social capital e.g. is it participation in associations in which case analysis of the key differences such links will make tend to be at a localized level. Alternatively, is it related to social trust in which case national measures mean that this can be extrapolated as a quality of a particular society. Research into this has often served to further confound the issue and in his review Halpern discussed how this confusion has led to an ever increasing range of social phenomena being called social capital (Halpern 2005: p.13–19).

The difficulties in measuring social capital make the term seem like the elephant in the room; it is such a big concept that researchers dare only speak of aspects of it rather than the whole. Those who have tried to create more inclusive measures have ended up with a mix of factors that do not necessarily support each other as individuals and groups can score well on one indicator but not another. Thus Paldum (2005) combined both membership of voluntary organisations and goodwill as well as indicators of social trust in an attempt to include all the

differing qualities which have been associated with the term within social policy. Yet as Stolle showed, these things may reflect different underlying social processes rather than a factor which could be called "social capital". Whilst the debates around how best to define social capital continue, it is clear that the emphasis on finding a measure that allows comparison between neighbourhoods will persist. Yet what is not questioned is the idea that social capital has a role to play in determining the future fate of neighbourhoods and their inhabitants.

Leaving aside how best to define social capital, other critics have argued that however this is done it is imperative not to forget the insight of Coleman and Bourdieu. In particular they stress the importance of measuring social capital in relation to other forms of capital such as economic or human. DeFilippis criticized Putnam for seeing social capital as a positive quality in itself and detaching it from economic capital. He argued:

> "if social capital as sets of networks means anything, it means that some people will be connected and others not....if everyone is connected, then everyone by definition would lose the benefits of those connections because they would no longer gain capital from them". (DeFilippis 2001: p.792-793)

DeFilippis's maintained that because the focus within Putnam's work is primarily on the abilities of individuals to form social capital – whether through their sports club or their political party – it does not allow for the structural economic inequalities which exist within British society to be included alongside this analysis. Put simply, there is little benefit to be gained from a shared work ethic if the jobs are not available. As Alex-Assensoh pointed out:

47

"noticeably absent from Putnam's work is any viable attention to the ways in which structural factors affect access to organisational involvement, engagement, and social capital" (Alex-Assensoh 2002:p. 203)

These arguments share a concern that focusing on the social interactions experienced by those in deprived neighbourhoods is a way of displacing attention from the economic and structural causes of poverty. Writers such as Alex-Assensoh and DeFilippis point out that if social capital is seen as both the critical factor in social exclusion and a quality of individual activities, such as the choice not to participate in organisations, this absents the state from responsibility to tackle economic causes of social exclusion itself. Responding to this, Marxist contributions to the debate have sought to reposition the concept of social capital as a reflection of the "socialisation of the capital-labour relationship" (Roberts 2004: p.478) so reaffirming the importance of economic relationships to social capital.

Indeed, the social capital, social cohesion and "underclass" debates have all predominantly looked at culture as a quality of collective rather than individual or personal actions with the collective often being the neighbourhood itself. Many criticise this approach within social capital debates and argue Putnam makes no attempt to analyse how relationships within communities may differ, which could lead to differing capabilities within communities to access resources (Cattell 2001). As Warren et al stated:

"making use of social capital as an analytical construct requires a shift from the individual to the community as the unit of analysis for strategies to combat poverty. Social capital is a collective asset, a feature of communities, rather than the property of an individual" (Warren et al 2001:p.1).

DeFilippis has argued that it is not possible to suggest something exists or is absent at a community level but only measure it as a function on individual qualities. He wrote:

"if communities are outcomes, they are not simply outcomes of the characteristics of those within them, they are also outcomes of a complex set of power-laden relationships – both internally, within the communities, and externally, between actors in the communities and the rest of the world." (DeFilippis 2001: p.789)

This reflects the difficulty in Putnam's work in explaining how social relationships can affect individual life chances within neighbourhoods because social capital is only perceived as a quality of the whole community. Thus whilst social exclusion debates have been able to assess how the economic resources an individual possesses influence life chances, individual responses to the social opportunities or problems they face in life are often not explored. Perri 6 (2002) has developed this theme in his work by differentiating between forms of social networks within groups and their concomitant forms of power, organization and exclusion.

It is this focus on a neighbourhood or community level rather than the interplay between individuals which means that the boundary between the debates on social capital and social cohesion are blurred. When defined as an outcome of social groups rather than individual interaction, social capital is interchangeable with social cohesion rather than a term for the resources available to "community"

members (Lin 2001). The similarities are both in the terminology used and the focus. In their review of debates around social cohesion Kearns and Forrest (2000) also identify other constituent parts of a cohesive society as "social networks and social capital" as well as "territorial belonging and identity". This conceptual intermingling encourages the focus on neighbourhoods as a social whole at the expense of understanding why outcomes can be different for some individuals or groups within geographical areas.

As I have already stated, for the purposes of this chapter a distinction has been drawn between the social cohesion and social capital debates but these should be seen a complementary and not conflicting discussions. Certainly the discussion of the resources an individual can gain from their social relationships could offer interesting insights into our understanding of social cohesion amongst individuals and what this may mean for those concerned with tackling social exclusion. For example, in his work Portes (1998) argued that strong ties within excluded communities can act as "negative social capital" when those ties "trap" individuals into particular forms of behaviour. He gave examples of groups such as street gangs in which individuals do not seek to better themselves for fear of the derision of their peers. Thus, gang members have strong social capital from their relationships with each other, but it is a form of capital which serves to limit the life chances of the individual rather than expand them.

In this analysis social cohesion reflects the way in which resources are accessed through social relationships identifying strong social bonds as having the capacity to enforce particular forms of conduct and values: social capital becomes the method by which "community" is operationalised (Kearns and Forrest 2000).

This highlights the difficulties with Putnam's approach and the notion that economically successful communities have high levels of social capital. As DeFilippis (2001) has highlighted, there are other social groups in society in which there are low level of social capital but high levels of financial capital. He argued wealthy neighbourhoods such as gated executive estates fit the description Putnam gives of isolation and a lack of cohesion amongst members. In the light of this, DeFilippis urged that caution should be exercised in viewing a lack of social disorder as the same thing as a high level of social capital. Thus, both Portes and DeFilippis challenge the picture painted of how social capital or cohesion will manifest itself, particularly amongst those on low incomes, and what this could mean for life chances.

Szreter (2002) argued that subsequently Putnam has accepted socially excluded communities do have social bonds which can be considered as social capital, but the difference is the type of bond. Szreter contended that socially excluded communities may have a large store of bonding capital but lack the bridging capital which gives them access to resources in more affluent communities. In refining the distinction Puttnam made between "bridging" and "bonding" capital, Szreter introduced "linking capital" which existed between:

> "unequal agents[...] where those involved are nevertheless despite the manifest inequalities, endeavouring to achieve a mutually agreed beneficial goal (or set of goals) on a basis of mutual respect, trust and equality of status." (Szreter 2002: p.3)

Thus, tackling social exclusion requires both those with and without capital to forge social bonds which can redistribute social capital. Yet DeFilippis (2001) argued this was naïve:

> "we would not expect rich people to willingly turn over their mutual fund portfolios or, less hypothetically embrace poor and non-white students in their schools without a confrontation. Why do we expect that this form of capital would be somehow different?" (DeFilippis 2001:p.801)

These arguments echo those which have argued that social exclusion is about social networks with the excluded being those who are not part of networks which provide access to resources e.g. jobs or healthcare (Granovetter 1974: Perri 6 1997: Lin 2001) Others have suggested that in the modern world such theories offer a way of understanding the importance of non-familial ties and networks in determining life chances (Pahl and Spencer 1997).

Further driving the interest in local factors and social capital or cohesion is the interest in the relationship between these concepts and political activity. Both Edwards and Foley (1998) and Lister (2000) have emphasized the political struggles behind many of these discussions, with differing discourses defining what good civic life is, how it operates and how it is manifested. It is clear that within both the social capital and social cohesion debates a link is made between engagement in civic and political life and social exclusion. Describing social cohesion Kearns and Forrest argued:

"in a cohesive society, one would expect widespread support for political institutions and general engagement with political systems and institutions rather than indifference or disaffection towards them." (Kearns and Forrest 2000: p.997)

Similarly within the social capital debate, and particularly within the work of Putnam, voting and participation in civic activities is used as an indicator of social capital. Again the organization of political representation through geographical areas means that interest in political activity as a facet of social capital adds to the emphasis on neighbourhoods in these debates.

Edwards and Foley have criticized Putnam for moving away from the original emphasis of the work of Coleman and Bourdieu on how social networks are used by individuals and groups to share resources. Instead, they argued, Putnam focused on particular forms of behaviour, such as joining trade unions or voting, as social capital to the exclusion of others. This, they argued, was a "social psychological" viewpoint because it prioritised certain "norms and values" such as civic participation above recognizing the value of social relationships in themselves to their participants. Thus they accused social capital researchers of developing measures which were "context independent". These view associational behaviour in itself as producing a particular set of social outcomes, rather than considering what qualities of social participation may or may not produce the desired forms of behaviour.

Edwards and Foley identified what they termed the "civic republican tradition" inherent in Putnam's work. This, they argued, was predicated on the view that social practices reproduced:

"certain moral commitments among the citizenry and that these have their roots in traditions of community minded-ness and public spiritedness that are endangered in an individualist and consumerist culture" (Edwards and Foley 1998: p.12).

In particular they challenged Putnam's focus on associational behaviour in itself as an indicator of social capital. Echoing the critique of measurement of social capital raised by Cattell and Gordon, they argued that it was difficult to suggest that membership of a bowling association engenders the same level of social concern as membership of a church:

"there is no doubt that associational life does generate mutual trust, habits of co-operation and participation, progress in achieving related norms and values, and important social networks. The question is which kinds of associations do so, under what circumstances, and with what effects for the polity?" (Edwards & Foley 1998: p.15).

In response to concerns raised by writers like Edwards and Foley, Halpern called for a refinement of the arguments about social capital rather than an abandonment of Putnam's thesis all together. In common with Bourdieu and Coleman, Halpern argued for the need to consider not just levels of associational behaviour but what such associational activity offers. Acknowledging the criticism of just looking at associational behaviour, Halpern put forward a more limited conception of "associational membership" which can distinguish between differing forms of association and their demands of membership. Halpern labeled membership of organizations such the National Trust, which has remained stable or even risen in the UK in recent years, as "cheque-book membership" because

membership requires nothing more taxing than sending in a cheque. He contrasted this with other forms of social interaction and community activities such as church or trade union membership which require a greater level of commitment from participants.

Building on this, he argued that there are three basic components of social capital – networks, norms and sanctions - which are interconnected at the individual, community and social level. These, he argued, can be seen both in associational behaviour and in social trust measures. He then dismissed other attempts to measure social capital as "overstretching" the concept. Using this approach, Halpern claimed researchers such as Hall have been "too optimistic" in their assessments of social capital in Britain.

Halpern maintained that Putnam is right to be concerned that social capital is deteriorating in the UK and highlighted evidence that UK membership of Churches or associations such as Trade Unions is falling. In addition to associational membership, Halpern also identified national measures of social trust. For example, he pointed out a marked decline in the numbers of participants within the British Crime Surveys reporting their neighbours to be helpful. Halpern also emphasised the disparities between different social classes and these measures of social capital highlighting research which shows that membership of all organisations is increasingly skewed towards the middle classes. He stated:

> "perhaps more accurately we should place the UK's middle classes
> in a category of gently rising social capital, and the manual classes
> in a category of falling sharply" (Halpern 2005 : p.216).

However, this again raises the issues previously discussed in this chapter about access to organizations versus intent to join and how to measure the impact of less formal social activities such as childcare networks.

All these debates reflect the difficulty of matching the theory of social capital with the reality of modern life in a way which is meaningful for the social exclusion agenda. As Paldam commented, "there is far more theory and speculation than measurement" of social capital (Paldam 2005: p.649), a problem that I argue accounts for the intermingling of many concepts and the conflation of a number of issues described here. In response some have argued that the usefulness of Putnam's work has been to start a debate rather than to offer a robust theoretical perspective (Edwards and Foley 1998).

Yet even if many academics have rejected his theory, Putnam's ideas continue to influence public policy. This has prompted one commentator to suggest:

> "these days it would seem to be the case that New Labour is prepared to use social capital as a remedy for social problems in communities in a way that it once used other concepts such as 'social exclusion'" (Roberts 2004: p.482).

Within the Government's work on social exclusion there continues to be a strong emphasis on social capital and civic renewal with these being seen as linked to "more effective neighbourhood renewal and sustainable communities" (National Audit Office 2004: p.1). Furthermore, the Government now has several policies in place which are designed to "build social capital" which focus on "civic regeneration, volunteering and community self –help" (ONS 2001: p.22) The

introduction of "Community Empowerment Networks" as part of the Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy illustrated the Government's belief social capital is lacking in deprived communities. The Government also listed social capital and social cohesion as objectives of its neighbourhood renewal programme as a way of supporting and increasing "community self-help activity in deprived neighbourhoods" (National Audit Office 2004: p.7).

Notwithstanding the difficulties in measurement and the heavily theoretical assumptions about both the cause and effects of social capital, interest in the relationship between social interaction and life chances remains. Each of the differing perspectives discussed so far shares the view that social interactions matter to varying degrees. This is because they are seen as a source of resources, be it access to networks, moral guidance or forms of capital. Thus, the question is not whether social interactions matter at a local level but rather how they matter to both the individual and the society in which they exist. As such there is also a shared assumption that these relationships can help us understand the concept of social exclusion. Given the high priority given to understanding what is social about social exclusion, it is clear further research into the questions these debates raise is required.

Informal Social Networks and Social Exclusion - A Different Perspective

In looking to address the issues these debates raise it becomes clear that hampering any analysis is a lack of empirical evidence on which to judge these theoretical perspectives. As already discussed, there is a substantial body of

research which details the co-variance of a range of social ills and particular geographical locations. However, a review of the literature available reveals only limited research into the social and cultural relationships within the same locations. These studies also have a tendency to rely on quantitative data to explore these issues.

This has been criticised in both social capital and cohesion debates and in neighbourhood research. As Lupton acknowledged, with quantitative data it is hard to differentiate what issues are related to place, what to individuals and what to a complex interplay of the two (Lupton 2003). Bauder is highly critical of those who seek social and economic causes within the same area arguing that "statistics do not explain why neighbourhood and individual circumstances are correlated" (Bauder 2002: p86). He is damning of the way in which statistics at a neighbourhood level have been interpreted to match the cultural and social perspectives of the theories discussed. He argued that at the root of many discussions about "neighbourhood effects" is an implicit assumption that issues such as teenage pregnancy or drug consumption are "inherently pathological and indicate social dysfunction" and as such reflect the poor behaviour of those who live in deprived neighbourhoods.

To counterbalance this Bauder argued we must consider the possibility "neighbourhood effects may only measure the degree to which neighbourhood context facilitates or constrains assimilation to dominant cultural norms" (Bauder 2002: p.89). His argument reflects the possibility that what is considered cohesion or civic activity may be a cultural ideology which overlooks the informal social networks which do not confirm to the dominant ideal of social capital. As a result

research which uses these ideals such as that discussed so far may simply reflect this ideology about the relationships between people, place and the polity.

In common with Lupton and Power (2004), Bauder identified the lack of qualitative or ethnographic research which could help illuminate the often complex relationships between individuals, communities and neighbourhoods. Others have also suggested the way in which deprived communities and neighbourhoods are identified in the process of research can be exclusionary in itself. Mohan argued that whilst we understand the structural and economic factors which link neighbourhoods and social exclusion, more work needs to be done on the "cultural processes of stigmatisation". He argued that in defining what is a social cause of exclusion and what may be an economic or socio-structural problem affecting an area, poor communities can be further excluded by the reputations assigned to them which stigmatise not only the location but the inhabitants. He wrote "moral geographies are thus constructed and reproduced, devaluing communities and those who live there, and undermining efforts at regeneration" (Mohan 2002:p.72). Thus, in common with Bauder, Mohan urged caution in associating a causal relationship between social and economic indicators of deprivation because of the difficulties in understanding complex cultural phenomena in this way.

I believe Bauder and Lupton and Power are right to highlight a comparative recent lack of actual research into the questions around neighbourhood and culture that the previous debates raise. This gap is further highlighted by the interesting results gained from studies which have attempted to investigate the relationship between social relations and some of the deprivations associated with social exclusion. These have, for example looked at the

59

relationship between health and social capital (Cattell 2001) or criminal behaviour and moral values (Halpern 2001). There also exists a body of social psychological and geographical research into the relationship between places of residency and social, economic and psychological well-being. (Halpern 1995: Herbert and Johnston 1978). More recently Government research into "active citizenship" has tried to analyse the friendship networks people have at a local level to investigate social connections in neighbourhoods using national data (Home Office 2003). I will discuss this research in more detail in Chapter Six.

All these studies hint at the importance of both neighbourhoods and localised social relationships in explaining particular factors associated with social exclusion. However, research which looks directly at social relationships within neighbourhoods is still comparatively rare in part because of the difficulties in exploring such a multifaceted subject. Indeed, even those studies which have attempted to investigate these issues at best reflect the difficulties of so doing. Sampson et al (1999) argued that the "social mechanisms" which mediate neighbourhood effects required further investigation. They asked:

"Why, for example, should concentrated poverty (which is, after all, the concentration of poor people) matter?" (Sampson et al 1999: p.633).

Sampson et al's research into deprivation and social control of children and anti-social behaviour revealed a very mixed picture as they found that these issues interacted with affluence, population density and population stability. Their research also revealed the complexity of the relationship between economic,

structural and social factors in any one locality. The authors pointed out that whilst their results showed that social processes could be measured between neighbourhoods, there was also a considerable variation within neighbourhoods around adults intervening in the behaviour of children.

Crow (1997) argued that this lack of evidence, or patchiness of its collection, does not allow for the comparison of different but potentially controversial theories. Yet, as Lupton and Power identified, this has not always been the case. Classic ethnographic studies have analysed the social context associated with different levels of deprivation (Young and Willmott 1957:1960: Mogey 1956) Indeed Coates and Silburn (1970) specifically addressed the question of the existence of a culture of poverty in their ethnographic study of a deprived community in St Anns, Nottingham in the early 1960s. They argued that there was a "common context" which provided the backdrop to life in the area and ultimately the life chances of the residents.

There is also a strong tradition of anthropological research into cultural and social relationships that look at what would now be termed the cultural causes and effects of social exclusion. These show how qualitative research into the questions raised by the concepts of social capital, social cohesion and social networks could bring insights into modern public policy making. Mainly conducted in America, researchers such as Carol Stack (1974) Sally Engle Merry (1981) and Ida Susser (1982) undertook ethnographic research into social relationships within poor neighbourhoods. Thus Stack considered the social networks that existed between poor black families in urban Chicago and how these facilitated resource sharing and emotional survival in the face of extreme poverty. Merry looked at fear of

crime and the responses of differing ethnic groups to the same urban neighbourhood and Stusser considered the conflicts between working class residents of a poor area of New York and the city's administration. Like the work of Oscar Lewis already discussed, each of these studies offered a detailed description of the daily lives of residents. In common with the classic community studies, each author sought to contextualise these experiences within the broader cultural and social structures of the area.

More recent research has illustrated that social exclusion can have a "cultural effect" as part of a wider analysis of the impact of social deprivation on neighbourhoods (Page 2000: Mumford 2001: Mumford and Power 2003) Other ethnographic research has attempted to give voice to the residents of deprived areas to complement these more traditional research approaches to deprived neighbourhoods. The most striking example of this was Tony Parker's study into the lives of those living on a housing estate in the early 1980s which brought together the individual perspectives of a range of residents (Parker 1983).

These studies hint at the complexity of the relationships between social and environmental factors in understanding social exclusion. As a result Lupton (2003) has argued that interest in neighbourhoods should be less fixed on neighbourhood effects *per se* and more on the benefits of a localised approach. She suggested that despite the often inconsistent and weak findings of neighbourhood research there is still a place for area-based initiatives and a focus on neighbourhoods for service delivery because it is at a local level that individuals and communities are most able to adapt to differing local needs in tackling particular inequalities.

This insight can be applied to the debates around the influence of social relationships on social exclusion and neighbourhood change: the difficulties highlighted in the discussion in this chapter show that just as caution must be exercised in arguing that all members of the same social group have the same life chances so too the same can be said of inhabitants any neighbourhood. Neighbourhoods are clearly important in understanding social exclusion, but so too they are only one factor of the picture. The relative lack of research into how social relationships within a geographical area may or may not contribute to social exclusion in practice compared to theoretical discussion appears to only confuse rather than clarify this issue. This thesis aims to help rectify this problem.

This discussion has given an overview of the current debates within the UK around the complex relationship between social and economic causes of social exclusion. It has identified how the concepts of "social capital", "social cohesion" and "neighbourhood" have been intertwined with earlier philosophical and political discourses including those of the "underclass" and communitarianism. In particular it has explored how in recent policy and academic discussions the concept of social capital has been used to link social relationships with social deprivation. However, what research there is shows social relationships to be more complex than these theoretical perspectives acknowledge. Explanations of why social contacts matter to life chances are broadly defined, with little to offer when trying to understand why social interactions can make some individuals, and indeed some areas, more or less disadvantaged than others. Furthermore, I believe

that too little weight at present is given to the views and perceptions of those who live in the neighbourhoods in question.

This research therefore seeks to address the questions these debates raise in two ways. Firstly, it will look at the social relationships present in a deprived area to see what evidence can be gained of their role in the life chances of the residents. Given the limitations identified in this chapter with the approach of the current debates around social exclusion to these two concerns, this thesis will use an alternative theoretical framework grounded in a social psychological perspective. As I will outline in the next chapter, this will therefore offer a second benefit to these debates by providing an analysis of the psychological context of a deprived neighbourhood. I argue this can bring new insight into the complex issues of culture, community and social interaction these debates raise.

The subsequent chapters are as follows: the following chapter will describe the social psychological theoretical perspective which this research will use as a framework. In keeping with the discussion of neighbourhood research Chapter Four will provide a detailed quantitative analysis of the indicators of deprivation and social exclusion in the chosen research area. These two chapters will serve as a background to the main body of the research presented in Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight. These chapters and the analysis they offer will build a picture of the complexity of social relationships within the research area and their impact on the life chances of the residents. Chapter Nine will then return to the themes identified in this chapter and discuss what light a social psychological perspective can shed on the questions this chapter has raised about what is social about social exclusion.

Chapter Three: Theorising the Lifeworld

In the previous chapter I identified the debates around the importance of social relationships to deprived neighbourhoods. I argued that there was a need for further research into the questions these debates raised, particularly around the complex interactions between people, place and life chances. In this chapter I will show why I believe a different approach to these questions grounded in a social psychological perspective can offer fresh insight into the social dimensions of social exclusion. This thesis will then present the outcome of a research project designed to test that proposition. This chapter will therefore set out the theoretical basis for this approach and the consequent methodology used in the research.

In Chapter One I acknowledged the influence of the work of Habermas and Bourdieu to my research concerns. I will explain how these theorists share a concern for exploring the relationship between social structures and social practices, identifying how both serve to sustain the other. To provide a context for this research I will begin this chapter by setting out briefly the respective concepts of the "lifeworld" and "habitus". However, I will also argue these sociological approaches offer a predominantly static description of this process. As a result I believe they focus on the societal outcomes of the lifeworld, to the detriment of our understanding of the interaction between the individual and social structures.

To redress this, I propose to use the social psychological paradigm of social representations. I argue that its emphasis on the interactivity between society and the individual offers a way of understanding the often complex and contradictory facets of the lifeworld. In this way it supplements those sociological

perspectives that have analysed how cultural practices translate into social structures. In aiding our comprehension of the phenomenon of social exclusion, I will show how it offers a way of exploring how social interactions between individuals and groups at a local level operate to secure or challenge particular social structures.

Having set out the theoretical perspective which underpins this research, the remainder of the chapter will detail the research methods used. I will explain how my practical research methods were influenced by both the community studies tradition of neighbourhood research and the substantial body of social representations research. The final sections of this chapter will then detail how the fieldwork presented in this thesis was undertaken.

Habermas, Bourdieu and the Lifeworld

In their work both Habermas and Bourdieu have analysed how the economic processes of modern capitalism manifest themselves within the social and cultural practices of modern life. Each writer has shown how social customs and habits serve to reify the existing social order. Both offer a way of understanding how inequality is created and perpetuated not just through economic activities but also through social structures and cultural systems. In this section I will examine in more detail two sociological concepts - the "lifeworld" and "habitus" – which have been particularly influential in structuring this research.

In this thesis I have used the term lifeworld to define the realm created through social interaction in which ideas, images, experiences and attitudes are

learned and shared. It can also be termed common sense; the knowledge on which every person draws in order to understand and interact with the world, and its inhabitants, around them. I have drawn this term from the social theory of Habermas:

> "the lifeworld appears as a reservoir of taken-for-granteds, of unshaken convictions that participants in communication draw upon in co-operative processes of interpretation....we can think of the lifeworld as represented by a culturally transmitted and linguistically organized stock of interpretive patterns." (Habermas 1989: p.124)

This "cultural stock of knowledge" (Habermas 1986: p.131) is the background to everyday life. The practices and ideas we gain from this cultural reserve are more than a list of basic rules of behaviour for society; they are the contents of the lifeworld that assists a person in acquiring a sense of who I am and what does someone like me do. As such it helps to integrate individuals and societies into the economic order of modernity by socializing them into its customs, practices and activities. In particular it legitimizes the nature of our society because it is through communicating with each other we learn about the world, from explaining how we make decisions through democracy to the rules of road safety. Thus, as we interact with each other and share this "cultural stock of knowledge", we not only acquire information but also reinforce the social structure of society.

Habermas argued that the capacity of humanity to determine its own future had been weakened because social structures, such as the economy, were being overtaken by an instrumental rationality. His concern was that "systems-

mechanisms" such as capitalism or religion were imposing their own logic on society so that these were determining the shape of society rather than the will of humanity as expressed through democratic decision making. He described this as the "colonisation" of the lifeworld in which these systems were imposing their rules on society, so that it was their logic which was defining what is common sense. Thus, the lifeworld is dominated by economic ideas and theories which propagate the imperative of economic liberalism and encourage countries to organise their economic activities in line with free market economics.

Habermas feared that decisions about resource allocation were not being made to ensure that all members of society benefited but instead by the dictates of these systems mechanisms - so that literally money 'does' the talking. Thus he argued that in the ideas, images and actions within the lifeworld one could trace the effect of such systems mechanisms and their deleterious effect both on society and communication. In this analysis the causes of social exclusion are to be found in how the lifeworld accommodates, and so assimilates, individuals and societies into the dictates of such systems.

There is much common ground between Habermas and the work of Bourdieu. Like Habermas, Bourdieu's analysis of social interactions identified the way in which social practises serve to reinforce social strata (Bourdieu 1986: 1990: 1992). Bourdieu's analysis of society is based on the notion that individuals and groups have different amounts of capital with which to secure their place in society. Bourdieu identified four different forms of "capital" - economic, human, social and cultural - which define the social strata and the life chances of the individual. Alongside economic capital which was the financial wealth of an

individual, human capital was their productive capacity. In contrast cultural capital, such as a degree or a Flaubert novel, derives its power for its owner on the basis of the status it has within society as a marker of membership of a social elite. In this analysis social relationships affect life chances because of the resources to which they provide access. Bourdieu stated:

> "social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. These relationships may exist only in the practical state, in the material and /or symbolic exchanges which help to maintain them" (Bourdieu 1986: p.8).

In Bourdieu's work all those who act within a social space have differing levels of capital, banked in different forms, which determine their place in society. Understanding the presence of inequality in society requires then recognizing economic inequalities, such as poverty, and also access to other forms of capital. In order to maintain their position within society, groups will act to use or restrict access to the resources available to them. Thus, networks of friends may share employment opportunity knowledge with each other and so the friendships are a form of capital in themselves. In this analysis understanding the place of someone within society, and hence those who are excluded, requires understanding how capital is distributed throughout society and how access to capital is secured.

Like Habermas, Bourdieu argued that our social and cultural world reflects the way in which such capital is distributed. Bourdieu (1992) identified this as

symbolic capital which provides symbols, languages, ideas and values whose content implicitly upholds the existing social order. Echoing Habermas's concept of the lifeworld, Bourdieu described the notion of "habitus":

> "a system of acquired dispositions functioning on a practical level as categories of perception and assessment or as classificatory principles as well as being the organising principles of action" (Bourdieu 1990: p.13)

The habitus a person acquires reflects their membership of a particular social group so that their actions, values and ideas serve to maintain the status of their group. This is not simply a personal collection of attitudes towards particular subjects such as art or education, but a whole ethos of living which delineates the person within the social milieu. Whilst the concept of the lifeworld refers to the entire social and cultural framework of a society, the habitus is the social framework specific to the individual. Thus, the lifeworld contains the common sense of the whole society, whilst the habitus refers to the particular common sense which reflects the social group of which the individual is part.

This habitus is not something which is psychological or conscious. Bourdieu is explicit that it is a reflection of the social world within the individual rather than a product of their own personalized thought process. Thompson described it as "not so much a state of mind as a state of the body, a stage of being" (Thompson 1992: p.13) which is learned through socialization. Thus the thought processes which create the habitus are ingrained in a person's being, and reflect the social order in which they live. In turn our interaction with society

serves to reinforce this learned habitus, so causing us to act in ways to preserve it and the status it offers for ourselves and other members of our social group.

Therefore, for both Bourdieu and Habermas, modernity is structured by the struggles over resources within society as a whole which in turn our cultural and social world reflects. The lifeworld, or each persons' habitus, help to sustain those struggles by reinforcing a particular common sense about how resources should be allocated. To that end their work helps to clarify how everyday social and cultural practices are not simply incidental to social inequality but part and parcel of its many forms.

There are several differences of opinion between Bourdieu and Habermas. For example, Habermas argued that reason is a universal quality of humanity, and so all citizens have the potential ability to take part in consensual decision making. He argued that equality required a public realm in which all members of society could participate in a discursive democratic process to determine the shape of society. Bourdieu viewed this as a worldview designed to uphold the cultural capital of intellectuals and particular conceptions of "liberal democracy" (Wacquant 2004). However, both share a concern for how power legitimates itself through the practices of the social as well as economic realm (Poupeau 2000). Thus, both examine how communicative practices such as language and the media help to sustain a particular world order.

These ideas have provided an overarching narrative to the research this thesis presents because they encourage us to consider how inequality occurs not just within the economic realm but also shapes social and cultural conventions. However, there are both practical and theoretical limitations to using them to

sustain concrete research practices. For example, Habermas offered the ideal of communicative actions free from constraints as the test against which to judge modern society. Emancipation for individuals and groups alike from conditions such as social exclusion came from the rational reconstruction of knowledge free from the constraints imposed by the system-mechanisms (Outhwaite 1994). Yet as Benhabib has highlighted, the conditions Habermas required for decision making are far removed from the reality of the complex moral discussions which pervade contemporary society (Benhabib 1992).

Thus, this ideal situation, whilst honourable, serves only to highlight how different the experience of the public realm as a place of social interaction is for most people in reality. Furthermore, this ideal situation offers little to help explain how the multitude of social relationships which most people have in real life, as well as their relationship with the institutions of the public realm, affect their life chances. As such this remains a theoretical principle rather than practical principle which can be applied to a deprived neighbourhood in pursuit of answers as to what is social about social exclusion.

Bourdieu conducted detailed sociological analyses of different kinds of habitus and its manifestations, for example in the media (Bourdieu 1996) or within French society (Bourdieu 1986). These studies have been concerned with exploring phenomenon at a societal level, looking at how different groups within French society expressed their dominance or subservience through the production of French culture. They reflect how within both the work of Habermas and Bourdieu the emphasis is on the collective construction of habitus, or the lifeworld, as a phenomenon of groups. This has the effect of making social

structures seem more permanent and static than the reality of modern cultural practice suggests because their work shows how pervasive is the dominant social order. Indeed, both Bourdieu and Habermas's work suggests cultural practices serve to maintain the status quo and as such act to conserve rather than challenge social structures.

Yet, the proliferation of countercultures and the reflexivity of culture in which actions seek to subvert as well as sustain social structures is at odds with the more uniform nature of the lifeworld which these theories portray. Put simply, modern civilization contains many ideas, images and customs which both are supportive of and opposed to systems mechanisms such as capitalism and religion. In response to this Habermas has acknowledged the potential of "new social movements" to challenge the domination of systems-mechanisms logic within society (Habermas 1989: p.392). Bourdieu has also detailed how differing groups can challenge the rules of the social world in which they operate (Bourdieu 1993). However neither proposes a perspective that can locate the role of individuals in these processes of resistance and change except solely as a member of a social group.

It is also difficult in this account to explain the origin of counter cultural ideas and new social movements. If an individual or a group can only use socially constructed knowledge which is ingrained within them, it is not clear how ideas or social structures are challenged; in short where dissent and conflict with the prevailing social order is manufactured. Furthermore, this analysis does not explicitly acknowledge the presence of counterarguments and ideas within everyday life and how these may be used to affect the life chances of individuals

and groups. To view such counterarguments as existing within critiques of society as a whole, such as the anti-globalisation movement, underestimates the role of opposition and disagreement with ideas at a local level. Conflict with the social conditions of society between individuals, between groups and individuals and between groups is not only expressed through social movements but also in day to day practices and customs. As such these analysis look for a greater level of congruity with the current social order and in social relationships than the messy reality of society suggests is the case.

As discussed in Chapter One, one of the concerns this research seeks to address is the way in which observations are made about society on the basis of a broad brush view of social relationships which does not take account of variation between individuals. Whilst both authors acknowledge there will be power struggles within society which repeat themselves within the lifeworld or between differing forms of habitus, this struggle is only a social and not also an individual experience. This reflects their emphasis on societal processes, yet it offers little to help explore the differences between individual interaction with the lifeworld and socially constructed knowledge.

This focus on social structures also presumes that individuals will have a dominant identity or social group which defines them. Yet, as Thompson acknowledges, given the multiplicity of social groups that any individual could belong to, such as gender, class or ethnic group, at the societal level it is difficult to define which group membership is most important in explaining how individuals participate in the lifeworld. In particular I believe that both theorists

present an unrealistic view of the unity and cohesion of thought within groups and indeed within individuals around any issue.

In the light of these issues, two concerns have determined my research approach. The first is to have a practical research method which can be applied to the real world in exploring the dynamics of social relationships within a deprived neighbourhood. The second concern is to use a theoretical framework which can accommodate the complexity of communicative and cultural practices in modern society, especially in relation to individuals as well as groups. Building on the theoretical insights to be gained from the work of Habermas and Bourdieu, I argue that a social psychological perspective can overcome the difficulties I have identified. In particular, it offers a way of exploring the role of individual and group interpretation of the lifeworld in life chances. I also believe the social psychological paradigm of social representations offers a body of empirical research which shows how this approach can be applied to a research project.

Social Representations Theory

In the previous section I argued a broadly sociological approach to social exclusion, grounded in the work of Habermas and Bourdieu, could be illuminated further by the introduction of social psychological thinking. Before I outline the social psychological tools I have used in this research to demonstrate this point, I believe it is important to clarify the distinctions between social psychology, sociology and social policy in order to highlight the original contribution a social psychological approach can make to public policy discussions.

75

Whilst many other social science disciplines have a long history of contributing towards social policy debates, social psychology has in contrast has often been absent. In 2001 the British Psychological Society conference noted how many public policy concerns were around issues on which social psychology had much to offer, yet had not contributed. It posed the question "Where is the Social Psychology in Government Inquiries and Evidence-Based Policy?" This discussion reflects how when psychology has been introduced into public policy or social policy debates it has tended to be as a clinical discipline rather than as a social science. Thus, whilst some psychological researchers have looked at particular aspects of the debates discussed in Chapter One, these contributions have often investigated the relationship between mental health and social capital (Mculloch 1999).

Of particular interest to the concerns of this thesis, the BPS conference highlighted social psychological discussions around group interaction and conflict, social identity and social cohesion as areas of research where social psychology could offer substantial insights in the causes and consequences of social exclusion (BPS 2001). In this research I will show how social psychological approaches do not just look at questions of mental well-being but are grounded in a broader appreciation of the relationship between cognitive processes and social and cultural constructs. In doing so I will show how contributing a social psychological, as opposed to clinical psychological, approach to public policy issues can offer new insights into matters of public policy.

The absence of social psychology from public policy discussion does not mean that its research concerns and theoretical approaches are resolutely distinct from other social sciences. Indeed, social psychology is often misunderstood because of its roots in both cognitive sciences and sociological and anthropological disciplines. Many have charted the history of the development of social psychology as a science in its own right (see for example Farr 1996) I do not propose to repeat these discussions here, however they reflect the crossover that exists in the philosophical interests, research approaches and theoretical perspectives used between the discipline and many other social sciences. As such it is inevitable that those who read this research from different social science backgrounds will find much common ground. So too in the previous chapter I acknowledged the range of studies from within the multi-disciplinary approach of social policy which mirror aspects of this research. In particular I discussed how community studies and anthropological studies of both recent and past decades have used similar techniques and looked at the similar areas of social policy concern.

Yet I believe a social psychological approach offers new insights into these questions because it focuses on these issues from a different perspective. In particular, it brings together an analysis of how individual and group cognitive processes interact with the environment to produce a stock of knowledge. This is novel in comparison with sociological, community study and anthropological approaches because it specifically locates the process of knowledge production both in the individual and their mental capacities and in the social and its cultural values and norms. The explicit emphasis on the cognitive, as well as social effects

and aspects of social exclusion, contrasts with those analyses which have sought to look at how social practises are played out in individual lives predominantly as part of wider cultural or social structures. As such it builds on the insights to be gained from other traditions of research because not only does it confirm the importance of socially constructed knowledge to social structures but also goes further in offering a way of exploring how socially constructed knowledge is used by individuals in their mental processes.

Furthermore, in keeping with the concerns identified by the British Psychological Society, I will show how social psychological tools challenge us to look at issues that have not previously been part of the discussion of social policy approaches to social exclusion. In particular I would highlight the analysis in subsequent chapters of the role of identity formation in individual and group social behaviours and the cognitive effort required in making predictions about the future as two examples of the innovative thinking a social psychological approach can bring to social policy. Whilst several of the studies I highlighted in the anthropological and community study tradition have also looked at identity, these have considered the concept predominantly as a social function. In contrast, as I will outline in this chapter, social psychological approaches to identity focus on how they are a joint production between individuals and their social environments.

The border between social policy and social psychological approaches is even more blurred within the social psychological paradigm I have chosen to use in this research. Farr detailed how during the 1960s when social representations theory was first presented to French academia it was seen as a sociological discipline rather than psychological *per se* (Farr 1996). This is because its

emphasis on the relationship between the individual and social processes stood in contrast to the more experimental approach of social psychological analysis that had been propagated predominantly in America since the early 1900s. As Farr documented, these American traditions were rooted in a natural science perspective that sought to categorise social psychological enquiry as being about how individual behavioural traits were created within society. In the critical textbook "Social Psychology" Allport argued :

"There is no psychology of groups which is not essentially and entirely a psychology of individuals. Social psychology must not be placed in contradistinction to the psychology of the individual" (Allport 1924 p.4)

By comparison, social representations is a paradigm which has developed within a particularly European tradition. This means it has drawn explicitly on sociological approaches such as those of Durkheim and Levi-Strauss, linguistic and hermeneutic analyses as well as the developmental psychological work of Vygotsky. As a result it contrasts strongly with the more American approaches that sought to examine cognitive capacities of the individual as distinct from any environmental influence. Those familiar with sociological approaches to cultural analysis may also find parallels within social representations to the work of Berger and Luckmann on the social construction of reality (Berger and Luckman 1967) Garfinkel and the ethno-methodological approach (Garfinkel 1967) or even Robert Merton (1948) and Thomas Kuhn (1962). The broad range of influences this paradigm has used and the tradition of sociological analysis of everyday practises and their relationship to economic and social structures that writers such as

Habermas and Bourdieu come from make it difficult to demarcate with absolute clarity the distinctiveness of social representations theory. However, it also creates a space of shared roots which mean that this social psychological approach can complement rather than contradict sociological analyses of social exclusion. Indeed, others have discussed at greater length the contribution of sociological and anthropological thinking to the evolution of social representations as a paradigm although yet again I do not propose to repeat them here (see for example Moscovici 2000)

Rather, in the following discussion I will detail how I believe the premise of social representations research meshes with, and so helps overcome, some of the limitations I outlined in the previous section in a solely sociological analyses of the questions raised by the debates in Chapter Two. In particular, in detailing the process by which social representations are created, maintained and mutated as both a cognitive and social act I will show how this social psychological approach explicitly describes the role of individuals and their mental functions in the production of cultural knowledge. By bringing together an appreciation of both the psychological and social roots of knowledge I believe this offers social policy a new tool with which to understand the cultural stasis and development many social science disciplines have sought to explore.

To explain how I intend to use this paradigm to supplement a social theory approach this discussion is split into two sections. The first will outline the basic premise of social representations theory. This will show how it serves to complement rather than contradict the work of Habermas and Bourdieu. In particular I will argue that it recasts the lifeworld as an arena of interaction

between the social world and the individual. It therefore offers a way of recognizing the role of the lifeworld as both a product and producer of social structures. The second section of this discussion will then look at what this approach offers in addressing the issues around the role of social relationships in social exclusion. To aid the discussion of the differences between a sociological and a social psychological approach to a social policy issue Figure 1 outlines some of the key themes of each:

Figure 1: Sociology, Social Psychology and Social Policy Compared

	Sociology	Social Psychology	Social Policy
Emphasis	• Societal forces and frameworks	• Individual within social realm	• Public Policy and Government perspectives
Social Science Influences	• Social theory • Economic Structural analysis • Historical trends • Cultural theory	• Sociological • Anthropological • Cognitive psychology	• Multi-Disciplinary – Economics • Social theory • Anthropology • Psychology
Key Themes	• Relationship between economic and social structures • Analysis of production of power relationships within society as a whole	• Individual and group interaction • Cognitive processes within social world • Social construction of knowledge • Social representations	• Policy problem solving • Empirical research
Individual	• Role of individual within social groups	• Role of individual as agent of social group	• Individual as benefactor of public policy
Group	• Role of groups in determining social structures	• Role of individuals in forming groups	• Group as benefactor of public policy

81

Social representations theory was first outlined by Moscovici (1961: 1984: 1988: 1998: 2001). He described social representations as:

> "the contents of everyday thinking and the stock of ideas and the connections we create as spontaneously as we breathe. They make it possible for us to classify persons and objects, to compare and explain behaviours and to objectify them as parts of our social setting." (Moscovici 1988: p.214)

I believe the theory of social representations helps us understand how the lifeworld comes into existence. Like Habermas and Bourdieu, Moscovici was concerned with how knowledge is used by individuals and groups to secure their place in society and how that knowledge is created. Moscovici identified social representations as the communicative practices which transmit the lifeworld between people. They are the nuclei of everyday knowledge, underpinning the mass of ideas, images, identities and practices which infuse contemporary thinking. The lifeworld is thus the sum total of social representations which circulate in communications and interactions amongst individuals and groups within society.

This theory developed from Moscovici's own early work which considered how different sectors of French society responded to the ideas of Freudian psychoanalysis (Moscovici 1961). In this work he analysed how differing representations of Freud's work were created by social groups, finding Catholics responded to and read psychoanalytical theories in a different way from those who identified themselves as Communists. Thus each group responded to information in a way which upheld their social position and belief system. This analysis echoes

Habermas and Bourdieu's argument that communicative practices serve to integrate and socialise individuals into a particular social order. Subsequently social representations theory has been taken up by a number of researchers and in a number of research projects, which I will discuss presently, and have helped refine the paradigm.

The emphasis social representations theory puts on the process of communication makes it much more interactive than within the work of Habermas and Bourdieu. Within their writing, the lifeworld or habitus is the result of the social structures in society; as such knowledge is a product rather than producer of social structures. In contrast, social representations theory points to a more dynamic process of construction in which the lifeworld is both created by and creates social structures. Rather than social representations being a commentary on everyday life, they are integral to its existence:

> "people analyse, comment and concoct spontaneous, unofficial philosophies which have a decisive impact on their social relations" (Moscovici 1984: p.16).

This is due to the way in which social representations theory prescribes the production of knowledge. Moscovici (1984) argued as individuals and groups come into contact with "the unfamiliar", they seek to "anchor" it: to relate what is new to what is known. In this process meaning is attached to the unknown by associating it through either its similarity or difference with a known category. Once something has been allocated a category in this way, it can be "objectified" or given an identity which helps people communicate about it. An example of this

could be how scientific innovations such as genetically modified foodstuffs are understood. Thus, the unfamiliar concept is first identified as a foodstuff so that it can be compared with other objects in society. Then through discussion within society it is categorized as a kind of food in order to distinguish it, perhaps as designer food, which helps us to understand how the new object is related to existing objects.

That category itself is determined by the knowledge used to anchor it, as people approach something new within the context of their previous knowledge. In common with Bourdieu and Habermas, social representations theory proposes that the process of knowledge creation reflects the social conditions in which it is used. Thus, in this categorization process we can trace the influence of social structures on the production of knowledge. As Wagner described:

> "the concrete social conditions subjects live in provide the space of experience within which new knowledge can be objectified and integrated into the stock of common sense" (Wagner 1995: p.13).

Knowledge about all artifacts in society be they people, places, objects or ideas, is created according to the knowledge pre-existing within any society. Thus, social representations theory argues that knowledge creation is not an accidental or impartial process but shaped by the social milieu in which those who participate in its construction exist. Adding to this argument, other social psychologists have argued that in addition to considering how knowledge is created we must also look at how power to categorise can also used to ignore something (Gervais et al 1999).

However, this construction process relies on cognitive practices both of the individual and of society. By acknowledging the role of individuals and groups in actively constructing knowledge, the process of representation gives individuals and groups the capacity not just to be influenced by representations but also to influence them. Thus, whilst sociological approaches such as Habermas and Bourdieu have discussed how powerful the processes of communication and language are within society, a social representational perspective looks at this issue of communicative practices from the process of individual cognition upwards as well as from the social structure down. In doing so, social representations theory elevates the role of individuals and groups to a point where they help in determining the contents of their own lifeworld in comparison to Habermas and Bourdieu.

Rather than individuals or indeed groups having no capacity to alter collectively held knowledge or collectively challenge social structures, Moscovici's analysis offered an explanation as to how an individual or a group can also change representations and so social structures. This reflects how social psychological approaches seek to build on the sociological tradition of considering the role of social structures to include an analysis of how individuals interact with such structures. As Parker (1987) pointed out, Moscovici's work is heavily influenced by, but ultimately in opposition, to Durkheim's concept of collective representations (Durkheim 1933). Durkheim's shared classifications of the "conscience collective" are ubiquitous to all members of a society and form a cohesive way of thinking for all. In contrast social representations are specific to particular groups or communities, which taken together form the lifeworld. As

such in modernity, there are a number of representations about any one issue or subject which exist in the stock of common sense.

Returning to the example of food technology, we can see that there are a range of ideas circulating about this topic in modern society. For example, some challenge the place of genetically modified foodstuffs as food in society, seeking to reclassify them as unnatural because of their concerns about technological processes used in their production. Thus, alongside a representation of genetically modified foodstuffs as a scientific advance exists a counter representation of "Frankenstein foods". These representations are communicated through the images and ideas, such as natural or technological, which have meaning within society. This example shows how the ability to challenge the representation of any object or subject is not just the preserve of social movements or counter cultures, but is inherent in the process of representation. This is because in modern society the multiplicity of representations which exist mean there are a range of ways in which an individual or group could decide to anchor and objectify something to make sense of it.

Indeed, Moscovici's other body of research was concerned with understanding the role of minority and majority groups and the knowledge they create in securing social change (Moscovici et al 1969). It therefore reversed the emphasis implicit in sociological analyses that social influence is always exercised to ensure conservation of the status quo. As he commented "It is the 'have nots', the outsiders, the oppressed, not the ruling elites, who change society" (Moscovici 1976: p.82) Thus, social representation theory offers a way of understanding the capacity of knowledge to produce social change at both a micro and macro level.

The picture that social representations theory presents of the lifeworld is not one in which knowledge is accepted by all. Rather knowledge is a more fluid construct which is open to being contested. In turn this allows for the social structures which replicate the lifeworld also to be challenged and contested. In many ways this idea echoes schools of Marxist thought that consciousness is a precursor to social change.

Yet at the same time social representations theory points out how powerful knowledge is, because it acknowledges that even if a representation is contested it is influential. As Laszlo pointed out "social representations do, however, not equate with shared beliefs. They are, rather, common reference points" (Laszlo 1997: p.156 – 157). By being the framework which defines knowledge on a topic, social representations set the terms of reference for the topic regardless of whether that knowledge is resisted. Social representations research is concerned with identifying these "common reference points", looking at both the process by which social representations are transmitted and their content. Bachmann & Staerkle commented "an important phase in each study of social representations is the search for a common map or cognitive organization of the issues at stake" (Bachmann and Staerkle 2003: p.78) This reflects how in reality there are a range of competing and contrasting ideas, images and experiences which circulate in society about any subject but at the root of these will be a set of common themes which are their genesis.

Yet this raises the critical question as to which representation will be used, when, by whom, and for what effect. Differences between individuals and groups

as to how they represent a topic cannot be accounted for as a matter of chance. As

Breakwell has argued:

"one of the major problems currently with the theory of social representations is that it cannot explain why a particular social representation takes the form which it does" (Breakwell 1993: p.2).

Within modernity, the lifeworld is an arena in which there are many contradictory and competing images, ideas and experiences. However, for most individuals and groups daily life is not a continual series of questions and counter arguments and uncertainty about their knowledge. In response to this question Breakwell argued for the introduction of theoretical concepts from another social psychological paradigm, social identity theory, as a way of "determining the work [the social representation] is made to do above and beyond simply making the new familiar" (Breakwell 1993: p.2). Here she contended that it is a person's sense of identity which is the lens through which they will view different sources of information. The way they will chose to interpret something will dependent then on how that interpretation affects their sense of identity.

The role of representations in creating and maintaining individual and group identities has been developed in several social representational studies (Duveen and Lloyd 1986: Gervais and Jovchelovitch 1998). This research showed how the representations held at a social level are used by individuals to think through their everyday lives and so understand their place in society and what they should do, think, desire and expect (Jovchelovitch 1996). For those concerned with

how representations may be changed then it is question not just of the particular representation itself but what it offers to its owners as a way of defining themselves and how any change would affect the identity in question. To explore the relationship between identity and knowledge, Chapter Five offers several examples of how identity influences the process of representation.

Yet whilst identity may well give a purpose and meaning to the representational process, it would be a mistake to presume that this blinkers individuals or groups to knowledge which is contradictory. In considering how individuals and groups deal with competing ideas or values Moscovici introduced the concept of "cognitive polyphasia" (1998). Put simply this idea also can also be called irrationality. Here Moscovici subverted the assumption within social science that humans are innately rational in their thinking. He removed any presumption of logicality or consistency in the representations people use, by arguing that often individuals and indeed communities will hold a number of conflicting ideas that they will use at different times to explain themselves and their activities. This inconsistency, or irrationality, is not troubling to individuals and groups because it is rarely challenged and so made conscious.

In line with this research into identity using the social representations paradigm has shown how individuals and groups are capable of thinking many different and competing ways about themselves at the same time ((Jovchelovitch and Gervais 1998). This aspect of social representations theory echoes the work of Goffman (Goffman 1971). Goffman used the analogy of a theatre to describe how people had a number of "roles" they learn to play in life such as mother, teacher or

British citizen. Goffman argued individuals and groups would play the role that their audience felt they should play in order to have a successful performance. In common with social representations theory Goffman acknowledged individuals and groups could have a range of roles they played, some of which may conflict, but would chose which role to play depending on the context in which they found themselves. Like social representations theory Goffman argued individuals and groups were not simply reflecting the social environment in which they existed but capable of actively chosing to play particular roles in their world. These roles were in turn were socially constructed and learnt by individuals through their interaction with society.

The principle of "cognitive polyphasia" or acknowledgement of the irrationality of humanity does not simply extend to conflicts between contrasting representations about identity but to all representational activity. As a theoretical concept it offers a method of overcoming a difficulty often present in qualitative research, that people can be both critical and complimentary about a subject without feeling this is in any way troublesome or needing to preference one viewpoint over the other. Within social representations theory opposing ideas or images are linked by their relationship to the underlying representation.

It therefore highlights how even conflicting ideas are connected. Thus a woman could be aware of a competing range of ideas about the role of women in modern society, and so be influenced by their existence. She can then seek to portray herself using images, ideas and acts which reflect this representation as a way of communicating about herself in any given context. Other researchers who

have built on this argument have shown how individuals may use differing coping strategies to reconcile differences in knowledge but that these differing forms of knowledge can continue to co-exist (Foster 2001: Wagner et al 1999). Indeed as this research will show respondents often contradicted themselves within their own interviews, either explicitly or at later points, and that consistency is not necessarily a prerequisite for the use of social representations.

Social representations theory proposes a dynamic account of the relationship between knowledge and social structures as expressed through the lifeworld. Complementing the work of Bourdieu and Habermas, the paradigm offers a way of understanding how what people think and understand about themselves and their society interacts with social structures. Moscovici's work argued it to be one of mutual influence, where the knowledge individuals and groups acquire is both socially constructive and socially utilized. This is the same for any concept, whether it is genetically modified foods, the role of women in society or the science of chemotherapy.

Understanding the place of any social phenomenon within modernity requires analyzing not just the processes by which agents acquire knowledge about it but also how that knowledge is maintained and how or why it changes. The lifeworld is the arena in which individuals and groups collate the knowledge which they use to define themselves, their aspirations and actions. Social representations are the tools they use for this process. Thus by looking at how knowledge is constructed and used we can gain a greater understanding of the lifeworld and its impact on life chances.

What Does The Theory of Social Representations Offer Research Into Social Exclusion?

Having outlined the theoretical perspective of social representations it is possible to return to the issues raised in Chapter Two and reappraise what it can offer on the debates around social cohesion, social capital and neighbourhoods. Acknowledging the importance of the lifeworld to life chances encourages us to look for the social representations which create and maintain knowledge at a local level. The debates discussed in Chapter Two identified the importance of social relationships to life chances. The role social representations theory attributes to communicative practices focuses our attention on the relationship between the social construction of knowledge, social interaction and life chances. For the concerns of the debates in Chapter Two this encourages us to look not just at the existence of social relationships within a locality, but what knowledge these interactions offer their participants and how this is used.

Many of those working in the social representational paradigm have begun to address these issues. In her research in Brixton Howarth (2002) used the social representational paradigm to explore questions of identity and community at a local level. She argued "communities, as I understand them, are built on and through social representations" (Howarth 2001: p.230). Howarth defined "community" as something which must be recognized, or represented, to exist. This recognition can come from those who are members of the "community". Recognition can also come from those who are not members of a community but use a category as a way of describing a group of people. Breakwell described these

categories as "assigned identities" given to a group of people such as a negative stereotype (Breakwell 1983). These identities are then sustained through a shared set of practices, ideas and rituals which are used to represent that particular "community". Both Howarth and Breakwell argued that without the acknowledgement of the existence and importance of any "community", it members will not act to support or sustain those social relationships and any obligations this may entail.

Here we can see how Bourdieu's concept of social capital is complemented by a social representations perspective because the representation defines what expectations a member should have of community membership as a way of accessing resources. This echoes the criticism of the prescriptive nature of Putnam's version of social capital made by both Portes (1998) and Defilipiss (2001) discussed in Chapter Two. They challenged Putnam's emphasis on particular kinds of resources as social capital and instead argued that all social relationships are capable of transmitting resources to their members and that some of these can have a negative social impact as well as positive ones. Here I would add that a representation can be positive or negative as well. For example, the code of omerta which reputedly binds members of the mafia in a silence about their activities is a representation which engenders a social bond by the constraints it places on its adherents.

Rather than there being qualities which are universal and define "community", each "community" is particular to the representations which build it. Thus, the social order which Etzioni admired within the Orthodox Jewish "community" is not evidence of community *per se* but evidence of the

representations of appropriate behaviour on which that community rests. This perspective encourages researchers to look the representations which may help generate a conscious shared identity. This in turn can then be the foundation for the behaviours, ideas and values that sustain a social bond.

A social representations perspective also causes us to ask in what context a social bond can be created that engenders a sense of "community". As Reicher argued, the meaning of any identity, whether chosen or ascribed, changes depending on the historical or environmental context in which they are used. He wrote:

> "what it means to be British, Catholic or whatever is something that is a historical function of politics, economy and culture." (Reicher 1996: p.322).

This context may well be spatial in the form of a neighbourhood, a shared experience such as living through a disaster or based on a cultural practice such as a shared religion. What is critical in this analysis is that the social bonds of community need to be recognized to be meaningful. This approach has implications for both our understanding of community cohesion and social capital. As Breakwell stated:

> "the defining property of a social representation is not simply that it should be shared. The predicted internal structure of the representation and the extent to which it is dispersed within a recognizable group or social category will depend on the functions it is serving". (Breakwell 1993: p.1)

The appropriate representations which define any social relationship may well include how economic and social resources should be distributed and so reflect economic and social resource allocations. Thus I argue it is not the associational behaviour in itself which accounts for the benefits of membership of a particular social grouping, but the representations which define how such associational behaviour is conducted. Clearly it is not enough for individual members of a social group to acquire capital for it to be helpful to all members of a group. For membership to be a way of earning social capital there must also be a representation which means membership requires both the acquisition of and sharing of such resources as well as the actual action.

In this research I have drawn on the concept of community at a neighbourhood level as defined by Richardson and Mumford (2002). Their characterization of community as a "social structure" at a local level reflects the need to look beyond assumptions about how community will manifest itself. Rather than focusing on prescribed forms of behaviour, such as participation in neighbourhood forums or regular contact, they argued that research should be concerned with looking at how social relationships and organisation facilitate the dissemination of opportunities and resources at a local level. A social representations approach adds to this analysis an awareness that it is important to explore the way in which members of a social group view their social relationships because it is a critical part of that social structure: to consider what they believe their "community" obligations are alongside evidence of how social networks may or may not facilitate access to them.

The previous section also discussed how individuals and groups deal with conflicting representations. In any metropolitan area it is highly likely that many competing ideas and values will be present. Here the concept of "cognitive polyphasia" and acceptance of irrationality helps account for the intricacy of community relations because it allows for the maintenance of several competing representations at the same time. Thus people can use British. Brick Lane. London and Muslim cultural artifacts and participate in the creation and maintenance of varied identities to varying degrees. The critical questions for those concerned with community cohesion within a locality are not just what representations exist but how they are used, or rejected, by residents and what this tells us about the lifeworld in the area.

However, for public policy making this poses a different challenge. Rather than positing a straight causal relationship between a representation and the action of an individual or group towards something, it presents a more complicated policy perspective. At a local level analysis is required not simply of the content of representations about a subject but also their range and their process of production. This marks out the difference between acknowledging the importance of the lifeworld to life chances and researching this process in practice in a locality with a view to using the outcomes of such research in public policy. As Wagner pointed out, psychological theories tend not to offer "general laws" which can be used to deduce future behaviour. but instead reflections on culturally and historically bounded situations (Wagner 1995).

Thus this research doesn't look for universal rules about social exclusion and the lifeworld. Instead it seeks to highlight the importance of the lifeworld to

life chances in the first instance. Yet it also shows the potential for representations to shift, harden or respond to conflicting images and symbols, so raising the need to challenge any notion that representations are permanent. This is not to suggest that individuals or indeed societies are constantly changing their minds, but to underline the importance of recognizing that fluidity in the lifeworld is part and parcel of a modern world in which a range of representations co-exist.

Recognising the fluid nature of the lifeworld, and the range of representations about any one concept at any given time, is critical to developing an awareness of how representational activities operate in the real world. Indeed, representations exist within all forms of interaction and communication, not just personal interaction but social and collective forms including the media and culture. In a modern world with global communication technology, people live and travel across cities and continents regularly, and interact with friends and families across the globe.

This creates particular problems in trying to pin down what the social representations present in any one geographical area will be, as it is likely that ideas, images and indeed identities are imported and exported continually. The porous nature of modern communications, especially in a major city, means that the representations in any location will always be a product of activity both within and outside of any geographical area. Thus, any research can only offer but a partial picture of their role. Yet this is not just a question for psychological research but for all research into neighbourhoods where resources will move in and out more or less continuously (Lupton and Power 2004b).

Furthermore a social representational approach offers a new way of thinking about the question of what role neighbourhood plays because it helps us question how neighbourhood itself is defined. If the premise of social representations research is accepted, that all our conscious knowledge of any subject or object is socially constructed, then neighbourhood becomes not just a descriptive fact of place but a concept as laden with images, ideas and experiences as any other. Thus like the concept of community we can see that for neighbourhood to be a meaningful entity it has to be objectified and anchored within common knowledge. A social representational approach encourages us to ask how any neighbourhood is represented and what this means for its residents and service providers. As this research will show, when such a psychological approach is taken towards neighbourhood, it offers new insights into regeneration and social exclusion at a local level.

Conducting Research Using the Social Representational Paradigm

In his discussion of the "meta-theoretical aspects" of social representations theory, Wagner acknowledged the "increasingly complex conceptual structure of contemporary social representations theory" (Wagner 1995: p.18). Many researchers have sought to tease out the conceptual and operational difficulties within the paradigm and have been highly critical of Moscovici's original arguments (McKinlay and Potter 1987: Potter and Wetherwell 1987: Abric 1984: 2001) Alongside this, there is now a substantial body of social representational research which offers practical evidence of the way in which the theory can be a

tool for understanding the complex interplay between social. psychological and cultural values. Social representational research has brought new insights into our understanding of subjects as diverse as death (Bradbury 1999) healthcare (Jovchelovitch and Gervais 1998: Herzlich 1973) mental illness (Jodelet 1991: Foster 2001) public awareness of bio-technology (Bauer and Gaskell 2001) protest movements (Di Giacomo 1980) citizenship (Bachmann, Staerkle and Doise 2003) stereotypes and values (Bergman 1998) and childhood (Chombart de Lauwe 1984: Duveen and Lloyd 1992). Whilst these studies consider very different subjects. they take a similar approach in seeking to explore social representations not in the laboratory but in the real world. As such they show the capacity of a social representational perspective to provide a framework for understanding the complex interplay between psychological perceptions. environmental conditions and social structures in ways that can be captured from real life situations.

These studies have used a range of methods which are both qualitative and quantitative. There continues to be debate and discussion as to how best to operationalise social representations so as to investigate them (Bauer and Gaskell 1999: Spink 1993). Both Spink and Flick highlight the problems in trying to investigate something which is applicable as both a social and individual concept (Spink 1993: Flick 1993). Spink argued that we must differentiate between studying the process of representation and its content; between the way in which sense is made of something and the lifeworld which is drawn upon in making sense. This requires a research method which can study both the process of representation and content of the lifeworld with an acknowledgement that any separation is to help guide a research approach rather than a reflection of reality.

With that in mind, Chapter Five of this thesis looks at the evidence of the process of representation in the research area. Chapters Six, Seven and Eight consider the content of the representations uncovered by the research.

Often studies have focused on understanding the communicative practices of society through which social representations are manifested. Many researchers have used quantitative approaches such as multivariate analysis to explore these communicative practices (Macek et al 1997: Di Giacomo 1980: Giorgi and Marsh 1990). However whilst acknowledging that such techniques can be useful, Gaskell pointed out "data reduction techniques can be blunt instruments, unable to identify subtleties in the views people hold" (Gaskell 1994:p.2). In response to these concerns many other social representations researchers have highlighted the value of qualitative approaches (Spink 1993: Flick 2000). Flick stated:

> "Qualitative methods have not only played a central role in the research about social representations, but also have a specific importance for keeping the programmatic promises of the approach."
> (Flick 2000 p.45)

Flick discussed how representations live not in numbers, but in words and symbols, and as such social representations research needs a way of looking at how these are used. Building on the insights of Gervais et al (Gervais et al 1999) I would add we must also consider what is not talked about or acknowledged to be equally important. The absence of a language or image to describe something can be as powerful as a representation. I believe qualitative approaches are well suited to exploring both the absence and presence of images and ideas which reflect the intricacies of the lifeworld.

Adopting a qualitative approach to the research focus of this thesis also fits well with some of the concerns about social research raised in social policy. As pointed out by Bauder (2001) there has been a comparative lack of qualitative research into social exclusion alongside the emphasis on quantitative measures of change such as increasing or falling levels of unemployment. Others have argued that in public policy debates the use of ethnographic and qualitative data has been ignored to the detriment of public policy. This is despite the potential for such approaches to "uncover many subtle patterns of behaviour and experiences that are difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain with more conventional research techniques" (Wilson 2002: p.17) So too the tradition of community studies research discussed in the previous chapter shows how a qualitative approach to social relationships at a neighbourhood level can be informative. In particular in considering how to frame the research in this thesis I have drawn on the work of Willmott and Young (1957: 1960), Coates and Silburn (1970), Whyte (1943), and Mumford and Power (2003).

Furthermore, I believe the insights into how the lifeworld operates which can be gained from a qualitative approach is particularly important in trying to make sense of the potential psychological causes and consequences of social exclusion. Statistical analyses have shown correlations between many different forms of deprivation in neighbourhoods. A qualitative approach can complement this research by exploring the lived experiences in which these relationships exist. In choosing to use a qualitative approach I also drew on my experience of previous research and in particular my Masters research into social security which also used a qualitative approach to investigate social representations.

A range of qualitative approaches have been used in both social representations research and the community studies tradition. These range from focus groups (Foster 2001: Howarth 2002) to detailed interviews (Herzlich 1973: Jodelet 1991: Willmott & Young 1957: Mumford and Power 2003) to free word association (Lahlou 2001) participant observation (Jodelet 1991: Coates and Silburn 1970: Whyte 1943) or media and content analysis (Stockdale 1995: Farr 1993). Learning from the way in which these studies had been conducted, I decided that in dealing with the potentially difficult and sensitive subject of neighbourly relations, individual interviews with participants would be the best way to proceed. In reporting the outcomes of my research I have chosen to quote the residents and gatekeepers verbatim including the phrasing they used. As a result some of the language is not grammatically correct or in full sentences which reflects their speech patterns. However, in keeping with the importance that social representations attaches to the discursive process I have chosen not to adjust this except where absolutely necessary to make the quotation intelligible.

Whilst the majority of research presented in this thesis is qualitative in nature, one of the arguments presented in this research is that analysis of the psychological context of social exclusion can offer insights which then complement other methods of research. It is also my belief that this can work in reverse so Chapter Four provides a detailed quantitative account of a number of indicators of social exclusion within the research area. In addition to the quantitative analysis of statistical indicators of deprivation and exclusion in the research area, I took notes about the public meetings and events I attended in the research area, as well as making extensive notes about my thoughts during the

time I spent in the research area. Where relevant, these ethnographic forms of additional data are presented in this research.

Selecting a Research Site

In the previous chapter I discussed how neighbourhood has become a key theme of social exclusion policy and debate. I therefore used this interest to guide the research area chosen. To define a socially excluded neighbourhood I considered Government policy initiatives and in particular Neighbourhood Renewal (Cabinet Office 2001a). At present under this scheme as much as 10% of the total population of the UK lives in a neighbourhood which qualifies for renewal funding. Thus, one in ten people in the UK is potentially affected by the neighbourhood renewal regeneration work.

I decided to site the research in London. In 2000 the Government published the "Indices of Deprivation" on which its regeneration strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal would be based (ODPM 2000). In 2004 this was updated but the message was the same; London contains some of the most deprived areas in the country (ODPM 2004). This data shows that London has five out of the ten most deprived boroughs – Hackney, Tower Hamlets, Islington, Newham and Haringey[8]. 27% of London's Super Output Areas[9] (SOA) are amongst the 20% most deprived nationally (ALG 2004b). Studies have shown that a significant and persistent amount of deprivation in London is concentrated in the six London boroughs of

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[8] Hackney is the most deprived borough in England, Tower Hamlets the second, Islington the fourth, Newham the sixth and Haringey the 10th (ODPM 2004).
[9] Super output areas were introduced in the 2004 Indices of Deprivation as a unit of measurement which was a consistently sized geographical area with a mean population size of 1,500.

103

the Lea Valley - Tower Hamlets, Hackney, Newham, Haringey, Waltham Forest and Enfield (Cattell 1997). I therefore chose to conduct my research in this area of London. The only restriction on choosing one of the boroughs was on Waltham Forest where I am a local councillor.

London is also the site of substantial affluence. Using the 2004 indices Richmond upon Thames is the 300th and Kingston upon Thames is ranked 266th out of 354 English boroughs. London is therefore a region in which wealth and poverty live cheek by jowl. In choosing which of the eligible Lea Valley boroughs in which to conduct my research I took this into account and chose the borough of Haringey. Approximately 43% of Haringey SOAs are amongst the 10% most deprived in the country, but as the local authority points out these are overwhelmingly concentrated in the eastern side of the borough(Haringey Council 2005f). In contrast the western side of Haringey has some of the richest SOAs in the country. Out of the 34,378 SOAs in England, two of Haringey's are ranked 22,110 and 22,106 for deprivation indicating the level of wealth of their residents. Thus whilst not the most deprived of the five boroughs, it is a mirror of the contrasts between severe deprivation and substantial wealth which characterize London. I therefore argue that it is in boroughs such as Haringey that such contrasts are keenly felt.

As a result of the levels of deprivation present in the borough Haringey received substantial regeneration funding, the details of which are set out in Chapter Four. At the end of 2002 Haringey Council published its neighbourhood renewal strategy "Narrowing the Gap" which identified the contrasts in wealth within the borough (Haringey Council 2002b). It set out five target areas for

intervention and from these I chose the Noel Park estate. This estate was a residential area adjacent to Wood Green Shopping Centre with Tottenham to its eastern side and Muswell Hill to its west. As such its close proximity to areas of both wealth and poverty mirrored the contrasts in affluence and poverty within London. In Chapter Four I provide evidence of deprivation on the estate which forms a backdrop to this research.

Constructing the Question Schedule for Residents

Prior to conducting the research I spent a number of days having informal discussions with both service providers and residents to learn about the estate and to help clarify the interview process in advance. I also undertook extensive background research into the history of the area, and read as many recently published papers on the condition of the area as I could find. These ranged from the local newspapers, to local authority studies and newsletters or magazines produced in the Haringey area. I used the information I gained in these conversations and information gathering exercises to sharpen both the focus of my research and improve my own understanding of the locality.

In deciding how to assemble my research participants I have drawn on the practical experiences of the community studies tradition of research previously mentioned. Each of these very different studies shared a similar approach to recruiting suitable participants which were not grounded in seeking statistically representative samples *per se* but rather a snapshot of life in their research area. Recognising the barriers to finding participants these studies encountered. I used a

range of methods to contact people who live in the Noel Park area. For example initially I attended several community meetings, both formal and informal, to find participants. This was of limited success given the low participation in such public activities in the area. However, I was extremely grateful to those who ran the projects and groups at which I was able to access some people for both encouraging residents to take part in my research and providing separate rooms for me to interview participants.

Whilst aware of the difficulties and dangers (Mumford 2001) I decided to try a second method and had more success in approaching residents directly for interviews outside their homes and in public spaces. This approach echoed the research method pioneered by Stack (1974) who sought to avoid any negative connotations of being associated with authority figures within a community by making direct contact with potential participants who were residents in her research area rather than asking official representatives such as housing officers to introduce her. She also spent time building up trust within her research area in order to gain access to residents through direct contact.

For my own safety and so as not to intrude I decided only to do this during the daytime, to let someone know where I was at all times and to only approach people who were outside their properties at the time. I also found several residents who then recommended to their neighbour that they should take part in the study. To engage those for whom English was not their first language in the research I produced a leaflet explaining my project that was written in English, Farsi, Albanian, Gujerati, Urdu and Somali. I handed this out to explain my activities and

my interest in the area to potential participants. I chose these languages on the basis of discussions with those working in the area.

Given my intention to interview a large number of residents, I decided to pilot my research on the estate itself. To my relief I found that with one or two adjustments, the question schedule worked well and I was able to proceed. Overall I conducted seventy interviews with residents, seeking to talk to a range of people from across the estate. My basic criterion for choosing to interview residents was that they were living within the boundaries of the Noel Park Neighbourhood Initiative. I was also conscious of the 2001 census data and during the course of the research I sought to ensure that those people interviewed broadly reflected the demographic diversity of the area that the census revealed. I did this with the assistance of local residents and council and voluntary sector groups operating in the area.

Whilst the vast majority of interviews were conducted with individuals, a small number were by necessity conducted with two or more participants present. In some cases this was due to the presence of a translator or another resident such as a family member or a neighbour. In others this was because of the context in which the participant was willing to be interviewed such as sitting in their front garden with a friend or with their partner in the home. To have asked the other person to leave would have risked the interview not taking place at all and I judged that often their contribution to the discussions that took place offered additional insight into the representational process. Where these additional participants contributed to the discussion I have recorded this in the text.

Appendix A1 gives some of the basic demographic information about the participants. This shows that there were thirty-five female respondents, thirty-three male and two families who took an equal part in the discussion. Forty-two of the respondents were council tenants, seventeen were home owners, seven were housing association tenants and four privately rented their accommodation. It also shows the age variation of the respondents with six being under twenty years old, ten being between twenty and thirty years old, twenty-one being between thirty and forty years old, ten being between forty and fifty years old, seven being between fifty and sixty years old and sixteen being over sixty years old. The appendix also details the ethnic mix of the sample and shows that only thirty of the respondents were of exclusively white English heritage. The majority of the research took place over seven months between February and September 2003.

I used a mix of techniques in the in-depth interviews to help draw out the representations used by respondents and in particular the episodic interviewing technique outlined by Flick (2000). This technique involves encouraging participants to provide examples to explain their viewpoints. It helps draw out how respondents make sense of the information around them by asking them to set it in context as part of a narrative or episode. To help frame the interviews I constructed an interview schedule which I explained from the outset to the respondents. I used the same open questions around these topics, trying to make the conversations as discursive and informal as possible so as to encourage narratives about the research area. This approach has also been recommended as one which encourages participants to explain their perceptions in depth (Foddy 1993).

Where I felt a comment required further explanation I used prompts and pauses as part of my interview technique as described by Krueger (1988). I chose to record all the interviews so that I could take part in the discussion with the respondent without interrupting the flow of conversation to make notes. The shortest interview I conducted with a resident was twenty minutes and the longest was two and a half hours, however most averaged around forty-five minutes to an hour. I considered offering a financial incentive to residents to take part but found that it was not necessary to the recruitment process as the majority of people I approached were willing to participate in the study.

I have set out in detail the question schedule I used in Appendix A2 but briefly the interview was divided into three sections. The first was focused on the respondent their life history as well as their general views on the neighbourhood and its inhabitants. This section sought to explore many of the issues raised by the social capital and community cohesion debates through investigating associational behaviour within the locality. In particular the first part of the interview was designed to find out if residents had regular contact with their neighbours and if so of what kind and how important they felt this to be. As part of these discussions I also encouraged residents to talk about their neighbours and describe them to me.

The second section then looked specifically at Noel Park itself and the quality of public services in the local area. Developing the argument within social capital debates about the link between social interaction and civic society this section looked at how respondents viewed key public services such as education and healthcare services and attitudes towards the local authority and political representation. In this section I deliberately used open ended questions to try to

avoid leading the respondents into specific answers about what they considered to be problematic in the local area. In the final section the focus was specifically on the neighbourhood renewal work. For this I identified three key areas of work being undertaken - the street wardens, SureStart and a project to tackle unemployment - which I discuss in more detail in Chapter Four. I discussed each of these schemes with the residents to explore their awareness of the schemes and their views on the regeneration process as a whole including the neighbourhood forum the Noel Park Initiative (NPI). Finally, I finished the interviews by asking the residents about their long term plans and whether they intended to stay in the area or would like to leave.

Having obtained my data I used the NUD*IST computer aided research programme to help analyse the data (Lewis and Silver 2004). The suitability of computer aided research programmes to studies such as this one has been well reported (Coffey et al 1996, Cresswell 1998). This is because it is useful as a way of consistently cataloguing underlying themes or representations. As many researchers have also pointed out, using CADQAS software is particularly helpful in qualitative analysis because of the possibility of "data promiscuity" whereby a large quantity of data is generated through the interview process, not all of which is of interest (Fielding and Lee 1998) With that in mind I developed a thematic approach to coding the data generated in the interviews (Flick 2002).

Thematic coding is similar to the grounded theory approaches to research used in sociological forms of qualitative analysis. Strauss and Corbin (1990) outline how research conducted in this way looks at all the data collected and seeks variables within the data or "themes". This "open coding" process then

allows the researcher to look for themes that reoccur within the data. Thus, after conducting the interviews I transcribed all the interviews with residents and looked for recurring themes and ideas that arose during the discussions. Having done this, I then considered which themes were interconnected and so had particular meaning in relation solely to each other and also which themes only occurred within particular groups within the research, an important research outcome in itself. This then helped me produce a schematic by which I categorized all the data arising from the interviews. Kelle (2000) also highlights the importance to these approaches in seeking out differences as well as similarities which was reflected in the schematic.

Having identified the major themes within the research I then allocated text from all of the interviews to these themes. Throughout the research I have chosen text from these interviews to indicate these themes accordingly. This schematic is set out in Appendix A3. This shows how the schematic was broadly divided into the following themes:

1. Demographic characteristics.

2. Social interactions and characterizations of the social life of the research area.

3. Descriptions of the residents of the research area.

4. Descriptions of the physical environment of the research area.

5. Perceptions of problems within the research area.

6. Thoughts towards public services.

7. Thoughts towards the local authority services.

8. Thoughts towards local and national governance.

9. Thoughts towards the regeneration projects.

10. Predictions about the future of the research area and future intentions.

The statistical data presented in this research was analysed using the SPSS programme. It should be noted that all the Chi-Square results presented refer to differences between the respondents in the study only. As such, they highlight variations within this population, rather than reflecting inferences about the estate's residents as a whole.

Constructing the Question Schedule for Gatekeepers

Alongside the interest in the representations used by residents I also sought to analyse the representations used by those who were "gatekeepers" to resources on the estate (Portes and Landolt 1996) These are people who wielded power over

the residents in different ways through their role as service providers e.g. shop keepers, teachers or those working on the regeneration programmes on the estate. Others have argued that it is important in understanding how neighbourhoods change to view not just the evaluations of an area made by those who live there but also "intermediaries" (Galster 2001). To investigate the impact of such people I interviewed thirty gatekeepers to complement the interviews with residents. As Chapter Eight will discuss only a small minority of gatekeepers in the study were also residents of the Noel Park area and indeed Haringey, yet it was also clear in both the residents and gatekeepers responses that their representations were critical to life chances in the area.

In recruiting gatekeepers I sought to balance respondents between those working within the public sector on the estate and those with private or commercial interests in the area. In total twelve gatekeepers worked in the private sector, one in the voluntary sector and the remainder within the public sector. Ten respondents were female and twenty were male. Six were under the age of thirty, seven were between the age of thirty and forty years old, seven were between the age of forty and fifty years old, seven were between fifty and sixty years old and three were over sixty years old. Eighteen gatekeepers were white and twelve were of non-white ethnic backgrounds. Appendix B1 gives the basic demographic details of the gatekeepers who took part in this research.

Again I used a range of methods to contact these people including approaching those working on the neighbourhood renewal projects in the area as well as attending local business forum meetings and directly approaching local service providers such schools and the health authority. I also chose to record the

interviews so that I could focus on asking questions of the respondents. The interviews with the gatekeepers were all around forty minutes to an hour. All the gatekeeper interviews were conducted on a one to one basis with the exception of one which took place with three gatekeepers who worked together and wanted to be interviewed all at the same time.

The interview schedule for the gatekeepers shared a similar focus to the resident interview schedule, but was necessarily adapted to reflect the differing relationship gatekeepers had to Noel Park and is contained in Appendix B2. Thus the first section of the interview focused on the role each gatekeeper played in the area and their general views of the inhabitants of the estate. The second section then asked for their views on service provision in the locality and their opinions on how their service was viewed by both residents and other service providers. The final section of the gatekeeper interviews then looked in detail at their views of the NPI, neighbourhood renewal as a concept and the neighbourhood renewal projects in Noel Park. In common with the approach used to analyse the responses of the residents, the NUD*IST programme was used with the data gained from interviews with the gatekeepers. However, given the different status of their relationship to the estate, a different set of themes was used to code them. The same thematic coding approach to coding and analysing the data as used with the information arising from the residents' interviews was also used with the gatekeepers' transcripts. The schematic used to code Gatekeepers interviews is reproduced in Appendix B3. The broad themes the gatekeeper schematic used were as follows:

1. Demographic characteristics.

2. Social interactions and characterizations of the social life of the research area.

3. Descriptions of the residents of the research area.

4. Descriptions of the physical environment of the research area.

5. Descriptions of working in the research area

6. Perceptions of problems within the research area.

7. Thoughts towards public services.

8. Thoughts towards the local authority services.

9. Thoughts towards local and national governance.

10. Thoughts towards the regeneration projects.

11. Predictions about the future of the research area and plans to remain working in area.

Data Protection and Ethical Concerns

In order to ensure the anonymity of all respondents in the research, any data which could be used to identify participants has been removed from the extracts reproduced in this paper. In particular any discussion which may lead to recognition such as reference to ages, places or specific experiences has been removed. Whilst this has in some cases meant not using some particularly pertinent examples within this paper this is to protect the identity of those who took part. This caution raised a number of questions for the research. In order to

test whether where on the estate residents lived influenced their lifeworld it was necessary to find a way of recording this fact. Therefore each street name was recoded with a colour, but any identifying characteristic for each street discussed was removed from the final transcript. Whilst a copy of the code was retained during the research process in a separate place from the interviews to aid the coding of data, this has now been destroyed. Each interview is therefore described as a colour and a number unrelated to the respondent.

Given the smaller number of gatekeepers each was coded with a number which was unrelated to the respondent. Any data which could identify the respondent has been removed from the final transcripts e.g. identifying references to their job or business locations. Whilst a copy of the code was retained during the research process to ensure a consistency in the coding process, this has now also been destroyed.

This chapter has detailed the theoretical framework and research methodology for the research this thesis will now present. The subsequent chapters will show how within a deprived locality there could be discerned a set of shared ideas, images, identities and activities - in short social representations - which formed the lifeworld of Noel Park and were integral to the lives the residents led. Analysis of these representations is intended both to offer insight into what is social about social exclusion and also to give a more detailed picture of the importance of this lifeworld to life chances.

Chapter Four: Haringey - One Borough, Two Worlds

In the previous chapter I explained my decision to site my research in the Noel Park area of Haringey. As an area in receipt of Neighbourhood Renewal funding it typifies the kind of areas that are the focus of interest in the debates presented in Chapter Two. In keeping with the body of neighbourhood research I discussed, and as a foil for the qualitative nature of the research presented in this paper, this chapter will provide a detailed quantitative analysis of deprivation in the Haringey and Noel Park areas. This will show how the Eastern wards of Haringey persistently experience much higher levels of unemployment, poor health, poor housing, crime and low educational attainment than the Western wards. Having outlined the social context of Haringey I will then discuss Haringey's neighbourhood renewal strategy in place at the time of the research. Following on from this I will provide a detailed breakdown of the evidence of deprivation in the research area Noel Park. This research will show why data such as that presented in this chapter can be complementary to an analysis of the psychological context.

The Demographics of Haringey

Like much of the rest of London's inner suburbs, Haringey developed in response to the building of railway lines. This coincided with, and significantly contributed to, the growth of the city itself. Tottenham, Hornsey and Wood Green were, until the nineteenth century, relatively isolated villages, which the extension

of the railways turned into suburbs (Haringey Council 1991a). The Borough of

Haringey was created in the mid 1960s from the merging of the former municipal

boroughs of Hornsey, Tottenham and Wood Green. Today the borough is roughly

eleven square miles in area, with a population of around 224,000 people. The

population of Haringey has grown by 8.6% since 1991 and is projected to grow by

a further 21.1% by 2021 (Haringey Council 2005a)

Figure 1.1 Map of Haringey Ward Boundaries 2002
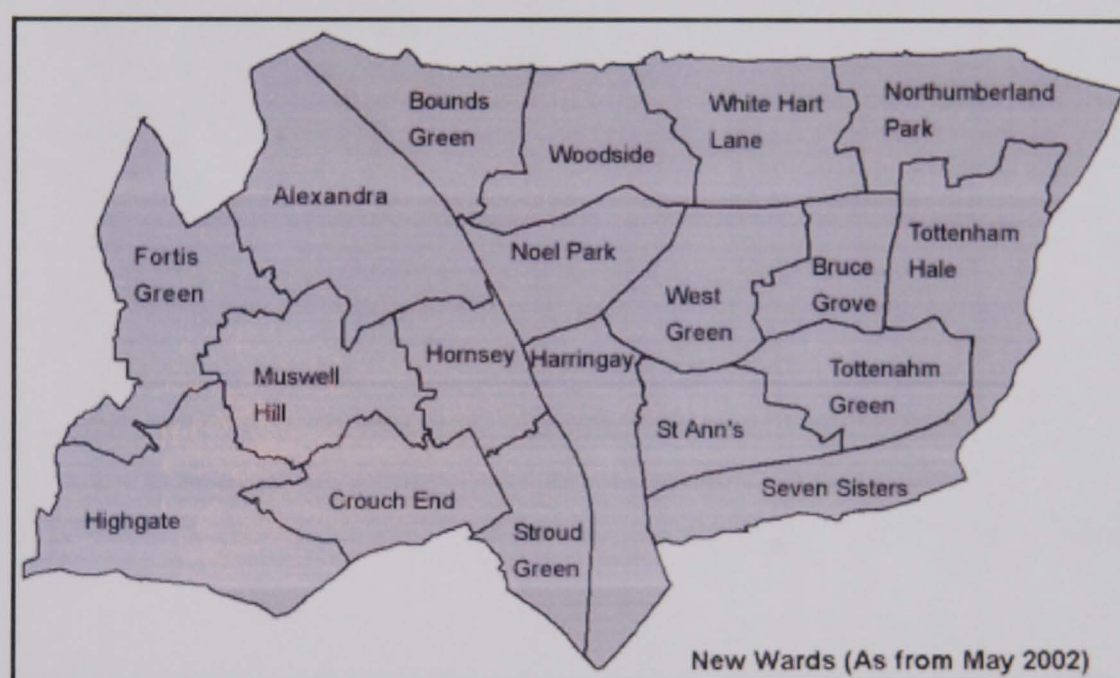
Source: London Borough of Haringey

Haringey is an ethnically diverse borough. At the time of the 1951 census,

only five in every hundred people living there were born outside of Haringey. By

1966, however, this had increased to more than eighteen in every hundred and by

1971 to 25% of the borough's population. By 1981 this had grown to 45%. The

1991 Census shows 29% of Haringey residents came from black or ethnic minority

communities (Haringey Council 1991b) and in 2001 this had risen to 34.4% (ONS

2001b). The Council estimates that the people of Haringey speak 160 different languages (Haringey Council 2005a). Figure 1.2 details the ethnic mix of the borough as a whole in 2001.

Figure 1.2: Ethnicity of Residents of Haringey in 2001

	Ethnic Group	Total Population	Percentage of Haringey Residents
White	White	98,028	45.3
	Irish	9,302	4.3
	Other White	34,752	16.1
Mixed	White & Black Caribbean	3,205	1.5
	White & Black African	1,551	0.7
	White & Asian	2,329	1.1
	Other Mixed	2,761	1.3
Asian	Indian	6,171	2.9
	Pakistani	2,046	1.0
	Bangladeshi	2,961	1.4
	Other Asian	3,348	1.6
Black	Caribbean	20,570	9.5
	African	19,879	9.2
	Other Black	2,928	1.4
Other	Chinese	2,444	1.1
	Other Ethnic Group	4,232	2

Source : ONS 2001b

There are clear ethnic divisions within Haringey as ethnic diversity increases substantially going from west to east. The 2001 census shows 16% of Alexandra and 13% of Muswell Hill western wards are "non-white", whilst in the east in St Ann's it was 40% and in Bruce Grove it was 52% (ONS 2001b). Research shows this to be a 27% increase in the numbers of minorities within Haringey between 1991 and 2001 (Lupton and Power 2004c). Census data also shows how the make-up of the non-white population in Haringey had changed substantially over this time period. In particular between 1991 and 2001 the Black

African population has doubled. During the same time period the Indian population has fallen by 15%, the Bangladeshi community by 3% and the white population by 1% - although this change may be accounted for by changes in the definitions used in the census (ONS 2001b).

Within the research it became apparent that the presence of refugees locally was a source of controversy for many residents and whilst it is difficult accurately to track refugee communities there are some indicators of their presence within the borough. The 2001 Census found a total of 36,336 migrants in Haringey, many of whom were born in world regions that have historically provided refugees and according to the council the borough has the 9th highest proportion of migrants in London (Haringey Council 2005b). The most recent figures show that there are around 3,548 known asylum seekers in the Borough although as the local authority highlight this doesn't take account of any placements in the borough by other authorities (Haringey Council 2005b).

In 1997 the Council undertook a study into its refugee population (Haringey Council 1997). This estimated the refugee population of the borough to be between 18,400 and 20,000. Respondents to the survey were from thirty three different countries of origin, with the largest groups from Turkey, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Zaire and Sri Lanka and people of Kurdish, Somali, Turkish or Ethiopian ethnic origin accounted for 70% of the total respondents. This survey also showed evidence of a geographical concentration of refugees with more than 70% of respondents' postcodes being in the south and east of the borough around Tottenham and Wood Green. More recently, the local health service reported 419

unaccompanied asylum seekers in Haringey in 2000 (Barnet, Enfield and Haringey NHS Trust 2001).

The age profile revealed by the census shows Haringey to be a borough of young adults with nearly a third of the population aged between thirty and forty-four and a quarter of the population is under eighteen (ONS 2001b). In contrast, those over sixty make up just over 11% of the population. By comparison in London 16.3% of the population is over sixty and 22% is under eighteen.

Haringey is divided into twenty three wards, with forty two sitting councillors. Of these fifteen are Liberal Democrats and the rest are Labour and there are no Conservative councillors. At the time this research took place it also had two Labour MPs- Barbara Roche (Hornsey & Wood Green) and David Lammy (Tottenham)[10]. It is important to note that for the 2002 local elections the boundaries of these wards were reassessed, which means that some data presented here is given on the old ward boundaries. Where possible the new ward boundary is identified and Appendix C1 gives details of these changes.

At the end of 2002 the Comprehensive Performance Assessment of Haringey Council services by the Audit Commission categorised the council as a "weak" two-star council stating "services provided by the Council are generally weak" (Audit Commission 2002). During the time period in which the research took place the services provided by the authority were reassessed and in 2004 this rating was improved to "fair" with the Audit Commission stating ""Haringey has

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[10] At the General Election in 2005 Barbara Roche lost her seat to the Liberal Democrat candidate Lynne Featherstone.

made improvements in social care, environment and education services over the last year" (Audit Commission 2004).

Income and Poverty

Figures from 2002 and 2003 show around 11% of Haringey's residents are in receipt of income support and incapacity benefit and clearly show the marked east/west split in the experience of poverty (Haringey Council 2005c). As Figure 3 shows there were approximately five times more claimants of income support in Northumberland Park than Highgate and around four times as many incapacity benefit claimants.

Figure 2:1 Income Support and Incapacity Benefit Claimants in Haringey 2002/3

Ward	All Claimants Income Support 2002	Claim Rate Income Support 2002	All Claimants Incapacity Benefit 2003	Claim Rate Incapacity Benefit 2003
Alexandra	295	4.22%	280	3.82%
Bounds Green	875	12.36%	625	8.33%
Bruce Grove	1,145	14.74%	765	9.35%
Crouch End	395	5.06%	350	4.30%
Fortis Green	330	4.44%	305	3.91%
Harringay	730	9.52%	605	7.52%
Highgate	300	4.15%	280	3.66%
Hornsey	805	11.89%	605	8.56%
Muswell Hill	255	3.87%	300	4.29%
Noel Park	**1,220**	**15.89%**	**930**	**11.43%**
Northumberland Park	1,555	20.32%	1,000	12.32%
St Ann's	1,030	12.20%	805	9.01%
Seven Sisters	1,080	13.19%	790	9.16%
Stroud Green	715	9.37%	590	7.47%
Tottenham Green	1,305	16.72%	900	10.89%
Tottenham Hale	1,320	16.71%	810	9.71%
West Green	1,070	14.02%	755	9.26%
White Hart Lane	1,370	19.27%	850	11.30%
Woodside	885	11.73%	720	9.01%
Haringey	**16,655**	**11.65%**	**12,270**	**8.14%**

Source : Haringey Council 2005c

Whilst poverty in itself is not an indicator of social exclusion, it is clear that those who live in the further eastern wards tend to have much lower incomes and are much more reliant on welfare payments to make ends meet. In this annexe to this chapter I have reproduced the map of income deprivation in the 144 SOAs in Haringey.[11] This shows clearly how low incomes are concentrated in the eastern wards of the borough – in stark contrast to the west. Also reproduced in the annexe

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[11] Super Output Areas – please refer to discussion of this category in Chapter Three.

to this chapter is the map of income deprivation affecting children in the borough revealing the extent of child poverty in the eastern half of Haringey.

The Economic Context

Haringey is a borough of small businesses, mainly production and service industries rather than manufacturing based activities. According to the council there are 8,300 businesses in Haringey employing a total of 60,300 people. 95.2% of businesses in the borough employ less than twenty four people (Haringey Council 2005d). Only 7.3% of local industries employ more than 200 people but they account for 35 % of employment. Between 1995 and 2002 the size of these sectors didn't change, however there was a drop of 33% in the number of medium sized businesses in the borough (North London LSC 2004). This research shows the Council itself is the largest single employer in the borough with around 9,000 employees across all its services and that retail and wholesale distribution is the largest industry in Haringey, accounting for 21% of jobs followed by real estate and renting activities. The dominance of the service sector is shown by the number of companies registering for VAT in the Haringey area with over 400 new real estate companies between 1998 and 2001 and another 200 wholesale and retail companies, compared to a small fall in manufacturing and hotel based work (NOMIS 2002). The same survey showed employer dissatisfaction with the workforce in Haringey is substantial – 18% of employers report a skills shortage compared to just 9% in Enfield and 11% in Barnet.

The census also shows how important the local economy is to local residents as almost a third of the working population are employed within the borough (ONS 2001b). It reveals that 7% of residents aged 16–74 have never worked, and the largest social class was lower managerial and professional occupations which accounts for 23% of the local population. However, as Figure 3.1 illustrates, looking at occupational status via ward reveals how those with higher levels of qualifications are concentrated again in the western end of Haringey and by contrast those in low skill jobs or the long-term unemployed are much more likely to live in the eastern side. GLA research points out that in comparison with other London boroughs, Haringey is one of the most divided by the qualifications of its residents – with Highgate in the west having one of the highest levels of residents with higher level qualifications (61%) in London (GLA 2004a). Conversely, in Northumberland Park 60% of residents have no qualifications at all.

Figure 3.1 Occupational Status of Residents In Haringey In 2001

	Higher Professional Occupations	Lower Managerial / Professional Occupations	Semi-Routine Occupations	Routine Occupations	Never Worked	Long-Term Unemployed
Alexandra	1,033	2,467	378	257	241	95
Bounds Green	609	1,909	649	441	542	155
Bruce Grove	435	1,613	943	673	956	182
Crouch End	1,371	2,976	400	212	197	82
Fortis Green	1,159	2,659	385	267	286	95
Harringay	735	2,105	625	445	581	130
Highgate	1,387	2,542	390	215	211	81
Hornsey	685	2,187	535	345	404	131
Muswell Hill	1,072	2,491	317	209	189	73
Noel Park	**442**	**1,583**	**939**	**633**	**750**	**146**
Northumberland Park	236	1,203	1,052	837	1,104	280
Seven Sisters	505	1,760	891	620	966	241
St Ann's	511	1,930	855	580	954	200
Stroud Green	1,036	2,608	479	338	334	148
Tottenham Green	390	1,588	972	631	961	256
Tottenham Hale	333	1,406	1,036	748	1,081	253
West Green	502	1,605	899	725	819	209
White Hart Lane	227	1,061	972	742	836	194
Woodside	486	1,829	744	496	759	128
Haringey	**13,154**	**37,522**	**13,461**	**9,414**	**12,171**	**3,079**

Source: ONS 2001b

Whilst Haringey has seen a substantial drop in the number of unemployment benefit claimants over the past four years, it still has a level of unemployment higher than the London average. In 1998 unemployment in Haringey was 12%, falling to 9.5% in 2000 and 7.4% in 2002 and staying around this level up to February 2004 as Figure 3.2 reflects. This compares to 6.8% in 1998 for London as a whole, falling to 5.3% in 2000 and 4.9% in April 2002 and 4.8% in February 2004 (North London LSC 2004). In 2001 Haringey had the 14th highest level of

unemployment nationally and one of the highest levels of unemployment amongst 16-19 year olds (31%) in London (ONS 2001b). Results from the 2001 census suggest that long-term unemployment is a serious issue facing Haringey. 19% of those who were unemployed were in a poor state of health, and 17% of these had a long-term illness. Over 50% of unemployed Haringey residents had not worked for over two years or had never worked. The census also shows Haringey had one of the lowest levels of economic activity amongst residents in London with only 50.1% of residents active. This compares to 65% in Enfield and 64% in Waltham Forest.

Figure 3.2 Unemployment Claimants in Haringey via Gender in 2004

	Claimant count			Claimant count rate (%)		
	Alls	Males	Females	All	Males	Females
Alexandra	165	115	50	2.9	3.8	1.9
Bounds Green	335	245	90	6.3	8.7	3.6
Bruce Grove	590	435	155	10.9	14.3	6.5
Crouch End	245	175	70	3.7	4.9	2.3
Fortis Green	200	135	65	3.2	4.0	2.3
Harringay	480	350	130	8.1	10.7	4.8
Highgate	185	130	55	3.0	3.9	2.0
Hornsey	440	315	125	8.2	11.0	4.9
Muswell Hill	160	125	35	2.9	4.2	1.4
Noel Park	**355**	**260**	**95**	**6.6**	**9.1**	**3.8**
Northumberland Park	840	650	185	17.6	24.5	8.8
St. Ann's	525	390	140	8.9	12.0	5.2
Seven Sisters	500	365	135	8.9	11.1	5.7
Stroud Green	405	290	115	6.3	8.5	3.9
Tottenham Green	520	375	150	9.6	12.8	6.1
Tottenham Hale	590	435	155	10.8	14.3	6.4
West Green	410	295	120	7.4	9.5	4.9
White Hart Lane	520	370	150	11.7	15.4	7.3
Woodside	365	260	105	6.6	8.7	4.1
Haringey	**7,830**	**5,705**	**2,125**	**7.3**	**9.8**	**4.4**

Source : GLA 2004b

Viewing unemployment benefit claimant data via ward also reveals a substantial difference between east and west. As the data presented in Figure 3.2 shows shows, for both men and women there are much higher levels of unemployment claimants in the eastern wards. In particular the north eastern corner of Haringey (Northumberland Park, White Hart Lane and Bruce Grove) had unemployment rates up to eight times higher than the English average of 3% for the same period. Indeed Northumberland Park had the second highest level of

unemployment out of all 625 wards in London, and Muswell Hill one of the lowest (the 529th). The annexe to this chapter reproduces the 2004 index of multiple deprivation employment indicators mapped across Haringey. This shows how Noel Park in particular suffers from particularly high levels of unemployment in comparison with other wards.

Housing

There are 93,963 dwellings in Haringey, of which 21,000 are council properties (Haringey Council 2002a). The 2003/04 council tax for band D was £ 1,174 compared to a London average of £1,058 (ALG 2004a). The 2001 census show 46% of properties in Haringey were owner occupied, 20% were council rented, 10.5% were rented from a registered social landlord and 20.1% rented from a private landlord (ONS 2001b). In 2002/03 there were 2,446 unoccupied dwellings in Haringey and 1,315 households were accepted as homeless by the council which represents approximately 50% of the homeless applications that were received (Haringey Council 2003).

This research shows that in 2002/2003 there were just over 4,000 households living in temporary accommodation but by December 2005 this had risen to almost 5,000 (Audit Commission 2002). In 2003/04 320 properties were sold under the right to buy scheme and by comparison 316 new housing association dwellings became available for rent (Haringey Council 2004a) On average the Council receives seventy applications a year from teenage parents of

which thirty are accepted for temporary accommodation (Barnet, Enfield and Haringey NHS Trust 2001).

In 2001 Haringey estimated that 31% of households were living in unsuitable housing. The most common reasons for unsuitability were major disrepair and unfitness (17,144 households) and overcrowding from which 6,310 households suffered (Haringey Council 2001). According to the Audit Commission in 2002 Haringey had one of the highest levels of tenants in rents arrears in London and carried out a comparatively low level of repairs each year of 40,000 – 50,000 compared to an average of 80,000 in other similar London boroughs. It also found that Haringey's repairs service was slow and more expensive for tenants than private contractors and neighbouring boroughs. The 2001 census reveals that experience of this is again divided, with council and housing association property concentrated in the east of the borough. Thus whilst in Muswell Hill council property only makes up 8.4% of the housing stock, in Northumberland Park it is almost 40% (ONS 2001b). Despite these problems the tenant's survey for 2003 showed 67% of tenants were happy with their accommodation (Haringey Council 2005e).

The east west split is also present in property prices. At the time the research took place in 2003 within the N17 postcode, which covers the wards of Tottenham Hale, Northumberland Park, Bruce Grove, White Hart Lane and West Green , the average price of all property types was £ 157,092, a flat was £ 119,461 and a terraced house £ 179,236 (Land Registry 2003). Whilst this is substantially higher than the England and Wales averages (£148,523, £ 146,258 and £110,366

respectively) this contrasts with the N10 postcode which covers Muswell Hill, Highgate, Fortis Green and some parts of Crouch End. Here the average property price was £325,313; a flat £ 215,288 and a terraced house £ 545,586.

Education

There are sixty three primary schools, eleven secondary schools, five special schools and one pupil referral unit in Haringey. In 2003 an OFSTED report showed 37.9% of primary school and 42.1% of secondary school pupils were registered for free school meals in the borough- compared to only 22.8% of primary and 18.2% of secondary school age children nationally (OFSTED 2003). It also reported a high level of mobility of pupils with 29% of primary school children entering and leaving the school roll at times which differed from the normal points of transfer .Indeed across all schools the rate of mobility differed from 3 – 71% of the school roll and around 12% of all pupils are refugees or around 4,000 children. OFSTED highlighted that Haringey children speak 160 languages in their schools with 47% and 51% of primary and secondary school children having English as an additional language.

In 2001 the education service of Haringey was outsourced to Capita as a result of intervention by the Secretary of State for Education and Skills after a damning OFSTED report in 1999 showed poor performance by the LEA (OFSTED 1999). This service has now subsequently been returned to the local authority after the repeat inspection in 2003 showed substantial progress including all secondary schools reaching the Government floor target of at least 25% of

pupils achieving five or more A-C grades at GCSE. However at the time of the research, Haringey Secondary schools remained below the national and Inner London averages. In 2003 nationally 52.9% of pupils gain 5 or more GCSEs at grades A-C but only 39% of pupils did in Haringey (DFeS 2003). The aggregation of results across the borough hides a lower level of attainment in the east of the borough. At Northumberland Park Community School only 20% of pupils and at White Hart Lane Secondary School only 27% of pupils gained 5 or more GCSEs at grades A- C in 2003. In contrast, 71% of pupils at Fortismere School in Muswell Hill and 49% of pupils at Hornsey Secondary School for Girls achieved this level. Whilst school results continue to improve on previous performances, the differentials between east and west persist.

Health and Social Care

In April 2001 a new health authority was created which covers around 800,000 people in Barnet, Enfield and Haringey. This includes three hospitals - the Whittington Hospital NHS Trust and the Royal Free Hospital in the Highgate area and the North Middlesex Hospital in Barnet. The 2001 census shows the number of people reporting a long term illness or disability to be slightly lower than the national average – 15.5% compared to 18.2% for England and Wales (ONS 2001b). However, this data shows it varied substantially from east to west. For example, only 691 residents of Muswell Hill reported "not being in good health" in contrast to 1,282 in White Hart Lane.

The Haringey PCT created at the same time covers sixty three surgeries and is a teaching trust. In its annual report the Haringey PCT reports that it met and exceeded 117 of the Government's 120 targets for PCTs (Haringey TPCT 2002). A GLA survey showed that in Haringey access to a GP was above London average of 85% of residents and in line with the national average of 90%. However, of those residents who took part only 20% reported seeing a GP on the same day compared to 29% nationally (GLA 2004c). Despite this Haringey Teaching Primary Care Trust has only been awarded one star in the 2004/5 NHS Primary Care Trust star ratings (Haringey TPCT 2005).

There is evidence of a strong link between geography and health outcomes. As Figure 4 shows those living in the western wards have significantly higher chance of living to 75, with all except South Hornsey (Stroud Green) being well below the standardised mortality rate for London. In contrast, many of the eastern wards have significantly higher levels of mortality and in particular those wards in the south eastern corner of Haringey such as Tottenham Green (Tottenham Central) have ratios nearly double those of the western wards. There is a less obvious but similar pattern in the incidence of low birth weight with most of the eastern wards experiencing higher levels of low birth weight compared to the western wards.

It is noticeable that most of the Haringey wards have a higher level of low birth weight than the London average of 8.3 per 100 live births. The exceptions are the affluent areas of Archway (Highgate) Muswell Hill, Fortis Green, Crouch End and, interestingly, the much more deprived area of White Hart Lane. A much stronger east west split appears in the mental health admission ratios for each

ward. All the western wards, with the exception of Archway, show reported levels of mental health problems which are lower than the London average. In contrast, seven eastern wards have ratios over double that of the rest of London and hence more than four times the number of cases than their borough neighbours in Muswell Hill.

Figure 4: Deprivation Healthcare Indicators by Ward in Haringey in 2002[12]

	Standard Mortality Ratio for under 75	Rate of Low birth Weight babies (per 100 live births)[13]	Mental health Admission Ratio [14]
Archway	70.7	11.7	136.3
Alexandra	79.5	10.1	99.7
Highgate	81.0	2.9	46.5
Hornsey Vale	83.5	5.9	116.1
Crouch End	86.0	6.4	119.8
Bowes Park	97.2	5.3	150.1
Muswell Hill	99.7	4.6	98.9
South Tottenham	102.6	7.5	208.9
Park	103.0	11.0	203.6
West Green	103.4	9.7	178.7
Coleraine	103.6	12.3	201.4
Woodside	107.2	7.8	185.4
High Cross	109.0	8.6	174.7
Fortis Green	109.5	4.3	71.4
Harringay	110.2	9.8	128.3
South Hornsey	110.8	12.6	221.0
Green Lanes	115.9	8.6	151.6
Noel Park	**116.0**	**10.3**	**236.9**
Bruce Grove	123.4	14.0	209.5
Hornsey Central	131.9	11.4	192.3
Seven Sisters	135.7	9.1	112.6
White Hart Lane	137.8	3.0	149.6
Tottenham Central	164.5	8.3	207.1

Source: Haringey Council 2002a- Summary of Health and Social Services

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[12] Comparable figures for this data and Haringey as a whole not available.
[13] Low weight babies are those born weighing under 2500g.
[14] The figures are standardized to take into account differences in the age and sex profile of the population.

Crime and Anti-Social Behaviour

Haringey has 680 police officers, thirty Police Community Support Officers, twenty-seven council street wardens and five police stations (Haringey Council 2004b). In 2003/4 there were 2180 fewer offences in Haringey than in the previous year amounting to a 5.6% reduction in crime. However, looking at recorded offences between 2003 and 2004 reveals that residents of Eastern wards experienced much higher levels of crime overall than previously (Metropolitan Police 2004). As Figure 5 reflects, this is particularly true in relation to violent crime, with residents of Tottenham Green roughly four times more likely than residents of Highgate to have experienced a violent attack. Noel Park stands out as an area in which there was a high level of crime which will be discussed in the research. However, it should be noted that the same dataset for Noel Park shows 457 violent offences, 161 burglaries and 616 incidents of theft occurred per 1,000 people in 2000/1.

Figure 5: Recorded Crime in Haringey by Ward for 2003-4[15]

All people	Theft and Handling offences	Burglary	Violence Against the Person	Drugs Offences
Alexandra	33	16.1	9.9	2.6
Bounds Green	41.7	20.4	20.4	3.1
Bruce Grove	52.5	18.2	28.3	6.5
Crouch End	83.6	27.2	13.1	2
Fortis Green	43.5	17.7	14.8	2.4
Harringay	79.5	20.4	29.3	12
Highgate	63.3	21.9	9	0.9
Hornsey	34.7	9.4	21.7	3.9
Muswell Hill	69.3	18	12.5	2.1
Noel Park	**211.7**	**18.6**	**50.2**	**13.6**
Northumberland Park	66.2	17.7	36.3	13.7
Seven Sisters	40.8	20.2	25	6.7
St Ann's	48.9	18.5	23.4	6.1
Stroud Green	51.1	21.8	14	1.5
Tottenham Green	76.4	25.7	39.9	34.9
Tottenham Hale	65	14.1	29.7	8.6
West Green	39.9	11.8	22.8	11
White Hart Lane	41.6	17.3	27.5	5.9
Woodside	63	18.1	31.1	18.8
Haringey	**63.8**	**18.6**	**24.6**	**8.5**

Source: Metropolitan Police 2004

Focus on Youth

The demographic evidence presented previously shows how children and young adults make up the majority of residents in Haringey as well as detailing some of difficulties young adults face, particularly in their educational careers in the borough. Other research has shown that borough-wide 46% of suspects stopped for street crime in Haringey were between fifteen and nineteen years old

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[15] Figures given offences per 1,000 population.

(Haringey Council 2000a). As Figure 6 shows during the course of the year 2000-2001 young adults in eastern wards were more likely to be accused of criminal activity, with the number of youth crime allegations broadly higher in eastern areas such as Noel Park, St Anns (Bruce Grove) and South Tottenham when compared to Highgate (Archway) and Stroud Green (Hornsey Vale).

Figure 6 also shows how there is also a much clearer link between spatial areas and teenage pregnancies. Across the borough, statistically one in every twenty teenage girls was pregnant but this rose to more than one in every ten in Northumberland Park (Park), St Anns (Bruce Grove) and Seven Sisters wards (Haringey Council 2000a). This was in contrast to areas such as Crouch End and Muswell Hill which had no incidence of teenage pregnancy during the reporting period. It is also clear many children in Haringey experience disruption early in life. In 2001 there were 500 "looked after" young people in the borough, over half of whom (253) are teenagers and 200 of these were in foster care (Barnet, Enfield and Haringey NHS Trust 2001).

Figure 6: Youth Crime and Teenage Pregnancy Indicators By Ward In Haringey

	Pregnancies per 1,000 15 – 17 yr old women in 1998	Total Youth Crime Allegations between April 2000 and March 2001
Crouch End	0	311
Muswell Hill	0	225
Alexandra	34.62	233
South Hornsey	35.48	176
South Tottenham	37.68	320
Woodside	38.64	406
High Cross	46.75	211
Archway	47.07	49
Noel Park	**59.84**	**652**
Highgate	60.39	67
Hornsey Vale	62.71	87
Hornsey Central	66.32	218
Coleraine	70.3	191
Harringay	72.45	331
White Hart Lane	75.95	282
Tottenham Central	78.31	251
Fortis Green	84.67	179
Green Lanes	88.95	187
West Green	89.4	264
Bowes Park	89.8	197
Seven Sisters	99.12	157
Park	100.98	270
Bruce Grove	110.29	308
Haringey	**51.8**	**5672**

Source: Haringey Council 2002a

Neighbourhood Renewal in Haringey

It is clear from the above analysis that the eastern side of Haringey has experienced and continues to experience severe levels of deprivation. It has therefore been the target for many of the Government initiatives to tackle deprivation. Figure 7 lists the scores of each of the pre 2002 boundary Haringey wards on the Multiple Indices of Deprivation 2000 which were used to calculate neighbourhood renewal funding eligibility (ODPM 2000). The scale used six

different composite indicators of deprivation which were based on thirty-three individual measures. The six scales were income, employment, health deprivation and disability, education and training skills and geographical access to services and housing. These were used to provide an overall indicator of deprivation assessed at ward level across all of England and Wales. Thus, Figure 7 shows the rank of each of the wards in Haringey for deprivation out of the total 8,414 wards in England and Wales.

As an indicator of inner city deprivation and especially of deprivation in London, this index has been heavily criticised by researchers employed by the GLA for weighting some indicators of deprivation, such as housing, more than others and for ignoring "key domains" for inner city deprivation such as environmental factors (GLA 2002) The new indices of deprivation for 2004 use the 2001 census data SOAs to enable a more detailed picture of the levels of deprivation and gives differing weights to the composite factors (ODPM 2004). However these indices continue to be disputed by representatives of the London boroughs as underplaying the level of deprivation within the city (ALG 2004). However, as Chapter Two discussed, both these scales reaffirm the level of deprivation in the Eastern side of Haringey. As a comparison the annexe to this chapter reproduces the map of the 2004 indicators across the borough.

Figure 7: IMD 2000 Scores For All Wards in Haringey

	Rank of Index of Multiple Deprivation 2000
Coleraine	115
White Hart Lane	136
Park	170
Tottenham Central	197
Bruce Grove	207
High Cross	254
South Tottenham	426
Seven Sisters	440
Noel Park	**564**
West Green	857
Green Lanes	882
Woodside	950
Harringay	1118
South Hornsey	1143
Hornsey Central	1383
Bowes Park	1388
Hornsey Vale	2227
Crouch End	3553
Fortis Green	3786
Muswell Hill	4406
Highgate	4419
Alexandra	4729
Archway	5632

Source: ODPM 2000

As a result Haringey was awarded a total of £12.004 million between 2001 and 2004 by the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund, compared to £26.472 million for Hackney, £5.745 million for Waltham Forest and £4.184 million for Enfield, three neighbouring boroughs (DTLR 2001a). In addition to this, Haringey also received £50.12 million for New Deal for Communities partnerships; this compares to £38 million for Hackney and £52.92 million for Islington (DTLR 2001b). At the time of the research there were five SRB projects in Haringey (Haringey Council 2001b). Furthermore nine wards qualified for Objective 2 European funding which is targeted at areas "in need of industrial restructuring and affected by urban

140

decay" (LVSTC 2005). Appendix C2 details where these activities were taking place at the time of my fieldwork.

At the end of 2002 Haringey published its neighbourhood renewal strategy, "Narrowing the Gap" which sought to narrow the gap between the east and west of the borough (Haringey Council 2002b). To that end the Haringey Strategic Partnership identified five areas of the borough where deprivation and the need for service improvements appeared to be the greatest and where the NRF money was targeted; it should be noted that these were not defined by ward boundaries but built around fourteen smaller district boundaries. As Appendix C2 shows, there was a substantial level of neighbourhood renewal activity underway already in these areas. The five areas were

- Wood Green town centre with Noel Park ward and parts of Woodside

- Tottenham Green, Seven Sisters and parts of St Anns

- Northumberland Park (Park and Coleraine wards)

- White Hart Lane ward

- Bruce Grove/Tottenham Hale including Broadwater Farm Estate

Having considered the presence of all these schemes, I decided to choose the Noel Park area as my research site.

Noel Park

By its proximity to both the affluence of Muswell Hill and Crouch End, and the deprivation of Tottenham, Noel Park embodied the 'gap' which neighbourhood renewal seeks to close. The area targeted by the local authority in its regeneration work was a housing estate between the Broadway (subsequently the High Road) to the natural border of Westbury Road. To the north the estate was bordered by Lordship Lane giving the area of intervention a discrete boundary as Figure 8 indicates:

Figure 8.1: A Map of Noel Park

142
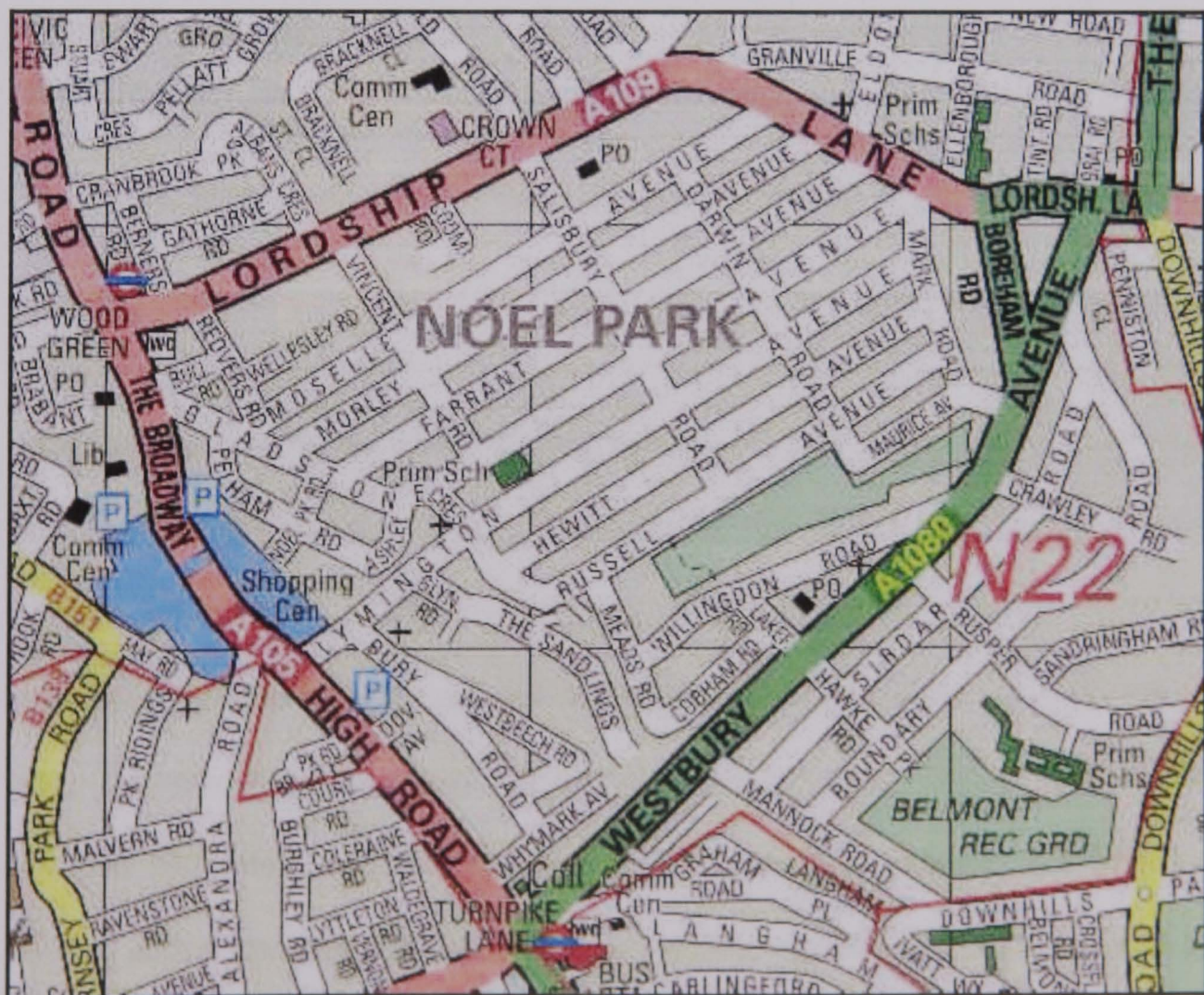
This area was situated in the heart of Wood Green and covered the majority, but not the totality, of the Noel Park electoral ward. It was well served by transport links, having both Wood Green underground station at the top of the area and Turnpike Lane at the other end. In addition, its proximity to the Shopping Centre ensured a steady supply of buses along the High Road towards Finsbury Park and Westbury Road towards Tottenham Hale. The shopping centre itself crossed over the High Road but was a busy and thriving shopping centre with a department store and several major retailers. Indeed it was noticeable at the time of the research that new restaurants and shops were opening up around the Wood Green area including the "Chocolate Factory" development which had brought a renowned chef's restaurant to the locality.

The majority of housing within this area was built at the turn of the century by the London Artisans and General Dwelling Company, a social housing charity, and the estate opened in 1884. There were three different styles of housing corresponding to skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers, each with different embellishments such as turrets, intricate brickwork and patterned tiling. In 1966 this housing was turned over to the local authority and to the present day the majority of the stock of approximately 2,000 houses remains in local authority ownership with the rest having been purchased under the "right to buy" scheme. Thus the majority of residents were council tenants with only a small owner-occupier population. Much of the stock was in very poor condition. In 1970 the council added "extension pods" (mostly lavatories) to the houses but since then no major repair work had been conducted. The 1999 Haringey Stock Survey showed

many of the dwellings did not have central heating, which had previously only been installed for those in medical need. In particular the cottages at the Boreham Road and north end of the estate, which were originally built for manual workers, were in a very poor condition (Haringey Council 2001). The Haringey Housing Managers report 2002 also showed the estate had the highest number of nuisance complaints of any of the council run estates in Haringey and vandalism and rubbish were endemic (Haringey Council 2003).

Using the 2000 IMD scale Noel Park was rated as the seventh most deprived ward within the borough, but at the time the council recognised in its Neighbourhood Renewal strategy that deprivation within the Noel Park estate itself was much higher (Haringey Council 2002b). This has subsequently been revealed to be true by the IMD indices for 2004 and is reflected in the maps reproduced in the annexe to this chapter. As well as producing a composite measure of overall deprivation, Figure 8.2 below reproduces the differing scores the eight SOAs within Noel Park gained on the individual measures of deprivation such as the healthcare or employment scores (ODPM 2004). This shows how Noel Park had some of the highest levels of child poverty and crime in the country, with some SOAs being in the top 100 areas nationally. All the SOA areas include some part of the estate, but areas six and seven were predominantly the area covering the High Street and the non-estate area of the electoral ward.

Figure 8.2: 2004 IMD Scores for Noel Park Super Output Areas

SOA Number	Overall 2004 IMD Rank	Rank Of Income Score	Rank Of Employment Score	Rank Of Health Deprivation And Disability Score	Rank Of Education Skills And Training Score	Rank Of Barriers To Housing And Services Score	Rank Of Crime And Disorder Score	Rank Of Living Environment Score	Rank Of Child Poverty Score	Rank Of Older People's Poverty Score
1	802	506	1305	2699	6453	698	3114	5834	74	2440
2	5372	3803	7892	7305	13596	2200	4569	6791	3077	1148
3	5873	4493	7875	6635	16641	2577	8210	4206	2930	4307
4	527	454	2053	918	7196	481	1232	3435	22	640
5	6402	6308	10328	7417	15605	1252	9750	2861	1556	5170
6	3402	3818	9273	8006	14648	1149	67	2148	1161	1424
7	2783	2110	4405	4711	12810	2411	11274	300	2077	1850
8	3916	2619	5805	8332	10761	2726	4730	2772	1547	4499

Source : ODPM 2004

Physically the estate itself was characterised by streets which were laid out in a grid with wide roads and trees along both sides. There was a controlled parking zone in force around the area and it was also subject to a conservation order. It was a primarily residential area with few amenities within the actual neighbourhood. At the time of the research there were two small parades of shops, some of which were owned by the council, on Vincent Road and Farrant Avenue

leading onto Lordship Lane but these were run down and under occupied. Although the original builders on the estate did not intend for alcohol to be available to the residents there was also an off license on Lymington Avenue. Furthermore, whilst no public houses were built on the original estate there was one on the corner of Westury Road and Lakefield Road at the time of my fieldwork. There was a large park within the estate, variously called Noel Park or Russell Park, which also contained a children's play centre. The children's play centre was open every day until 6.30pm including a popular after school club and during the research period there was the subject of tentative plans for refurbishment as a centre for community activity.

There are two churches in the area St Marks (Church of England) on Lymington Avenue and the Westbury Baptist Church on the corner of Westbury Road and Willingdon Road. St Marks has a church hall which was not substantially used by the local community and was in need of repair at the time of the research. They also owned the Noel Park Community Centre on the corner of Gladstone Avenue and Darwin Road. This was a listed building which was privately run by a small group of residents as a small social club. At the time of the research this club had closed and plans had been made for the building to become the offices of SureStart and the neighbourhood wardens in the area although this did not take place during the course of the fieldwork. There was also a Salvation Army Hall on Lymington Avenue which was quite modern and well used by community groups including the Neighbourhood Forum. There were no health facilities on the estate itself but there were two small doctors' surgeries on the Westbury Road and a large Health Centre on Stuart Crescent which was opposite

the Wood Green Civic Centre on the High Road and around twenty minutes walk from the heart of the estate itself.

There is only one school within the estate borders, the Noel Park Primary School which was a three form entry community school. A 2002 OFSTED report showed it to have "serious weaknesses" and the school was re-inspected in March 2005 (OFSTED 2005). This latest report revealed 90% of the pupils to be from ethnic minority or traveller communities, forty two differing languages were spoken within the school and 20% of the children were at an early stage of learning English. 27.3% of the pupils had special needs and eleven were statemented for special needs provision, a proportion much higher than in other primary schools. The report stated that 50% of children were in receipt of free school meals. However, the 2005 report also showed that substantial improvement had been made by the school during the previous three years with many parents acknowledging this to be the case. It also reports that for the same time period the national schools results for the Year 6 children (age eleven) were in the lowest 5% in the country, there was a high turnover of staff and the school had a persistent problem with absences. There were no secondary schools within walking distance of the estate. They were all at least a bus ride away with the closest being White Hart Lane Secondary.

Noel Park was a very ethnically diverse ward which was reflected in the 2001 census data. Those who worked on the estate identified several substantial black and minority ethnic groups within the area including Turkish, East European and North African communities. This is reflected in the census data presented in Figure 8.3.

Figure 8.3: Ethnicity of Residents of Noel Park in 2001

	Ethnic Group	Total Population	Percentage of Noel Park Population
White	White	4,331	37.8
	Irish	541	4.7
	Other White	2,147	18.7
Mixed	White & Black Caribbean	187	1.6
	White & Black African	94	0.8
	White & Asian	118	1.0
	Other Mixed	112	1.0
Asian	Indian	478	4.2
	Pakistani	178	1.6
	Bangladeshi	304	2.7
	Other Asian	226	2.0
Black	Caribbean	1,188	10.4
	African	991	8.6
	Other Black	184	1.6
Other	Chinese	222	1.9
	Other Ethnic Group	171	1.5

Source : ONS 2001b

The census also showed Noel Park to have a young population, with a quarter of all residents being aged between thirty and forty-four years old and 47% of residents being aged under thirty years. 10.6% of households were pensioners and that nearly a third of all households had dependent children. Of these, 11.5% were lone parents.

Within the estate boundaries there were two modern additions - the first was the Sandlings Estate which was built in 1974–75. This was a block of 225 flats built on a previously unused piece of land on the edge of the artisan's estate. A self contained block it also housed "The Sandbunker", a community centre, and a housing repair office. The Sandlings was also used for a Neighbourhood Forum meeting and the estate had a very active tenants and residents association. Vincent

148

Square was a smaller development built in the 1950s on Vincent Road containing fifty -six flats. Vincent Square also had an active residents association. There were also 250 prefabricated bungalows on various sites throughout the estate which were built at times of excessive demand for housing and which were still used despite the council's intention to replace these with permanent housing. One site backed onto the Sandlings estate and the other was behind the Shopping Centre.

On the edges of the Noel Park estate were two areas of housing association development. The first were flats above the portion of the Wood Green Shopping Centre which backed onto the estate. In addition to this at the time of the research another housing association was developing land behind the cinema at the top of the estate on Gladstone Avenue which was previously covered by Artisan Housing of poor quality. The Noel Park ward elected three Labour councillors in 2002 on a turnout of 23.1%. It was part of the Hornsey and Wood Green parliamentary constituency and during the 2005 turnout at the three polling districts within the estate was 52.2%, 45.7% and 53.1%.

Noel Park neighbourhood management project started in Spring 1999, funded through NRF. There is no large scale funding program for the overall project beyond the neighbourhood manager and a team of neighbourhood wardens who are based at the Wood Green Civic offices above the Library on the High Road. However SureStart Noel Park, a "wave 5" scheme, began in 2002 in the area and was, at the time of the research, pooling resources with the Neighbourhood Team to some extent including sharing office space. The Neighbourhood Manager had also managed to gain funding for a project related to employment training which was due to begin in 2004 and the team had recently

been joined by a youth worker. The stated overall aims of the Neighbourhood Management programme for Noel Park at the time the research took place were:

- Consolidate and develop neighbourhood and street wardens programme part of community development and support

- Establish a Noel Park Partnership Board and a neighbourhood office with a multi-disciplinary team

- Extend the successful work of housing management in working with local residents to prioritise linking up local needs with resources.

- Establish a local learning resource centre

- The development of the utilities lands

- Continue to promote the viability of the town centre and the cultural quarter

In the course of the research I used three of the neighbourhood renewal projects as examples. The first was the street warden scheme. Similar to neighbourhood wardens, their role was described by the Government as:

"a uniformed semi-official presence in residential areas of any tenure mix, with the aim of improving the environment, quality of life and safety. They work closely with the police and local authorities to tackle deprivation and anti-social behaviour at a grass roots level. They may promote community safety, assist with environmental or housing improvements or help with neighbourhood management." (ODPM 2005b)

National funding has been provided by the Office of the Deputy Prime minister for local schemes. This has been prioritised for deprived areas and wardens operated in several areas in Haringey, wearing a distinctive blue uniform. The second scheme was SureStart. SureStart is also a national programme which is described by the Government as "aiming to achieve better outcomes for children, parents and communities" (SureStart 2005). This is done through increasing the availability of childcare, emotional and developmental support for children and encouraging parents to return to work. At a local level funding for these objectives have been prioritised for areas with high levels of deprivation, with a view to the scheme eventually covering England. :

The third project I described to residents was the proposal for a scheme to tackle unemployment in the area. At the time of the research, the Council had commissioned a researcher to conduct a study into the main causes of unemployment which was discussed at the Neighbourhood Forum. This project was due to be run using the Objective 2 European Funding and at the time of the research the forum was looking for residents to participate in a steering group for this work.

In 2003, at the time of the research, the achievements of the programme were mixed. A Neighbourhood Forum, the Noel Park Initiative (NPI), had been established to encourage residents to take part in the programme and was meeting on a bi-monthly basis. This was overseeing work agreed at an earlier public meeting which had identified four priority areas - healthcare facilities, environmental management, young persons and the elderly. There were four neighbourhood wardens active in the Noel Park area including one supervisor who

had been on the estate for eighteen months. However, both they and the SureStart project were struggling to find a base on the estate itself for their activities. At the time of the research no further work had been agreed aside from the decision to look at employment on the estate although the NPI was also discussing how to push for improvements to the local park.

This chapter has given a quantitative analysis of the deprivation within Haringey and Noel Park. In the detail of deprivation which pervades the Noel Park estate this chapter reveals the estate to match with the description of social exclusion. This analysis shows it to be an area in poor health, low educational attainment and poverty co exist in substantial quantities within the neighbourhood. The subsequent chapters will seek to look behind these statistics to explore the lifeworld that exists within the estate. Thus, the data presented serves as a counterpoint to the psychological context which is the subject of the following chapters.

Indices of Deprivation 2004
Income Domain
Haringey SOAs

Indices of Deprivation 2004
Income Domain

Amongst 5% most deprived SOAs in England
- 5-10% most deprived
- 10-20% most deprived
- 20%+ most deprived

Northumberland Park

Tottenham Hale

White Hart Lane

Bruce Grove

West Green

Tottenham Green

Seven Sisters

St Ann's

Woodside

Noel Park

Harringay

Bounds Green

Hornsey

Stroud Green

Alexandra

Muswell Hill

Crouch End

Fortis Green

Highgate

Source: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister
Produced by Policy, Partnerships & Consultation
Chief Executives' Service, Haringey Council, August 2004

153

Indices of Deprivation 2004
Income Deprivation Affecting Children Index
Haringey SOAs

Indices of Deprivation 2004
Income Deprivation Affecting Children Index

Amongst 5% most deprived SOAs in England
5-10%   most deprived
10-20% most deprived
20%+   most deprived

Northumberland Park
Tottenham Hale
White Hart Lane
Bruce Grove
Tottenham Green
Woodside
West Green
St Ann's
Seven Sisters
Bounds Green
Noel Park
Harringay
Hornsey
Stroud Green
Alexandra
Crouch End
Fortis Green
Muswell Hill
Highgate

Indices of Deprivation 2004
Employment Domain
Haringey SOAs
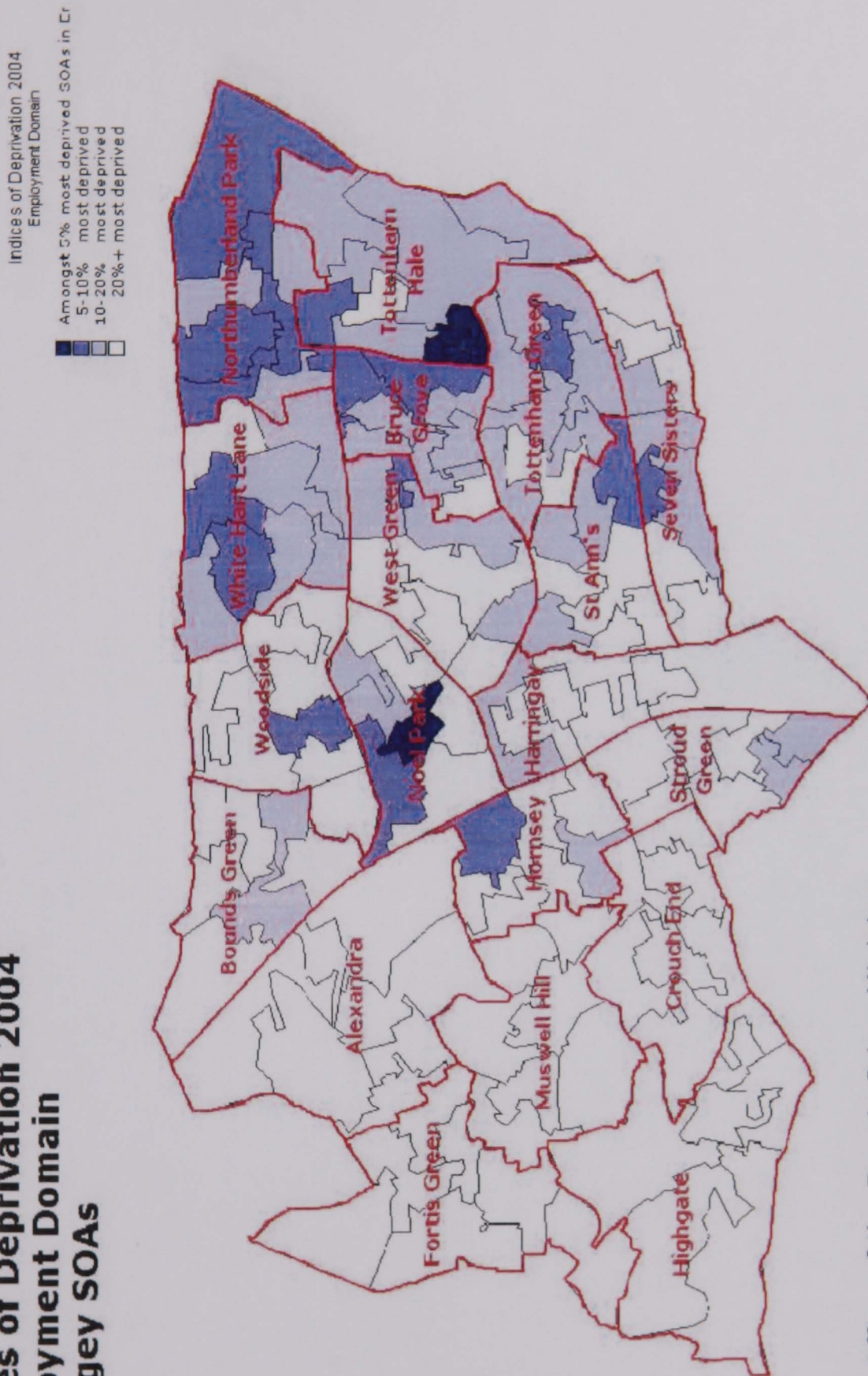
Indices of Deprivation 2004
Employment Domain

Amongst 5% most deprived SOAs in En
5-10%   most deprived
10-20% most deprived
20%+   most deprived

Northumberland Park
Tottenham Hale
Bruce Grove
White Hart Lane
West Green
Tottenham Green
Seven Sisters
St Ann's
Woodside
Noel Park
Haringey
Hornsey
Stroud Green
Bounds Green
Crouch End
Alexandra
Muswell Hill
Fortis Green
Highgate

Source: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister
Produced by Policy, Partnerships & Consultation
Chief Executives' Service, Haringey Council, August 2004

Indices of Deprivation 2004
Rank of IMD
Haringey SOAs

Indices of Deprivation 2004
Rank of IMD

Amongst 5% most deprived SOAs in England
- most deprived
- 5-10% most deprived
- 10-20% most deprived
- 20%+ most deprived

Northumberland Park

Tottenham Hale

Bruce Grove

Tottenham Green

White Hart Lane

Seven Sisters

West Green

St Ann's

Woodside

Noel Park

Harringay

Bounds Green

Hornsey

Stroud Green

Alexandra

Muswell Hill

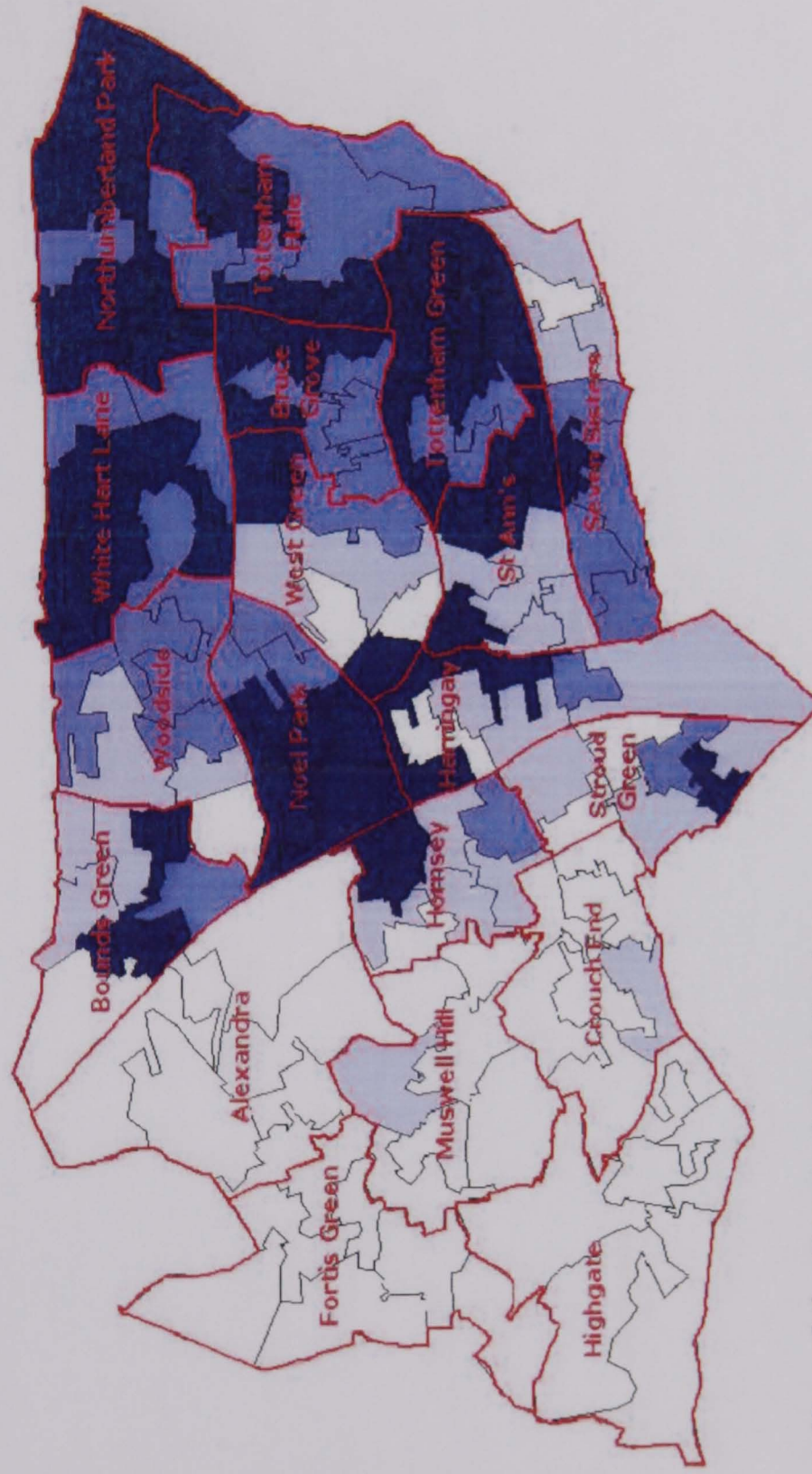Crouch End

Fortis Green

Highgate

Source: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister
Produced by Policy, Partnerships & Consultation
Chief Executives' Service, Haringey Council, August 2004

156
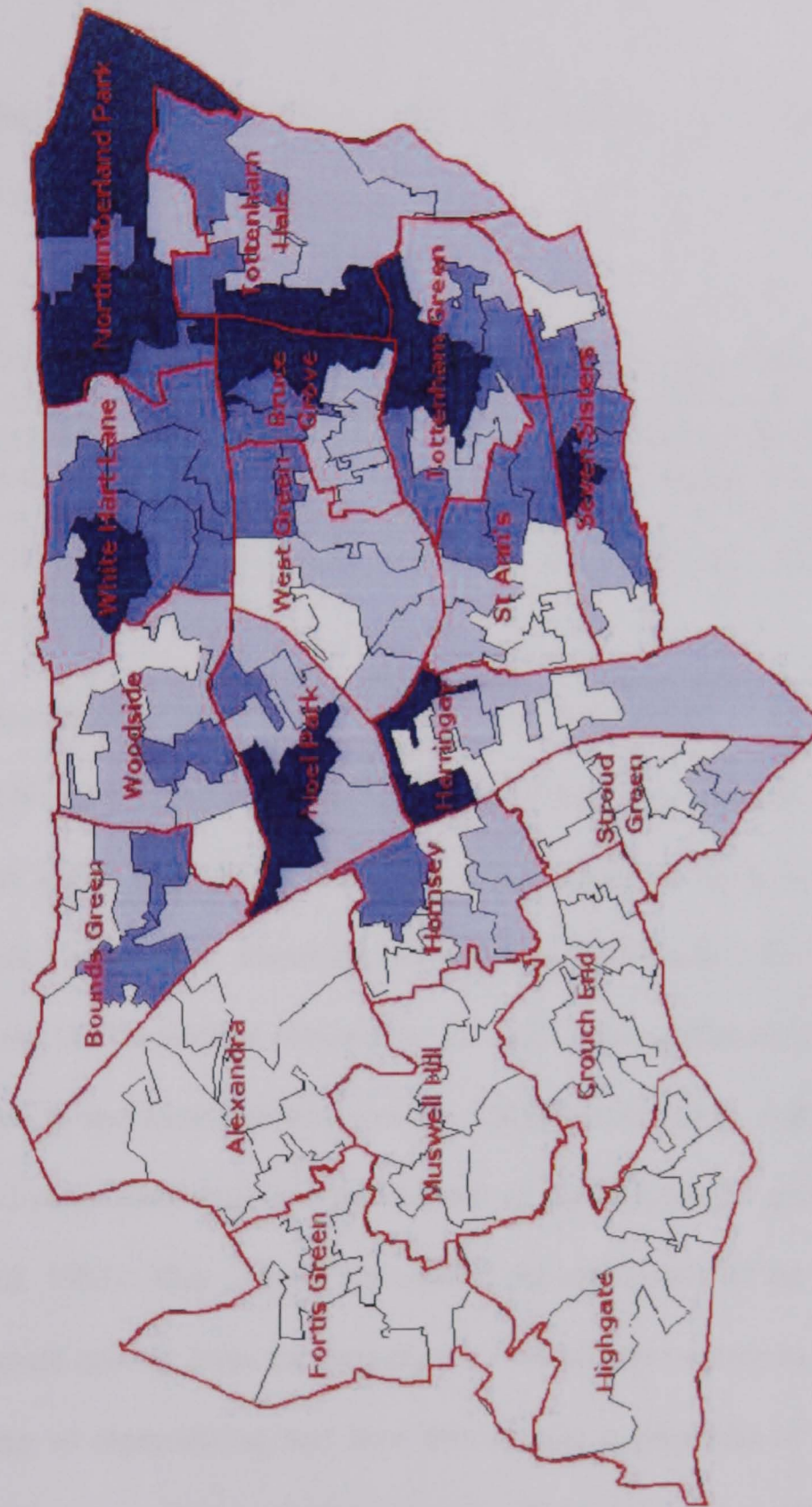
Chapter Five: The Production Process of Social Representations

In their ethnographic study of life in a deprived community in St Anns, Nottingham in the early 1960s Silburn & Coates wrote:

> "just as their environmental and social deprivations affected everyone who lived in the neighbourhood, so somehow, nearly everyone seemed to be caught up in a characteristic and distinctive set of social and political attitudes. This is not to suggest that everyone in a district like St Ann's thinks alike: such a suggestion would be manifestly absurd. But there seems to be a common context or 'atmosphere' from which individual views emerge." (Silburn and Coates 1970: 136-7)

In this description I believe the authors implicitly define the realm of social representations. It is this "common context" or lifeworld which serves as the "cultural stock of knowledge" on which individuals and communities draw in their everyday lives to inform their attitudes, aspirations, identities and activities (Habermas 1986). Chapter Three of this thesis set out the theoretical perspective of social representations and the research methodology I used to operationalise this concept. I highlighted how social representations researchers have distinguished between the content of representations and the process of representing (Spink 1993). This chapter illuminates the discussion of the theoretical and methodological issues arising from the paradigm of social representations because it will explore the process of representing and how this creates a lifeworld or what might be known as common sense. In particular, in this chapter I will outline how social representations in Noel Park are created, maintained and mutated to show how language and communication processes contribute to framing both expectations and experiences. Subsequent chapters will then consider the content of the specific representations which

were circulating on the Noel Park estate and how these were related to the life chances of the residents.

This chapter is in two sections. The first explores the evidence of how social representations were created and circulated within Noel Park. It will show how a "common context" about the estate is shaped by a number of factors including the local and national media, those who work on the estate and most critically the residents themselves. By outlining the collective nature of representing, I will show how social representations exist through communications. As I set out in Chapter Three, it is in the process of representing that individuals can take an active role in defining their own common sense. I discussed the proposition that a person's sense of identity will influence how they interpret the knowledge available to them. The second section of this chapter will explore the evidence within this research for that process. It will illustrate how representations differed between residents, showing how the lifeworld that residents inhabited was not passively accepted but reinterpreted and mutated. Using examples from the research, the second half of this chapter will consider the way in which respondents used representations to construct their own sense of the reality of life in Noel Park, and the role this played in confirming their own sense of identity. This chapter will therefore offer both evidence for how social representations operate in a real world context and an insight into the particular way in which social representations functioned in Noel Park.

The Genesis of Social Representations

In this section I will explore how the information which formed the basis of the social representations residents used was circulated around the estate. It reveals two areas of representational communication. Firstly, drawing on the body of social representational research the interview schedule included questions about the way in which residents used news media communications. Secondly, it became apparent within the course of the research that informal interaction between both residents and gatekeepers was an important source of information and influence for the representations residents held.

The role of the media in the communication and diffusion of social representations has been well documented by several researchers (e.g. Farr 1995: Sommer 1998) Indeed, Sommer stated, "the mass media are regarded as an external memory for society-specific or group specific knowledge" (Sommer 1998: p.187). However, in understanding the representations residents expressed during the research, it became clear that the media was not in itself an adequate explanation because many residents were not regular consumers. Within the survey only thirty-six respondents read a national newspaper on a regular basis and thirty specifically stated they did not read a national newspaper at all. As I will discuss, many residents professed interest in local issues but there was little appetite for local media with only twelve stating they were readers of the local newspaper, the Gazette. However, this may be due to the coverage contained in the local free newspaper which appeared to be delivered regularly to residents across the estate and forty-four residents mentioned "The Haringey Advertiser". Local and national television news fared a little better, with forty-two respondents saying they watched a regular news or current affairs programme.

There was anecdotal evidence of a relationship between media consumption and the attitudes and opinions expressed in the research. In total sixteen residents gave explicit examples of how their knowledge of the local area had been influenced by the media. Below are two typical examples:

Cream 1: There is a lot of refugees round this area. This is a base isn't it. I learnt the other day on the news. A lot of non English speaking people.

And:

Stella: The third scheme is to do with tackling unemployment in this area? Do you think that's a big problem here?
Mauve 2: Yes.
Mauve 2: Wife I don't know, you don't know.
Mauve 2: There's lots of people unemployed.
Mauve 2 Wife: Well how do we know? Who do we know around here that's unemployed?
Mauve 2: Well they tell you that there's that amount of unemployed people here. We don't know anybody, we're told this area's colossal but that's only paper work.
Stella: So that's something you've read in the paper?
Mauve 2 Wife: I don't know nothing about people being unemployed round here.
Mauve 2: It's only one of the highest rated boroughs.
Mauve 2 Wife: Yeah but I mean we don't know anybody round here who's unemployed.
Mauve 2: No but that wasn't the question.
Stella: So you think it may be a problem round here but you don't know anybody?
Mauve 2: It always has been according to the news papers and that. it's always been a problem.

The research revealed differences in interest in the media amongst sections of the community. This suggests that news media was more influential for some groups than others. For example, amongst the respondents homeowners were 3.3 times more likely to

160

read a national newspaper than those who were tenants. Those in employment were 3.2 times more likely to read a national newspaper than those not in work. There was also evidence that of a relationship between interest in local and national news. Amongst participants those who read a national newspaper were three times more likely to read the local free newspaper than those who did not read a national paper.[16]

There was also a divide between the reading patterns of white and non-white residents on the estate. White respondents were 5.3 times more likely than non white residents to read a national newspaper. There was no evidence within the study of a difference between white and non-white residents in the consumption of the local newspaper but white residents were 3.4 times more likely to read the local free newspaper than non-white residents.[17] However, there was evidence to suggest that this did not necessarily reflect interest, but problems with understanding the content of mainstream British media. One respondent described her approach to the media as follows:

Stella: Do you buy a newspaper to read?
Amber 2: No.
Stella: Do you get the free newspaper?
Amber 2: Yes.
Stella: Do you read them?
Amber 2: Not a lot because my English is not very good. I read if there is some event in the area, I use my dictionary.

Several residents, especially those who didn't speak English as a first language, described seeking out news and information from specialist sources e.g. Turkish language newspapers, cable Al-Jeezera television or French language radio stations.

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[16] See Appendix D1 for the contingency tables and Chi Square tests.
[17] See Appendix D1 for the contingency tables and Chi Square tests.

Stella: Where do you learn about news?
Brown 1 (interpreter): She will, I work in library so I will bring Somali newspapers.

Thus, given the difficulties in accessing the local and national mainstream media in alternative languages, caution must be used when considering the implications of the differences in news consumption between different ethnic groups within the study.

Of those that did read a national newspaper or watch national television news regularly, the majority did not see the media as a benign point of information within their lives. Participants often took a critical perspective on the programmes and newspapers available. Several expressed the view that the media was biased or did not present an objective viewpoint:

Lemon 4: I watch any news programme that comes up and I make my own decision afterwards. I don't particularly believe anything that I see or hear because they only let us see and hear what they want us to hear.

And:

Mauve 1: it's not a sensible thing to only read the paper that supports your own political view points. I'm getting a bit too old to produce anything myself, but I'm able to follow the propaganda from Michael Gove at the Times. I firmly believe they are writing what they are told to write.

The critical distance residents took towards reporting in the media did not mean that it was not influential in their attitudes, particularly in relation to local coverage of issues. As this example reflects, even if they did not believe what they read in the papers, residents perceptions were framed by the information they had seen:

162

Stella: What about the council?

Sapphire 3: I haven't had much dealings with them so I can't comment. It seems every time you open the local paper there's some kind of inadequacy. I know that could be true or not be true but I know what I see.

However, the idea of bias or a particular viewpoint to the news and newsprint was not universally considered a problem. Whilst several residents expressed pride in their ability to interpret this bias, a small number of residents explained how they actively sought out news from sources which they considered shared their viewpoint:

Sapphire 3: I tend to listen to the radio. I listen to radio 2. There's a Christian radio station called Premier which I haven't listened to for quite a while but I sometimes listen to that. They have a Christian slant on it which I like.

In explaining what they did watch or read the majority of residents highlighted their interest in local stories about either London or Haringey rather than a particular concern about current affairs *per se*. It was also noticeable that, unlike with the national news media, few residents expressed any concerns about objectivity and the local papers. All residents expressed particular interest in news stories about their local environment:

Ruby 1: I read the free local papers. Occasionally if there was anything of particular interest I would buy a local paper, for instance the ricin incidence.[18]

And:

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[18] At the time the interviewing occurred Wood Green had been the subject of several news stories as a result of terrorism activity in the area and the discovery of the poison ricin in a flat near to the estate.

Cream 1: I listen to everything. I used to make a point of watching London tonight. I like watching London news on BBC1 at 1.30 because it covers the area doesn't it

This concern for local information could also be seen in their consumption of council publications and publicity. For example, several residents mentioned the council magazine "Haringey People" as the reason they had heard of the wardens.

Stella: How do you know about the wardens?
Yellow 2: We get a magazine that comes through from the council.

And:

Stella: How have you heard of them?
Amber 1: Because it has been mentioned definitely in the People. It does say what these wardens will be on the estate.

Overall, local authority literature had a higher profile than the local newspaper amongst the residents. Twelve residents mentioned seeing or receiving a leaflet from Haringey council:

Amber 4 Friend: Oh them wardens?
Amber 4: That's the only thing I've heard of.
Stella: How did you hear about them?
Amber 4: I saw a leaflet through the door, then I saw them walking around.
Amber 4 Friend: I saw one and I tore it up, I don't think they're needed.

As with other forms of media, there was some suggestion that council publications were also biased and one resident commented "the Haringey council magazine that's what comes in and that obviously tells their side of the story" (Green 1).

Whilst Sommer argued "media communication and social representation are dialectically interwoven" (Sommer 1998: p.194), in Noel Park there was only limited evidence of the influence of the media on the representations residents held. This may be in part because the research only focused on the residents' approach towards news media. In his own research, Sommer identified the role of media communications in general and all television programming in particular in framing cultural and social values. Furthermore, it became clear in the research that there was a particular representation about news media which in turn defined consumption. Most of the residents categorised themselves as not particularly interested in "news" and as a result not interested in viewing or reading news media:

> *Stella:* What news on radio or TV do you listen to?
> *Black 1:* I don't make a point of listening to them. If it's there I'll watch it. Positive or good news or something then maybe I will. The last few weeks it's nothing but the war.

This quotation shows how during the time of the research the war in Iraq was also taking place and this can be seen to have influenced interest in news media. For example, sixteen respondents stated that they watched the news or read the papers explicitly for information about the war, often explaining that otherwise they weren't particularly interested in news media:

> *Stella:* Do you read a newspaper?
> *Purple 7:* Not really. Only the Sun and nothing else.
> *Stella:* Do you read the Haringey papers?
> *Purple 7:* No. They send them every Thursday. I don't read paper honestly. Politics is out. I'm just like that you know.
> *Stella:* Do you watch the news on television?

Purple 7: Most of the time I watch the telly. News sometimes I watch it like the war. Normal day I don't watch it.

Yet for others coverage of the conflict in Iraq reflected the depressive nature of news media. Rose 1's views sharply contrasted with those of Purple 7:

Stella: Do you watch any particular news on television?
Rose 1: At the moment no, I prefer not to because it's such a lot about the Gulf and the troubles and they do tend to go on and on and on, but I wouldn't automatically say oh it's 10.00; must watch the news.

A lack of interest in the news because it was depressing was not confined to concern over coverage of the Iraq conflict, and several residents were clear that their disinterest in news and media outlets was based on what they considered to be the relentlessly negative coverage of issues:

Stella: Do you watch any news on TV?
Amber 3: Sometimes, not recently because of the war in Iraq.
Stella: Are there any particular channels you do watch?
Amber 3: Mainly with them [POINTS TO CHILDREN], it's Playhouse Disney or something.
Stella: What about for news?
Amber 3: The news? I don't particularly watch the news. I never think oh it's 6.00 put on the news, it's just bad news. That's why I don't buy newspapers. Someone's been killed and I don't need that start to the day, I can live without it. I don't want to hear about an old lady being punched in the face and that's for 20p or something.

It is difficult to unpick the specific circumstances in which the research took place, namely the conflict in Iraq, from the attitudes expressed about news media and its consumption. However, it was clear that the representations the residents held about news media itself framed their consumption of the content of news media. Indeed, for many respondents, news media was not something they sought out or felt was integral to their lives.

The limited evidence of the role of the local and national news media in determining the representations residents held contrasts with the strong evidence of the impact their interactions with each other had. This reflects the way in which social representations arise out of the "discussions people pursue in making sense of their social lives" (Mckinlay and Potter 1987: p.191). Thirty six respondents described having some form of regular communicative contact with their neighbours, a relationship explored in more detail in Chapter Six, and it was clear that these relationships were often the source of information about life in the area. The example from Green 2 below is typical of the way in which residents used the information they learned from interaction with each other to represent life in Noel Park:

Green 2: I don't use local shops because all the old ones have gone and they're a bit dearer and sometimes they haven't got what you want anyway. I went round on an occasion a little while ago. I wanted suet and they didn't know what I was talking about. I've heard two or three people say they can't get what they are looking for.

Indeed, it was physically possible to watch the diffusion of information about life in Noel Park as I toured the area. During my visits to the area I witnessed residents regularly talking to each other over their front garden fences, and interviewed several residents sitting talking to each other outside their properties. Many residents recounted casual discursive encounters with their neighbours:

Jade 1: It's all very close. All the kids play out here in the afternoons. (NEIGHBOUR'S NAME) got one, three kids in the next one, two kids in the end one, so they all play out here and we all watch them. We stand out here nattering, I'm like an old woman sometimes, I quite like it!

Others were more specific about the kinds of information they received from their shared conversations and forty-seven residents in the study explicitly described how their representations of life in Noel Park were influenced by the views of their neighbours:

Stella: What are the healthcare services like?

Lemon 6: I haven't used any health care services because I haven't been here long enough. but I haven't heard anyone complain about the services.

Stella: What about education, how old are your kids?

Lemon 6: Fourteen, eleven and eight. Unfortunately I haven't heard any good things about Haringey schools. my kids go to (NAMES SCHOOL) in Tottenham and it did have a difficult OFSTED report but it depends on the head teacher and it's turned into a good school. Lots of people were like "oh my god this school's not doing very well." but I had such belief in the teachers because you have to and they've really turned the school round. Every school has the ability to turn itself round.

Stella: What are the council like as a Landlord?

Lemon 6: I've never really been on to Haringey council. I've heard a lot of people complaining that the repairs don't come quick enough or waiting for moves and they take too long.

Stella: What about refuse collection?

Lemon 6: That's quite good, but there's some kind of politics going on. They've got this thing where you have to have your wheelie bin out or they won't take the rubbish. I visit an old lady of eighty-two years old and she can only move one arm, and they don't take her rubbish. I've heard a lot of people say they didn't take the rubbish because it was round the side.

These views also reflect the fact that education services were a particular focus for common discussion. Below is another example of how common sense about education services in Noel Park was created even by those who no longer had direct contact with the education services themselves.

Rose 1: Some of the schools still tend to get a bad reputation. then they get better and then they seem to get bad again. Noel Park was quite good when she went there, it had teething troubles, but now it's gone down hill, but not having any children there now I'm...and of course she went to White Hart Lane. More towards that end they had troubles with different gangs of youths. fighting between various schools. That's the only ones I know of.

Stella: Do you keep in touch with people who've still got children at the Noel Park School?

Rose 1: I know a few of them. yes they tell you about the school going down. Apparently now instead of having a head mistress for the infants and juniors, they have one for the whole section of the school.

There did not seem to be a pattern to what made a neighbour a trusted source of information. Residents from all backgrounds who had lived on the estate for varying lengths of time referred to information gleaned from other residents. Lemon 6 had only been resident on the estate for the relatively short amount of time of four months, although she had lived within Haringey Borough for the previous seven years. Yet like many others she drew on her neighbours' experiences to define life on the estate, even when these contradicted personal experiences. This couple who had lived on the estate for over ten years were discussing healthcare services:

Tan 1: Hospital- our nearest main hospital we've had no complaints have we?
Tan 1 wife: A lot of people have complained about it. They've treated us differently, especially having babies. They seemed to complain about the maternity unit.

It became clear in the course of the research that the transmission of information was part and parcel of the representation of what being a good neighbour was to residents. As Chapter Six will discuss, this was centred on the provision of assistance and support within a locality rather than emotional closeness. Whilst there is nothing to suggest that residents were consciously seeking information about life on the estate from each other, this collective resource of knowledge was clearly valued by other residents. Recognition of this can also be seen in the way in which for some residents being a source of information about the locality was important to them because it gave them a particular position within their community. Purple 1 was particularly active in public life in the area and his interview was peppered with examples of how he was a key part of the local "grapevine" as an acknowledgement of his activity within the local community:

170

Stella: You mention the general grapevine. How does information get around?
Purple 1: Usually just chatting to people. Probably because of my political connections I'll hear bits and pieces, or the council reports back this is being done. I don't read newspapers, I don't often see television news but I hear general national news on the radio. So generally it's from different people I talk to and meetings.

Yet just as residents maintained a critical distance to the news media, so too there was evidence of scepticism amongst residents about the stories they had heard:

Red 3: I'm told there are all these raids in (NAMES ROAD). We're aware of this from the local rag and the freebie papers we get through the door and listening to some local people. I don't listen too hard because there is always exaggeration, but you do get the impression we might be the most crime ridden place in the country! But we don't seem to be doing too bad although that worries me, and policing worries me.
Stella: Who did you hear them from?
Red 3: Locals. I get stopped on the street "did you hear about so and so?" I read it in the local rag.

If there was evidence of scepticism between residents about each other's judgement, there was also evidence of high levels of trust. Several residents in the research gave practical examples of how other residents had determined their interaction with public services:

Stella: Is there a reason you chose a doctor in Palmers Green?
Emerald 2: Not really, just because one of my friends said there was a doctor up there.
Stella: Not because you couldn't find one here?
Emerald 2: No, they said "go to that doctor". So we signed up.

It was also evident that shared discussions with service providers were part of the "grapevine" and so a key part of creating the lifeworld on the estate. Several residents, especially those who had recently moved to the area, mentioned asking for help accessing services and making decisions about service choices by consulting gatekeepers:

Stella: Have you spoken to many people from the council?

Amber 2: No, I have friends and I haven't any time.

Stella: But when you ask for help for services from the council?

Amber 2: I go to the library, for example to look for GP. I go to library, he give me a map and some addresses, I go to the GP. It's the same for schools, but Noel Park School is nearer to me.

It was not possible within the research to differentiate between the influence of gatekeepers and other residents in who originated information, as residents were not always explicit about the source of information they repeated. Furthermore, it was clear that residents and gatekeepers often cross-fertilised the representations each held about the estate. A good example of this was the discussion I witnessed over the course of the research about a healthcare issue. At one of the first SureStart meetings I attended one of the workers mentioned that the Noel Park ward had a particularly low rate of cervical smear testing. I was then witness to the repetition of variations of this information by both the gatekeepers and the residents. Here below was one example of this given by a resident and another given by a gatekeeper.

Grey 1: They're obviously aware there are problems within communities, or a lack of community. Apparently Noel Park is the highest rate of unemployment, the highest women not actually having smears and things like that, which to me is quite important. I can't understand that concept happening.

And:

Gatekeeper 23: I know there is a low up take for some of the screening- I think cervical screening. I think they have a low uptake there and there has been sort of work done across Haringey to improve that uptake .... So I think there is a problem with screening in that area beyond that I'm not sure at the moment.

Given that the majority of gatekeepers did not live on the estate or within close proximity of the area, it is no surprise that they drew heavily on their interaction with residents in describing what they viewed life on the estate to be like in the course of the research. Overall twenty-three of the thirty gatekeepers in the study gave examples of information they had received from their shared conversations with residents.

Gatekeeper 1: Walking around, dealing with obviously anything that comes up whilst you're walking around; speaking to people and the more you speak to people the more they get used to speaking to you - all very useful. Also you might get a bit of information something like that all very useful.

And:

Gatekeeper 25: I'm a visitor and I am just in and out, but from what I hear from residents, education has deteriorated over the last few years. The standards have dropped.

As the information about cervical screening shows, information circulated around residents and gatekeepers and back again. There was no indication within the research as to whether particular gatekeepers were considered more trusted sources of information than others, although there was a level of scepticism expressed about interaction with councillors and council officers. This issue is covered in more detail in Chapter Seven in the discussion of the representation of the council.

However, despite this scepticism, this did not appear to make any difference in whether information gleaned from these discussions was repeated or influential. It did appear that regular contact with gatekeepers, rather than their job, made them more influential and this was especially true for those residents who were active within the local community. Several of these residents spoke of how repeated contact with particular gatekeepers offered them access to local information and had made them develop close, informative relationships:

Ruby 1: She's become like a friend. We will phone each other up and chat about how things are going on the estate.

Whilst the above discussion has teased out the differing ways information is spread about life on Noel Park it is important to note that residents did not have any one source of information. In the course of the research interviews, only a minority of residents mentioned one source of information and most residents critically engaged with a range of sources of information and for differing purposes, as this example shows:

Blue 3: It's no different to any other area. It's been in the papers a couple of times, gangs and stuff running around here that's all gone. It's a normal place that's had a bit of bother in the paper but everywhere gets that.

Stella: What horror stories you've heard from people?
Blue 3: People getting stabbed. I heard about crime happening in Noel Park-that's just round here.
Stella: Where did you hear that?
Blue 3: The papers and my parent and my friends told me. They take the piss sometimes. When it happens in their areas I take the piss back. It happens everywhere you can't help it.

This section of the discussion has shown how information is brought into the estate and circulated and helps build up a stock of representations about Noel Park within the lifeworld in which the residents participated. It is this process of communication which creates common sense as in their everyday interactions and activities residents were sharing and imbibing information about their estate which they then used to understand life in the area. It is important to stress that this evidence does not imply that all residents thought the same way. Rather, it shows how residents were able to tap into a "common context" about life in their locality and at the same time contribute to that knowledge.

Social Representations in Action

The discussion so far has centred on the processes of information dissemination which create the "common context" that residents were able to draw on in defining life in Noel Park. Yet I believe the use of a social representation perspective lies not only in understanding their presence but also in helping us understand the way in which they are used. In Chapter Three I referred to the debates around whether representations take the particular form that they do as part of a narrative or as a social identity. This second section looks at different examples from the research of how residents and gatekeepers re-presented knowledge they had gleaned from their interactions within Noel Park. Having shown how

the same social representations underpin the ideas expressed, I will then consider what the differing expression of these representations reveals. Building on the work of Breakwell (1983: 1993) presented in Chapter Three, I will look at how individual and community identities are developed and maintained through using social representations. Ultimately, this section will show how, despite differences in interpretation, these examples reveal that representations create an underlying "common context" for everyday life on the estate.

One of the most tangible examples of the representation process I came across during my research was the way in which I learnt about a stabbing on the estate that had taken place some months earlier. Within the study eleven residents and six gatekeepers referred to the incident although it did not in any way form part of the interview schedule. The event received coverage in the local media, and several of the gatekeepers were involved in activities around the aftermath including a petition for a youth club. Both residents and gatekeepers drew on the incident and their knowledge of its repercussions to illustrate their own feelings about the estate as a whole. Therefore the event which occurred in the year prior to the research study had been anchored into narratives which respondents used to understand their everyday life within Noel Park. Consequently, the event itself was now objectified within a wider discourse about the estate so that discussion of the stabbing was not just the repetition of factual knowledge about a violent act in the area but reflected a number of other representations. Thus, for a number of residents it indicated how the area was deteriorating. An example of this was Blue 1 who had grown up in Haringey and spent much of his interview discussing the changes he had seen as a result.

Blue 1: It's not how it used to be when I was a kid in the '60s. People was more happier and jollier and they spoke to one another but strangers are scared

now... Up the road somebody got stabbed. There was one who got shot, a bloke pulled a gun and shot him, but I suppose this happens all over the world now.

Yet other residents saw the event in a different light. Sapphire 1 chose to use the event to emphasise the strong social networks and sense of community which she felt existed on Noel Park amongst longstanding residents. She then used her interpretation of the stabbing to illustrate the problems caused by newer, unknown people moving into the estate:

Sapphire 1: It was quite well known round here. The whole estate would have known about it.
Stella: Was there any particular reason for that?
Sapphire 1: Word of mouth, and the boy was born and bred round here. His mum lived on this estate; there was this massive funeral so a lot of people from the estate followed the funeral, very sad.
[...]
Sapphire 1: It's a real shame. It's gone down hill.
Stella: Do you think there's a reason for that?
Sapphire 1: Just the people that have moved in to the area. I'm not being horrible, but the people who've lived here all their life move out, and the new people haven't got morals. I don't want to sound judgmental but it's a shame that you're born and bred in an area and you're forced to leave.

However, another resident used it to illustrate her relative happiness at living on the estate, describing herself as unconcerned by the event. Emerald 2 was keen to stress how positive she was about living in Noel Park and used the knowledge she had of the stabbing to reiterate this point.

Emerald 2: There has been shootings in the Wood Green Tavern. These things happen once in a while. Those things are between people with a nightlife but I don't really have that so what can I do?! There was one person killed on the other street last year, but it hasn't changed my view. How I see it, it just happened so it's alright.
Stella: In general you think this area is ok?
Emerald 2: It's good. I'm happy with it. I don't feel threatened at all. I can walk down the street calmly.

177

The discussion of the incident by gatekeepers also showed how they had objectified the stabbing. Two mentioned the incident in passing as an exception to their description of the difference the work their organisations were making to the estate. In contrast, the rest used it to illustrate that crime was part and parcel of the estate and the difficulties they faced in their working environment:

> *Gatekeeper 12:* It's a reasonable place to live. It's an inner London area, and you know there was a stabbing last year of some young boy and they've never found the killers and that's sort of always echoes round in the papers and that. So it's got a nasty side to it as well.

The different nuances put on the incident do not detract from the similarities in the stories repeated back to me during the course of the interviews about the stabbing itself. Thus, just as the actual incident itself was significant to residents and gatekeepers, so too was what it represented to them about the area. The stabbing had come to have a status as a big event in the recent history of the estate, but each respondent had their own specific understanding as to why that was the case. In addition, the differing re-presentations of the event and its aftermath contributed to the wider discourse residents and gatekeepers had about their own role in the estate. Here there was evidence to support Breakwell's contention discussed in Chapter Three that personal and social identity factors play a key role in the representation process. Thus for Sapphire 1 it spoke to her identity as part of a diminishing group of people who had grown up on the estate. For Gatekeeper 18 it was important to view the problems of the estate as surmountable so that her own role was valuable.

Gatekeeper 18: I've said before I think it's a good area. I think once we are able to target the right people- which is what we are talking about. Noel Park has a high proportion of gun crime and I only know about one incident and the stabbing that happened, as I said. But it's a good area and I think as long as we are able to work together between the different departments and the rest of the council we will make a change.

Whilst the stabbing and its reinterpretation was a specific event, the same processes were also evident across discussions of other facets of life on the estate. For example, some residents had mixed emotions about living in a conservation area estate. Lemon 6 described how this symbolised that the estate was community focused and safe.

Lemon 6: I must have read it in the paper. I just can't remember, or perhaps there was a leaflet that this was a conservation area. I knew it was quite a trusty, cultural heritage area.

Whilst Lemon 6 believed the estate still to have a strong sense of community, for Gatekeeper 16 the conservation area status evoked a sense of bygone greatness for the estate. Instead, to her the conservation status revealed the worth of the estate in spite of the other problems she described:

Gatekeeper 16: It is a conservation area you see, so we've got- it's actually a very pretty area. The housing is very pretty, although some of it very, very, tiny, very small and petite by modern standards. But its very nice architectural features and the way its laid out is very pretty, so we felt , most of us felt that, you know, it just needed a bit of attention to be turned into something like it used to be. I mean the older people on the estate they tell you how much they love. I mean they just totally are committed to it. They just love living there, being close to the shops but actually in a village atmosphere, so we're gradually bringing that back.

But another resident dismissed the conservation area status as a barrier to progress for the area. Blue 1 felt it reflected a lack of investment in the people who lived in the area:

Stella: What do you think of living here? You said it had gone down a bit?
Blue 1: Well it's cos they're very old houses. It doesn't make you feel that chirpy. I mean. you're young and you look at them and what do you think? I mean they are very old, Victorian type aren't they? They're alright. I suppose they do us. We're ordinary people - we're not well off.

The way in which Blue 1 felt the quality of the housing reflected back onto him personally was an explicit example of how the residents' own sense of identity was influenced by their perception of the estate itself. Here the different ways in which residents responded speak to the way in which they identified themselves within Noel Park. Thus the status of the estate as a conservation area generates different responses in different people depending on how they use this to express their own sense of identity. Taken together, these examples support Breakwell's claim that representations are a "badge of identity". Here we can see all the residents tell a story about their own identity using the same piece of information but to greatly differing effects.

Furthermore. the discussion of the stabbing can be seen as not just an example of how respondents in the study assimilated new information into their world but also how respondents used that new information to sustain their sense of identity. So too the process of story-telling and identity formation in practise can be seen in the way the residents describe their sense of the neglect of the estate. This sense of neglect is discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven, but it was clear that it also influenced the resident's sense of identity. The representation of Noel Park as an unsafe place was viewed by the majority of residents as the common sense about the area and so taken for granted by many as a fact rather than an image of the estate. Here, Green 2 used her representations about the levels

of crime on the estate to fill in the gaps in her knowledge about an incident she had heard of

from her neighbours.

> *Green 2:* Of course you worry, there was a young girl mugged the other night
> coming along here. She was followed from the tube.
> *Stella:* How did you hear about that?
> *Green 2:* Neighbours.
> *Stella:* Was she a local girl?
> *Green 2:* She was, obviously going home from work, about 6.00 at night.

Residents described how their sense of community came from this shared story of concern

for their locality as illustrated by the following example:

> *Brown 3:* Overall the neighbours are very friendly nice people and very
> concerned about crime or if anything happened. It's like a village, especially
> this section.

The power of social representations to form communities and communal feeling

comes from their ability to tell a story (Halbwachs 1925). In this case we can see it is about

who the resident is individually and, in turn, who their neighbours are. Furthermore, social

representations theory posits that differences in interpretation or explanation of something

such as the stabbing are not necessarily clashes of differing identities. As Chapter Three

discussed, Moscovici introduced the concept of cognitive polyphasia to explain seemingly

irrational thought processes. In particular it accounts for how groups are able to

accommodate substantial differences in representations amongst members without this

being a cause for concern or social disunity. This research offers much to support the work

of Howarth (2001) discussed in Chapter Three on the sense of community at a local level.

This research suggests that the critical factor in explaining a sense of community or shared

identity may not be a precise unity but a general sense of shared concerns about the problems on the estate – a theme I will explore in more detail in the next chapter.

This issue raises the question of how strong a sense of having something in common is to different residents. Indeed, in her critiques of social representations Breakwell (1983) has argued that more work needs to be done to understand what level of consensus about needs to be attained amongst group members for a social representation to be said to be shared. Certainly, the extent to which their viewpoints were shared was something many residents drew on in explaining issues around the estate. When a representation was queried as part of the interview process, most residents responded by locating the truth and authenticity of their representation in its popularity. In doing so, they locate themselves as part of a particular geographically situated identity, as this example from Red 1 shows:

Stella: You think most people feel the same as you about it?
Red 1: I do. People are always saying it's getting terrible round here.

This reflects the way in which the potency of a representation can come not just from being continually discussed. Some common sense ideas are seen as so obvious as to be uncontestable and almost an invisible part of everyday life (Ichheiser 1949). So too it is important to note that a respondent did not have to agree with the perception that the estate was unsafe for it to be influential in their thinking. As Chapter Seven will explore, this representation dominated discussion of the estate for the majority of residents yet it was not uncontested. A minority of residents questioned the fears of other residents about safety and in doing so acknowledged the pervasiveness of this representation:

Stella: Is it safe here?
Lemon 8: Yeah no one has troubled me as such. I've heard there is trouble round here but I haven't seen it for myself or been involved.

Others attempted to distance the estate, and so themselves and their social group, from the manifestations of the neglect of the estate such as the high levels of crime and poor street cleanliness. Four residents made a point of arguing that crime on the estate was not perpetrated by local residents but outsiders:

Amber 4: People come from all over London and come round here and do crime then blame the people who live here. I don't want to call any names but people come from all over.

In addition, three residents in one of the blocks of flats within the Noel Park area were emphatic that crime within their flats was carried out by outsiders from other roads in the Noel Park estate. To support this they recounted a recent tenants meeting which had revealed that a spate of vandalism within their block had been committed by some children who lived on the main Noel Park site. Thus in challenging the representation of the estate as an unsafe place the residents were challenging the identification of Noel Park residents, and ultimately themselves, as unsafe. In doing so, this shows how representations can often be challenged, especially by those who feel threatened by their content. The capacity to both challenge as well as to consume representations reflects the way in which the process of representing offers individuals and groups an important way of pushing for social change.

This capacity was revealed in the way in which residents within the estate sought to distinguish between themselves and those they considered responsible for the negative aspects of the estate. Identity formation is not solely about defining who an individual or

group is, but also who they are not. Breakwell (1993) has also argued for greater work to be done analyzing the power relationships which representations replicate, as dominant groups seek to utilize their power to define others in negative terms in comparison to their own identities. The link between challenging representations and identity processes will be discussed in the next chapter in more detail. In particular this wills how these processes related to the representation of council tenants and refugees and the impact this had on the social structures of the estate. However, there was also evidence of how respondents used social representations to classify those they saw as different to them in negative ways within society as a whole. For example when asked about work being done to tackle unemployment on the estate, 70% of those who were in employment in the study stressed the character failings of those not in employment:

Ruby 2: A lot of people say "why should we go out to work? We're better off on the dole? It has to stop.
Stella: Do you think that's how the unemployed feel?
Ruby 2: I can't say because I've never asked them, but if you look at a cross section, that's how people see it.

This reflects the critical relationship at the heart of identity formation whereby a person, place or event is understood by what it is not or what it is like. Social representations offer the individual and the group a range of ideas, values and actions which help in that process. Thus, Ruby 2 drew upon a representation of unemployment which positively reinforced her sense of identity; throughout her interview Ruby 2 was keen to stress her work ethic as a contrast to those who did not work on the estate. Here another respondent in the survey who had recently been unemployed reinforced the positive contribution he made to the local community by reference to the negative contribution he felt refugees made. Both he

and his wife linked a number of images about employment and asylum together to explain

that his approach to being unemployed was different:

> *Tan 1:* There's guys I know that will sign on the dole and they've still got paint
> under their nails from the painting and decorating job they've been doing.
> There is a lot of it going on. A lot of the Albanians, the Turks and the Kurds,
> there's a lot more in the area.
> *Tan 1 wife:* I just thought of something. A lot of parents I've seen recently that
> have come from supposedly persecuted because they are here as refugees, are
> going back to their own country on holiday. We can't afford to go on holiday,
> they come here and get everything free.

The way in which these respondents mixed together a number of representations in

their discussions reflects one of the limitations of social representational research in the real

world. As Howarth's work in Brixton demonstrates, understanding the many complex

social interactions which define identities within modernity is almost impossible and it is

likely in a cosmopolitan city such as London that there are any number of competing

identities and representations which residents utilize. As Breakwell wrote:

> "the major problem in explaining, still predicting, individual action in any
> particular situation lies in the fact that the person will be characterised by
> several social identities and their attendant social representational baggage at
> the time" (Breakwell 1993: p.16).

However, acknowledging the complexity of the representational process does not diminish

the insights derived from investigating how those representations are geographically

located. Howarth argued that:

"identification and re-presentation can be seen as different sides of the same coin. They are the delicately intertwined processes of one's collaborative struggle to understand, and so construct, the world and one's position within it" (Howarth 2002: p.159).

This research thus focuses on how that collaborative struggle is influenced by the geographical context in which it takes place as a critical. but not exclusive, background to the lifeworld of the respondents.

This chapter has shown the social representational process in action in Noel Park. In doing so it starkly reveals how influential gossip can be. In contrast with other social representational research it shows that for many residents in Noel Park their consumption of most forms of news media was minimal. This chapter has also revealed how many residents often discussed their locality with both neighbours and gatekeepers. Time and time again neighbours were given as an example of a trustworthy source, in contrast to the skepticism about the trustworthiness of the news media, and it was clear that respondents discussed with neighbours their shared interest i.e. the locality. This is not to suggest that the primary or conscious purpose of social interaction with neighbours was to collect information, but it does reveal how important social interaction is to the formation of representations amongst individuals and groups.

These representations then helped residents to make sense of everyday life, whether in helping them to identify who they were or who their neighbours were or how to respond to public services. The second section of this chapter has shown how understanding the nuances of the representation process can help us understand the particular identities individuals and groups build for themselves and others. Thus different individuals and

groups re-interpreted events such as the stabbing in ways which reinforced their sense of identity.

It should not be presumed that all representational activity was undertaken explicitly with identity in mind, but there is evidence that the way in which representations were used by residents reflected their particular conception of themselves. A social representations analysis can help us to understand building blocks of these identities, and concomitant ideas, practises or symbols, but it cannot necessarily predict them. Having set out how representations are used by individuals within the estate, the following chapters will look at these building blocks to see how they formed the common sense about community and the public realm in Noel Park. I will show how understanding where individual and community knowledge overlap to form a "common context" can help in understanding the phenomenon of social exclusion.

Chapter Six: Good Neighbours And Social Cohesion In Noel Park

In the previous chapter I discussed the process of representation and explored how social representations were generated in Noel Park. In the following chapters I will consider the content of these representations and their role in defining the relationships residents had with each other, their environment and those who worked in the area. This chapter is concerned the first of those topics; the resident's perception of each other and the impact this had on their life chances. It will therefore primarily offer insights into the debates around social cohesion and social capital detailed in Chapter Two.

The previous chapter explored how social relationships between neighbours were highly influential in forming social representations on Noel Park. Now I will look at this in more detail to show how these representations were used by residents to help them understand the estate and their neighbours. The chapter is divided into two parts: the first section will explore what representations of "community" and "neighbour" exist amongst residents. This will show how notions of community spirit or being a good neighbour are not about becoming good friends and socialising. Rather, it will reveal how residents have an ambivalent relationship with their neighbours, wanting them to be a resource of good behaviour and assistance but also to be distant and unobtrusive. In common with the national research into active citizenship and this representation of good neighbourliness, the study revealed that residents in Noel Park were offering each other high levels of both informal and formal support. In their discussion of this support and their attitudes towards community activism, I will show how residents defined community at a local level through informal private networks of support. In contrast, they were dismissive of civic structures which were related to the public realm.

Having identified the social representations of community and neighbour which underpin relations on the estate, the second half of the chapter will look more closely at the question of community cohesion and social relations. Challenging any misconception that residents view all their neighbours equally, this section will look at how factors such as ethnicity and proximity shape the social and cultural norms of interaction on the estate. The analysis will show how these factors reflect not only differing representations residents held about their neighbours but also their own identities and so ultimately how residents perceived their own place in the estate.

Representations of Community and Neighbourliness

Within both expert and lay discussion a range of interpretations of community exist (Howarth 2001: Hoggett 1997). The residents were no exception. They used a number of examples and phrases to describe community:

> *Stella:* Do you know many people in your street?
> *Sapphire 3:* That is the good thing about it. It does feel like a street you might
> have had years ago. There is a friendliness there.

Although I did not refer to the term specifically, twenty-eight of the residents alluded to community spirit as a concept and thirteen residents stated it existed on the estate. All of those who talked about community spirit did so as a positive attribute and used it in context to explain the benefits of something they valued. Community mattered to residents whether they felt it existed or not on the estate:

Stella: What do you mean by community spirit?
Purple 8: Everybody used to muck in.

Residents seemed divided over whether or not community spirit existed on the estate. Some residents, particularly the older ones in the study, spoke with nostalgia about a time they felt existed when this spirit was more widespread in the area. Yet it was not clear what made a resident believe community spirit existed on the estate at the time of the research as there was no apparent link within the research between any single factor and this view such as length of residence or ethnicity. Brown 5 who had grown up on the estate stated, "Neighbours aren't like they used to be ", whilst Ruby 2 who had only been living in the area a relatively short amount of time said:

> *Stella:* What does the term neighbourhood renewal means to you?
> *Ruby 2:* It's to get back to the old way, like a community-based thing. I can't see it getting back. Now it's the individuals who have to try because of the bitterness of the individuals and their backgrounds, their restrictions, the feelings, the languages I don't think it can come back to that. There will be a certain element that will get back. For example I'm number [NUMBER] but number 4, number 3, number 5, number 7, 8, 10, 12- I speak to all of them on a regular basis now, whereas prior to last year I didn't. Number 4, new people just come in and they try to talk to people as well, so an element of it is coming but because I am me, because of the job I do, because of the environment I'm in, because of the culture I was brought up in a mixed society in the West Indies with black, white, blue and green, mixed dominations. My neighbours Sierra Lionese, Jamaican, he is Phillipinos, over the road English, the guy next door is Jamaican, it's a cosmopolitan street.
> *Stella:* That's what you see as neighbourhood renewal?
> *Ruby 2:* That's how I look at neighbourhood renewal. When you talk to them you can see if they need help. You find out if there's anything you can do to make them feel better in the area, likewise they will ask you.

If residents were divided over the existence of community, there was a consensus about what made a good neighbour and so what community spirit meant. Despite raising friendliness it was interesting to note that community spirit was not idealised as spending social time together or what could be termed quality time, but rather through specific

190

examples of how residents supported each other. Almost half the residents relayed examples of how they had received assistance from their neighbours:

> *Stella:* Do you know any people on this street?
> *Red 1:* Yes my neighbour here is not well. The people who live next door take my daughter to school for me, they child-mind so we share that. That lady there has just become a grandmother. This block we all know each other. They're good neighbours which is why we don't move.
> *Stella:* What makes a good neighbour to you?
> *Red 1:* If we need a pint of milk, a fiver quickly, or if someone needs a lift, she was sick, just being there for each other, we all help each other.

I was given many examples of relatively simple support activities such as collaborating on the school run, ensuring others' rubbish bins were collected and alerting neighbours if traffic wardens were in the area. There were also more substantial actions - one resident with an alcohol abuse problem (Opal 1) described how his neighbours regularly lent him money to buy food, looked after his children and encouraged him to give up drinking. Another (Red 1) explained how prior to the interview she and another neighbour had been helping an elderly neighbour arrange her social services home help package.

It was clear this informal support was integral to the quality of life on the estate, both in practical terms of assistance to residents and also as a marker of a good neighbourhood. In this way their neighbourly, supportive conduct mirrors national research (Home Office 2003) which reveals a high level of informal and formal supportive behaviour amongst the UK population within their local area. Several residents described the security and stability these support networks gave them, even when they didn't need to call on them:

Purple 1: I actually got mugged at knife point at the top of (NAME) avenue some years ago. But on the whole I feel secure. I mean, I'm now sixty-three, (NAME) my husband is sixty-five and in my head I think, well even if anything happened to my husband I don't think I would want to move apart from the obvious fact that (SON) is just across the way from me. But a couple of doors along is a family and I know that if I was in desperation I would only have to call (NEIGHBOUR). He'd come anywhere if (HUSBAND) was taken ill. I don't drive but we've got a good network of support. (NEIGHBOUR), if I was unwell she would go and get my shopping, (ANOTHER NEIGHBOUR) would always be around so we've got a fairly strong network that look out for each other and you know the other one won't let you down if you need it and I think that's very important.

Several of those who said they felt community was declining bemoaned what they considered to be selfishness in residents:

Purple 2: A lot of the neighbourhood from when I was brought up, a lot of that has gone now from this place. At the same time, if there's any trouble people keep themselves to themselves and do not want to help out, so I suppose the value of that has gone.

As Chapter Seven discusses, residents were less than enthusiastic about their physical environment in Noel Park, but many of those who stated they wanted to stay in the area often mentioned their good neighbours as a reason for doing so:

Emerald 1: Wonderful neighbours in Tottenham, not like neighbourhood watch type people, but a caring aspect, if they were going to the shops they would ask if you wanted anything. Little things like that.
Stella: You don't get that round here?
Emerald 1: No, if you were lying on the floor with a broken hip no-one would give a toss.
Stella: Do you think Tottenham was nicer than here?
Emerald 1: The neighbours were nicer. Where I lived in Tottenham there was a lot of drugs. Life seems to be very orientated that way. There was a crack house at the bottom of my road, but the park was wonderful though- right on the Lea River. We had everything, it was beautiful. You could walk out of an evening without being intimidated because your neighbours knew who you actually were, so there was no intimidation of any kind.

As this quotation shows, residents also indicated the value attached to social relationships by associating negative qualities about living in the area with a lack of community interaction.

Brown 6: They are not friendly. This is my neighbour and when I see them we don't say hello and so many violence happen in this area.

Here, good neighbourliness was also expressed through the examples residents gave of being a bad neighbour. Chapter Seven will discuss how the gatekeepers on the estate felt there was a high level of tension between residents. This was not how the residents described life and very few reported severe problems with their neighbours. One resident who had lived in different sections of the estate described her neighbour's intervention into her family arrangements and the resulting adoption of her children:

Orange 2: I had problems then. There was quite a few people that tried to stick their nose in my business nastily, involving social services. When you think you've got so called "friends" and it turns out that they're not. It was ok once I started seeing the boy's father you know but in between the time that my husband walked out and that time there was a lot of people that were nasty. I would never live there again. Even though a lot of my neighbours I had were actually pretty old and there's young people on the other side but when I lived there it was …I didn't really like it.
Stella: What about when you moved to Orange road?
Orange 1: The people who tried to cause trouble in the Orange were friends with my neighbour opposite. But I talk to her now. I don't hold grudges. I won't talk to those certain people again but I won't let them know it still gets to me.

However, it should not be assumed residents felt interaction with their neighbours was always positive and thirty-four residents reported minor conflicts with their neighbours. On some roads residents who had complained about aspects of other residents' behaviour felt they had been stigmatized:

Ruby 1: I'm stressing this because it really took over our lives. Some of the neighbours started behaving a bit strangely towards us on the estate it would take the form of staring at you when you were going about your business. It might seem a trivial thing but it's quite threatening.
Stella: And that was because you made a stand against it?
Ruby 1: Yeah.

Whilst these were examples of being a bad neighbour, they echo the same representation about what a good neighbour should be. Thus being a good neighbour was not about emotional closeness but about assistance. Conversely, being a bad neighbour was not defined through being unfriendly but being unhelpful or intrusive.

Evidence of the separation of neighbours and friends can be seen in the difference residents perceived between the confidential relationships they held with friends and their

knowledge of their neighbours. In particular, some residents were often very knowledgeable about their neighbours to an extent that belied protestations of reserve:

Mauve 1: There was a Scottish woman who didn't work. She has swapped with somebody in a tower block. She had this fantasy that it would be wonderful to live in a tower block and I miss her very much because she was one of these sort of useful gossips. She knew everything going on in the area, which meant that if there was any trouble brewing you had a couple of days warning. I think that people like that do have a useful function to fill - she certainly did. She told me that there's a tall woman who's got her grandchild but she doesn't work. Wonder whether she's pensionable age? There's an old alky next door who's had an erratic kind of life. The chap above me was telling me a week ago that he's epileptic. He had a van and a car but he seems to have got rid of them, so he might have had a problem with driving. There's an old Greek lady obviously well above retirement age above him. There's a nice black woman in her thirties who works. She had a lot of trouble from the woman above her. Now that looked like a placement from a care home or something and they probably had to take them back in again.

The majority of residents explicitly denied having personal knowledge of neighbours and decried the concept of the nosey neighbour whilst simultaneously revealing they knew substantial personal information about each other. There was no apparent conflict between wanting people to look out for each other but not to be "sticking their noses in". This is a division that I argue is maintained by the distinction made between friends who were supposed to be close and neighbours who were not.

Red 1: Everyone seems to know everyone. None of us are nosey, but we can help each other. When my father passed away literally the whole street was knocking on my door.

Unsurprisingly, no one described themselves as nosey but many were able to point to neighbours they felt were. As one resident commented "I can always find plenty of nosey

neighbours" (Red 3). This distinction was upheld not just in individual interactions, but also as a marker of community spirit because this allowed individuals to lead private lives:

> Ruby 2: It's not what they have in the house or what the house looks like. It's what they have within themselves, to not live within each other's pockets. To be able to have a friendly conversation, where they feel they can chat to you.

Often it was those with the most information to offer about their neighbours who were the most explicit that good neighbours didn't ask personal questions. This sense of keeping oneself to oneself was not confined to any one ethnic group or age group or to those who had lived for any length of time on the estate. Just as Ruby 2 was new to the estate, so Amber 4 had grown up there:

> *Stella:* Are lots of your neighbours unemployed?
> *Amber 4:* Well, probably, but we don't pry into each other's business.
>
> [...]
>
> *Stella:* Do you know many people on those roads?
> *Amber 4 friend:* I do, yeah.
> *Amber 4:* We know everyone round here, but this is our road. We know everyone- that road, this one. All of us we are like a family.

Residents clearly differentiated between their friends and their neighbours. Forty-nine respondents said that they knew their neighbours to speak to but only thirty-five said they had friends in the area[19]. However, these two factors were strongly related. Those residents who said they had friends in the area were 3.6 times more likely to say they knew their neighbours. This does suggest that those relationships were more than passing acquaintances. Indeed, those reporting that they knew their neighbours were 3.7 times more

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[19] N.B. these were not the same people within the study.

likely to give an unprompted example of how neighbours had assisted them.[20] In their

analysis of social representational activity, Gervais et al (1999) argued it was important to

consider what isn't talked about as well as what is discussed. Thus the description of

community and neighbourhood as distinct from friendship was also evident in the absence

of examples of socialising between neighbours. This contrasts with the arguments of those

within the social capital debate that emphasise socialising between people as an indicator of

social trust and so social capital (Temkin and Rohe 1998).

For many residents their neighbours were people they knew, and clearly had some

form of interaction with given the assistance they received from them, yet they were still

strangers. There was therefore a strong sense of community or neighbourliness amongst

many of the residents which was nevertheless explicitly separated from friendliness. This

challenges the concern expressed in Government research about the relationship between

friendship and social networks within a locality which emphasises "informal socialising"

(Home Office 2003: p.70) Instead, it upholds Keller's analysis (1968) of the distinctions

people draw between neighbours and friends, and Richardson and Mumford's argument

that social contact is not necessary for social infrastructure within local areas (Richardson

and Mumford 2001).

Some observers have argued that friendships form an increasingly important part of

the social capital available to individuals in the modern era. Pahl and Spencer (1997:

p.103) identified what they called a "social convoy": a network of friends who provide

"relational and normative support" throughout life. Within Noel Park, the social capital

accessed by residents did not usually come from extended family networks or close friends,

but through acquaintances including neighbours that offered access to a range of economic,

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[20] Please see Appendix E1 for the contingency tables and Chi square results.

social and psychological resources. The careful distinctions between friendship and neighbourliness spoke volumes about the differing sorts of resources residents expected to access through their acquaintances, even when those boundaries were blurred. However, this does not mean that family ties were not important in explaining or understanding the life outcomes. Rather it suggests that in an age in which families no longer live in close proximity we should acknowledge the importance of other forms of social network to the life chances of individuals. This research shows we need also to understand the expectations people confer on the differing forms of social networks in which they participate, be they formed through friends or location.

There was not just a substantial amount of informal activity. Nationally research (Home Office 2003) has revealed that 38% of the UK population participated in a "civic activity" in the last twelve months, such as attending a public meeting or meeting with a councillor. 65% participated in at least one social group such as a sport club or a local community group. 67% of respondents in the national survey had informally volunteered in the last year including house or baby sitting or offering advice to someone, with 34% of people doing this at least once in the last month. Similar levels of activism were also present amongst residents in Noel Park. Overall, twenty-two residents were members of such groups, ranging from residents or tenants groups or religious and ethnic community associations within Haringey which involved local activism.

A small number of residents who took part in the study said they were members of tenants or residents groups based in Noel Park and described the NPI as a continuation of the now-defunct Noel Park Residents Association. Taylor (2000) described how urban regeneration partnerships often use pre-existing relationships with community and voluntary groups operating in deprived communities which can lead to conflicts between

competing groups. There was evidence of some conflict within NPI meetings which I will

discuss later in this chapter. However, it was noticeable that there was a lack of

participation in any other form of community and voluntary groups amongst those who

participated in the NPI meetings. For example, no members of the Forum described being

brought into the meetings through their participation in any form of religious, ethnic or

voluntary association.

Within the study there was a higher level of activism reported by the white

population with white residents 2.8 times more likely to say they had attended community

meetings than non-white residents.[21] However five non-white respondents reported

attending what they termed community meetings which were based around ethnic ties:

Stella: Is there a big Cypriot, Greek community here?
Lemon 7: Yes.
Stella: Are you part of that?
Lemon 7: Oh yes.
Stella: What sort of thing were you doing at the meetings?
Lemon 7: Talking about our home, what's going on in the area, or in Cyprus.

There was a level of ambivalence towards participation in more formal associations. Even

those who were activists often downplayed their activities or were slightly embarrassed:

Lemon 6: I did think about starting a neighbourhood watch. I know it sounds a
bit "Dot Cotton"[22] but we needed it; people were breaking into people's cars.

In particular, residents were dismissive of those who participated in community activities

through the local authority and only twenty-eight residents stated they had ever attended a

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[21] Please see Appendix E2 for the contingency tables and Chi square results.
[22] A character in a British soap opera.

199

formal community meeting of any kind. Many residents who gave extensive details of informal support networks on the estate expressed negative opinions about their neighbours who took part in public meetings:

Red 3: I don't have a lot of faith in those sorts of things. If people go and voice their opinions too strongly they aren't going to be listened to. The people on the platform have got their own axe to grind and they are doing a PR job for their organizations and a lot of people that go to those are just there for a shout so I don't feel I miss very much because I don't feel anything constructive was going to come out of it.

And:

Mauve 2: It's like everything else. You go to a council meeting and you may as well be sitting at home.
Stella: Have you been to many?
Mauve 2: Yeah, but they don't take any notice of what I say or what anybody else says. The people who get up and shout, they just get rid of them, that's the end of it.
Mauve 2 Wife: Not that he's one who gets up and shouts.

Even those who participated or felt participation was important seemed half hearted and pessimistic about the meetings:

Stella: Have you been to the Noel Park community meetings?
Red 1: My husband has. They leaflet you, the people who deal with it are really trying. They are quite dedicated and out of respect you go to their meeting. But for an estate this big about 40 people turn up so that shows that the interest is not there.
Stella: What does he think of them?
Red 1: He thinks they are full of promises. That they are making a little bit more than they should, like all politicians.

200

Reviewing the evidence presented so far suggests that Noel Park residents interacted with each other, often on a daily basis, and knew a lot about each other. Yet so too they were plain that proximity did not mean friends. For the residents good neighbours were those who offered both help and privacy. That neighbours were not friends does not mean they didn't have a substantial impact on the quality of life for residents, and the benefits of informal support residents gained from their neighbours were acknowledged. For the residents of Noel Park, community was about the benefits of living next door to particular people who behaved in particular ways, as exemplified by a good neighbour. In that sense, these relationships correspond to the definition of social capital identified by Bourdieu (1985) and Coleman who argued the concept "stands for the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures". (Coleman 1994: p.6)

This research also shows that those who fear that deprived neighbourhoods lack social capital are mistaken when informal social networks and community self-help structures are taken into account. As such, it corroborates those who have argued that the ways in which social capital have been measured at present are problematic (Cattell and Herring 2002). Of particular interest to the social capital debate is the way these resources and the social networks underpinning them were not connected to political activism. Despite the assumptions made by some in the social capital debates and in the Active Citizenship agenda (Home Office 2003) this research gives no evidence to support a contention that social interaction is related to civic participation. Whilst the next chapter will discuss their relationship with local political structures, this chapter reveals that in Noel Park community was something residents did between themselves and for each other and was distinct from their interactions with the public realm.

Social Representations and Social Cohesion

My discussion of social relationships so far has considered the general expectations residents have about their neighbours and community within Noel Park. Yet it would be untrue to suggest that residents considered all of their neighbours in a similar fashion and it was clear that some factors accounted for a greater or lesser sense of shared interests. In particular, there were a number of factors which can be identified as either uniting or dividing the residents and so influencing their shared sense of community. How such divisions hamper or help social cohesion is the subject of this second section. Chapter Three discussed some of the debates within the social representational paradigm around the role of identity in this process (Howarth 2001: Breakwell 1993). Drawing on these ideas, I will show how residents defined their communities of interest on the estate through their representations of each other. This will illustrate how, as Laszlo argued, "people create and share stories that render their world intelligible. Their community feeling or social identity derives from narratives" (Laszlo 1997: p.162).

This narrative metaphor encourages us to view the individual parts of that story, the attitudes, stereotypes or values expressed, as the way in which communal identity and ultimately personal identity is fashioned. Hinton argued stereotypes should be considered social representations as both are an "automatic explanation" (Hinton 2000: p.150) which help make sense of the myriad of people with whom we come into contact in everyday life. Using them in explaining each other helps foster – or destroy - cohesion because it allows individuals and groups to define themselves by who they are and who they are not. By looking at what factors residents used to describe their neighbours in Noel Park we can see

the communities of interest residents created amongst their neighbours. This builds on the discussion of Howarth's work in Chapter Two because it shows how this sense of cohesion was fostered around a diverse range of factors.

Ethnicity & Community

As Chapter Two demonstrated, much of the concern about social cohesion has centred on the perceived difficulties created by ethnic diversity. So, too, within social representational research into identity and community researchers have argued that ethnicity can act as a "cognitive short-cut" in classifying who is or who is not a member of a particular community (Howarth 2002). Chapter Four detailed the ethnic diversity of both Haringey and Noel Park, using the Census 2001 data which revealed that four in ten Noel Park residents were of a non-white origin. Previous census data shows that this degree of diversity has been a facet of Haringey for some time, and so it is no surprise that ethnicity was a thread running through discussions of life in the area. Indeed, participants in the research reflected the wider census findings and only thirty participants were of exclusively white English heritage. Within the study, twenty-one respondents were born in Haringey, thirteen in London, ten elsewhere in the UK and twenty-six were born outside the UK.

In the research the question of ethnicity dominated discussion of many issues, from service delivery to neighbourliness, and the study revealed a strong ethnic dimension to relations between neighbours. Ethnicity was often acknowledged as a way of describing neighbours by both white and non-white residents and racial stereotypes were also used by both groups. The comments below were made by a non-white male.

Stella: Do you know many of your neighbours?
Brown 3: Yes, this Irish man, Caribbean on the right side. I go to conferences quite a lot and I say watch my house. The English couple they are from Yorkshire. They are very scared of people and are not friendly, not nice, national front supporters.

Yet the acknowledgement of ethnicity did not mean that social relations were ethnically segregated and within the study it became clear that it was almost the opposite. There was no single dominant ethnic minority group within the Noel Park area and several residents highlighted the range of ethnicities in the area as a reason why they felt their neighbourhood hasn't experienced segregation or tension in the way they considered other parts of Haringey to have done. Indeed, residents acknowledged that whilst it was perceived wisdom that ethnicity was a barrier to social cohesion, they were proud that this did not seem to be the case in their area:

Red 3: We don't seem to have racial problems. People next door are originally from Mauritius- they are Muslims. We've got Irish Catholics. Next door to them are Chinese and across the road we've got two black families who come from different places. They've all been here for many years, in some cases generations. They are a nice gang, a good crowd. If I was in trouble there aren't many doors I couldn't knock on. It's not bad. People say "We heard you were living there, do you have racism?" and this sort of thing. I say, no of course we don't. There's so many races and religions down here there isn't anything to fight about, generally we leave each other alone, but acquaintances, yeah, we've got some good neighbours.

Only one resident reported experiencing racist abuse, and many residents were at pains to point out that it was a mixed area and they interacted with residents from a range of racial and ethnic backgrounds.

Stella: What sort of people live here?
Blue 1: It varies. Some Pakistani, some coloured people- all sorts you know. I mix with people and with coloureds and if some of them are nice I mix with them. My mate says "don't go with them" and I say "why? He's alright, he works like us and he talks to us". And I'm like that. If somebody's nice to me I don't care whether they are black, white, green or red.

Whilst Blue 1 was a white male, this view was held by residents of all ages and across a range of backgrounds. Amber 4 was a non-white male:

Amber 4: We've got a good vibes going on - the blacks and the whites. It's a multi-cultural society, it's definitely a multi- cultural road. Whatever colour you want to be, we are all like one family. There are no problems like that you know that, my neighbour is white, one side African and we all just get on.

Residents stressed the cosmopolitan nature of the area, and the influence this brought to the locality through the kinds of foods and cultural activities available. Five residents mentioned to me the fact that within the area hundreds of differing languages were spoken:

Blue 2: I wouldn't live anywhere else in London, I really enjoy living here. It's a reflection of what London is – a city where 330 different dialects are spoken in schools all over London. We have every form of food and cinema and culture you could ever imagine, from all over the planet.

Residents had a strong representation of Noel Park and ultimately Haringey as a multicultural area of London in which diversity was seen as a positive quality reflecting their mutual tolerance. However, this explicit commitment to multi-cultural living did not mean that racial discrimination did not exist on the estate. Twenty-five residents discussed the ethnicity of their neighbours in a negative manner. For example, several respondents used derogatory words such as "coloured" and "gypsy", and spoke of their belief that particular ethnic groups were responsible for many of the problems in the area.

Brown4: The house down the road, you don't know how many people live in it and they are always fighting. Front garden is full of rubbish- the smell. They don't want to do anything about it. They say you're racist. People don't bother reporting it because the council call them racist. You're not racist you're just telling them what's going on, but because they are a different nationality you're racist.
Stella: Are there many nationalities here?
Brown 4: Turks, Blacks, coloureds, Africans, round the back here.

Whilst explicit racism was rejected by many residents, other forms of prejudice were evident in the estate. Few residents overtly highlighted their neighbours' ethnicity as a reason that they did not know each other, but many used ethnicity as an example of how the area had changed over the course of preceding years, stating that this had made making such relationships difficult. It was especially noticeable that the majority of the antagonism in social relationships that was racially motivated was aimed at interaction with refugee or asylum seeker communities rather than around interaction with different ethnic groups *per se*. Several residents from both white and non-white backgrounds argued that refugees were responsible for delays in service provision. Brown 3 was a non-white male:

Brown 3: My doctor is Indian. I go to medical centre, it's so corrupted. My doctor say "go back to your country" and it's not good for you instead of giving you a prescription. It's like the third world if you go to medical centre, like in the heart of Mozambique and there is no place to complain.
Stella: Is that the fault of the doctors?
Brown 3: No, the Haringey council system is inefficient. They don't care, attracting so many refugees, the council can't respond to it. You go to the medical centre, you don't feel you are in England, you feel you are in Bangladesh, nobody speaks English.

Refugees in the study also reported experiencing antagonism. As Howarth argued, those in marginalized communities cannot ignore others' beliefs about them (Howarth 2002) Here

Yellow 1, who had only recently moved to Haringey, recounted a conversation with a person in the street as a reason why he didn't want to mix with his current neighbours:

Yellow 1: Because now for foreigns here, what I am saying, I'm now going to say it's really like that. But most people in your country you can tell have many reasons to say "why I didn't take any house" like a benefit, you know what I'm saying? Because, so many young people, I see them on road and everywhere, they asking me if I got house, I say "yeah, from the social" and they say" oh, you are lucky". They saying "I am 35, 36 I got no house yet" and I said "that is no good" and they say "but that is the way because you are here" and I say "but what are we going to do?" I didn't come for house because I've got two villas at home. "Why you left?" Ah, but that is another matter, "oh it's another reason!" I can live outside anyway but he said "ah well", you know like friendly talking but, nice people and talking for nothing. But nice people and they were surprised when I said I got nice house over there I'm never going to live, but this is shit houses over here. He said "but why?" I said "because in my country I've got a villa with everything" so he say "why you left it?"

Refugees and asylum seekers were considered difficult to integrate with and associated with churn or transience in population, a topic I will discuss in a later section. However, few residents differentiated refugees from other non-white residents. There was anecdotal evidence that some of the concern about asylum seekers translated into indiscriminate antagonism towards neighbours from non-white backgrounds. However, those who expressed such sentiments often referred to having positive social contact with neighbours from non-white backgrounds.

Lemon 1: It was very, very quite. Everyone was friendly and would say "hello" to everyone. But you lose all that once you start taking everybody from everywhere together. There's a war between everybody now. This one doesn't like that one and the whole attitude is not very nice now.

[...]

Stella: Can you describe what you don't like about the area?
Lemon 1: I think I did already. Quite truthfully, if one can say, foreigners. All my family are English and we are just a different culture. It's not being prejudice against one particular one, but they all seem to live in Wood Green. They were in Tottenham at one point, now it's all at Wood Green now.
Stella: You think that causes problems for the area?
Lemon 1: Of course it does. You go shopping in the shop, you haven't got half a dozen people shopping you've got five hundred people shopping.

However, other residents recognised that refugees were easy targets for the frustrations of

life on the estate:

Purple 5: You get that attitude "why should I make the effort to do all these things if you're not?" We have rubbish left on landings. It wouldn't matter if I showed them not to do it they would still not do it. Some people don't give a shit about communal living. That gets blamed a lot on asylum seekers, even if they are not asylum seekers, so that's something we try and break down on this estate.
Stella: Do you have a lot of asylum seekers on the estate?
Purple 5 : I know exactly how many we've got, but no, we don't have a lot but the trouble is if you've got a Mediterranean complexion and you do something you're not supposed to, your neighbour will say you're obviously an asylum seeker and that's the end of it. They are the new gypsies and there will always be an under culture. I mean there has just to be because otherwise you won't have the survival. I mean we would tell Irish jokes, the Irish tell Kerry jokes, the Americans tell Polak jokes, the Russians tell Canadian jokes so that is how it goes on. Everyone has to have someone to look down onto otherwise there is no where to go. You've got to be better than someone that's how we feel.

Both white and non-white residents argued that refugees created problems for the local area and neighbourliness. As a result, although they were living on the estate, several residents appeared to consider them outsiders and identified themselves in opposition to them:

Amber 4: What we need is building bridges, rather than burning them down. These new foreigners they don't want to speak English. I can't understand them, they can't understand me, so we might end up fighting one day. The bloody government done that, take them from wherever they take them from, put them in our community. Why don't Tony Blair keep them at number 10!

Refugees and asylum seekers were particularly associated with not being able to speak English and so unable to communicate. This theme dominated the negative comments around ethnicity and community. Howarth argued that "communities must share a common means of exchanging meanings and ideas" to sustain themselves (Howarth 2001: p.230). Without the capacity to take part in representational exchanges facilitated through communication, refugees cannot participate in the shared discussions that create a sense of community. The hostility residents then express towards the refugees reflects an uncertainty about them because they are not part of the community, and as such are in *de facto* opposition to it. Several residents expressed the sentiment that this was a deliberate choice not to interact with others in the area:

Brown 5: On this estate there are about 290 languages spoken but they can't speak English. They won't learn English. They keep themselves to themselves.

I believe it would be simplistic to see antagonism over language or asylum seekers as a cover for racism. As Howarth stated "representations are always relational" (Howarth 2001: p.232) and negativity about other communities can be used to affirm the positive nature of

membership of an alternative community. Many of those who were negative about asylum seekers were also the biggest proponents of the diversity of their neighbours. They were overtly proud of living in a diverse community and knowing individuals from different ethnic backgrounds to their own. Indeed, some residents identified particular ethnic groups as deliberately refusing to interact and contrasted this with other ethnic groups. This suggests that concern over communication was not automatically a cover for racist sentiments:

> *Purple 1:* The different races I think is brilliant. I love it, the multi culture. I can sit on my patio and the lady next door is French, so my French has improved tremendously because I can hear her talking to the kids next door. I don't know who we have on this side at the moment because they've only just moved in, but a while ago we had Italian people. I mean, I love it. I think that's brilliant. But I do want people to know how to behave and I've got to say a lot of it is I'd probably say I've got more objection to most of the Turkish community than to anyone else. They don't absorb easily, they don't want to, and we have quite a big Turkish community here.
> *Stella:* Is there any particular reason for that?
> *Purple 1:* Simply, it's not their way of life. Obviously from their homeland is very different and to a large extent I don't think they want to.

It was also clear for those residents that did not speak English comfortably this influenced their social relations. Many of those in the study whose parents or grandparents had been refugees spoke of the difficulties they and their families had had in learning English or of a desire to improve their language skills and the isolation they felt at not being able to communicate fully with those around them. Of the refugees that I was able to interview, all spoke of spending most of their time with those who were able to communicate with them in their first language. They often travelled substantial distances across London away from the estate to do so and several people declined taking part in the interviews for the study because they felt unable to express themselves. Others were conducted with the help of both professional and lay interpreters. These ranged from young adults who translated for

their parents and visitors to the professional translators who were associated with some of the Neighbourhood Renewal projects who offered to help. The interview with Brown 1 was conducted through an interpreter:

Stella: Are the people here friendly?
Brown 1: Because she doesn't speak the language the only people she knows are in the Somali community.

The lack of communication between English speakers and those who were unable to speak English on the estate had repercussions which were both practical and social. As shown in the first section of this chapter, the support networks which 'neighbours' offer each other depended on a communication of intent e.g. to help with childcare or bin collection. So too whilst the SureStart scheme had identified particular groups within the local community for specialist interpreter provision , most notably the Somali community, other community meetings were entirely conducted in English and the minutes and notes were circulated in English. This lack of communication also impacted on the perceptions of residents and contributed to their exclusion from social networks and the community within Noel Park.

Whilst conversation is by no means the only method of representational activity, as Billig has argued:

"the very contents of everyday thinking – the maxims, values and opinions which are commonly held etc- are themselves cultural products...this means that common sense has not only has a wider history, but that it also possesses present functions, which relate to patterns of domination and power." (Billig 1991: p.1)

This research shows the exclusion of a portion of the estate from this process of production of representations meant that they were unable to participate in deciding what the social or cultural norms for the estate would be. This in turn contributes to their exclusion within society as a whole. So too the ability to define identities through the depiction of particular groups is a powerful social force (Breakwell 1993). The research shows some signs that refugees living on Noel Park were aware of the way in which they were identified by other residents and as a consequence they were also aware of the influence it had on their activities. However, further research would be required to understand how far this identity was used by residents and to view refugees and whether it was accepted by other refugees living on the estate.

The question of the relationship of ethnicity to the social networks of Noel Park is therefore a complex matter. Whilst it was explicitly recognized as a facet of life on the estate, it was clear that it did not prevent interaction or the production of social capital. However, ethnic and cultural barriers did exist amongst residents, particularly around communication, and these can be seen to shape expectations and perceptions of social relations within the neighbourhood. These divisions particularly affected one group within the estate, refugees, with a resulting impact on their quality of life in Noel Park. My research has been unable to establish whether it would be possible to attribute these outcomes solely to ethnicity or to a range of other factors as the following discussion considers.

Transcience & Longevity

Just as ethnic diversity was a widely acknowledged feature of the neighbourhood, so too was a high level of turnover amongst residents. Many said this accounted for their ignorance of their neighbours and overall sixteen respondents mentioned this issue. In contrast, stability of tenure was also cited as a factor in social networks for both public and private sector residents:

> *Purple 5:* There are two estates on this estate. Above us there are three bedroom maisonettes, family dwellings that have been here for some time. The rest of the estate is one bedroom flats so we get a lot of people moving in and out, a lot of nutters. Some of the kids I'm teaching I probably went to school with their father or mother but it's the one bedroom flat where you get people who are at risk. I'm quite lucky. Where I live we all know each other. Some of the lobbies it's not worth learning the name of your neighbour because three months later there'll be someone new.

The difficulty in forging and maintaining social relationships in an area with a high turnover of residents was explicitly acknowledged by many residents. Concern about this contributed to the sense of neglect residents felt about their environment and it was perceived as an "incivility", a concept discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven. This would explain why concern about churn translated into an antagonism towards those who were considered responsible, in particular local and national Government. This reflected a belief that the high turnover showed the area was not being looked after:

Red 1: There's a few houses down here that are privately owned and the council is leasing them back, and we honestly don't know who lives in them. You can have comings and goings all through the night, that worries a lot of us round here, because burglaries have gone up. If it is a house owned by the council, they tend to put a really stable family. If they are subletting they don't seem to care who they put in. They may be lovely people but there are so many people going out but we don't know, you don't want to get involved. The people who are buying - a lot of young professionals are buying houses now who need that easy access to the city...There is community here worth preserving. It depends on how the council leads the way if that community then stays. If they are going to put people in those houses that are passing through, you kill the community. If you just have a load of short term people, they don't care what they do to the place before they move on.

As the previous section showed, there was a widely-held belief that there was a substantial refugee population in Noel Park and some of the concern about churn surrounded the arrival of new people:

Blue 2: I think it's because it's very fragmented, and people come and go obviously. Refugees and people come and go as they are supported or perhaps go on to better circumstances.

It should be stressed that the concern expressed here was not solely about new people being from different ethnic backgrounds, but also about new people in general and the change in the local environment this represented. Many of the residents who had lived on the estate for more than a decade described how the stability which had drawn them to the estate had disappeared. This was the stability which brought residents from a wide range of ethnic backgrounds together:

Stella: What are the people like here?

Green 2: We're very lucky here. Either side have lived here a number of years.

Stella: Is it quite a mixed community?

Green 2: Oh yes, they are Italian, Greek, Chinese, everyone. They are all nice as far as I know. A lot of these houses are bedsits or flats so you don't really know. The old neighbours are gradually going, some have died, some are going, that's how it is.

Stella: What changes have you seen in 46 years?

Green 2: A lot more traffic.

Stella: Have the people changed?

Green 2: Oh yes, of course they have. They are all different nationalities. They were all family houses when we came here. Every house was a family. They've all gradually moved away or died. I suppose that's the same with most roads round here.

[...]

Stella: If you couldn't move would that be terrible?

Green 2: No I'm used to it. I've lived here so long. I'd be sad to move in a way, because I know the neighbours. I know what they are like.

Stella: Does that matter to you?

Green 2: Yes, I like to know who I'm living next door to. I don't like change.

The high turnover of residents affects social relationships in the area in two ways. It contributes to the residents' sense of unease about the area as unknown people are an unsettlingly common occurrence. Building on Howarth's analysis here the unknown is a challenge to the known certainty of the identity and expectations which community membership can bring (Howarth 2002). New people may or may not prove a challenge to the community identity residents see for themselves and their neighbours. This requires effort on the part of residents to get to know them and see whether they can foster a shared sense of interest. So too, from a practical perspective, the high turnover makes interaction difficult. As Peter Willmott has pointed out, the social networks associated with neighbouring "require a substantial amount of time to develop" (quoted in Halpern 1995: p.114). The continual turnover of residents means less time is available to residents to make

contact with each other to find out if they do or do not share a common sense of identity. There was also some tentative evidence that concern around churn disproportionately affects the social networks that particular residents become involved in. Residents' presumptions about the length of time refugees will be living in the area may make other residents less likely to interact with them.

Home Ownership

Interest in social class divisions and neighbourhoods as expressed through housing has dominated discussion of the planning process for several decades (Wilmott and Murie 1988). Whilst the majority of the estate was still social housing, in common with other areas in London over recent decades, the estate had undergone a degree of gentrification (Atkinson 2001) and a quarter of the residents surveyed owned their own homes. Many of those had bought their properties within the last decade, moving to the area because of its proximity to where they worked, but four had purchased their property from the local authority under the "right to buy" scheme[23]. The majority of those that did own their own homes felt a strong conviction that there must be shared interest in the area between them, something they saw as lacking amongst tenants:

> Red 3: Personally I think it's a heap. Getting a slightly better looking heap as the private owners are doing up their houses.

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[23] This national scheme was introduced in 1980. It allows secure tenants of social housing who have lived in a property for two years or more to apply to buy the property at a discount to the market price.

Amongst some of the council tenants and those who had bought their own properties from the council the notion of the gentrification of the estate was positively welcomed. In total, seven current council tenants stated they were interested or in the process of buying their property from the council.

> *Sapphire 1:* I'm glad we're here; this is one of the nicest roads. There's quite a few people who have bought, so touch wood this is okay.

Although I was unable to attain any details about the process of right to buy on the estate, I was informed by local authority officers working in the housing department that over the course of the previous decade they had received a high level of applications from the estate itself. Researchers concerned with the impact of gentrification have argued that there is a need to see gentrification as a factor of life in London which reflects more than the cost of accommodation (Butler and Robson 2001). They argued middle-class residents are often attracted to an area by a range of factors including the perceived similarity of others moving into the area and the cachet of the area. Whilst several of those moving into the area talked about the cost of housing in Muswell Hill compared to Noel Park, there was also evidence that homeowners felt they were a larger presence on the estate than is reflected in the evidence on homeownership in Noel Park. Five homeowners in the study suggested that their road was mainly owner-occupied and this accounted for its special status. I discuss this point below.

Whilst it has not been possible to obtain a map of the council housing on the estate, the high level of council housing on the estate itself makes it unlikely that any roads were solely owner-occupied. The census data for the whole of the Noel Park area shows that 36% of residents own their own properties, but this is likely to be inflated by the inclusion

of properties on the other side of the Wood Green High Road which were mainly owner occupied. There seemed little pattern to home ownership on the estate, with no particular roads or blocks of flats being majority privately owned. However, several residents argued home owners were more community spirited:

> *Blue 2:* It's well maintained. It's not falling down, we've got a new roof, new windows - it's one of the better maintained blocks from around here. I think it does accurately reflect a mixed housing group, you get people perhaps who don't do their own maintenance of their house or they rely on the council for certain things and their needs reflect that as well. As a leaseholder, my block - the majority of us do own the property, so we all know each other and it's quite a friendly thing. Perhaps in some of the other blocks I wouldn't know who anybody was really because some of them come and go so often, so, our block, there is a certain amount of community, but as a whole it isn't a very community place.

Following on from this, several of the homeowners argued that the problems on the estate emanated from social housing. They associated tenants with the incivilities of the area which I will discuss in Chapter Six. Several suggested that home ownership was the solution to the problems they perceived on the estate:

> *Stella:* Has the estate changed?
> *Brown 5:* Oh God yes, it's changing for the better. It's getting safer to walk and there's more people taking pride in the estate by virtue of the fact the rent is 120 a week. So you think "I've got some savings, I'll buy it, the mortgage is 90 quid a week." Some people think the exact opposite. He [POINTS TO NEIGHBOUR] doesn't believe in buying, but he could have bought it and paid for it. He could have got his for £30,000. The three bedroom ones are now worth £200,000.

As Chapter Six demonstrates, there was considerable concern about the quality of the housing. Several of those who advocated the Private Finance Initiative (PFI) scheme for the area spoke of the need for intervention to correct the lack of attention that the council

housing had received. The home owners who advocated the PFI scheme spoke of the need

to address the lack of attention paid to housing by council tenants.

Ruby 1: There are people who bought from the council. There's a guy here who was a council tenant who bought his house on rights to buy. On the right we've got council tenants. It's really a mixture. That may be one of the problems. Things like moving out, the situation opposite where accountants who paid over 100,000 pounds just to get on the property ladder, these are worth about £70,000 the basic rock bottom price of properties. It may be you've got this mixture of different types of people. Professional people, some council people, who are being unwilling to progress themselves, all living together.

Both tenants and home owners talked of tension between those who owned their properties

and those who didn't. Ruby 1 was a homeowner, but Purple 5 is a council tenant:

Purple 5: I might be in an identical property to yours, mine might be run down, yours might look perfect. You can almost guarantee whenever there's a new door, the flat has been bought. The first thing people do when they buy a property is change the front door so people know you own your own property. They polish the brass handle. When it was a council flat they would never have polished the front door, now they own it, the dynamic changes. I bet all the complaints about roofing problems would come from the lease holders on the top floor...If someone had sufficient money to purchase a place they have enough money to go to court. It's a class thing and that's when you get the arguments. They don't sweep the streets enough, like all of a sudden they own it.

The difference home ownership made to perceptions of neighbours was also clearly related

to concerns about turnover of residents. Council tenancies were associated with transience

and anonymity whilst those who bought their houses were assumed to be planning to stay

in the area. They were thus considered more stable neighbours as the previous remarks by

Red 1 in the discussion of transience illustrates. Yet this perception was in contrast to the

stated intentions in the interviews. Of the forty-two respondents in the study who stated

they were happy to stay living on the estate, they were 4.5 times more likely to rent their property either from the council or a private landlord than to own it.[24] Thus, those who had bought their properties were actually much more likely to be actively intending to leave the area. These residents identified rising house prices as offering them an opportunity provide enough money to move out:

Red 1: Property prices round here are very, very good, so for us living here it's excellent if we want to move.

Clearly those who owned their own homes felt home ownership was a positive quality in their neighbours and this influenced their sense of community. This occurred in two ways: firstly in practical terms through membership of leaseholder associations for the smaller blocks of flats on the estate and secondly, in a more diffuse manner through the assumption that nice roads or well-kept houses were owner-occupied. The manner in which home owners spoke about other home owners reflected their own sense that they had more of a stake in the condition of the estate and so were better neighbours than those who rented their properties.

There was also some evidence that council tenants felt aware of this perception although there was no evidence that this altered the way in which they interacted with home owners as a result. By marking out council tenants as poor neighbours, home owners sought to reinforce their own sense of a positive identity in relation to the estate. As with refugees in the area, there was some evidence of both the rejection and acceptance of this representation and the identity it entailed. Overall however, this reflects how home

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[24] Please see Appendix E3 for the contingency tables and Chi square results.

ownership was a strong marker for residents about what kind of people they felt an affinity with and so would like to see living in their neighbourhood.

Family Connections

There was evidence in the study that parenting induced a sense of affinity and was critical to the social networks many residents formed. It was clear in the interviews and through spending time on the estate that children were often the basis of relationship building amongst residents. Many residents recounted meeting others when watching their children play together in the streets, whilst others talked about meeting neighbours at the school gates:

> *Amber 3:* When I go to my son's school which was in Highgate the parents are a lot different to down here. Down here they are more open, they are willing to speak to you. There, it's just rushing their kids to school and then just get out, where here you can leave school at 10.00 in the morning after dropping them off because you're talking for an hour or so. So it's a lot different.
> *Stella:* What sort of things do you talk about?
> *Amber 3:* Kids mainly. What's there to do. Just what we've been doing throughout the week and that and whatever.
> *Stella:* Is there any reason why it's different in Highgate?
> *Amber 3:* I just think the people there – a lot of the parents there worked as well, so a lot of them were just rushing them off, or they had nannies. There's a lot of nannies there. You never see a nanny at the school right here, so that's different.

Parents within the study were more likely to report incidences of assistance from neighbours and many of the incidents mentioned revolved around assistance with children. Children as the basis of developing support networks were particularly important for residents who were refugees or had a poor command of English. The children often acted as

interpreters for them and it was often through their children's friendships that they themselves gained social networks.

> *Red 2:* When we came to the country we never lived long in temporary accommodation in Tottenham. After that they gave us this place. Most of them [POINTS TO PHOTOS] grew up in this area. They went to Lordship Lane School and White Hart Lane School.
> *Stella:* Do you know a lot of people through your children's friends?
> *Red 2:* Mums and neighbours.
> *Stella:* They live on this estate?
> *Red 2:* Most of them on this estate.

There was some evidence too that children acted as a conduit of social interaction for activist residents. Several of the activists who did not have children resident in their households reported interacting with other people's children when walking around the estate which had then led to meeting parents. This echoes other recent research which has shown a strong connection between community activism and parenting (Power and Mumford 2003). Most of the parents in the study, both male and female, reported meeting people in the local area which then led to their involvement in other groups such as parent teacher groups or specifically the SureStart scheme. Here Grey 1 explained how she had come to be involved in the SureStart parents group through meeting another parent.

> *Grey 1:* [NAME]'s a friend of mine. We met in the park, not this park, near the memorial there's another park there. I actually met her there and I met another friend there. Her child's a year older than mine and I vaguely remember her from going to playgroup when I first went there and her son was really boisterous. Oh my God, I remember he was like a little gypsy.

That those who were more active on the estate were more likely to be parents may also be one explanation for the difference in social networks generated by those community

meetings themselves. It was clear that participation in the neighbourhood renewal project had done little to foster new social networks for the residents. This may well have been because very few residents participated in the forums. On the three occasions during the year that I attended the community forum, the numbers of residents present were thirteen, eleven and seven respectively. The lack of networking may also be because those who were participating already knew each other. Several participants commentated that this meant the usual suspects attended whether residents or council officers:

> *Purple 5:* I worked with (NAME OF HOUSING OFFICER). I met his wife once. She said you must be (PURPLE 5), "You must see more of my husband than I do." You lose track, it's the same people.

At the end of NPI meetings few participants stayed to discuss proceedings or even just to chat. This contrasted with the SureStart meetings and drop-ins, several of which I attended and at which I saw many new faces as participants informed their friends of the activities on offer. Each of the sessions was well attended and there was demand for more places from local residents as a result. Many of the women reported being brought to the scheme by friends and neighbours and in turn telling others about the scheme:

> *Pink 2:* A neighbour is (NAMES PERSON) and she introduced herself and came to teach baby. She showed me her house. She drove me here, she is very nice. They are very nice people. She says to me if you have any problems or you come and stop here. You can come and have coffee and tea.

Most of those who attended both the formal and informal SureStart events were women and the support and camaraderie amongst them was clear, with one woman in the session commenting that her pregnancy was "like Coronation Street, everyone is following it". I

regularly saw many of the mothers arrive and leave together, as well as caring for each other's children at the sessions and in the park so that others could chat or take a short break from watching their children. It was also clear that many of the women participated in the SureStart events for the social activities. In a group conversation one morning many mothers described how having a small baby severely restricted their ability to get out of their houses and had decimated their freetime.

This in turn had made them look for social interaction at a much more local level. One mother described how "my life was in Camden before she was born". Certainly the expectations of the social interaction available from attending SureStart meetings were different than those of the attendees at the NPI. There was no evidence within the study to explain why SureStart appeared to be better than the NPI at aiding social interaction. However, given the importance of parenthood to the social networks on the estate, it is plausible that the client group of SureStart may have been particularly willing to interact.

Proximity vs. Distance

The final factor which influenced social relations on the estate was that of the proximity of individuals to each other. This is not perhaps surprising in itself and there is a substantial body of social psychological research into the factors which influence social interaction which shows the importance of proximity in determining the networks formed (Festinger 1963). Building on the work of Suttles (1972), Galster (2001:p.2120) proposed that rather than assuming all residents relate to a particular area in the same way, there are four "scales" of neighbourhood. This starts with the block in which their house is, through to the smallest area in which they feel an affinity e.g. a street. Then onto their "community

of limited liability" usually defined by local governance proceedings e.g. a ward and finally to an "expanded community of limited liability" which would be a larger governance area e.g. a borough.

Galster argued that it is the perceptions of these differing boundaries which matter in explaining neighbourhood changes. He proposed that the movement of resources in and out of an area depended on the particular level of neighbourhood perceived to be important. Thus the decision to fund wardens for the entire Noel Park area can be seen as indicative of the conception of neighbourhood held by the council which was the "community of limited liability" the residents defined. In contrast, residents viewed their own neighbourhood as a much smaller unit. This was often the block on which their house or flat was located, and it was clear their concerns were shaped by this.

In the majority of interviews residents' knowledge of and concern for their neighbours did not extend to the whole estate but rather to their perceived section of it. Of further interest is the way in which the distance of others became a barrier to social interaction and the notion that others who lived no more than five hundred yards away were unfamiliar outsiders. Indeed, few residents claimed to be acquainted with people who lived more than a block away from them. In discussing social relationships and community on Noel Park, thirty-seven respondents explicitly defined their relationships through people who were no more than a block away. As Purple 2 said, albeit discussing a set of flats on the estate, "I mainly tend to see one of the neighbours. As I say each block tends to stay to their own little block".

This block boundary existed not just amongst those in quadrangles or amongst the smaller cul-de sacs in the estate but amongst all residents across the entirety of Noel Park. This is particularly interesting given the physical layout of the majority of the estate of very

long, wide and open avenues. Other studies have focused on a contrast in this form of community identification between cul-de-sacs and long roads (Willmott 1963) but this did not seem to be the case in Noel Park.

> *Brown 5:* I speak to some people down this road, but as far as going up the road - there's not many people up there I know.
> *Stella:* What are your neighbours like?
> *Brown 5:* On this side very nice, always pleasant. On the other side, I don't know why, they are all gypsy families or drugees. I don't know whether the council knows and shoves them all on that side. My next door neighbour, she's lived here fourteen years. We've got new people in next door - never see them. They come and they go, they don't go in the garden and have a chat.

Often, when discussing what they saw as the problems on the estate, residents focused on their block rather than the estate as a whole.

> *Purple 5:* Lot of kids wouldn't play on this estate. My lot wouldn't play with the Noel Park lot. The Noel Park lot wouldn't play with the (PURPLE) lot. Kids are immensely territorial. There's (MENTIONS OTHER ROAD): our kids wouldn't play there, but technically it's still their estate. It's true of adults too, you can say is the (PURPLE) estate with or within the Noel Park estate and nine out of ten would say it's nothing to do with Noel Park estate. And yet its within the Noel Park ward, so we most definitely are.
> *Stella:* What's your response to that?
> *Purple 5:* I think it's healthy to have street by street, estate by estate pride. Obviously we are open to the general public, but the majority of our support comes from people on the direct estate.

Several residents made claims such as "I think it's probably the best road around here because we make it that way" (Amber 4) and "it's probably one of the nicer streets, it's nice and wide and lively and it's kind of tucked away" (Diamond 1). They ascribed the good qualities of the area to people and social links they knew in their block:

Stella: Is it like that on the estate as well?
Blue 1: I suppose you can choose for yourself. I mean, I don't know. Some parts are alright and some ain't.
Stella: Which parts are not so good?
Blue 1: I suppose down the end there. But you can't say, it's from street to street really. It depends.

So too several residents went further in defining their road as better than others because the problems they identified in Noel Park originated there:

Stella: In terms of the estate what do you think of living here?
Red 3: Over this side we don't seem to hear so much of the damage of the other side. You hear about the drug raids on the estate and the muggings but that's only what I'm told I don't hear or see a lot of it.

And:

Amber 4: Peaceful out there isn't it? A lot of places you hear gun shots, cars screeching around, fighting. Round here I think God lives on this road.

Complementing this block-thinking, other residents who lived further away were often defined as outsiders. Some residents were explicit about what they considered to be the rivalry between the different areas and sought to differentiate their block from the rest of the estate:

Purple 1: There is quite a strong feeling that it's us and them which I don't like, but it existed almost since [NAMES ROAD] built to be honest and yes the problems are very different, you can't say it's good for Noel Park estate per se is good for [ROAD] or there is another separated area up in [NAMES ROAD] because they are in flats and their problems are probably more aligned to us [...] Perhaps one of the biggest problems most recently, it was quite widely advertised, the whole of Noel Park estate was going to have new lighting but it didn't count in [NAMES ROAD] and that made people obviously very unhappy about it [...] We don't seem to have bridged that gap between the estate and the

surrounding estate. I suspect if you live the other side of the ward which is the other side of the High Road you feel even more isolated but that isn't part of the Noel Park estate. It's very hard to say. It's difficult to define the difference between the Noel Park political ward, the Noel Park estate as such and the Noel Park area and they do have very different problems.

The belief that particular roads or blocks of flats were not part of the Noel Park estate was expressed by two groups within the research – those that lived in flats or buildings which were not artisan built accommodation and those who lived in the roads around the edges of the estate. It should be noted that the roads around the edges of the estate shared the same physical appearance as those in the centre. The example below comes from a resident who lived in one of these roads and four residents argued the wardens were not for their road or flats because they were for Noel Park:

> *Orange 2:* The last time I saw them was probably near to that meeting. Since then I haven't seen them. Our road is still classed as the estate but we don't see them going down our road. I think they just stick to the estate.
> *Stella:* They only do these bits of Noel Park?
> *Orange 2:* Yeah, from there up. There's two other roads there. I think they get left out a lot.

This block-thinking was also clear in the reaction of several residents to the concept of the "Noel Park Initiative Community Forum" as they expressed their belief that their road or block of flats was not part of Noel Park and so the forum did not concern them. This was a trend amongst both residents who knew of and didn't know of the Forum:

> *Stella:* Have you heard of the community forum?
> *Green 2:* I think so.
> *Stella:* How did you hear about it?
> *Green 2:* In the local paper.
> *Stella:* Have you attended the meetings?
> *Green 2:* No, I don't consider [ROAD] part of Noel Park.

Furthermore, the rivalry between blocks was evident in some of the Noel Park Initiative meetings where the right of residents to raise issues which only concerned their block was challenged by other participants. Often this was aggressive and hostile, and it was clear that, for those participants in meetings, there was a sense that it was against the interests of their block to work with residents from other roads and so interact with them. It was also interesting to note that each of the blocks of flats on the estate continued to have separate residents associations and meetings independently of the NPI.

In conjunction with the discussion in both this chapter and next about the differences between the Noel Park estate and other areas of Haringey it is possible to revisit the schema defined by Galster of the four "scales" of neighbourhood. Using this then it would be accurate to describe Noel Park not as their neighbourhood for most residents but rather the "community of limited liability" and the borough of Haringey itself as the expanded "community of limited liability". Residents had stronger awareness and attachment to their roads and indeed their blocks within roads than to a concept of "Noel Park" itself. Clearly many residents did not see Noel Park as a homogenous entity, or even the totality of the road that they lived on. Rather, they defined neighbourhoods within neighbourhoods and so divided up the estate into differing sections. This in turn divided and bonded the residents as they objectified other residents who lived in other blocks as outsiders to their concerns and interests. Ultimately their descriptions of "the estate" and the priorities for the area were shaped by their definition of what was "Noel Park" rather than the "Noel Park" defined by the local authority.

As discussed in Chapter One, Kearns and Forrest (2000) argued that one of the problems with considering social cohesion is a lack of clarity as to what this may be. Exploring the psychological context of the complex social relationships present in a neighbourhood shows how difficult it is to pinpoint a single definition of cohesion. This research shows that residents had strong expectations of their neighbours, as distinct from their friends, and that these expectations are the core of their definitions of community at a local level. By showing how these expectations shaped the concept of a "good neighbour" and so allowed residents to access a range of resources, this shows how the lifeworld affects the life chances of residents. It has shown clearly how these resources affected the quality of life residents felt they had in Noel Park.

This chapter has also shown that the social networks underpinning these relationships are influenced by a myriad of factors. It is not possible to discern which of the factors – ethnicity, home ownership, transience, proximity and parenthood - listed in the second half of this chapter were the strongest influences on the social relationships residents developed. This is important given the emphasis in political debates on ethnicity and community cohesion discussed in Chapter Two. Whilst this research only reveals the wealth of representations residents used to identify their communities of interest within Noel Park, it suggests that, in this case, ethnicity is simply one factor residents use to quantify their social setting.

Furthermore, this chapter also raises concerns about the capacity of a particular group of marginalized residents- refugees - to access the benefits social relationships can offer and in turn to participate in the production of the social representations which underpin these relationships. This chapter has shown clearly that one of the ways in which this group is marginalized within Noel Park is through their inability to participate in the

production and maintenance of the lifeworld or common sense within the estate. Thus, whilst residents shared and acted upon a general perspective of neighbourliness and community, not all residents were able to share in its positive benefits. Furthermore the production of this representation of community and its social support networks was specifically and exclusively distinct to the work of the local authority and the public realm in the area. This disconnection, its roots and the implications this has for the neighbourhood renewal project for Noel Park are the theme of the next chapter of this research.

Chapter Seven: The Public Realm, Neighbourhood Renewal and Noel Park

At the start of Chapter Four I quoted from Silburn and Coates (1970) and their description of a "common context or 'atmosphere' from which individual views emerge" within a local community in Nottingham. In the previous two chapters I have explored how such a context was created at a neighbourhood level in Noel Park and what impact it had on social relationships within the estate. So far this thesis has mainly considered how a psychological analysis can bring insight into our understanding of the private realm of social relationships within a deprived neighbourhood. In this chapter I will look at how the social representations I uncovered in Noel Park influenced the public realm. Here I define this as the relationship residents had with their local environment, public services and civic structures. I will then consider the implications of how these were represented to the regeneration proposals for the area.

This research will show how the "atmosphere" or lifeworld through which residents viewed the estate was framed by a belief that Noel Park was neglected. Residents used this representation of the area to understand many of the facets of life in Noel Park, expressing not just dissatisfaction but also resignation at the condition of the estate. Echoing much of the substantial research into fear of crime, the sense of the abandonment of their estate by those in authority also heightened resident concerns about crime and community safety (Jackson 2004). Furthermore, this chapter will show how frustration at being neglected influenced the way in which residents engaged with civic and political structures. As a consequence I will show how a sense of urban malaise defined not just attitudes towards crime and fear of crime for residents but also their experience of public services and ultimately the regeneration activity being undertaken in their neighbourhood.

This chapter will detail how this sense of neglect manifested itself. It will therefore start by looking at how residents chose to describe the local area. It will consider how these descriptions reveal the concerns residents had about safety and security on the estate and in particular the way in which a sense of neglect dominated discussions about what life was life in Noel Park. Having explored the atmosphere of disregard for the area described by residents, this chapter will then move onto consider the impact of this common context on engagement with public services. It will show how this sense of neglect defined their views of healthcare, education and local authority services in the area. The majority of respondents expressed mixed feelings about the quality of services available to them, often seeing good experiences as an exception to the general poor standard of provision they received. In addition to this, their comparisons with other local areas confirmed their view that scant attention was being paid to Noel Park by those in authority.

This sense of neglect also served as the backdrop against which residents judged interaction with local democratic structures. Following on from the discussion in Chapter Six about the perception of public meetings, this chapter will focus on how this sense of neglect was connected to high levels of distrust and disengagement with the local authority, including a stated distaste for voting or participation in council run meetings. Viewed within this context this feeling of disregard clearly influenced the attitudes and opinions expressed concerning neighbourhood renewal, the Noel Park Initiative and towards three of the particular regeneration schemes.

Defining Noel Park

Chapter Six discussed how the residents expressed their sense of identity in their relationship with their own property. Those who were homeowners saw this as a reflection of their superiority over council tenants. It was also clear that the way in which the housing in the area was perceived was integral to the respondents' sense of identity and esteem. When invited to describe Noel Park many respondents began by highlighting the distinctive nature of the artisan housing in the locality. This was especially the case amongst those who lived in these properties and, when asked to describe the estate, thirteen residents gave long detailed descriptions of the history of the housing on the estate and its status as a conservation area. One resident commented "I like the old Victorian houses. I like it here because it's a landmark area" (Brown 3).

This strong brand of the Noel Park estate defined the neighbourhood, so much so that those residents who did not live in the artisan housing did not see their roads or blocks of flats as part of the Noel Park area. Indeed, many of those who did not live in the artisan housing were negative about the quality of the artisan housing in comparison to their own properties - here one resident contrasted the high build of his block with the artisan housing:

Silver 1: Well, as you can see, it's been built by a guy, there is a plaque here because he actually won a prize for this one. I mean, so this is somebody who's been [inaudible] and, sort of, you know, in social housing, I mean it's quite well designed. It obviously has to be cheap, so its not grand-standing, but its obviously well-designed. I mean, as you can see [...] The Noel Park estate, on the whole, you can see what it is. It used to be a huge estate and it's been split two little buildings at a time. Actually, the whole of Wood Green used to be four big estates basically, and they've all been split. And, I mean, they all are small houses, quite jerry built, but they cost a lot of money now!

Several of those who lived in other blocks of flats and houses which were not part of the conservation area used the contrast between their property and the main bulk of the estate to show they were better off:

Blue 3: They [POINTS TO ARTISAN HOUSING] are really tight. This house is alright. I can just about breathe in this house. Those houses are really cooped up.

This process also worked in reverse, with those who lived in the artisan housing being dismissive of the other forms of social housing on the estate and taking pride in the Noel Park style.

Sapphire 3: I have a house. I'm very lucky and it's a council house. What I don't like is when you see a road like ours where they specifically build the council houses to look like council houses. But it's a good little house, it's not damp, it's dry and perfectly adequate for my needs.

Yet even though there was a regard amongst the residents for the artisan housing as not standard council housing, it was clear they felt it was of poor quality. There was a general recognition amongst tenants that the poor quality of the housing was a severe problem for

the estate; as one resident acknowledged "The houses are alright. They need a bit of work done round there" (Opal 1). Many residents with children complained of overcrowding.

Amber 4: It's a nice residential area with small bloody houses. It's a nice place but the house is a bit small.

As Chapter Four describes, the quality of the housing in the estate was poor with no major renovation work having been carried out on the public housing since the 1970s. So too several of the activist residents and gatekeepers spoke of a tentative proposal for PFI investment in the housing which had not been followed through by the Local Authority in the recent past.

There were also other indications that the quality of the housing in the area was an issue for residents. As Chapter Six describes, the difference between home owners and council tenants was often expressed through the renovation work homeowners had done on their properties. At a Noel Park Initiative meeting on the 23rd July 2003 a discussion about the potential enforcement of the conservation area was introduced by a local authority officer. He described this as being about "no further deterioration of the features of the estate" and one resident expressed anger that English Heritage were not "involved" with the estate.

Gunter (2000: p.157) argued an individual's home is the "embodiment of the personalities, needs and aspirations of the occupants". Whilst his research focused mainly on the link between identity and home ownership, the same attitude towards the nature of housing on the estate was evident amongst all respondents. Here the mix of both pride in the distinctive nature of the estate and frustration at their poor upkeep reflected a wider anxiety about the lack of attention and care the estate and its occupants experienced.

Indeed, it was interesting to note how concern over the poor quality of the housing was not confined to those who were council tenants.

It was not just through their concern about the housing that residents described the neglect of the estate and many felt it was an area with little to recommend it. Yet it would be inaccurate to argue residents did not see benefits to living on the estate. Most commented on the good transport links and shopping facilities presented by the Wood Green shopping area:

Stella: What do you like about living here?
Sapphire 1: Shops, amenities, transport basically, that's the only thing.

Crucially, however, these facilities were described as independent of the estate itself and many residents commented on the lack of resources they perceived within the estate. It is unsurprising that these comments came more frequently from those who lived further away from the Wood Green High Road.

Brown 1: Everywhere is houses and shopping, no space for you to play, all roads, too big.

The estate itself had no shopping facilities within its boundaries, with the exception of a small parade of shops on Vincent Road which were run down and several were empty. Even those who lived close to the shopping centre and transport links complained that these facilities caused problems for the estate. One resident commented that it was "Busy, very busy obviously because of the shopping centre just up the road" (Black 1). This may explain why those who lived closer to it also expressed dissatisfaction with the facilities on the estate, albeit this time because of the perceived imposition the shopping centre created

on the estate. Speaking about the impact of the shopping centre on the High Road one resident commented:

Lemon 1: If there weren't so many people squashed up like sardines people would have room to breathe. It's just got out of control.

In their discussions of the area I came to believe that the views expressed by residents about the park within the estate – Russell Park - were a representative of their feelings about the estate as a whole. Twenty-six residents mentioned the park, often commenting on how nice it could be rather than was. All those who spoke about the park criticised its cleanliness and in particular the perceived high levels of dog faeces there. So too most residents mentioned their anxiety about anti-social behaviour and drug crime in the park, offering several stories about finding drug paraphernalia on previous visits. Many residents described feeling a lack of control about their local environment when using the park and the other people they would encounter.

Purple 1: Let's take Russell Park. It was beautiful but unless somebody is there of a night it is like a warzone. We walk the dog round there, but who's going to stop the kids vandalizing the swings? Parents haven't got any authority over them. No-one has any authority over them. There is no authority.

As this remark reflects, many of the older residents in the study were nostalgic for a period in which they felt the park and the estate was looked after. Throughout their discussions, their evocation of a time when the estate was looked after provided a counterpoint for how they felt it was maintained at the time of the research. This sense also echoes the nostalgia discussed in Chapter Six about a sense of community which some felt had existed on the estate in previous decades. However, concern about neglect was not confined to older

residents. Both young and older residents' descriptions of the park in its present condition abounded with the language of neglect and insecurity. Many wanted someone to take control of the park and by implication the estate itself:

> *Amber 1:* The park could do with a - I don't know - some sort of park keeper, something watching it, because it doesn't feel very safe in the park if there's just you and a few people wondering through it.

The concern for the lack of attention to the park was mirrored in the discussion of the estate itself and in these descriptions, many of the anxieties expressed about the park were replicated. These echoed ongoing research into crime and fear of crime and what is termed the "broken windows" effect. Briefly, this posits that social incivilities such as anti-social behaviour by young adults and physical incivilities such as graffiti or flytipping encourage crime and fear of crime. This is because as Halpern (1995: p.96) stated "the incivilities appear to act as a reminder or symbol of potential danger". More recent research has disputed whether such incivilities are associated with actual crime (Taylor 1999). However, there is growing evidence of a relationship between such incivilities and a fear of crime and a wider set of anxieties and concerns about social change and social control (Jackson 2004:p.3-5).

Concern about the neglect of Noel Park was revealed in the emphasis residents put on three kinds of incivilities: crime, cleanliness and anti-social behaviour. Twenty residents expressly complained about rubbish and fly tipping:

Brown 5: I don't like the filth on the estate. Its not only the people, it's just half of them don't think about it. I've even bought a new vacuum for my pond. Ok fine I like keeping things tidy, but there's people who get old fridges and just dump it. Fish and chip wrappers, they sling them on the floor. There's plenty of bins up the road, all these wheelie bins. There doesn't seem to be a pride, trying to keep the place clean like there used to be. We used to have road sweepers then. The last time I saw one was a fortnight ago [...] The actual area for some reason is, well, there's no factories round here, but it's a dirty estate. I've dusted my telly twice today but you come down in the morning you can write your name. There's dust in the air. Everyone says it.

Whilst crime or fear of crime was not part of the interview schedule for the research, forty-seven of the residents brought the issue up. This contrasts with recent research which suggests asking about crime encourages respondents residents to express fear (Farrall et al 1997) Crime was the top priority for action with twenty residents giving this as their main concern about the estate:

Red 1: The more crime that happens here, the less desirable the place becomes and that's when you see the pride go out of people who live here. They don't care about the rubbish. That car's been here since last October. If crime was down, it would make people think it was worth keeping something going.

Given the interest in crime it is unsurprising that policing was a key issue for many residents. Several complained about high crime rates and the need for more police:

Purple 1: When they are called on for an emergency, they act as best as they can, but you don't see a great deal of police. Our community officer does his best. He puts in a lot of effort but he's like a thin spread of margarine spread over a loaf of bread, not a slice. They haven't got the manpower to do anything effective. If we don't accept this maybe we can do something about it.

Residents often spoke about the lack of services they experienced rather than a direct fear that they would be a victim of crime. During the course of the research I was told several stories about how long it took for the police to attend incidents, or was given examples of police failing to assist residents, as evidence of how little interest was taken in the estate.

> *Lemon 4:* I've got no faith in the police. There's crack addicts on this estate and I've been targeted by a particular family, not anymore, but I was. They tried to kick in my front door. I phoned the police and they were very unhelpful. They said can't you talk to them through your letter box and tell them to go away? I thought "are you going to help me or not?" If not, I'll have to put a barricade up.

Apportioning blame for this state of affairs seemed to be spread equally among other neighbours and local public services. Most residents felt bad behaviour and poor services reflected how little anyone cared about the estate.

> *Brown 3:* The problems are: you see a police to pass by. One thing is the policing, the other thing: people have no manners. They throw a lot of stuff on the street from other places, but the council and the police are failing to take care of this beautiful area. It's lovely and if they became tough people would behave differently. Because they ignore them, everybody is trying to make a headline, but it's just more public relations and we need to tackle the problems.

Many residents explained how the lack of police in the area meant that criminal activity was part and parcel of living on the estate:

> *Black 1:* I became very aware of it. I've been here two years and someone was murdered at the bottom of this road. There's been a murder in the pub just round the corner and you think 'that's a bit close to home'. And all those sorts of things make you very much aware and keeps you sort of - not on edge - but it makes you very aware of what's going on out there.

Respondents described adjusting their lives accordingly to the inevitability of crime:

> *Diamond 2:* You see there is a small alley-way down the road and if you happen to come home through there in the night you are bound to be mugged.
> *Stella:* Everyone knows that?
> *Diamond 2:* Yes, of course

On closer questioning it became clear that the main concern was about drug-related crime and the presence of both drug users and drug dealers.

> *Brown 4:* Around the estate, the only problem we have are the people that take and sell drugs. Get rid of them, it would be a lovely place.

It was noticeable that residents did not feel themselves concerned that they would be a victim of drug crime. It was rather that the people involved in drugs represented another incivility. Evidence of this could be seen in the sense of resignation about the perceived existence of drugs on the estate. Here Brown 5 discussed the continued drug raids on the estate and their proliferation:

> *Brown 5:* The drug addicts eventually moved out. Some went to prison, some simply disappeared. We've got a couple; I know two in this block. They leave us alone, we mind our own business.

The exception to this resignation about the level of crime on the estate was amongst parents who described their children as at risk of victimisation:

Stella: Is there anything you would like to see the Forum tackling?
Sapphire 1: Crime mainly. We were broken into last year. Luckily I didn't disturb them, but it was still not nice. And maybe something for the younger kids to do to keep them off the streets. That's what is really needed round here, because they haven't got anything to do. We let them go up to the park, but other children come up and take their things or they beat them up. So we say "we'll let you play here where we can watch you" and then the neighbours complain about the football. We understand, but we've had letters from the council. Where do they go? I mean we've all been young ourselves and you want them in your eyesight so you know what they are up to. So they can't play out there and they can't go to the park because it's too dangerous. Even a park warden would help to keep an eye on the bullies or drug dealers.

As both the remarks indicate, concern about neglect and incivilities also extended to the behaviour of other residents. Chapter Six showed how residents tended to associate such bad behaviour with those groups on the estate whom they identified as distinct from themselves. This was particularly the case with home owners who saw council tenants as less likely to take care of the area. This concern about behaviour also extended to the local children and the second priority for action was another incivility. Twelve residents wanted the local authority to introduce activities and facilities for young adults as a way of preventing anti-social behaviour and thirty reported experiencing problems with children and young adults in the area. Of those only a minority mentioned minor problems with children playing in the street, and the majority associated criminal activities with gangs of children in the area.

Red 2: The youngsters are growing up on the streets because there's nothing else for them to do. That's why they are turning to violence and drugs. If they had something for the youngsters to do - keep them occupied - maybe some of the crime would be cut down.

Young adults themselves also shared similar fears about the activities of their peers in the area and it was noticeable within the research that all the people in the survey under the age of twenty described gangs as a fact of life:

Lemon 3 son: There's many gangs; M.O.B., the Wood Green Mob- they go around robbing people. They are trying to improve that by adding more police to the streets, but they operate round Wood Green. Apart from that, this area's alright.
Stella: Have you been threatened by them?
Lemon 3 son: Yes, mainly on a bus. They search your pockets.

However, it would be inaccurate to argue that even parents and young adults lived in a society of fear or that fear of crime defined the experience of living on Noel Park estate. It was interesting to note that many residents who talked about crime nevertheless did not identify it as a problem for the area. So too it should be noted that eleven respondents said they felt happy with the estate and had no concerns they wished to see being tackled.

Stella: What would you like to see the community forum tackling?
Gold 1: Nothing really. To be honest, outside of this, there's not much I know what's going on, so it wouldn't be fair for me to say. Whatever they do is good. Whatever's been done it must be better than nothing being done mustn't it?

As this example shows, those who didn't identify any problems were not necessarily happy with the quality of the estate. Indeed, it was noticeable that the majority of those who said there was little that needed to change were mainly refugees who spoke of

feeling secure in the area because of the comparison with their previous life experiences. This will be discussed in more detail in the final section of this chapter. So too whilst residents spoke of their unhappiness about social incivilities, such as their concerns about the behaviour of their neighbours, as Chapter Six demonstrated they were also positive about many social aspects of the estate.

I argue that the discussion of a range of incivilities was underpinned by a sense of discomfort about the perceived neglect of Noel Park. As one respondent commented "It's just run down. It's not kept nice and clean like it should be" (Silver 2). Concerns about cleanliness, crime and young adults were markers to residents of the care given to the area by the local authorities. Similarly, many residents mentioned how there was little sense of pride about living on the estate. Few residents were universally positive about the area itself, and most were unenthusiastic about living on the estate. As Diamond 1 stated, "it's a bit crap really".

The sense of neglect residents felt was also expressed through the contrasts they drew between Noel Park and the surrounding areas. Suttles has argued that the identity of any given area is often defined by its relationship with surrounding areas:

"As counterparts to one another, neighbourhoods seem to acquire their identity through an ongoing commentary between themselves and outsiders"(Suttles 1972 : p.51)

When asked about the differences between the Western side of Haringey – as typified by Muswell Hill and Crouch End – and the Eastern side – as typified by Tottenham and Green Lanes – residents explained how badly their estate fared:

Blue 2: It's the equivalent of, if Wood Green is the earth, Muswell Hill is mars. You cannot imagine two more diverse neighbourhoods. Muswell Hill is white, extremely wealthy, very high home ownership, very high multiple car owner ship, private schooling, very high quality services. And again Crouch End is exactly the same, very wealthy [...] Kensington and Chelsea might be quite bad, but I can't think of anywhere where the gap between the rich and poor is so greatly illustrated over such a short distance. You go to Alexandra Palace, a matter of a kilometre, and you're into an area where houses cost excess of a million pounds. So there's a very great diversity of circumstances in the borough.

Twenty-eight residents said they felt that Muswell Hill and the western side of Haringey were "better than" Noel Park, whilst eleven felt it was not a "better place" to live than Noel Park. Seven felt it was "the same" as Noel Park. The notion that the west of Haringey was a different world was reinforced by the twenty-four who said they did not know the area and so could not comment because they hadn't been there. Yet if residents were clear that Wood Green was not like Muswell Hill or Crouch End, they were also clear it was different from Tottenham. Thirty six residents felt that Noel Park was "better than" Tottenham, fifteen felt it was the same and three felt it was "better than" Noel Park. Again, a substantial proportion of the study responded they had never been to Tottenham. Sixteen said they did not know the area so could not comment. Tottenham was often characterised by residents as run down and more deprived than Wood Green by respondents:

Brown 4: Tottenham's a slum, it's a drugs slum. Half the people don't work, they run around robbing shops.

Several residents attributed the problems of Tottenham to drug and gun-related crime and spoke of their fears that Noel Park would become more like Tottenham unless something was done:

Green 2: I don't go to Tottenham, it's changed so much since I lived there. It's a little bit more rougher than Wood Green, since I lived there. It's a little bit more rougher than Wood Green. It's gradually creeping up to Wood Green. all the violence and gun crime.
Stella: Is there more crime round here?
Green 2 No, but it's gradually getting as bad.

Many residents in the survey expressed the belief that Noel Park was not looked after by the local authority and other areas in Haringey received better treatment. Given the lower opinions expressed about Tottenham it was interesting to note residents felt this was the case for both sides of the borough compared to Noel Park. For example, the reputation of Broadwater Farm was mentioned by several respondents in the research as an indication of what Tottenham was like although there was also awareness of the level of intervention in the area with one respondent stating "They have this estate -Broadwater Farm - they've had problems there. Apparently it's been sorted out now" (Emerald 2). This led to some antagonism from those respondents who were more active in the local community. They felt that the previous history of Broadwater Farm had been significant in attracting substantial regeneration funding:

Purple 5: There was £60 million pounds spent on Broad water Farm. If all you have to do is have a riot and kill one policeman to get that kind of money, I would gladly organize it, because that money is available and no-one's using it.

Whilst these remarks provide an extreme example of competition between differing areas of Haringey, it was by no means unusual. At the first Noel Park Forum meeting I attended, a discussion about the New Deal for Communities project in the Seven Sisters area elicited similar sentiments from residents who were angry at not being given equal amounts of

funding. So too, residents also felt that the Western area of the borough received a better deal from the council because it was perceived to have better quality services.

> *Stella:* What about Haringey itself?
> *Silver 4:* Outside, innit, it's very dirty. If I see somebody put the chair outside, no pick up fridge outside, no pick up the Matalan makes mess. Muswell Hill you don't see that like here because I work in [NAMES COMPANY] I walk all over Muswell Hill [...] Better very nice, very nice and clean. I see it everyday; they clean the roads: they clean everyday, but by the same people? You can go downstairs now it's dirty.

Many residents felt the council didn't work as hard for Noel Park as for other areas of Haringey:

> *Red 1:* If you want the truth, this side of the borough is a lot more neglected than Muswell Hill. The services are not as quick or as rapid as they are at that side. Their rubbish is collected a lot quicker and you don't see dumped cars like you do here.
> *Stella:* Do you spend a lot of time in Muswell Hill?
> *Red 1:* My daughter goes to school there and I can tell you they clean the streets a lot quicker and you don't see dumped cars like you do.

Several of the residents who said they wanted to move out of the area talked of moving to the Western side of Haringey to take advantage of what they saw as the better quality of services there:

Stella: How does it [Noel Park] compare to Muswell Hill and Crouch End?
Tan 1 Wife: They tend to favour those areas I feel.
Tan 1: We wanted a gate on the fence and it's not happening but if they say that over that side then "ping."
Tan 1 Wife: Even health care. It's known as the affluent area. Those that shout the loudest get what they want- doctors, teachers
Stella: Are you happy to stay in Noel Park?
Tan 1 Wife: We really want to move.
Tan 1: We are quite happy here for now, obviously, but even if we wanted to, we have to stay here for a little while. If we did move, it would be to the more affluent side.

Overall eight residents expressed the belief that public services were better in the Western side of Haringey. This covered both actual council services and also more general aspects of the differing neighbourhoods:

Yellow 2: You go to Crouch End, you've got loads of restaurants which are a lot more child-friendly. You get the impression the council isn't really selling Wood Green to companies like Pizza Express, or Barbarella. There are people in Wood Green who've got money to go out and eat and want to take their children, to pubs that are a bit more family friendly where you can go. In Crouch End you can.

Suttles (1972) argued that the way in which residents view neighbouring areas reflects their feelings not just about those areas but their own neighbourhoods. As the above quote reflects residents were aspirational about Noel Park and their discomfort extended to beyond the quality of public services to the quality of life itself. In explaining this, residents were acutely aware of contrasts between the east and west of the borough as a marker of the indifference they felt was shown to Wood Green and, ultimately, to themselves as residents. This, in turn, added to their sense of discomfort about the area and belief that Noel Park

was being neglected because it was not quite as rough as Tottenham and not quite as affluent as Crouch End.

Public Services Provision

The previous section discussed the general attitudes of residents about the quality of life in Noel Park. It highlighted the neglect from which they felt the area suffered. To them this was manifested in crime, poor cleanliness and anti-social behaviour. In this section I will consider how this malaise influenced attitudes towards public services and the Council itself. This section will show how residents had low expectations of public services, and the local authority especially, often viewing good services as exceptional rather than the norm.

It is difficult to categorise the way in which residents talked about public services, mainly because often in the same breath they were both critical and complementary of services. To give some idea of this I considered how many complaints versus complements residents gave about services during the course of the discussion. Of all public services, healthcare had the most support. Thirty seven residents offered more complements than complaints about healthcare and only nineteen residents offered more complaints than complements. Of the rest, eleven said they had no complaints about healthcare provision at all (in contrast to being explicit that their experiences had been good) and three said they could not give an opinion as they had not used health services. Education services appeared to have a slightly less positive perception amongst residents with thirty-one residents being complementary overall about education services and fifteen mainly complained. However, another twenty-four residents said they simply had no views either way or couldn't comment because they were not a service-user.

This mixed approach to services reflects the way in which if residents had general impressions of particular services, they were also able to give examples of particular services – both good and bad - which were different:

> *Stella:* What about health care services?
> *Brown 5:* Touch wood, very, very good round here. My doctor is in Wood Green at the big health centre opposite the civic centre. Marvellous, it's the same with the wife; her doctors up Butchers Hill and it's a woman doctor. Any time I need a doctor, I phone up and they are there – very good. When the wife was very ill, she was in and out of the house two or three times a day. You can complain about the hospitals though, Middlesex is the bottom of the pile.

As these comments show, positive personal experiences with public services were often qualified with the suggestion that the resident may have been lucky.

> *Stella:* Do your kids go to school in Haringey?
> *Sapphire 1:* He goes to school in Haringey, but it wouldn't be my choice. He couldn't get into the school I wanted him to get into in Enfield. But he's in [NAMES SCHOOL] and he's doing really well there. They say if a child wants to learn – you find it ok don't you?

There was some evidence that this particular vs. general phenomenon worked the other way round. Several of those residents who described themselves as happy living in Noel Park rationalised negative personal experiences of life on the estate as not indicative of the area. Given the importance of crime to understanding how residents viewed life on the estate, it was noticeable five of the residents who said they would be happy to stay on the estate discounted knowledge of violent acts from their opinions of the area.

Purple 6: Crime is always a worry. I've had two aggravated burglaries in two years, I once had a knife to my throat and [NAMES PARTNER] had a similar incident, during the night in our house- we were attacked, which is quite frightening. Nothing's happened in the street. [NAMES PARTNER] was roughed up a bit, which is not good but I suppose it could happen anywhere [...] We've spent 6 grand having the windows barred. It's a shame we have to do that - we went over board. At least when we are in there, nobody is going to get in. You shouldn't have to do that, we've both been attacked, but it's not going to change my opinion of the area, we were just unlucky.

Despite the lacklustre support for public services from residents, in identifying priorities for action in the area, only five residents mentioned public services at all. Furthermore, it was unclear as to whether this meant health or education services, as no resident mentioned these services by name at all.

Purple 6: It would be nice if the place was a bit more pleasant; crime was reduced; services were better, but it's such a wide-reaching. I'm not sure what a community forum can do it, but can't be a bad thing trying to improve the community.

This contrasts with the emphasis public services by the gatekeepers. Four gatekeepers described an initial planning meeting about the NRF agenda for Noel Park at which over one hundred residents had taken part. It was explained to me that healthcare had been highlighted by residents at the meeting as a particular priority and that this corresponded to the evidence of poor health for the area. As a result there was a heavy emphasis on getting healthcare services in to the estate and several of the gatekeepers mentioned healthcare services as problematic as a result of this:

Gatekeeper 16: We are very concerned that there is no health provision. Effectively there is one GP right on the far edge of the estate on the outside road, but there are no other health or health- related services there.

The capacity of residents to distinguish between their personal and particular experiences and a general impression of a service provider was particularly marked when it came to council services - although this was perhaps understandable given the wide range of services for which Haringey was responsible. Within my interviews, the discussion of council services was deliberately begun with a question about "the council" and then followed by a discussion of "council services" to explore this distinction.

Stella: How about the Council?
Gold 1: Now that's a different kettle of fish. They are hopeless to my mind.
Stella: How are they as a landlord?
Gold 1: Hard work. I'll give you an instance; I had a man came and put an air vent in the window. Fair enough, he took the measurements and he's coming back. I had a letter yesterday telling me they were coming on the 10th June. The 10th June was way back, but I only got the letter yesterday to tell me they were coming. Repairs and things like that, you know, are terrible. I suppose it's different, but you get £1000 a year in here to spend and trying to get hold of that is murder. You're entitled to it.
Stella: What about other services, like refuse collection?
Gold 1: They are very good.

Overall, council services also received mixed reviews from residents with thirty-four residents complementing services more than complaining about them, and twenty-eight being more critical than complementary. As this shows, residents were much more likely to be divided about council services than other public services such as healthcare or education. It is worth noting that eight residents were explicit that they had no complaints, or complements, about council services at all. Again, the question of luck rather than consistently good service was raised:

Stella: What's your impression of the council as a landlord?
Green 3: They are fine. The property we've been given is very good compared to the stories you hear. We've been lucky as Haringey's got a bad stigma about it. I can't really complain.

As these comments show, expectations of council services were low, and so good experiences were seen as a surprise. As with other public services the difference personal experience of council services made to perceptions of the council as an entity is questionable. Only three residents gave specific examples of how the council had helped them and these related to housing issues. Furthermore, within the survey only thrity-seven residents described themselves as actually having had contact with council services. There was no discernable relationship between such contact and the views expressed of services with both positive and negative stories of contact being relayed:

Stella: What about the Council?
Purple 7: Council is alright.
Stella: How is the Council as a landlord?
Purple 7: Any time I have trouble I call them.
Stella: What about the services? You said you'd written to them about the bins?
Purple 7: No I didn't write. I told them about eight months ago about the Wood Green area and I know the Caretaker told them.
Stella: What did they say?
Purple 7: They didn't say nothing.
Stella: What about road cleaning?
Purple 7: They are good. They clean every morning.

As this shows, residents often talked about the council in the third person. There was little evidence within the research that residents saw the council as an enabling force within their lives, or something in which they had a stake. Nor was there a sense of ownership of Haringey as their council for which they were responsible.

254

Blue 1: If you look at example of the Victoria Climbie affair, that does very accurately reflect what goes on here. There is a lot of neglect and we have one of the most multi-cultural boroughs in London I'd say here, and I don't think the cultures are catered for. A lot of support networks are set up privately and under individuals' own steam to a certain extent. So it's about the services and the quality of life. It's about the worst place I've ever lived.

When discussing the council it was noticeable that many residents had low expectations of the council's capability or intentions. They often characterised dealing with them as a battle or a fight. Again this reflected the narratives about the neglect of the estate.

Red 3: Everything I've been in touch with them about, they really are totally incompetent and it frightens the life out of me [...] Their idea of customer services is they put leaflets through doors, which they don't do. If you've got a problem you have to fight to find out. You actually get a form through with a telephone number; you contact that number, you get passed from pillar to pillar; you may even get promised a call back but nobody ever does. That to me is no service. They empty my dustbins, I suppose. We get police patrols, but what a guy can do about the locks on my front door when he's travelling through with sirens on twice a day, God only knows.

Some of the more active residents such as members of a tenants' group or community organisation were suspicious of the council's motives. They felt their group acted as a bulwark for the lack of attention the council was perceived to pay to their needs:

Purple 1: From [NAMES ROAD]'s point of view, it's only us who are going to fight for it. One or two paid officers are pro, but the rest they do their job and as long as they get their money at the end of the month, I don't think they have a great deal of impact or influence. You really have to go to war to get anything done. I don't think that's the way things should be handled. I don't think you should manage by panic.

255

These comments show how some of the activist residents went further in seeing the council as an enemy who had to be battled with rather than as a partner. There was also evidence that less active residents had picked up this message that the local authority had to be forced to take its responsibility to the estate seriously:

> *Purple 6:* I keep half an eye on what the resident's association is doing. Haringey Council seems intent on charging us when they are working outside the law and aren't allowed to charge us. Basically, if you don't pay the bills, they don't seem to chase them. So the residents association get the lawyers on to it. That's the annoying thing: the council don't seem to get their act together when it comes to service charges and chargeable items. Thank goodness for the residents association.

Consequently there was a conundrum at the heart of the relationship between public services and local residents. The general consensus was that services were of poor quality. Many spoke of trying to absent themselves from them as a result, for example by trying to send their children to schools in other boroughs. Local public services, and in particular the Local Authority, were viewed through this expectation resulting in a high level of antagonism about the "council" as an entity. Yet it was clear that particular services and service experiences had been good and that much of this negative perception was not founded upon actual experiences. It is not clear why actual experiences of public services did not translate into an improved perception of public services as a whole. However, the outcome was not in doubt. Residents were as dissatisfied with public services as they were with the general experience of living in Noel Park and it can be argued that this was part and parcel of the same malaise about life which formed a backdrop to the research.

Representations of Political Representation and Politics

The strongest ire concerning the council was reserved for councillors themselves, although there was an overlap between residents' descriptions between the political and the officer representatives of the council. Here too the discussions showed that actual experiences bore little influence on impressions of the council and the councillors.

Amber 4: The council need flushing down the toilet. We are better people than the council. I'd give anything to see a lady like her or this lady here be head of the council. Because of us they are just filling their pockets fat with our money. The council don't give a damn. They are like the government, they are the same - bunch of crooks, take your money and don't do nothing.
Stella: Have you had many dealings with the councillors?
Amber 4 friend: Yeah, repairs on the house and all that.
Amber 4: They don't care, man.
Amber 4 Friend 2: The repairs - I won't complain too much on my repairs, because the help comes quick, but I'm not happy with the dustbin man.

Again it was noticeable that there was a difference between the actual experience of political representatives and attitudes expressed. Only nineteen residents said they had had contact with councillors in Haringey or knew who their local councillors were. However, twenty-eight expressed negative opinions of councillors[25]. There was some evidence that particular groups within the community had more contact with the councillors than others, although there was no relationship shown between these groups and their attitudes towards representatives as a result. Within the study, white residents were 6.3 times more likely to say they had had contact with a councillor than non-white residents and homeowners were 2.9 times more likely to say they had had contact with a councillor than those that did not

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[25] N.B. These were not necessarily the same people in the study.

257

own their own homes.[26] It should also be noted that twenty-eight residents said they could not comment either way because they did not know the councillors and the remaining fourteen residents were neutral about them:

Stella: Have you had any dealings with the councillors in this area? Do you know who any of them are?
Grey 1: No, I don't even know what ward it is. They have the elections. I had to go to the school, but over there it's somewhere else. I've forgotten, it's gone out of my head. I'm looking at the list and I'm thinking "which ward is it?" I don't even know what it is.

Most of the positive discussions around the role of councillors centred on the belief that councillors were there as a customer complaints desk for local services:

Stella: Have you had much contact with the councillors at all?
Diamond 2: Not in person no. I've never had any problems so...
Stella: But you think they are a good council?
Diamond 2: Yes, they are doing their job. That's all I need, unless and until I have a problem and then if I don't get the service then obviously I'll be angry and disappointed. But I've never had any sort of problem so.

Even amongst those residents who were active in the community there was no suggestion that councillors fulfilled a community leadership role reflecting the close association residents felt between council services and the councillors themselves. Thus, the perception of councillors was closely bound up in the general perception of public services in the area. This conclusion is bolstered by the negative way in which residents discussed councillors. The overwhelming majority of residents who were negative about them mentioned council tax rises and expressed a belief that they were getting little in return because the council neglected the estate. In particular, the councillors themselves were called "incompetent"

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[26] Please see Appendix F1 for the contingency tables and Chi square results.

and "corrupt" by several of the residents, and the notion that they were pocketing the

money being raised mentioned several times. Here again, the discussions echoed the sense

of neglect:

> *Stella:* Have you had any contact with your councillors?
> *Mauve 2:* Yeah and the least said about them the better, don't you think? You ask them for help and nobody wants to know basically, for any subject as far as I can see.
> *Stella:* So you've had quite a lot of contact with them?
> *Mauve 2:* Not a lot of contact, but every time you have had contact, they say there's nothing we can do for you - you only pay your council tax.
> *Mauve 2 wife:* They put up the money, but you don't see them doing any better service.
> *Mauve 2:* If I was to be claiming on the state they could do as much as they like for you, but because you don't you know [...] It's like the last elections, when he came round and we complained. He said "You were all quite happy you voted for it" I said "none of us did, none of us were asked."
> *Mauve 2 wife:* I think the council are in it for themselves.
> *Stella:* Is there anything in particular that makes you say that?
> *Mauve 2:* Because they earn a lot more than me for doing nothing basically; because they don't do any more than the regular things and the services just go down and down.

Even those residents who were positive about the councillors mentioned the general view:

> *Silver 1:* Councillors themselves I don't really know them only by a bit of reputation.
> *Stella:* What is that?
> *Silver 1:* You hear so many different kind of, you know, so many different kind of [inaudible] Some people think the whole council is totally corrupt. I don't believe that at all. I'm sure there's some good, I don't think its like Lambeth or Hackney you know, nothing like that and I think they kind of, as I say, on the whole, I mean, to my impression is, on the whole, they try to manage quite a good standard really.

Amongst those that knew or had had contact with the local councillors, mixed views were

expressed about particular representatives and some residents complained about them being

unresponsive to calls and out of reach. Again it was clear that experience didn't necessarily

define perception. Some residents named specific politicians as an exception rather than

typical of politicians overall who neglected them.

> *Stella:* Can you tell me more about your relationship with the Councilors?
> *Purple 5:* Councillor [NAMES COUNCILLOR] does a surgery every month
> and he'll talk to whoever happens to be here about whatever happens to be their
> problem. Unlike many councilors, if he says he'll look into that, he does
> actually look into that. We get quite a lot of respect from Barbara Roache - she
> opened this place.
> *Stella:* Do you feel it's the traditional figures like MPs and councillors that are
> important to the estate?
> *Purple 5:* I'm probably more respected because I don't get paid for what I'm
> doing, unlike the woman who does the job in the council who doesn't really
> like it, but likes the pay cheque. That's where they get worn down by the
> machine. They really don't give a toss and nor would I!

As this remark shows, there was a strong distrust of politics and politicians - not as

individuals, but as part of political parties. Five participants mentioned without prompting

that they had received assistance from the local MP, but in general politicians and political

parties received a poor press:

> *Silver 3:* I used to vote, but now I don't accept too much politics nowadays. I
> mean when I lived in Tottenham I did, but now, no. The only person I voted for
> was, what his name was? The mayor Ken Livingstone, yeah, that's the only guy
> I've voted for here. I might if there's anybody who sounds very good, but most
> politicians they come up and they say one thing and then they don't. Anyway
> they are not very trustable people. I don't think, you have to watch out with
> them, so I don't really vote.

So too there appeared little excitement for politics although some were actively involved in

local politics. Five residents stated that they were members of a political party and one said

he was intending to stand for local Government. However, most residents professed little interest in politics or an active dislike for politics:

Stella: Have you been to any community meetings?
Lemon 4: No.
Stella: Would you go?
Lemon 4: I thought about it, then I thought it's just lip service and I haven't bothered.
Stella: Have you seen any notices?
Lemon 4: I've had things posted through the door. I'm very negative about these organizations, that they are actually going to do anything. Like the politicians.
Stella: You haven't participated?
Lemon 4: No I haven't got any evidence, so I haven't got anything to judge it on, but this is my feeling.

As Chapter Four described, in recent years there had been a low turnout on the estate for both local and national elections. Politics was something most tried hard to avoid.

Amber 3: I've just got no interest in politics or anything whatsoever, so I just keep out of it. I don't really know nothing about it anyway.

As Chapter One discussed, political participation features strongly in the social capital debates. So too in recent decades there has been growing concern about the low levels of turn out in local elections and the reasons for this (Curtice et al 2003) When questioned, forty-one residents said they had exercised their right to vote in the recent past including in general and/or local elections. However, it is important to note that twelve were ineligible to answer e.g. under age or not in the UK during an election. However, only thirty-two said they intended to vote again, nine said they might do and eighteen said they would never vote again. In addition ten did not have the franchise e.g. they underage or ineligible to vote as refugees.

261

In their research Rallings et al (2003) identified the importance of "attachment" to the neighbourhood in determining voting behaviour. In this context, the evidence regarding the neglect residents felt the local authorities showed to the estate may help in part to explain the attitudes expressed about voting. Certainly, there was little pattern to whom would or would not vote. Both men and women, white and non-white residents and residents of all ages held strong views both ways, which might else explain participation in elections.

Residents appeared to separate the principle of voting from the practicalities of voting in Noel Park. Amongst those who intended to vote there was a strong sense that it was an important duty with one resident describing, "It's my divine right and I'm going to have it" (Brown 5). However, those that did vote were split between those who thought it did make a difference and those who were less convinced:

Stella: Will you vote?
Emerald 2: Definitely. I feel I should use the little amount of power I have to vote somebody in to help people out in the area.

And:

Stella: You always vote?
Lemon 6: Oh you have to. There's no point complaining about the people that have got in. If you don't vote, the minority of the people that didn't vote goes to the majority. People don't know that.

In contrast:

Stella: Do you think it's important to vote?
Lemon 7: Of course. It's nice to vote. Pick people who would do good things for the area, which not many people are doing good things for the area. I hope one day somebody's going to do something good.

And

Stella: Do you vote?
Cream 1: Yes I'm on the thing, but what's the point? No-one listens anyway.

Reflecting some of the other findings of Rallings et al, there was some recognition that the Noel Park ward was not a marginal ward. Both non-voting and voting residents commented voting didn't make a difference because of this and saw it as a reason turnout in elections was low.

Purple 6: It's a fairly strong Labour council it doesn't make a difference who you vote for.

And:

Stella: Can I ask if you voted in the local elections?
Mauve 2: Yes I always vote.
Stella: Is there any particular party you would vote for?
Mauve 2: No, just one I think that would do any good. But I recognise it doesn't make any odds who you vote for, the same people get in all the time. So even the local elections are…well nobody votes basically.

So too as Rallings et al suggested, there was a link between a cynicism about politics and not voting. Most of those who stated that they would not vote said it was because they felt there was little point. Here too this reflects the outcomes of the research by Curtice et al

263

(2003) of a wider decline in perceptions of political trust and political efficacy over the

course of the last ten years.

> *Stella:* Have you ever voted?
> *Emerald 1:* No, it's a personal thing. I don't stop anybody from voting. It's a
> thing with me because I couldn't see them doing the things they said they were
> going to be doing. None of them seemed to be able to get together at all and
> now we're all at war fighting. It's a no win situation.

And:

> *Stella:* You don't intend to vote?
> *Lemon 4:* No, because it's basically the same old shit with a different face. Blair
> is no different to the Tories; Tories are no better than Blair.

Research by Rallings et al also showed knowledge of local representatives was likely to

influence voting behaviour. There was some anecdotal evidence that contact was valued by

residents:

> *Stella:* Do you vote in elections?
> *Rose 1:* I haven't in the last one because: A) Nobody has bothered to come
> round. We don't get any literature about the elections and the people that are
> standing and B) it doesn't seem to matter who you vote for, they do what they
> want. It's all for them.

It is interesting to note that Rose 1 described the councillors for the local area as good and

was also involved in the neighbourhood forum. As this suggests that there was no

correlation between activism and participation in elections, reflecting recent research which

showed an increasing trend amongst activists to substitute their voluntary activities for

political engagement (Seyd et al 2003). Several of those who participated in tenants or

leaseholders associations or sat on the board for bodies such as SureStart or as school governors expressed little interest in voting. Gold 1 was a local tenant activist:

> *Stella:* Do you vote in general or local elections?
> *Gold 1:* Both.
> *Stella:* Is there any particular party you vote for?
> *Gold 1:* It was Labour. It don't really matter anymore. I don't think I shall bother anymore because I don't care who's in, they are all the same under the brush. I don't think so, not now anyway. Normally I would vote Labour.

The attitudes towards voting should not however be taken as an indication of attitudes towards politics and political issues. Many residents who said they didn't vote professed strong political views.

> *Jade 1:* I'm more of a pub voter. I sit in the pub and sort of talk up Labour or talk up the Conservatives however I'm feeling at the moment, whatever paper I've been reading, and when it comes to the tick on the paper, I don't really do it. I have strong values when it comes to a debate, but when it comes to making a difference I don't.

This shows how the sense of malaise residents expressed towards the public sphere extended to their relationship with democracy and their elected representatives. The level of activism within the local community discussed in Chapter Six reveals the interest residents had in the locality. However, as the previous example shows, few felt that traditional forms of democratic participation were relevant to their concerns. In achieving their objectives few residents turned to the local authority for assistance. Alternatively, they showed little concern for its activities except as a problem to be overcome. Perhaps more worryingly for local democratic structures, there appeared to be little appetite for challenging this perspective.

Individual experiences of officers, services and political representatives appeared on the whole to be positive, yet still residents felt the council was not to be trusted and that these experiences were an exception rather than a trend. Underpinning these discussions was a sense of the neglect of the area. This helped anchor their experiences of public services not as indicative of levels of service provision but exceptional. It also made engagement with local civic structures pointless because no one cared about them anyway. In the final section of this chapter I will argue that this perspective also explains the way in which residents viewed the Noel Park Initiative and the work of the forum in regenerating the area.

Neighbourhood Renewal

Following on from the discussion of public services and the local authority in general, the research interviews then focused specifically on the way in which residents viewed the projects which were part of the neighbourhood renewal plan for the area. To give clarity to the discussion three strands of work were identified: the street wardens, SureStart and the project to tackle unemployment in Noel Park. This separation revealed that whilst few residents were even aware of or supportive towards the "Neighbourhood Renewal Project" or the "Noel Park Initiative" (hearafter NPI), the three strands of work had a greater level of interest for residents. However, as already discussed, it became clear the malaise with which residents viewed the public sphere in Noel Park also contributed to their approach to these projects and the NPI. It thus determined their willingness to be involved as well as their support for, and ultimately experience of, the regeneration process.

So far I have argued that residents perceived a lack of interest in the Noel Park estate by the local authority. It might be expected then that the intervention of the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund and the NPI in the area would be welcomed as evidence of action being taken. However, it became clear that few residents were aware of the existence of Noel Park as a "neighbourhood renewal" area or more generally of the term. When questioned about the scheme, the most common response was one of non recognition or to state that the term didn't mean anything. Eighteen residents responded in this way. Within the remaining respondents some answers were vague such as "Change everything, am I right?"(Purple 3) and "Something that's coming up special, new, something that's been revived or sort of started up again or sort of been going on" (Rose 1). Others were more specific to the more specific "Things like graffiti, a few cars burnt out. Giving it a new look" (Lemon 6) and "Putting slides in the park, redoing the lights, speed bumps. In Tottenham I've heard of schemes putting more money in schools in that area" (Tan 1).

This did not mean that residents were unable to think of things that needed renewing. Those that did come up with issues requiring attention mimicked their concerns about the area. Indeed, residents tended to state the same priorities for the area as they did explanations of what neighbourhood renewal was for - although this may reflect a need for a sense of internal consistency in their responses. Seven residents thought "neighbourhood renewal" was to do with crime and anti social behaviour, four thought it was to do with housing and twelve thought it was to do with environmental improvements such as cleaning the local park or rubbish collection. Following my argument in Chapter Six, eight residents identified neighbourhood renewal as to do with "community" and a restoration of the social and cultural relationships they considered previously existing on the estate. Diamond 2 stated "they are trying to create a kind of community within the neighbourhood".

It was also striking that amongst the activist residents, most identified "neighbourhood renewal" with only one thing – money:

> *Blue 2:* For Haringey, it's the opportunity for some councillors to make a lot of money and to have a lot of prestige and have their names in the paper. I know that the EC is giving money as part of it and the centralised government is giving money as part of it as well.

Despite concern about the neglect of Noel Park, it was noticeable some residents were mixed about what this investment or desire to renew the area represented and there was a certain ambivalence about why Noel Park had been singled out. Whilst some argued that the area had been "knocked back" by a "lack of funding" (Blue 2) others felt that the funding wasn't enough –"To really get down and start renewal we've got to have a hell of a lot more money than the council can afford" (Brown 5). Some felt the scheme was a confirmation that basic services in the area were not acceptable:

> *Red 3:* Renewal I regard as renewing fabric. When they say it, they mean policing, crime. Well they should already be doing that. Don't talk about renewal, talk to me about the job that should be done in the first place.

Three residents did not understand why Noel Park had been offered funding in comparison to the remainder of the locality. In discussing the potential impact of both the NPI and the Haringey Heartlands development one resident stated:

> *Green1:* I don't think it should be any better than the rest of North London. I don't see any need for community regeneration. If you really want to regenerate you'd focus on redistributing income, poverty...I don't see how it's going to regenerate. Not that it's necessarily something that needs regeneration - it just needs redistribution. I don't think there's anything local that is of concern.

In contrast to the lack of awareness of "neighbourhood renewal", it was surprising that the body charged with delivery of this, the NPI, was relatively well known with twenty seven residents stating they had heard of the Forum. Within the study some groups were more aware of the NPI than others. White residents were 4.3 times more likely to say they had heard of the NPI than non-white residents. Unsurprisingly that those stated they had attended community meetings within the area were also 6 times more likely to say they knew of the NPI. [27]

As discussed in Chapter Six there was a noted lack of enthusiasm for community meetings. Many residents were dismissive or negative about those who participated in the scheme. Such negativity was evident both from those who did and did not attend the NPI meetings, and indeed some of those heavily involved in the scheme itself were dismissive of the attempts to engage more residents in the NPI's work:

> *Stella:* The Noel Park Initiative – what do you understand that to be?
> *Purple 5:* This isn't the man on the street opinion, because I'm supposed to know about it, otherwise I'd look stupid at the meetings, not knowing about it. It's of no importance to Mrs Smith because all she wants to know is if her wheelie bin is going to be removed. Neighbourhood renewal is fantastic if it's carried out properly. If you're not careful it's just going to be a Tony Bland window dressing. You're almost better off not to get involved.

It is certainly clear that residents were more aware, and more supportive, of specific initiatives such as the street wardens and SureStart rather than the NPI itself. Indeed thirty-six residents said they had seen or heard of the street wardens and twenty-nine said they had heard of SureStart. In contrast to the attitudes expressed about public services in

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[27] Please see Appendix F2 for the contingency tables and chi square results.

general and the NPI, there was substantial support for the street wardens amongst those residents who said they knew of the scheme or had seen the wardens:

Stella: Have you seen the street wardens?
Emerald 1: No, I've read about them, but I've never actually seen any of them.
Stella: Where did you read about them?
Emerald 1: In the local Haringey free paper. I've seen wardens in Tottenham. It gives you a general feeling, a safe aspect.

Those the residents who knew about them viewed the wardens as involved in community safety and tackling anti-social behaviour and thus were supportive of them as a way of tackling the incivilities discussed earlier in this chapter. Yet many residents saw them as indicative of low police presence on the estate and were worried they would be ineffective because they did not have the same powers as the police:

Lemon 4: I think they are a good idea. I just wonder what they will do and how they will do it and will they be protected, and if not, maybe they won't challenge things.

For some their status was a good thing with some residents arguing "The police haven't got the time " (Ruby 1) to deal with all the criminal activity on the estate. Others were less positive:

Stella: Have you heard of the street wardens?
Red 1: Aren't they employed like a civil police?
Stella: Have you seen them around?
Red 1: No, I haven't seen them around. I don't know who they are.
Stella: Do you think it is a good idea?
Red 1: It might be. All depends what type you get. They might be little Hitlers who want to push the boundaries as much as they can. I'd sooner see police here than street wardens, to be honest with you.

Given their concerns about life on the estate, it is not difficult to see why residents were mainly interested in the security that wardens could offer to residents. These sentiments were particularly marked amongst those residents who had not had direct contact with the wardens. In contrast, those who had direct contact with the wardens, who were universally positive about the role of the wardens, tended to describe them as having a broader role within the estate around environmental issues as well as community safety:

Brown 5: As far as I can see they are doing a good job. They are on the ball. We had a brand new kitchen for the wife! We had lots of rubbish outside, they wanted to know why. They pulled up and came and found out. They seem to be reporting rubbish as well. As far as crime, there isn't anything they can do but ring 999. I think they are a good thing, but you don't see too much of them - mores the pity. They might cycle past without me knowing. I also think they are being spread a little too thin on the ground. I think they're trying to do a bigger area, the other side of the High Road and that's trying to stretch them too far. They go up [NAMES ROAD]. I have seen a bit of an improvement. Fridges do disappear after a week rather than three months.

Overall then the presence of the Wardens on the estate, and indeed the idea of them, had been received reasonably well by residents at the time of the research. However, at the same time residents also saw them as a replacement, rather than a scheme in their own right, to make up for the neglect of the estate by the police. In contrast, SureStart had a much lower profile than the Street wardens, even with some of those who knew of the name of the scheme.

Stella: Have you heard of SureStart?
Emerald 2: Oh yeah, I've heard about that. I saw a poster that said SureStart. I think it's something to do with social services.

However, amongst particular groups within the community there were higher levels of recognition. Within the study women were 5.2 times more likely than men to have heard of SureStart and respondents from households with children were 2.7 times more likely to be aware of the project than those without.[28] This suggests that where a project corresponded with particular concerns or interests of residents it tended to spark interest amongst the residents.

The limited recognition of SureStart did not prevent controversy amongst residents about what role it played on the estate. Chapter Eight will show there was unease amongst the gatekeepers that the majority of parents involved in the SureStart scheme were from middle class backgrounds. Amongst some of the residents there was concern to prove that the scheme was for all children on the estate:

Purple 1: The first I heard of that through the grape vine, I thought it was mis-worded - support network purely for deprived families, that is not how it works and that tended to make you think that normal every day families can't get any help.

One parent who attended commented:

Yellow 2: I was a bit hesitant at first, because it sounded like it was for low-paid or single parents. Again, it sounds like it's for poorer people, so I was a bit hesitant to come in the first place, but it is for anybody. But I think the term SureStart does give the impression that it's for people who are single parents only or whatever, or who haven't got much money.

As Chapter Six showed, such views are critical to the success of the SureStart project because of evidence that parents who did attend were integral to recruiting other local

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[28] Please see Appendix F3 for the contingency tables and chi square results.

parents to the scheme. Indeed, the clusters of parents who participated in the scheme showed how this word of mouth approach meant there was higher attendance from residents who lived in particular parts of the estate and were tapped into particular networks. Yet whilst there was concern about the audience SureStart was accessing, it was clear that those who had participated in the scheme were converted. Amongst those residents involved in SureStart or aware of the scheme there was universal praise for the projects:

Pink 2: I think Sure Start is a really good idea for all the people who live around here, because, for example, I'm not counsellor, and if someone hadn't introduced me to the Sure Start maybe I wouldn't know about it and I feel they are making a lot of changes and they are bringing out lots of things for children and also the family. They are bringing here face painting, dance classes - lots of things which is a good idea. But also old people who live around here can enjoy it. They get fewer problems in this area than before.

Indeed some residents were explicit about the difference schemes such as SureStart had made to their lives. One mother commented:

Sapphire 3: I'm not 100% happy about living here. My main reason that I stay here, I mean, now SureStart has started, that's positive.

In contrast, some of the parents in the research who had not heard of SureStart were extremely isolated. One parent stated "My girlfriend is a teacher. I stay at home with the baby and there's not a lot else to tell really" (Jade 1).

The final element of the neighbourhood renewal project considered was the work being done to tackle unemployment on the estate. The majority of respondents in the research were not in employment – twenty-one were in employment, either full or part-time

and forty-nine were not. Of the forty-nine who were not in employment five were students in full time education, eight had caring responsibilities, thirteen were retired, six were disabled and eight were refugees unable to seek legitimate work. When asked, most respondents agreed that unemployment was a problem for residents on the estate with sixteen commenting on the numbers of people around the estate as evidence of this problem:

Stella: Is there a problem with unemployment in this area?
Amber 1: I don't really know. There does seem to be a lot of people around during the day and they can't all be night workers, so yeah, there probably is a problem.

Yet as I argued in Chapter Five, if respondents in the main felt unemployment was high in the local area, their perceptions were more ambivalent about whether unemployment was a problem and whether it should be a concern for intervention. Whilst most residents agreed with the notion Noel Park was an area of high unemployment, the majority of those in employment tended to argue that there was plenty of work available. Only five residents in total mentioned tackling unemployment in the area as a priority for the estate and in addition many made negative or derogatory comments about those who did not work. This included those who were unemployed themselves:

Stella: The third scheme is about unemployment. Do you think that's a big issue round here?

Blue 1: Well, I mean, I'll be fair, I ain't educated, but I've always had a job. If somebody gets off their backside and does a job, ok all well and good, but me, personally, I think it's down to the person. What do you think?

Stella: It's not up to me.

Blue 1: It's true though. If somebody's lazy and they think "oh I'll go down the social security", its wrong. You should be working.

Stella: Do you feel there is a lot of unemployment in this area?

Blue 1: Yeah, probably some of them don't want work they just want to lay back.

Indeed, concern that was expressed about unemployment tended to focus on a perceived link between unemployment and crime, particularly amongst young adults. This mirrors the concerns about the neglect of Noel Park and the incivility of having young people hanging around the estate rather than a concern about the lack of work *per se*:

Lemon 1: Just the mere fact that there are too many people- you've probably got about twenty people to one job, I should think. I think that's why the youngsters go astray, because there's not the work. They get to about fifteen onwards and they've got nothing to do but hang around and look for mischief. It's a lot of drugs and things. I'm not personally involved so I don't know who, but I do know it goes on quite a lot. Also, my son works in pubs and he sees it all the time - drink, drugs, unemployment through the youngsters, not enough work. If it goes on another five years it's going to get so bad. Something's got to be done - don't ask me what.

Only six of those not working described themselves as actively looking for work and unemployed. However the majority of residents who were unemployed expressed a desire to find work and described a number of difficulties which prevented local people from getting work. In particular the provision of childcare was seen as important. Many of the women who were unemployed argued they didn't wish to work and leave their children.

although several of those involved in the SureStart scheme described themselves as more willing to consider this as a result of the project:

> *Sapphire 3:* I've been out of employment for about nine years. That wasn't due to not being able to get a job, that was due to other reasons. I'm hoping through SureStart maybe I can get some training things and get an idea of what I want to do. I can't really speak for people that are unemployed in this area. I've read about that New Deal. I'd take anything that includes that, but proper training, not just rubbish jobs to get them off the list whatever.

Residents also shared the concerns, identified by gatekeepers in Chapter Eight, that local residents were not able to access the local jobs market. Several respondents described being told that there were no jobs to be had in local shops despite the influx of new employers into the area with the arrival of several new major retailers:

> *Stella:* Is unemployment a big problem here?
> *Lemon 5:* Yes, because I've been looking for a job for nearly a year. It's difficult because there are so many people going for the jobs. It's very difficult.
> *Stella:* What's been the hardest thing about looking for work?
> *Lemon 5:* Getting something local that pays well. Most jobs you have to travel quite a distance or they are not paid well. That is the biggest problem.

The discussion of the specific projects related to the neighbourhood renewal project for Noel Park revealed a mixed response from residents. Whilst the street wardens were on the whole well received, it was clear that SureStart received less general recognition and so less appreciated. So too, despite the acknowledgement that unemployment was high around the estate and the high levels of worklessness experienced by the residents who took part in the survey themselves, the planned action to tackle unemployment did not raise particular interest from the residents. In the context of the previous discussion about the malaise residents felt about life on the estate, their responses to these projects become reflections of

276

these concerns rather than any criticism of the schemes themselves. Thus it was clear that the SureStart scheme was well received by those who took part, but it was not seen as tackling the priority issues of concern on the estate. The same could be said for the proposed work on tackling unemployment.

Looking to the Future: Should I Stay Or Should I Go?

As a conclusion to the research interviews, residents were asked whether they intended to remain on the estate or would prefer to leave. Overall forty-two residents said they were happy to continue living on Noel Park estate, whilst twenty-eight said they were not and wanted to move elsewhere. Given that as the previous chapter shows, longevity of residence was critical to social relationships, such feelings were clearly vital to the long term stability of the area. In their reasons for leaving the sense of malaise about life on the estate figured highly. Most residents who wanted to leave mentioned wanting to be somewhere where things were better:

> *Jade 1:* I wouldn't want to move to Tottenham; I'd like to move to the outskirts. I found Muswell Hill very nice, villagey community. It sounds really bad, I'm not pompous like that, I just want her to go to the best schools and to be in the best area we can. I'm just not satisfied with Wood Green for that.

As this comment shows, many parents in the study were particularly keen to move out. One resident commented that the crime in the area made him want to "take my children to have a better life" (Lemon 7) in Loughton. Other destinations mentioned included Palmers Green, Enfield, Winchmore Hill or Barnet and only one resident who wanted to leave expressed a desire to move further back into London to Islington. Of those who wanted to

stay five of the older residents explained that they were planning on staying in the area but would prefer to move:

> *Blue 1:* I'm too old to move roots now. If I was younger I think I would have gone long ago.
> *Stella:* Why is that?
> *Blue 1:* Houses. All nice new houses, something like that. But you know, if you're young, but I'm too old to muck about now. I think I'll stay where I am.

Of those who did say they wished to stay in the area, it became clear this had relatively little to do with perceptions of the attractiveness of the area itself. Familiarity was a strong motive with one resident commenting "I'd rather know the area than what I don't know" (Purple 2) and familial links were also important:

> *Stella:* Would you like to apply for housing?
> *Lemon 5:* Yes, now I've been here long enough I can. I had to be here longer than six months. I do want to stay in this area. My family are near enough to this area.

The one group of residents who were especially keen to stay in the area were those who were or had been refugees. They were universally agreed that Noel Park was better than the places from which they had fled:

> *Stella:* If you stay in the UK you would like to stay here?
> *Pink 1:* I wish to stay forever in this country. I would like to stay in this area, because here's got everything.

However, overall the research shows a sizeable group of residents were actively looking to leave the area because of their concerns about the quality of life available to them. Many of those who said they were happy to stay did so because of the links with people they had in

278

the area rather than because they felt the area itself was a good place to live. This reflects the resignation many residents had towards Noel Park. As one resident commented "It's a normal place that's had a bit of bother in the paper, but everywhere gets that" (Blue 3).

This chapter has shown how concerns about the neglect of the locality provided an atmosphere in which residents viewed the estate. Thus, concerns about community safety and crime, the site of rubbish or flytipping and anti-social behaviour all fed into a common sense that Noel Park was not a nice place to be. This focus on incivilities in turn shaped interaction with the public realm as a whole with a resulting dissatisfaction with services and the persons whom they considered to responsible for this neglect. In doing so, this research shows the difficulty facing those seeking to regenerate the Noel Park area of Haringey. Analysing the lifeworld residents used reveals that they had little awareness, or interest, in the work being done on the estate. Yet, at the same time, the particular concerns raised by residents around crime and environmental issues were indeed the focus of much of the neighbourhood renewal work.

This chapter shows how the lifeworld affects the life chances of residents because they used its contents to define their relationship with the public realm. The discussion has detailed the evidence that the perceptions residents had that the estate was being neglected influenced both their approach to the neighbourhood renewal work and also the estate itself. It shaped their skepticism of the benefits of street wardens, their general dismissiveness towards the NPI and their plans to remain or stay on the estate. As a result the perception that nothing was being done to improve the quality of life on the estate clearly provided the framework for their thoughts about the public realm as a whole. Fundamental to their quality of life as Noel Park residents, many respondents had accommodated and indeed

overcome their frustration about this neglect. However, it is clear that their relationship

with the public realm which paid the price.

Chapter Eight: The Contribution of Gatekeepers to the Lifeworld

Whilst the majority of debates around the role of social relationships in social exclusion have focused on the interactions between residents of the neighbourhoods in question, there has been a growing debate about the importance of understanding the role of outsiders. Portes and Landolt argued, "sociability, in every sense, cuts both ways" (1996:p.5). This challenges the assumption that tackling exclusion only requires relationships within neighbourhood boundaries. Gilroy and Speak (1998) proposed that understanding social exclusion requires an appreciation of the role that "gatekeepers" to resources, both economic and social, play in determining life chances. Their definition of gatekeepers encapsulates both those who live within the community under scrutiny and also outside it, such as service providers or investors in a locality.

To explore this relationship this chapter will look at the themes discussed so far in this thesis but from the perspective of gatekeepers. For this, thirty additional interviews were conducted with both private and public service providers. The discussion in this chapter is split into three sections: the first will look at evidence of the interaction gatekeepers had with residents on the estate and the views they held of the residents themselves. The second section will then consider how gatekeepers viewed the public realm, illustrating how the gatekeepers problematised the estate and considering how these representations tallied or differed with the discussion in Chapter Seven. The final section will look in detail at the response of the gatekeepers to the neighbourhood renewal agenda for Noel Park within the context of their views of what was wrong with the estate.

This analysis is integral to understanding life chances in Noel Park for three reasons: firstly, as Chapter Five described, gatekeepers were important contributors to the

social representations held on the estate and this chapter shows in detail how they contributed to the common sense or lifeworld of Noel Park. Secondly, the views expressed by those working on the estate offer a useful counterpoint against which to consider the representations residents used described in previous chapters. Finally, this chapter will show how the way in which gatekeepers drew on this psychological context determined their service provision priorities.

The Role of Gatekeepers in Producing Social Representations

In Chapter Five I discussed how social representations pertinent to Noel Park were created by interaction amongst those present on the estate. Whilst not seeking to replicate the discussion in Chapter Five, this section will look at that process from the perspective of the gatekeepers. Only three of the gatekeepers lived on the estate itself, although in total nine gatekeepers lived in Haringey. It was particularly striking that nine of those interviewed had been working on the estate for less than a year, the majority being in positions which had been created by the Neighbourhood Renewal projects. Indeed, given the nature of neighbourhood renewal and its focus on community engagement, the roles these individuals played on the estate involved a substantial amount of time working with residents, making them critical contributors to the social representations around the estate.

In contrast to the residents, most gatekeepers sought to play down the suggestion that Noel Park was in anyway different from other estates in London. Instead, many described the issues they faced working in Noel Park as Haringey and London-wide. Overall, thirteen of the gatekeepers responded to questions about the estate by arguing the issues being discussed were in fact "London wide" or symptomatic of London. Sentiments

such as, "that's a London wide problem, Yeah its not Haringey, it's wherever you are" (Gatekeeper 10), or "a big problem in London" (Gatekeeper 15) and "the system is typical of throughout London" (Gatekeeper 14) were peppered throughout the interviews. So too gatekeepers were much more likely to explain what Noel Park was like in relation to their images of London as a whole. They started their answers with phrases such as "in comparison with the rest of London" (Gatekeeper 21) or "I know of places in London that are a lot lot worse than Noel Park estate" (Gatekeeper 19). This may have been in part because most of the gatekeepers lived and or had worked in other areas of London and so drew on these experiences in their interviews. However, overall it meant that in contrast to the residents' attempts to mark out the distinctiveness of the estate, gatekeepers tended more towards generalizations across wider areas in their responses.

There was also a substantial difference in the consumption of all forms of news media when compared to residents. Within the study, twenty-six out of the thirty gatekeepers regularly read a national newspaper and thirteen of them reported regularly reading the local newspaper. Twenty-four gatekeepers reported reading the local freesheet, the Haringey Advertiser, and nineteen reported regularly watching television news. There were much higher levels of interest and engagement in news media by gatekeepers than the residents and throughout the interviews gatekeepers appeared more aware of the descriptions of the estate and Haringey in the news. Indeed, an awareness of the news media defined for many of the gatekeepers the nature of their working environment:

Gatekeeper 30: you don't hear many good things about Haringey, but I think given their history and given their size and given what they have to do and all the issues that are in Haringey with bad schools, to refugees being located, to guns and crime and all that sort of thing they've got a lot to deal with and certainly bad press like the Victoria Climbie trial doesn't help. But there's an element of "Well I've been working in the council twenty, thirty years I'm not going to change what I'm doing and this is what I do. So parts of it want to move forward but can't because others won't.

Gatekeepers were much more discursive than residents about the news media and their role as a source of information about life in London:

Gatekeeper 9: I read the Mirror and The Sun, but I like the local papers especially Haringey's local papers. I like The Independent and The Advertiser, especially The Advertiser- that is so interesting and that tells you what's going on. Like if there's anything like if they have anything in the park. The Tottenham Wood Green Journal that's excellent ...
Stella: What about television news or the radio?
Gatekeeper 9: I like London Tonight. Yeah, I love that cos it's London Tonight. I think it's really good, cos its so close to us. If they do say anything, you know where it is, cos again they talk about stuff in Haringey. You might hear about anything in Enfield now and again, but mainly Haringey.

Within the study, ten out of the thirty gatekeepers cited examples from the news media as the evidence on which they based their opinion. This is roughly 10% more than the residents. An example of this was Gatekeeper 28 who used the local papers several times as a source of information on Noel Park:

Gatekeeper 28: Education - I suppose more could be done. That is my general impression. I mean, I haven't studied in detail, what sort of I mean -having a quick glance at the local papers. I feel that there is more could be done to instill education help.

Stella: Do you read the local newspapers?

Gatekeeper 28: When I do get a chance, because we get one copy and my partner takes it home. We get the Advertiser and it gives me some idea about the problems with cars and dumped so to speak cars. Also the waste things lying around and with all these things, education comes in.

In particular, most of those who worked in the public sector talked of the importance of reading the local papers as part of their job:

Stella: Do you read the local newspapers?

Gatekeeper 3: Yeah. Journal, Independent, all the local rags. Well, we have to, its part of the job to keep up on current problems on the estate.

The issue most frequently discussed was the coverage of refugees. It was clear gatekeepers felt media coverage was influential and five out of thirty gatekeepers made specific reference to these debates:

Gatekeeper 17: It's a bit like the problem where asylum seekers are being sent to Glasgow, you know. Glasgow don't want asylum seekers, asylum seekers don't want to be in Glasgow - they are away from their communities. Most of their communities are in London and that's where the wars begin. And we've seen all of that on the news haven't we?

Gatekeepers appeared to respond to their sense that the media was critical to public perceptions in two ways. On the one hand, many accepted that the coverage they described was a reflection of reality of the area. Gatekeeper 13 talked about muggings in the area "it's the best thing to do not to stand up, because you don't know what they've got and I have

heard, well everybody's read in the local papers, of people being shot in Green Lanes and Wood Green." However, in contrast, it was noticeable amongst several of the public service providers that there was a strong sense it was their role to challenge what they considered as unhelpful perceptions of the estate.

> *Gatekeeper 24:* Maybe service providers like me can offer to this community is that input that keeps saying good things about this neighbourhood and working with our local school and then linking up our children and family services. So its like being part of the solution, which is encouraging people to believe in this community [...] I think there is a level of fear which comes and I don't have strong evidence for this, so its like the feeling rather than fact. I think the level of crime and the way that it is represented through the media engenders a lot of fear that doesn't need to be part of this community. And so its people like me and service providers like me who have to just keep reminding people of that and saying, actually, the reality is very different and the way that you feel about it. I don't know if you can back that up with your evidence of what goes on in Noel Park, but I was like really surprised - not that it is any use to you to pick up some police statistics recently that 96%, if you talk to some of the people who live here they will say that every young person is a criminal! Oh the youth, its really a lot of crime round here and, 96% of Haringey young people live crime free lives. 96%, I was quite gobsmacked. So I just keep telling everybody that all the time now, so its different, I don't know and only 1%. 75% of the crime in young offending is committed by 1% of that so even the other 3% is not major crime its like 1%. So out of 100 people its only 1 that you really need to be scared of, do you know what I mean? So, like, talk to 99 of them and then don't bother with the last one!"

Thus, in comparison to the residents, the gatekeepers were more explicitly influenced by the news media. This was both in their own consumption of it and also in their perception of how residents and others were influenced by the press as well. However, in contrast to the difference in their attitudes about the media, gatekeepers and residents shared an equal sense of the importance of their conversations. As Chapter Five described, twenty-three of the gatekeepers detailed conversations they had with residents and the impact this had on their perception of the estate. This chapter will not seek to repeat that discussion.

However, what was also noticeable was the context in which these took place. In Chapter Five I described how the social relationships between residents framed by their expectations about "neighbours". It became clear that gatekeepers felt that their role as "service providers" defined their social interactions with residents. For some gatekeepers the concept of service was explicit as they spoke of their activities on the estate. For others, it was implicit in the way in which they described their relationship with the residents.

Turning first to the explicit notion of service provision, a good example of this was the way in which several gatekeepers described their duties as sources of information and common sense on the estate. As the previous remarks from Gatekeeper 24 and the comments from Gatekeeper 9 below illustrate, several gatekeepers saw themselves as in a position to give more objective and knowledgeable information about the local area because of their job:

Gatekeeper 9: There's quite a few middle-class people round here, so some of them. Cos its, like, a public park, some of them bring their children to the park. And they don't even go to school round here, they take them elsewhere, and I speak to quite a few of the parents and, its like, with them, they don't talk to find out what's going on, they just judge and I think that's wrong, I was speaking to a parent the other day and I, basically, just giving her a brief line about what's being happening. And she lives round here and she doesn't even know, cos she said she only goes in shops in Wood Green and she takes her children to the park and that's it. Other than that she goes elsewhere and I said well that's not fair, cos then your kids have to grow up round here they need to know things.

Stella: What sort of thing?

Gatekeeper 9: Just like, being more wary in the park. Some parents leave their kids, like I don't care if they live on that street, they should escort their children to the park. You never ever know who is in the park, but a lot of them do that and a lot of them you never know when there's paedophiles. We had, um, a phone call a couple of weeks ago saying that there was one hanging around. We ain't seen anything, you just never know. That's why I was speaking to that parent and, like, she didn't think things like that were like happening round here. And I was, like, well, yeah, you've got young children, you've got to open your eyes, cos they're not going to be staying babies for ever. If they are gonna want to come out and play, you've got to know what's happening.

The sense of service provision was not only explicit in the discussion of the role of gatekeepers as information providers. It also implicitly defined the social relationships gatekeepers formed with residents. Whilst it was clear that some gatekeepers had much deeper and longstanding relationships with residents than others, all gatekeepers clearly saw these as work based relationships rather than anything more emotionally bonding. As Chapter Five describes, several residents referred to various gatekeepers as "friends", yet this was not reciprocated in the interviews with the gatekeepers. No gatekeepers described residents as "friends" and when asked if the area was a "friendly area" only eleven out of thirty gatekeepers said yes. All of these responses referred to their impressions of relationships between residents rather than relationships between gatekeepers and residents. One of those who thought the estate was friendly described it as a "close knit community"

(Gatekeeper 22). Of the remaining nineteen, seven were ambivalent and the others stated that they could not answer because they only worked on the estate and did not know the people on the estate well enough. Only one gatekeeper talked of forming friendships with residents and argued that this was no indication of the "friendliness" of the area. Indeed, she felt that it may have been her position as a non-resident which allowed her to form relationships: "that could well be my perspective in terms of my role here and presence here is to befriend people" (Gatekeeper 24).

As Chapter Two argued, the social relationships present in deprived neighbourhoods are considered critical to social exclusion. Yet, when discussing their perceptions of relationships between residents, few gatekeepers talked about the positive quality of social relationships. Those who did talk about strong social relationships existing on the estate often argued that these were in spite of the adversity of living there:

> *Gatekeeper 15:* There's people on the edge really and you need to make them feel a sense of belonging. I think there is a sense of belonging here. A lot of the children know each other, they hang out with each other after school. They play and they do a lot of stuff together.

Ten gatekeepers described particular incidents of conflict and tension on the estate. None described specific instances of "community cohesion". Whilst this was a lower level of reported conflict than described by the residents in Chapter Six, those incidents mentioned by gatekeepers were much more serious in nature. Gatekeepers seemed to emphasize instances of division, isolation and conflict in the area, although this could be partly attributed to their perceived role in the area being to resolve these problems. As one commented "A lot of the job includes dealing with neighbour disputes and anti-social behaviour" (Gatekeeper 1).

Echoing the debates in Chapter Two around community cohesion, gatekeepers were particularly conscious of presumed tension between differing ethnic groups within the area. Again in contrast to the residents, only three gatekeepers were positive about the ethnic mix of the area with one saying "its' got a nice cultural blend, better than, say, my borough" (Gatekeeper 15).Eleven of the gatekeepers described the ethnic mix of the area as a problem and seven out of the ten who described incidents of neighbour conflict viewed them as racially motivated:

Gatekeeper 12: The people coming in, they are bringing their own cultures their own beliefs with them. And obviously they want to surround themselves with their own beliefs and cultures and that's how they'd like it to be. And that probably causes a lot of friction with what's already established, you know, so something's got to give somewhere. With so many different cultures and a broad spectrum of ethnic origins, it does cause problems.

Gatekeepers were much more likely to describe the ethnic problems they saw as symptomatic of London rather than Haringey:

Gatekeeper 15: You've got a lot of new communities, a lot of new ethnic groups, coming in, like the Somalis, like the eastern Europeans and newly arrived Turkish communities. And the existing communities - I think its repeated everywhere - feel as if they are being pushed out and these groups are coming in and getting all the resources. There's a little bit of resentment going on and that's throughout London. And you hear even Caribbean's, who are one of the oldest communities here along with the Turkish and so on saying, you know, why should they be given the houses? why should they be given a school place? I've had parents here say "I'm not sending my child here, my child's not going to learn anything, the only language that's spoken here is... you know". I think she was quite flippant, you know, I can't remember which language she said it was, but it certainly wasn't English and that's something that I keep hearing quite a lot.

If the gatekeepers were more likely to see ethnicity itself as a problem than the residents, both groups shared a sense that there were particular problems arising from the presence of refugees. Fifteen out of thirty gatekeepers raised the issue. Only two of these expressed explicitly negative opinions about asylum seekers. However, of the remaining thirteen, the majority described refugees in the area as problematic. In particular, gatekeepers often linked the problems of unemployment to ethnicity. In total, of the twenty gatekeepers who felt that unemployment was a problem in the area, nine directly attributed this to the presence of refugees:

> *Gatekeeper 5:* We've got more immigrants into the country, you know, and Haringey itself has got quite a large different population, you know. Sort of not, its not just Jamaicans or Asians or Turkish and lately Kosovans and etc, you know. So its got quite a multi-race, its become a multi-race borough. I think that's a lot of this problem with its employment, because going back to the languages there's too many different languages for employers to deal with. And some of them, the Croatians and that, they can speak quite a bit of English, so can I suppose a lot of the Indians, but a lot of the Turkish can't and it must be part of the problem, I suppose the language barrier.

Gatekeepers expressed concern about how the presence of refugees on the estate affected service delivery:

Gatekeeper 23 : I mean, the Noel Park area, it seems a very diverse community with lots of nationalities and lots of different age groups so as far as any provision that's available, then, yes it will, because you've got the usual problems of language and I know that is a real issue across the whole of Haringey. I mean, I can't remember how many community languages we've got, but it is over 100. So there is an issue there of people being able to communicate with people within primary care or the acute sector. And then you've got the issue of different cultural backgrounds and the sorts of expectations - what people expect they can get. And again, I know some of the newest people from African countries would prefer to go straight to a hospital because that's the sort of care they are used to, rather than going to primary care. So that's put pressure on A&E. And its educating people I think as to where to go for help I think, that's our role.

As these above responses show, gatekeepers shared a concern with the residents about communication barriers. In total, seventeen gatekeepers raised the question of being unable to speak English in the interviews as a source of difficulties. Gatekeeper 20 explained how even translation didn't necessarily improve their contact with particular ethnic groups.

Gatekeeper 20: The largest group in Noel Park, as I understand it, are Albanians with varying degrees of English, from very articulate to absolutely no English at all. The second largest group is the Somalians, which is the same; some of them are articulate, some of them have no English at all; and then the Turkish. So the three largest groups in Noel Park are all non-English speakers, you know. Naturally, so that's a real problem, and they are also the hardest group to promote the - all our publicity is translated - so we try to reach as wider group as possible, but with varying degrees of success.

Like the residents, gatekeepers also associated refugees with transience and the difficulties in forming stable social relationships:

Gatekeeper 10: I think there's quite a few social changes going on there. I mean, as the ethnic mix is becoming more, more varied. I think you are getting a lot more volatility in there, a lot more people coming and going.

Indeed, general concerns about transience were also expressed and thirteen gatekeepers talked about the impact of people moving in and out of the area. An example of this was Gatekeeper 16 who felt that this turnover in residents accounted for the lack of community on the estate.

> *Gatekeeper 16:* I suppose people got old and their families grew up and so on and the population became much more transient and less stable, so that kind of cohesion and all that kind of [...] It's not the physical infrastructure, it's the social infrastructure went into kind of decline. So what pertained when I [STARTED TO WORK] in Noel Park, there didn't seem to be any services specifically targeted on Noel Park or any organized clubs or movements or anything going on there. And it was clearly something that was needed in order to bring back that sense of community. And I hope we've succeeded in a least beginning to do that.

However, not all discussion of churn focused on its perceived damage to social cohesion. Like some of the residents, particularly homeowners, gatekeepers associated churn with changing demographics of the area. Most of the gatekeepers' comments about churn centred on their perception that a growing number of middle-class professionals were buying property on the estate and how this was a positive motor for regeneration. Yet one gatekeeper explained his sense that social cohesion had lessened since the "right to buy" scheme had been introduced:

Gatekeeper 19: There was a change in terms of the older people moving on and now the changes were those people who bought the properties and those who subsequently utilized the right to buy and are selling them on to new people, younger people, couples who've got two incomes, lots of people at the start of their careers. Partly because it's so convenient to transport to central London and other parts of the country and so on, but then I'm not too bothered about that per se, because in a big city there will always be change and people coming and going. And if you've got a big city then that's part and parcel of the game, that people come people will go.

The impact of a growing middle-class in Noel Park on service provision is discussed later on in this chapter. However, it is interesting to note the contrast between the concerns around the increase in home ownership expressed by residents and the support for this trend expressed by the gatekeepers. I argue this is in part driven by the gatekeepers' characterization of the estate as an area of poverty, the subject of the following section.

The Public Realm and the "Problem" of Noel Park

Given their role on the estate, it is not unsurprising that for many of the gatekeepers the estate was a place of problems – problems which it was their job to solve. The "problematisation" of life on the estate by the gatekeepers was marked in their responses. Many were negative about Noel Park in its current condition. Underpinning much of this problematisation was a sense that individual issues were related to poverty and the actions of those living in poverty. To that extent, the interviews contained many of the ideas discussed in Chapter Two about the social causes of social exclusion.

In contrast to the residents, who hardly discussed poverty as a facet of life on the estate, sixteen of the gatekeepers talked about Noel Park as a poor and deprived area. This gatekeeper worked with children in Noel Park on sporting activities:

> *Gatekeeper 14:* At swimming galas we were put to compete with that side of the borough and [NAMES PERSON] who's been here since 1976, says we always finish last. I spoke to the person at the pool and asked if we could go more with the Tottenham side of schools at a different pool in swimming galas and they, she, the lady who runs it, she agreed with me that you can just tell when the children come out, the kids from schools like Noel Park are smaller less well-nourished. You know they are not thriving as much as these kids from other schools. They are actually physically bigger and she notices that every year children on that side of the borough, they are taken swimming, they are taken to things, but it's not just the fact that they are more expert at it, it's the fact that they are physically thriving more than our swim team. That is swimming is a very easy area to see that happening and if you are, day to day, and you take different schools, you get a general impression of the physical well-being of the population. And, you know, it was interesting to hear her remarks about that.
>
> *Stella:* Did you agree with her?
>
> *Gatekeeper 14:* Well, it's an indicator that they are more affluent and better fed, better nourished, more aspiring, more affluent and therefore parents having more time to spend with them and improve on their leisure facilities and leisure pursuits that sort of thing.

Many of the gatekeepers were keen to point out how poor the estate's residents were despite its appearance as a conservation area:

> *Gatekeeper 20:* I thought it was quite a well-to-do in comparison with- I've worked on Broadwater Farm and I've worked on the Northumberland Park estate and they are clearly very deprived areas with social problems. When I came to Wood Green, I thought it was more affluent cos I didn't see high rise flats. I saw little terraced houses that looked quite pretty with their flower boxes and hanging baskets and things like that and it was quite near the shopping centre and things like this. But once you come to the area you realize its just as poor, just as socially deprived as the other areas.

Gatekeepers were much more likely to talk about the estate as an area of social housing than the residents. Indeed Five gatekeepers were explicit that one of the good things about the estate was that it did not "look" like a council estate. This was in turn linked to the work of the gatekeepers. All of the gatekeepers who worked in the public sector in the study talked of the need for the area to be regenerated and several specifically identified the outward appearance of the housing as deceptive:

> *Gatekeeper 15:* Because I come in and I go out again and I don't feel that I've fully got a grip of the actual community here, which is something I think I need to work on. Maybe do a lot more outreach work, which is part of my brief anyway, but the area to me is an area that on the outside looks quite quaint because of the housing, but there is a lot of deprivation here and not an awful lot for the children to do.

The discussions about housing and deprivation also fed into the gatekeepers' descriptions of residents and the solutions they offered to resolve the problem of poverty. As briefly alluded to in the previous section, several gatekeepers described the beneficial impact to residents of "right to buy" because of its implications to the average income of residents. Here, Gatekeeper 17 describes how residents try to remove the stigma of council housing if they did buy:

Gatekeeper 17: As soon as they've bought it, they've put a Kentucky door on it. Everybody puts a Kentucky door on it because they don't want it to look like a council house. It's the worst thing you can go and do because they are crap, but you know these are the things that happen [...] Very substantial houses - I mean if I had one, if I was a tenant I'd buy. I would buy it for the simple reason you are in the middle of Wood Green, you're very close to the shops and all of that Turnpike Lane station, tube station at Wood Green, bus station at Turnpike Lane. You've got everything that you need. Central London is, what, minutes away by tube and the money that they were getting them for prior to the changes by central government on right to buy when you were getting full discount, you could pick them up for a song. You can sell them now for £180,000, £190,000.

Six gatekeepers commented on how a rise in home ownership would help improve the estate as this would bring more middle class people into the area. Gatekeeper 1 explained how you could see which houses were owned by the council because of the condition of the property.

Gatekeeper 1: People who've bought their houses usually take more care of them. Erm, people in the council houses tend not to and if you walk around the estate you'll see that one of the problems we have is people dumping stuff. Some people just seem to think "I don't want it anymore, I'll throw it outside" and that's one of the problems we have.

Many gatekeepers talked about the impact they perceived "gentrification" would have on the estate. Atkinson argues that "a tendency to see only the positive sides to this process has become a dominant part of the discourse on how our cities will change and on the desirability of encouraging affluent households to move into city areas" (Atkinson 2001 : p.308). Certainly for many gatekeepers it was the key to achieving real change in the fortunes of the neighbourhood:

Gatekeeper 21: A good part of the estate is no more than ten, fifteen minutes walk away and that has attracted middle class people, professional people, working people. That they've bought these houses because a lot of the ones that have been bought have now been sold on again and they are the people that are attracted to it. So it's interesting at the Noel Park Initiative group that people coming through like that. I can see them coming out now and they are often the ones who are - to be frank about this - they are often the ones who are interested in the environment they live in or certainly more vocal or they have more lifeskills to express their dissatisfaction. So, all in all, I think its probably a reasonably positive thing for the estate[...] So I think some people, some people who've been in contact with me have said "look I've paid a lot of money to live here and the streets are not very clean". And I think they push for it and I think they could be, there was an element, a couple of people, I think there could be a problem with them saying "And your council tenants don't do anything to keep their properties clean" or what ever.

Stella: Have people said this to you?

Gatekeeper 21: Several people have said it to me and I - you know it probably is an issue stereotyping, because lots of private homes don't keep their properties up either, but I think if you pay £250,000, you generally have more of an incentive to keep things together and I think the housing authority is, probably hasn't been enforcing sufficiently on some things through a lack of resources. So that when people dump rubbish in their front garden, they don't go down within a week and tell them "it's a condition of your tenancy to make sure that rubbish is cleared, get on with it otherwise I'll take you to court". You know it just doesn't happen.

Discussion of poverty and social class was not just expressed through descriptions of the housing. Throughout it was noticeable that the gatekeepers were alert to the demographic composition of the estate. The terms "working class" and "middle class" were much more freely used in talking about residents – as the above comments show- and gatekeepers were explicit about the social differences amongst residents. Overall eight gatekeepers discussed the social class of residents.

Comments about poverty and social class in Noel Park were often made in relation to the other parts of the borough. In comparison to the residents, the gatekeepers were more likely to see a stronger contrast between Noel Park and the western side of Haringey.

Sixteen gatekeepers described Muswell Hill and Highgate as "better than" Noel Park as opposed to 40% of the residents. Like the residents who expressed the same view, gatekeepers associated this with the higher levels of income Muswell Hill residents were perceived to have. Yet in their discussions of this difference, the gatekeepers focused more much readily on the people rather than the place itself. Gatekeeper 12 explained how he felt Muswell Hill had a stronger sense of community than other parts of Haringey.

Gatekeeper 12: Muswell Hill is an area - it's a law until itself really. I think in the past, you know, years and years ago in the eighties it actually wanted to be, to opt out of Haringey, if I remember rightly. There's a lot of snobbery up there, but then it's a nice area and there's a lot of clean streets and you know people. There's a big community spirit I should think in Muswell Hill, so they might deserve it.

Recognition of the greater levels of affluence in Muswell Hill was associated with positive qualities such as higher activism and more concern for the local community. Whilst many residents commented on their perception of favoritism by public services towards the western areas of Haringey, gatekeepers were more likely to attribute their perception that services were better in these areas to the ability of the western residents to complain. This led to comparisons with the abilities of residents in Noel Park to put their case for service improvements:

Gatekeeper 2: Because the people there are very vocal, they are all - not all - but there are a lot of solicitors, a lot of teachers that speak English, that know what they want and are quite willing to bug the council so that they get what they want. But people round here are different. If you say the majority of people, well, not the majority but a great number of them, don't speak English, how are they going to approach the council and ask for things?

Gatekeepers were also more likely to offer an opinion as to the relative merits of the eastern side of the borough than the residents. Nineteen gatekeepers out of thirty described

Tottenham as "worse" than Noel Park, contrasting with the greater level of ambivalence shown by residents described in Chapter Five. In particular, three gatekeepers mentioned how there had been an attempt to redraw electoral boundaries which would have put Noel Park in with Tottenham and the resistance this faced from residents:

> *Gatekeeper 1:* A little while ago they were thinking of, like, rejigging the boundaries for the electoral wards, which would have meant that Noel Park estate was going to be included in Tottenham wards. The residents were up in arms about this and I think that shows what they think as well. They want to stay part of Wood Green and Hornsey and that side as opposed to Tottenham and I think they are very different areas. Yeah, massively different.

Returning again to the emphasis on deprivation, four gatekeepers argued that despite appearing a more affluent area Noel Park was as poor as Tottenham and should therefore receive as much attention. Three gatekeepers also shared the frustration of the activist residents that other parts of the borough appeared to get more regeneration funding, especially Tottenham.

> *Gatekeeper 23:* I think probably, its probably a bit of a poor relation. Not - that sounds terrible that's not right. Certain parts of Haringey have historically had funding put into them because, you know, you've got Broadwater Farm that's had a lot of money sort of put into it and other parts of Tottenham and there are areas that are, sort of - if you are looking at deprivational scores that will come up first and tend to get, sort of, first round funding, for NRF first round funding, for SureStart. So I think Noel Park becomes a bit of a, sort of, lesser case. How justified that is I'm not sure. However, then as a area I don't know it, sort of, looks, it looks nicer than many areas of Tottenham that you could wander around. I don't know how true that is.

Gatekeepers also saw poverty as integral to understanding crime and community safety in Noel Park and they often contextualised this key concern of the residents within a discourse

about deprivation. The examples below show how crime often appeared on the rollcall of problems associated with poor neighbourhoods:

> *Gatekeeper 17:* A little bit of anti-social behaviour and the usual thing, you know. You've got a few drug houses on there, but the police know where they are. We've notified them of them. We've had a few raids that have been very successful, but then that's everywhere. It's not just Noel Park. That could be Knightsbridge.

And:

> *Gatekeeper 15:* Deprivation was quite evident [When I first arrived] and there seemed to be a lot of social issues, a lot of social problems, a lot of crime. Although you would never know it from just looking at it and this is definitely an area that needs to be regenerated and supported.

Like the residents, a majority of the gatekeepers also talked about crime and community safety without being asked to do so. In total, twenty-three gatekeepers raised the subject, but unlike the residents their discussions were more mixed. Only fourteen of these gatekeepers described crime as a problem on the estate. Many of these seemed to view crime as part and parcel of working in a deprived borough and they did not single out Noel Park as a problematic area:

> *Gatekeeper 22:* It just seems the same to me. It's just no different no worse than what I've always known about Wood Green. And other people will say "yeah, there's more people dying here" or "there are shootings" or whatever or attacks or whatever. But I think that's no different to the increase going on everywhere else in the UK. It's just that because it's Wood Green or Tottenham, it's a harder area.

Of the other gatekeepers who talked about crime, two felt that crime wasn't an issue for them personally, even though Wood Green had a reputation for crime and seven emphasized fear of crime as the major problem rather than crime *per se*. Here Gatekeeper 11 describes how the reputation of the Noel Park estate and Wood Green itself doesn't accord with his actual experience of the area:

> *Gatekeeper 11:* It worries me sometimes walking back to my car after working late at night seeing burnt out cars on the street. Erm, but having said that, the actual, you don't see that much. I think its just perception. You hear a lot of police sirens down the High Road. Where they are going, I don't know but, um, the people here call it the Wood Green anthem.

Four gatekeepers emphasized the difference between crime on Wood Green High Street and crime on Noel Park, arguing the problems on the High Road were totally different and should be seen as such. Here, Gatekeeper 1 argued that Noel Park was not an area of high crime but had an image problem because of its proximity to Wood Green High Road:

> *Gatekeeper 1:* You'll find that the high road distorts the crime figures. Because of that and I think for ages people have seen the crime figures and gone "Ahh, look at all the robberies" and they assume it's just the Noel Park estate here and it's nothing to do with the Noel Park estate, it's just the High Road

Just as residents drew a connection between young adults and crime, so too did many of the gatekeepers. Yet whilst the behaviour of children and young adults figured highly residents' discussions, gatekeepers were less likely to mention this. Whilst 42% of residents who took part in the research described experiencing problems related to young adults and children, only nine gatekeepers did the same. In contrast, whilst the residents put tackling crime as their top priority, only four gatekeepers did. An example of this was Gatekeeper

11 who managed a retail business in the area and said "I'd like to see more bobbies on the beat, more visibility". This response from Gatekeeper 20 shows how gatekeepers contextualised problems such as anti-social behaviour as a facet of poverty.

> *Gatekeeper 20:* The youth culture in Wood Green - I imagine in most urban areas - is very materialistic. They want all the named clothes and, you know, CDs and all the things that go with youth culture and that takes money. Now, your parents haven't got the money to give you. so they are not pampering you in that way and you haven't got the skills to earn the kind of money you need to support that kind of lifestyle. They turn to crime I suspect or drugs. Unfortunately, it's usually drugs, and I say unfortunately because I think theft is preferable.

Many gatekeepers linked their knowledge of the deprivation research into the estate as part of a wider discourse about the problems facing service provision in the area. Indeed, it was noticeable that those who worked in the public sector were especially critical of their own progress in improving services for residents:

> *Gatekeeper 19:* Well, healthcare - I think all the stats are showing that we've got a very poor record on the estate [...] I personally think that progress could be a lot quicker, especially on some of the more straight forward things like screening of cancer or the immunization programmes or so on, could be done by bringing those things on to the estate in a fanfare of publicity. And even if you do a couple hundred people, you'd be covering quite a big group of people who aren't covered at the moment. Because obviously you get about 50, 60% of the population who do go to their doctors and go through the various processes, its bumping it up to 65, 85% that's our current problem and at 60% we are at, kind of, developing world statistics. 85, 95% would be just about catching up with what the British average is.

Poor public services were often directly associated with deprivation by the gatekeepers and deprivation was seen as a barrier to good service provision:

Gatekeeper 30: From what I've come across second and third hand is there is high bad health rates. There is high teenage pregnancy, there's all those usual things and when you look at all the, sort of, documents that are produced about what makes an area deprived and the red parts are the parts that have got low levels of life expectancy, Noel Park is one of them. Don't quite know why. I think it could just be that the people who have moved here and located here are traditionally people who don't have a lot of money and therefore can't afford a good healthcare and that kind of thing. But I think the doctors are also oversubscribed. From what I hear, from reports, again its not first hand experience and I think the closest hospital is the Middlesex one and it's got a very bad reputation.

Overall, thirteen gatekeepers referred to statistical evidence they had seen of indicators of deprivation on the estate. It was noticeable that these were mainly public sector workers. In contrast, private sector gatekeepers often gave more anecdotal evidence about services. Gatekeeper 11 stated "Erm, never used North Mids[29], but I've heard a few horror stories from my colleagues about waiting times" and Gatekeeper 22 described his knowledge of standards in local schools:

Gatekeeper 22: I was speaking to someone the other day who was just completing a teaching course in and had gone onto teach in a couple of schools in Haringey- was shocked that teachers had to, you know, she left purely because of the teachers and not the kids. And yet, it's well known, it's well documented, the kids need the help, but the teachers' attitude was unbelievable and she couldn't work in that environment anymore. So that says to me, well how many kids are learning to grow and generate themselves in the area if they can't get the support at school?

Yet, whilst gatekeepers thought poverty was integral to the problems of the estate, this did not translate into their list of priorities for action. When asked to list their top concerns for the area, gatekeepers shared similar concerns to those listed by the residents: eight

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[29] North Middlesex Hospital.

gatekeepers gave environmental issues as their top priority for Noel Park. This was followed by facilities for young people, which five gave as a priority:

> *Gatekeeper 12:* Well, I think, just generally the appearance of it, you know. It can be a bit cleaner. Dumped cars probably are a bit of a nightmare, there seem to be a lot of dumped cars. Maybe more community places for the kids to go to, cos I've seen them playing rounders and football and cricket in the middle of the road, sort of, almost getting run over, especially in the summer.

Unsurprisingly, most of the public service gatekeepers mentioned their own specialisations as a priority for the estate. For example, whilst unemployment not a priority for the residents, four gatekeepers listed it as a priority and five mentioned improving the local economy.

Whilst gatekeepers were much more willing to see poverty as a cause of poor service provision for healthcare and education, they did not see council services in the same way. In common with the residents, gatekeepers distinguished between the council and particular services. Twenty-three out of thirty gatekeepers singled out particular services as good or very good. An example of this was Gatekeeper 13 who was very critical of the council as a whole but complemented several individual services:

> *Gatekeeper 13:* Ooh, I can't moan about the street-cleaning, because they do go round the roads and clean up all the rubbish - and I've got a garage and the way the wind blows all the rubbish to the garage and into my front garden. So yeah, they do clean that up. I can't moan about them.

Many gatekeepers also spoke of the neglect of the area. Of those who were critical of the council, the most common explanations highlighted street cleaning and flytipping as

examples of the poor service quality provided by Haringey Council. Sixteen gatekeepers said the area was not cleaned properly.

> *Gatekeeper 12:* It's a bit of a messy area. It's very dirty. Like out here, it gets a complete mess everyday, but you have, you seem to have, roadsweepers at least once every two days. So it seems to be good on the main routes, but on the side streets you get people dumping sofas and washing machines and stuff quite regular. And they seem to stay there a long while before they are moved, so I don't think the street cleanliness is that good, actually.

It was interesting to note that whilst the majority of gatekeepers who worked in the public sector said they wanted to remain in their jobs, only a minority of those spoke of themselves as a representative of the local authority. Most of the public service workers were more critical of their colleagues than the private sector gatekeepers and many of the gatekeepers who worked in the council itself gave examples of having to harass their colleagues to get results. Gatekeeper 20 explained her frustration with the perception a poor standard of from one department was indicative of the council as a whole:

> *Stella:* What is the council like?
> *Gatekeeper 20:* People always ask that question and the council - I'm the council. I work for the council so, you know, and the service that the council delivers is as good as the people like me. So some are bad, some are very conscientious, very committed and some people are just doing their nine til five and they don't care. They don't care about the children, they don't care about the communities. They just don't care and it's painfully obvious.

It was clear that the different context in which many of the gatekeepers accessed council services – not as users but often as partners in service provision – influenced their perception of Haringey Council. In total ten gatekeepers complained about the customer service of the council:

306

Gatekeeper 22: I learnt the way in which it works in local authorities and the way in which people have you know you talk about funding and money. They have ever-increasing over-running pots of money that get topped up and renewed every year regardless. So money's not really an issue, so what's stopping things changing? There's no common sense. there's no foresight, no anything in government positions or local authority positions. And as I walk around and I see it more and I talk to people more. you know. And as these people in local authority - whatever department - open up even more you think "Jesus that's basic, that's their job to fix it", but they just want to get paid and go home.

In contrast, five gatekeepers commented on their positive experience of communication with the council, and felt they had good relationships with the council officers they dealt with in the course of their work. However. this did not necessarily make any difference to their views as to the quality of the council's services:

Gatekeeper 1: This is my personal view and, having spent some years as a resident in Haringey, the council as a whole I don't particularly like, but then that's because of the high council tax we used to pay and the lack of facilities. I mean, but the people who I deal with in the course of my job are excellent, absolutely excellent.

Given their proximity to the internal mechanisms of the council, it is not unexpected the that criticisms made by gatekeepers of the council focused on working processes and specific services, in contrast to the general sense of malaise about the quality of life residents expressed. There was also some suggestion amongst the gatekeepers that they were more likely to have lower opinions of council services because they tended to deal with problems in the area rather than the overall quality of life. As Gatekeeper 16 stated "Well everybody always knocks councils".

Gatekeepers were also concerned with how residents perceived problems as well as the reality of service provision. The previous section discussed their concerns about the impact of bad publicity, but it was clear that the gatekeepers had picked up on the discourse of the residents detailed in Chapter Seven about the neglect of the estate. Thus, many spoke of perception of problems on the estate as a problem in itself. Gatekeeper 1 described how he felt residents were irrationally fearful about the safety of the local park and the dangers to local children.

> *Gatekeeper 1:* You hear, "Oh no, there are needles all over the place". This is what you hear, needles. But you go in and have a walk around in there and have a look for some needles and you won't find any needles. Again, its people's perception because the biggest problem with that park is that its closed, its not open. So that, I mean, all the houses back onto it and because of that people think it's not safe because of that. People feel that anyone can come in and do what ever and no one is going to see anything and that is the biggest problem with that park.

Twenty-one gatekeepers talked about the need to make residents feel safe in the area, often linking this to concerns about cleanliness which may explain the high priority given by the gatekeepers to environmental issues. Two gatekeepers referred to the "crime and grime agenda" (Gatekeeper 11 and 21). Here, Gatekeeper 12 describes how people's perceptions of the estate influenced his property business:

> *Gatekeeper 12:* They do notice it, you know, if you go to show them a house and there is a burnt out car next to it, you're not gonna sell it - or a washing machine dumped in the front garden. It makes a difference.

Gatekeeper 17 explained how he felt a negative experience of one council service such as street cleansing influenced people's perception of all council services

Gatekeeper 17: The perception is, its not very clean. Now it may be that that particular crew isn't very good and it might be a crew down at Tottenham is brilliant. And it might be that Tottenham High Road is spic and span at all times. I don't know. So you get your perception of the immediate area and I think that that tends to give you a view.

This concern about perception was also apparent when gatekeepers talked about whether the interventions around the neighbourhood renewal project were being noticed. Overall many gatekeepers were pessimistic about the views that they felt residents were likely to express within the research. Reflecting their own sense of worth about their work, several gatekeepers argued that their own work on the estate deserved to be recognised:

Gatekeeper 21: I think that the council has a relatively poor perception amongst the borough as a whole. I would like to think that certain things we've done in Noel Park have made a difference to that, especially the wardens programmes, because it seems to be very popular. So I would like to think people felt a bit happier and a bit safer and a bit more contented with the council now than they did a couple of years ago on Noel Park. I don't know I guess you would probably get very low responses. It does depend on what question you ask, I mean, surprisingly the housing service usually gets quite a good write up. If you ask for tenants satisfaction with the housing service they usually get pretty good figures, so I think it depends on what you ask them. If you say the council as a whole, if it comes to it more than services, I think that there'll be dissatisfaction, but I hope some of them say the litter clean and that sort of stuff. I hope that people on Noel Park have a better view of us than they did before.

Several gatekeepers were at pains to stress that people were already aware of the efforts being made through the neighbourhood renewal programme to challenge the problems identified on the estate.

Gatekeeper 16: We've had about three or four of those large meetings over nearly one a year now and so people are aware. So, we leaflet every house and they are aware that we are working on the estate and that things are improving. There is a newsletter going out saying what the neighbourhood management has achieved and what else has been achieved. So there is a communication process getting under way, so that people know that work is being done where there wasn't before.

Yet, in contrast to this, others expressed concern that residents did not know about the work being done on their behalf and there was some frustration at what they saw as their colleagues' inability to spread the word about the neighbourhood renewal scheme. This was particularly the case with the SureStart scheme and is the subject of discussion further on in this chapter. However, several gatekeepers thought changing attitudes towards the public realm was as important as changing service provision in improving the quality of life for residents.

Finally, it was also interesting to note the ambivalence towards the role of local and national political leadership. In contrast to the level of negativity expressed towards the abilities of council officers, there was strong support for the local councillors. Apart from the two councillors who took part, eight of the gatekeepers named at least one of the councillors on the estate in the discussion and thirteen were very positive about the contribution made by the councillors to the area. Gatekeepers picked out their regular attendance at meetings in the area and the level of contact they had with the councillors:

Gatekeeper 14: [NAME] is the only councillor I've actually met and [NAME]'s very committed and genuine and, you know, genuinely committed to improving the area and genuinely interested in the views of people. [NAME] was asking the children what they thought of rubbish collection, for instance, because they'd put new initiatives in. So [NAME] is committed, but I'm sure there's lots of councillors just as committed to improving the authority.

310

Echoing the split between general and specific experiences, several gatekeepers who worked for the council stated they felt other councillors were not as good. An example of this was Gatekeeper 24 who praised the local councillors, but also criticised local authority politicians in general:

> *Gatekeeper 24:* There are some really good, I think, quite strong really local councillors working on behalf of this community. Whether a lot of people that live in this community really know about that and really feel that, I don't know, and in some areas Haringey council is quite failing I think. I think it's very mixed.

Of the remaining respondents, eight said they couldn't comment because they didn't know about the councillors and only four gatekeepers were explicitly negative about councillors. This negativity was directed at the council rather than councillors. However, the level of support for local politicians did not appear to influence negativity about politicians in general with eight gatekeepers making critical comments about politicians. An example of this was Gatekeeper 3 who whilst being positive about his experience of the local councillors said he tended to steer clear of politicians in general:

> *Gatekeeper 3:* I've never been into politics. I think they'll all rob you blind, to be completely honest with you. I think they all promise what they can't deliver and they are all bloody useless.

Nine gatekeepers were critical of "the Government" and the government's impact on their work. Typical of this was Gatekeeper 5, who argued that the difficulties he faced in employing people were due to the lack of Government interest in educational services.

> *Gatekeeper 5:* We just can't get the employment and schools with students just send them onto further education which gets them off the employment lists again which suits the government [...] The government, all they are interested in is getting the unemployment figures down, so whichever way they can divert that suits them and they are not really interested in the children or the people at school [...] You know they don't give, they don't seem to give anything back. The government, you know, they take so much and they alienate everybody.

In this context it is not surprising that whilst the gatekeepers were more likely to vote than residents, there was still evidence of a strong disengagement in politics. Twenty gatekeepers said they intended to vote, six said they might vote and four said they didn't intend to vote again. Of those who said they didn't vote the general consensus was that it would make little difference to the outcome:

> *Gatekeeper 4:* I always say that my vote won't make a difference cos it's just one vote. I do vote for Big Brother though, I text my vote on that.

Of those who said they did not vote or felt they would not vote again, many were keen to stress that this was not because they were not concerned with the local community:

> *Gatekeeper 9:* I'm interested, obviously, in what's going on in the community. But, as for top people's decisions, there's no point in voting, because as far as I am concerned, if they've already made their plans. They're gonna do it. It's like with the congestion charge, we had no choice, they done it. So what's the point of voting?

Many of those gatekeepers who said they would be voting were extremely cynical about politics. Gatekeeper 8 stated he would vote, but did not feel it was worthwhile.

Gatekeeper 8: I don't think whoever wins it, whether it be Liberals, Conservative or the Labour whoever, will make any difference for me as an individual, and they just seem to be the best of a bad bunch, because you can't trust 'em you know.

In common with many of the residents, those gatekeepers who did vote talked about the importance of doing so as a principle rather than to affect change in their local area. Gatekeeper 2 said he had always voted and always would because "People have thrown themselves under horses for you". Indeed, with the exception of the politicians in the study, only one respondent felt voting was a positive experience.

Gatekeeper 18: I used to not vote when I was younger because I thought what was the point. But then, as I got older, I thought I had to use my voice cos otherwise then there is no change. My one may make a difference to the result, so I do.

The Regeneration of Noel Park

Given the inclusion of many gatekeepers who worked on the renewal projects within the survey, it is not surprising overall awareness about "neighbourhood renewal" was higher than amongst the residents. Only two gatekeepers claimed not to have heard of the term. When asked to explain what it meant to them, gatekeepers used the common themes of physical regeneration – "I suppose knocking things down and rebuilding them" (Gatekeeper 1) – housing – "I guess it probably means housing being regenerated and improved "(Gatekeeper 10) - or community activities – "My own thinking on neighbourhood renewal would be that people themselves take charge of their lives and their futures and they start dealing with issue for themselves" (Gatekeeper 19). Like the activist residents, several gatekeepers also mentioned that the term meant money to them:

Gatekeeper 17: To me it means money. It really does mean money, because, you know, you've got the opportunity under neighbourhood renewal of bringing in cash from other agencies, departments, whatever.

In common with the residents, there was an internal consistency between the priorities given for action in Noel Park and the role of neighbourhood renewal identified by the gatekeepers. In particular, those who were working on renewal schemes were clear about the benefit to the local community of their work. Yet the gatekeepers shared with the residents a lack of awareness about the NPI itself. Only eleven said they were aware of the forum, although over half of the gatekeepers stated they attended community meetings in Noel Park. Indeed, some of the gatekeepers stressed that the number of meetings they were asked to attend about the estate was substantial.

Stella: How many meetings do you attend?
Gatekeeper 1: Probably about five or six meetings a month. I'm including the Wood Green Steering Committee in that as well.
Stella: Do you mean the Noel Park Initiative?
Gatekeeper 1: Yes. And obviously the regeneration. There's also a business association in [NAMES ROAD] and they sometimes hold meetings as well. There's a few regeneration meetings. The latest, the last one, was quite a while ago actually and that was to do with [NAMES ROAD] and the regeneration of that section. And, obviously, they have just put out a new circular about their plans for the section down there in [NAMES ROAD] and there is a meeting, I think, coming up next week about that, that I will be going to.
Stella: So about five or six?
Gatekeeper 1: Yeah around that. I'd say around three or four about regeneration issues and then the others are regular meetings.

As with the residents it became clear that those gatekeepers who did attend community meetings in the area had mixed feelings about their value. Whilst many of the gatekeepers talked about the importance of consultation with the residents, several expressed frustration at the low attendance and number of meetings. They also felt not all the meetings were

314

productive. Gatekeeper 17 was positive about the meetings he attended, including the NPI, seeing it as a way of accessing directly the views of residents:

> *Gatekeeper 17:* My view has been that if you manage an area you need to know what is going on in it [...] I would attend. I needed to know their views about the work that my office is doing and I didn't want to hear it from my officers. I wanted to hear it from them.

Gatekeeper 19 defended the forum and explained that he did not think it mattered whether only a handful of residents participated because the meetings were interesting:

> *Gatekeeper 19:* It would be nice to have some more, but numbers aren't everything; it's the quality of the debate which is more important.

In contrast, several gatekeepers expressed the view that there were too many meetings. Here Gatekeeper 21 explained the difficulties of interesting residents in meetings and argued the emphasis on community consultation was displacing interest in actual service delivery.

Gatekeeper 21: I think there is far too much consultation across the borough at the moment and in the country. I think that most people do not want to be involved in this stuff and rightly so. I think most people want the council to deliver services and, although they probably would be happy maybe once a year to fill in a questionnaire, maybe tick a few boxes and maybe once a year go to something, they shouldn't have to do this. I think if we did our jobs properly they wouldn't need to do that and I think, at the moment Haringey - I can't speak for other Boroughs - they are pushing at the moment ever such a lot of involvement on people its usually the same people turning up to the same meetings [...] I think the sort of proliferation of boards, strategy groups that are seeking local involvement is probably not a good thing. I think it's probably: seriously we've gone too far down this road. I understand that when the current government came in and under the previous government they said, in terms of regeneration, we spend lots of money and one of the mistakes we've made is we haven't asked people who live there what they want. I think that is a fair criticism and I think when you do things you should be asking people what they want, but I don't think you should be asking people to come to meetings every week[...]My impression is that, is like, officers really cajoling people to attend "you are coming tonight? I know you are busy but please come cos last time we only had twelve people and we've got to have fifteen" and I think "well why? Why would we want to do that?" If people don't want to come it's fine.

Others who worked directly in service provision were even less positive about the value of any form of meeting. They reiterated that the same people seemed to attend the meetings, arguing "Meetings never accomplish anything" (Gatekeeper 2) and that being able to do their job was more important than attending meetings : "It's the doing innit, its not the talking about it it's the actual doing" (Gatekeeper 3). Others felt that meetings did little to improve impressions of the council:

Gatekeeper 2: If there is something wrong, that a house, somebody that lives in a council house in the Noel Park estate, a meeting isn't going to do anything for them. You've got to go to [NAMES PERSON] and say "well, look this is going on here, do something about it". That's the way people get a good impression of the council.

There was some indication the negative opinions gatekeepers held about public meetings carried through into their private lives, as only three gatekeepers spoke of participating in community meetings where they lived. Of the remainder, most argued they were too busy with work to attend, although one gatekeeper highlighted the difficulties of working for the local authority and also living in the area. It was also clear that the concerns gatekeepers had about poverty on the estate influenced their views of the participants in the meetings. Several commented on how the "usual suspects" who took part in the meetings were all from a similar social background. Speaking about the NPI Gatekeeper 24 commented:

> *Gatekeeper 24:* There is a lot of potential - as with SureStart really - but the early take up is usually your sort of white, its not really about middle-class is it, but the movers and shakers in these early stages, and SureStart as well, are mostly white and people who know how to use access services and it's the next stage that will really count and make the difference in my mind. These things have to start and they have to start with somebody, but the real measure of success for this community long term will be when they can actually move into the different ethnic groups really, and we are not there yet with any of the initiatives. It doesn't mean we won't be getting there.

In keeping with their emphasis on poverty, gatekeepers were explicit that these projects should target the poorer sections of the local community. Several argued meetings were not necessarily the best way to engage those within the local community who they felt were the target audience. Gatekeeper 20 explained her concern that meetings required skills which those from poorer backgrounds did not have:

Gatekeeper 20: I have noticed that many of the active parents - we get a range of parents that attend the groups we run - but the most active parents are white. middle class, articulate. well educated, I won't say wealthy as I don't think anybody around here is wealthy. but you know money isn't a primary factor in their day to day lives. But they are getting things done for the benefit of the community as a whole so I'm not going to knock that!

Stella: Do you think there is any reason for this?

Gatekeeper 20: Probably because they can afford to attend meetings. A lot of the other parents are doing part-time work, finding it difficult to get. they've got a lot of social problems and its very hard to do just [...] We had a meeting where we got a group of women together and they were very clearly women from very poor backgrounds - many of them didn't have English at all - the people that you would really like to emotionally help the most [...] its those kinds of problems that people have to deal with and it takes a lot of confidence to be able to go to a group and speak your mind and put your point of view forward and act on your belief and not everybody has that.

Like the residents. gatekeepers were more uniformly positive about the particular projects which were the core of the neighbourhood renewal project. A higher number of gatekeepers, nineteen, were aware of the street wardens than residents. Most being positive about their role on the estate:

Gatekeeper 8: I think anything like that's a good idea. Erm. obviously as with regards to crime and that sort of thing people keeping an eye out for everyone else and as long as every- you know - makes life a bit more easier. you know. looking after the older people and that sort of thing. It's a good idea.

There was some evidence of friction between the role of the wardens on the estate and other services with a minority of gatekeepers criticizing the wardens. Two gatekeepers stated they had had difficulties working with the wardens and were unclear as to what benefit they brought the estate:

Gatekeeper 17: My fear is that they will develop even more into being another reporting service that doesn't get something done, you know. I mean. we've got enough facilities already available for people to report repairs or report anti-social behaviour or report some concern about an elderly person. They are all there. My view is that unless they can actually provide an end result and not just rely on the services that are already not failing or failing. they are not going to make a difference.

Turning to the second project, it was clear the SureStart programme was better known amongst the gatekeepers as a whole than amongst the residents. In total. twenty gatekeepers stated they knew of the SureStart scheme for the area and most were extremely positive about the nature of the scheme:

Gatekeeper 23: I think. again. they are providing a much needed service for the young families. especially when you've got a lot of young families living there who don't have family around them, who are quite isolated. you know. a lot of single parent families. So I think there is a lot of isolation with people with young families. especially single parents or parents who come from other countries. so I think they are a really vital link into a, sort of. I think the whole theory of SureStart is really good.

However. as with the wardens. there were also criticisms of the management and organisation of the scheme and concern that the programme was not well known. Eight gatekeepers expressed concerns about the management of SureStart and the pace at which services were being offered to residents:

Gatekeeper 19: I kind of refer to it as slowstart. I think the administrative and organizational side needs a big kick up the ass. I think in theory it's an excellent project and think it will give a lot of people a big boost. particularly those with young children and so on. So in principle. I'm in favour of it. but I think the people who are running SureStart need a big kick up the ass.

Following on from their concern about resident's perception, it is no surprise that gatekeepers were worried that most residents were unaware of both the street wardens and SureStart schemes. Those who were more directly involved in running these schemes were at pains to point out how popular they were with residents. In contrast, others argued that poor communication from these projects about what they did meant there was a risk residents wouldn't realize that any work was being done on the estate at all:

> *Gatekeeper 17:* I don't want to underestimate the work that SureStart does but no one knows about it. They haven't told anybody, you know. Where's the board that says this is what we've got, this is what we've achieved?

Finally, given the concerns raised by the gatekeepers about poverty on the estate, it was interesting to note their ambivalence towards the work being done to tackle unemployment on the estate. Unlike the residents, who were mostly in agreement that unemployment was a problem on the estate, the gatekeepers were more split. Eight stated it wasn't a problem, two said they didn't know and twenty agreed it was an issue. Some spoke of seeing statistics about unemployment; Gatekeeper 24 said "I know the sort of statistics are that it's quite a difficult thing". Others, as the previous quote from Gatekeeper 15 indicates, argued it had to be because of the deprivation in the area.

As already discussed, many gatekeepers attributed the problem to the presence of refugees on the estate. The second most common reason, given by seven respondents, was a lack of skills amongst the local workforce which was then linked by some respondents to the need for the programme of training proposed by the neighbourhood renewal project. However, only a minority of gatekeepers, five, knew about the scheme and as already demonstrated few saw tackling unemployment as a priority for the area. The delivery of the

programme was disparaged and some gatekeepers criticized the organization responsible because it required residents to sit on another forum in order to access funding for the scheme.

The Future of Noel Park

The "problematisation" of the estate expressed by the gatekeepers also found an outlet in their views about the future of the estate. Their sense that the estate faced many difficult challenges arising out of its poverty led to a sense of pessimism about the future for many gatekeepers. Whilst twenty-five of the gatekeepers in the survey said they were happy to stay in their jobs, only fourteen of the gatekeepers felt there was a positive future ahead for the estate. Furthermore those who were optimistic about the estate tended to be so in principle rather than in fact. Gatekeeper 20 argued that it was important for those working on the estate to feel things could change.

> *Gatekeeper 20:* I think you have to be positive even if it seems you should be negative. I think you have to be positive, you have to believe that things can get better because if you don't then what's the point of anything? You wouldn't bother would you? So I think you have to be positive.

Of those who knew of the regeneration initiatives in the area, there was a belief that these would make a difference. When asked if the area was going to improve Gatekeeper 28 commented "Yeah, I think so. There's definitely a lot of an effort being diverted to the regeneration here". A small minority of those who were positive about the future of the estate spoke of its previous history:

Gatekeeper 29: I get the sense that things are changing. Trade on the High Street seems to be really good and I know that there are changes that are being made to try and improve the area. And you think about, everybody talks about the riots and there's been a vast improvement since the riots, so yeah, I'm quite positive.

Yet in contrast, sixteen respondents were much less positive. Several gatekeepers talked about how the area did not have the feeling of an area that was changing:

Gatekeeper 10: No, its not looking rosy, the future. It's not like walking round Clerkenwell five years ago and thinking "wow this place is changing" which, I mean, if you go back 10 years the place was really run down. Now the place has regenerated itself and everybody 7 or 8 years ago saw that happening and got really excited. Now I don't see that happening.

Whilst Gatekeeper 10 was concerned about business led regeneration, others talked about the people in the area themselves. Gatekeeper 11 described how the future of the area was not positive because it was clear that it was not being gentrified:

Gatekeeper 11: It's about people having the confidence and seeing the shoots of success to allow them to have confidence to invest in those areas and move into those areas. You see in Dalston and Homerton - they are all up and coming areas - they weren't 10 years ago, so something needs to change. It's got to be a mind set and people have to see that, you know, longterm it's going to pay off by them moving into those areas.
Stella: Is that happening here?
Gatekeeper 11: I haven't seen it yet, no.

In conjunction with this, several gatekeepers talked about how they felt the residents with any sense would leave the area. Indeed, Gatekeeper 14 argued that regeneration was about giving them the skills to leave rather than changing the estate *per se*:

Gatekeeper 14: A lot of the parents had actually said to them "Do your best at school because it's your best chance of moving out of Wood Green." They want them to not have to live in Wood Green when they grow up; they want them to live in a nicer area. [...] so for them they are not talking about regeneration to improve this area, they are talking about regeneration of themselves to move out of the area. Their aspirations are to get to a nicer place to live - quite naturally - for them at their age.

Chapter Four set out how the representations used by the gatekeepers were influential within the lifeworld present on the Noel Park estate. This chapter has looked in more detail at what representations the gatekeepers held and how they influenced their perception of Noel Park. As such it provides a useful counterpoint to the views expressed by residents about Noel Park. Clearly there are strong similarities, from their shared ambivalence towards meetings to their mutual sense of the neglect of environmental services on the estate.

Yet there are also differences and this research shows that gatekeepers often approached the same issues from a different viewpoint to the residents. Thus, whilst residents were clearly divided over the impact of home ownership on the estate, gatekeepers welcomed signs of gentrification in Noel Park because they felt this would in the long-term aid its regeneration. So too they were more concerned with the perception of service delivery than residents, recognizing the concerns residents had expressed about the area, but seeing them as rooted in myth rather than reality. They were also much more interested in and influenced by the news media than residents as a source of information and viewpoints.

I have also shown the role of a "service provider" was used like "neighbour" to help gatekeepers maintain an emotional distance from which to view the estate. In turn, their engagement with Noel Park as service providers was framed by a narrative in which poverty played a major role. Throughout the discussion gatekeepers referred to and used a myriad of assumptions – both positive and negative - about what impact poverty had on a geographical area and its community as reference points. Put simply, poverty was the lens through which most of them viewed the area.

Given their role on the estate, it is unsurprising that gatekeepers' responses to the interviews were much more focused on problems with delivery of services. This was both in their analysis of public services and the regeneration programme, with those involved often the most critical. It was not possible to tell what impact this frustration may have had on working practices between differing partner agencies, both within the local authority and also between statutory agencies, but other research has shown how such friction can hamper regeneration initiatives (Paskell and Power 2005).

Indeed, talking to the gatekeepers about the neighbourhood renewal project was to some extent harder than talking to the residents because many of them were directly involved in the work. Thus, asking for their views on the schemes was perceived by several to be asking about the effectiveness of their work, and by extension their own personal esteem. The resulting responses reflected a clear bias towards a sense of effectiveness of their work. Certainly, it was clear that their sense of the limitations of some of their colleagues undoubtedly influenced their view of particular services and regeneration initiatives and their likely chances of impacting life chances on the estate.

Overall, this chapter has shown why all these views matter to the future of Noel Park. It reveals gatekeepers did not just shape the provision of services in the area, they also

contributed to the lifeworld used by residents to understand Noel Park. As such their views were not just incidental to the way in which residents responded to the estate, but an important source for the common sense which circulated around the area. This information was used by residents not only to understand but also to predict the prospects for their area. This chapter therefore supports the argument set out at its beginning that those who work in an area are also important to the life chances of those who live there because of the resources they choose to bring in or remove. This chapter details how those resources can be psychological as well as economic or social.

Furthermore, this chapter has shown how the lifeworld present in Noel Park was also something the gatekeepers drew on in their own work. This shows how the knowledge they gained from the lifeworld circulating on the estate also influenced their service provision and priorities on the estate. Put simply, the gatekeepers did not operate in a bubble in delivering services. They absorbed and responded to the information they gleaned about the area they served in their jobs and used it to comprehend the environment in which they worked. In common with the residents they also used this information to predict the future and adjusted their expectations accordingly. In seeking to understand the role of the lifeworld in life chances, this chapter shows we must acknowledge both its importance to gatekeepers in any neighbourhood and their contribution to its content.

Chapter Nine: The Benefits of a Social Psychological Approach

In the introduction to this thesis I identified two priorities for this research. The first was to contribute to the debates around what is social about social exclusion. The second was to show that using a social psychological approach to look at the questions these debates raised this research would also reveal the importance of the psychological context - the lifeworld - of social exclusion. Chapter Two detailed the existing debates within academia and public policy about what is social about social exclusion. I argued that these discussions were dominated by a concern for neighbourhood and the role of social relationships at a group level. In contrast, I argued there was a need to look both at how individuals respond to their social world as well as how the social world itself functions in understanding the role of social relationships in life chances.

In Chapter Three I outlined the theoretical and methodological approach used by this research which was grounded in the social psychological paradigm of social representations. Social representations theory posits that individuals and groups actively develop and maintain a body of ideas, images, actions and identities which help them understand their environment and so operate in society. The collection of these social representations within society forms a "lifeworld" on which individuals and groups draw in their everyday lives: this psychological context is what is known as common sense. I argued that this body of work offered a framework for a research project which analysed the connection between the socially constructed knowledge, or common sense, of a local area and the life chances of its residents.

The bulk of this thesis has presented the outcome of this research project. It has sought to show how both the process and the content of the social representations which

form people's lifeworld are integral to the everyday lives of the residents of Noel Park. As a background to the research area, Chapter Four offered a detailed quantitative analysis of deprivation on the Noel Park estate. Chapter Five examined the process of social representation. It illustrated how social representations were created, mutated and maintained by those who lived and worked in Noel Park, exploring how these helped them to define their own identity and position within the estate.

Chapter Six considered the social relationships on the estate, looking at the issues the notions of community cohesion and social capital raise. It showed how influential the social representations residents held were, not just to their relationships with each other, but also to the economic, social and psychological resources they were able to access within their local area. Chapter Seven then considered the representations residents had about the public realm, looking at their views on public services and the local authority. It showed how the underlying sense of neglect served to define not just their attitudes but also actions around participation in the public realm and ultimately the regeneration work on the estate. Chapter Eight viewed the issues raised in the previous three chapters from the perspective of the "gatekeepers" - people who worked on the estate in both the public and private sector. This revealed that their representations of the estate were influenced by, and influential to, the lifeworld in which the residents participated.

This final chapter will build on the conclusions presented in each of these previous chapters to look at how an analysis of the psychological context of a deprived neighbourhood can complement other forms of research into social exclusion. This discussion will show how neighbourhoods are not just physical places but psychological spaces. The mental models of the neighbourhood the residents and gatekeepers used reflected the way in which ideas, images and identities were circulated by those who lived

and worked within Noel Park as part of their everyday communicative practises. In the first section of this chapter I will show how these representations were more than observations about the estate, but were part and parcel of the experience of Noel Park's existence to both residents and gatekeepers. I will discuss how there were many examples of how these representations defined the experience of Noel Park and factors related to the estate. These ranged from the space which the residents defined as their neighbourhood to the way in which the street wardens were viewed. In particular, I will explore how the perception of the estate's neglect influenced not just the residents' attitudes towards their locality but also their relationship with the local authority.

Building on this, the second section of this chapter will show how the identities and ideas which exist within these mental models of neighbourhood influence social relationships. I argue this thesis shows how social cohesion requires a representation of a common interest. Rather than positing that any one source of diversity in social situation – be it ethnicity or home ownership - causes social division, this research illustrates that what influences social cohesion is how residents understand these difference in their communities.

Having analysed what this research offers to our understanding of social relationships within a locality, I will then look at how these relationships connected to the public realm. In discussing what this research offers to the debates around social capital, I will counter the presumption that social networks at a local level will also manifest themselves in participation in civic structures. Instead, I will propose that there is a need to separate out our understanding of how social relationships can offer access to resources from acknowledging how perceptions of participation in public and political activities affect life chances. I argue that this thesis shows how the growing separation of the social

fabric of Noel Park from the public realm of Haringey had consequences both for the provision of public services and the potential success of regeneration initiatives in the area.

In the final section of this chapter I will draw together these arguments to consider what this research tells us about the process of social change and the role social psychological factors can play. This section will discuss the need for public policy makers to address not just the physical aspects of deprivation but also the predictions residents make about the future if they wish to regenerate neighbourhoods. In conclusion this chapter will show how the insights to be gained from a social psychological approach can complement other forms of research into social exclusion.

Why Does Neighbourhood Matter? The Neglect of Noel Park

Chapter One discussed how neighbourhood has come to be seen not just as the place in which most people access core public services but also as a site of community and a focus for civic participation. As a result neighbourhoods have become increasingly important to public policy, with the Government stating that they "matter", particularly as the location in which citizens interact with the public realm (ODPM and Home Office 2005). This approach is founded in a belief that the interest of individuals and groups in their locality can be translated into "neighbourhood empowerment", and so encourage greater participation in local and national political decision making, with the right structures of governance. However, this research has shown just how complex the interplay between people, place and the public realm is in reality. In this first section I want to consider what this research tells us about why neighbourhood matters.

By looking at how those who live and work in Noel Park view the locality, this research has revealed how neighbourhood is important not just as a physical arena but also an imagined entity. It illustrates how both residents and gatekeepers drew on a "cultural stock of knowledge" that was rooted in locally situated communications. The ways in which they did this reveal how place can be an important marker of person, and in turn how its depiction is rooted in a wider identity and knowledge creation process. The emotive language residents and gatekeepers used, the symbols and signs they referred to and the picture they painted of Noel Park was more than a lively way to describe their surroundings. It spoke to who they were, and how they saw themselves within their environment. The efforts of many to mark out the distinctiveness of the estate, whether in highlighting the Noel Park housing stock or the particular qualities of their road, were ways in which residents marked out their own sense of identity. For the residents this perception of Noel Park provided a lens through which they viewed not just their locality but also themselves.

In light of this, for the residents the feeling that the estate was not looked after reflected not just concern about their locality but a perception that they themselves were being neglected. The experience of incivilities such as litter, low level vandalism or public drug dealing then acted as a reminder of the neglect to which the residents themselves felt subjected. This sense of neglect ran like a thread through their discussions, shaping their views of other facets of life on the estate such as the presence of large groups of young adults or the condition of the park. Consequently, children playing in the streets were seen as evidence that they didn't have something to do because their needs were neglected in favour of other areas, such as Tottenham or Muswell Hill, whose residents were more important to those in authority. Whilst each of these subjects may seem a discrete topic for

intervention – some the remit of youth services, others of environmental or street cleaning services – the residents views on these matters were linked to their sense of neglect.

This is an example of how a social representation provided a framework in which knowledge was created and maintained. Here the representation that Noel Park was a neglected neighbourhood fashioned the common sense views of the residents. The impact of this can be seen not just in the sense of identity residents held, but in defining the realm in which public policy interventions in Noel Park had to operate. Thus, as Chapter Seven revealed, the wardens were seen as an indication of how the police were neglecting the estate rather than a welcome community safety addition.

Indeed, some of the problems, and opportunities, facing those managing the process of regeneration for the estate came from a lack of awareness about the mental models of neighbourhood of Noel Park the residents created. This was not just evident in the perceptions about the presence of wardens. Chapter Six showed how the mental models of neighbourhood used by residents did not match the bureaucratic models, viewing their own neighbourhood as a much smaller unit than the ward or even estate boundaries used in service provision. Here we can see how it is in these mental models of neighbourhood that geographically rooted concerns exist. As a result many did not connect the work being done in Noel Park to their interests because it was not happening in what they considered to be their neighbourhood. So too many saw residents who lived elsewhere in the estate as outsiders because they did not live within the realms of their mental model of neighbourhood.

Whilst both residents and gatekeepers had many contrasting views about Noel Park, these views did not appear from or disappear into a vacuum. Instead they were rooted in the lifeworld and its representations of neglect so that even those who disagreed with this idea

were influenced by it as they sought to dispute it. Thus their mental models of Noel Park were created using the information they gleaned from the lifeworld. This lifeworld also provided the context in which knowledge about something new was constructed. Thus, the new wardens were anchored into existing knowledge about the estate and objectified as a reflection of this neglect rather than a response to it. Even those who did not think the estate was neglected discussed the wardens as a way of challenging the sense of neglect. Thus not all those who live or work on the estate hold the same views, but this sense of neglect set the terms of trade for the mental models of the neighbourhood of Noel Park.

Yet this research also points to the difficulty in understanding how mental models of neighbourhoods intersect with identity and life chances in metropolitan areas such as London. Whilst the residents showed themselves to have strong representations embedded in their neighbourhood, they also described themselves and each other by a number of other factors including ethnicity, gender, home ownership and age. In the next section I will discuss what influence this had on social cohesion amongst residents, but it is clear that geographically rooted concerns will only form one part of any lifeworld which an individual or group uses. As Watson pointed out whilst where an individual lives will greatly influence their access to economic or social resources, it is only one aspect of the factors affecting their life chances. This is also true for the role of their mental models of neighbourhood. Thus, Watson commented "cities have always been, and will always be, places of heterogeneity." (Watson 1999: p.87)

A social representations perspective makes us aware that just like neighbourhood, so too notions of what it means to be a home owner will be dependent on the stock of cultural knowledge which people access to define these concepts. The representations that inform these concepts may also be geographically defined, potentially further complicating

our understanding of how mental models of neighbourhoods impact on life chances alongside other factors such as service provision or levels of deprivation. This reflects the distinction required when formulating public policy between recognizing the role of mental models of neighbourhoods *per se*, and the need for any public policy initiative to identify the imagined neighbourhood specific to the area in which it seeks to operate. This need is not particularly confined to social psychological analyses. Just as understanding deprivation within a locality requires understanding the pattern of service provision present in that area, so too the consequences of any mental model of neighbourhood will be particular to the geographical area in which it exists.

Furthermore, recognizing the role of mental models of neighbourhoods demonstrates how a social psychological perspective can help public policy making on the ground. The evidence in Chapter Three of the levels of deprivation within the Noel Park area shows the difficulties facing both the residents and the gatekeepers at a neighbourhood level. Analysing the representations which underpinned the lifeworld of the residents and the gatekeepers helps flesh out quantitative evidence of deprivation. It reveals that their sense of the needs of the area and its future potential was clearly influential in both their motivations and actions. Taken together they form a picture of the problems facing those seeking to regenerate the Noel Park area. For public policy makers in Haringey this makes the case for acknowledging not just the physical or even social aspects of Noel Park but also the psychological barriers and opportunities that exist for residents and gatekeepers within the same space.

Social Cohesion and Communities of Interest

If the research shows how neighbourhoods matter as a psychological resource, it also helps us understand why social interactions at a local level can be equally influential in determining life chances. This is because they not only provide access to goods and services but also ideas, images and identities for their participants. Chapter Six identified how social structures formed by the organizing principle of being a "good neighbour" allowed substantial resources which were economic, social and psychological to circulate around the estate. In identifying how these resources were shared, this thesis shows that social relationships at a neighbourhood level do not have to be close to a source of capital or generate a sense of cohesion. Furthermore, whilst there has been a strong emphasis on difference, and in particular ethnicity, amongst people at a local level as a source of social separation this thesis illustrates how social diversity is not of itself always a cause of social division.

Several researchers have argued that evidence of the kinds of levels of social interaction and assistance this research showed to be present on the estate do not amount to social cohesion. Kearns and Forrest stated "community spirit and local commitment among residents is not the same thing as social cohesion in a rounded sense" (Kearns and Forrest 2000: p.1011). They argued that these behaviours may help residents mitigate the experience of living in poverty but they do not offer access to resources which can overcome them. In their analysis Kearns and Forrest bring in many of the facets of the social capital debate, viewing social bonds as cohesive only when they foster social responsibility and a civic culture. Yet Richardson and Mumford criticised this perspective

because they argue that it doesn't differentiate between community involvement in the public realm and community self-help. They argued:

"a focus on community activity solely as a precursor to community involvement, or on general community activity only as a precursor to community involvement, leads to the view that general community action that does not achieve these specific ends has no intrinsic value" (Richardson and Mumford 2001: p.212).

Thus to underplay the value of self-help activities is to miss the importance of these forms of activities to people at a local level. This research shows why this is the case. The everyday assistance residents received from each other not only provided access to resources and support networks. This interaction also served as the foundation for collectively creating a shared definition of what was a good neighbour. This representation in turn was the basis of an organisational framework for social conduct on the estate. These findings echo the research of Richardson and Mumford which traced how informal social networks contributed to the viability of their locality, through being both a source of resources and social organisation.

A social psychological perspective also offers a way of understanding how such social organising can create cohesion. This is because it facilitates the transmission of social representations which are used in identity formation. Chapter Five described how residents and gatekeepers gossiped with each other, revealing how reliant both groups were on their interactions for knowledge. I have already discussed how the representations which this gossiping transmitted were used, not just to explain the place of Noel Park but also the people. In her research into community in Brixton using the social representations paradigm, Howarth explored how the identities that these representations sustain generate a

shared sense of solidarity. She wrote "it is through both identifying with others and distinguishing ourselves from others that we locate ourselves, and are located by others, in particular communities" (Howarth (2001 : p.231). In this way cohesion is a reflection of the degree to which people feel they have something in common.

Yet rather than there being a singular something in common, Howarth posited identities as much more fluid, reflecting the multitude of representations with which people may describe themselves. She stated:

> "differing aspects of identity intertwine and define each other. The experience of being a young black man living in the centre of Brixton cannot be equated to the identities of youth + blackness + masculinity = from Brixton. These different aspects of identity merge, reinforce and conflict" (Howarth 2002: p.152).

Noel Park residents felt they had something in common with, or something distinguishing themselves from, their neighbours around a number of factors reflecting how they saw themselves within the locality. Thus at differing points residents described themselves as "parents", "British", "home owners" or "residents of a particular block of flats". Each representation underpinned a community of interest within the locality and was accompanied by a range of ideas and activities to support the sense of something in common – whether the view that public meetings were pointless or assisting each other with bin collections. Here then cohesion isn't a matter of being together or not, but an expression of how particular factors are represented within the collective consciousness of the individuals concerned at any given time. This shows how looking for cohesion as a function only of singular and stable similarities such as ethnicity or social class ignores the way in which people can identify with each other. This research reveals that a sense of

solidarity, and so community, can also be generated through connecting with people who share a common concern.

This viewpoint helps us understand why people form bonds which offer each other resources and opportunities within a local area because it widens our understanding of what can generate cohesion. Here residents from a wide range of backgrounds articulated a similar sense of identity as to what a good neighbour is and often gave examples of acting upon this identity. It may well be that these bonds are looser and more liable to break because they are based on shifting or competing sources of identity. However it is also clear that these bonds are worthwhile as a method of acquiring resources and acknowledged as such to their members. This perspective challenges us to consider what norms or values define neighbourhood relationships in the same way that any group of relationships between people are similarly framed. What matters is how these relationships feature in the mental models of neighbourhood residents use. As Halpern has argued:

"however good the design of an area or development, if neighbours feel they have nothing in common, then neighbouring relations are very unlikely to develop into patterns of support, and are quite likely to develop into open hostility." (Halpern 1995: p.114- 140)

This is not to say that a single factor, such as a shared ethnicity, cannot create cohesion at a local level. It is to recognise that it does so because of the shared stock of representations it presents to its owners rather than because of its existence *per se*.

Indeed, the strongest indicator that cohesion requires a sense of having something in common was the way in which ethnic diversity, identified in the debates discussed in Chapter Two as potentially a barrier to cohesion, was represented and indeed celebrated. This does not mean Noel Park was a utopian haven of racial and ethnic harmony and this

research has documented how racial prejudice occurred. Yet the general acceptance of diversity within the estate extended beyond a polite attempt at not being racist; as Chapter Six showed residents were proud of the differing cultures on their streets. Nevertheless at the same time there was a strong discourse about the problems created by the refugee population in the Borough. The contrast between the positive approach to multi-cultural Haringey and the negative approach towards refugees suggests that we need to look to another answer for this opposition than to suggest that ethnic diversity in itself causes social disquiet.

This stands in contrast to the priority placed on improving relationships between different ethnic or religious groups which dominates the work of the UK Government on "community cohesion" as discussed in Chapter Two. It would be a mis-reading of this thesis to argue that the way in which respondents in this research interacted with the question of diversity means that in all localities ethnic tension is not an issue for social cohesion. Indeed, the length of time over which diversity has been a fact of life in Haringey and the close proximity of differing communities may explain the particular nature of Noel Park. Both make diversity something which most residents expect and from which they are not segregated in the estate. However, this research does suggest that the focus for some in recent years on ethnic diversity alone as a cause of social tension is only one side of the story.

The need for a more subtle analysis of how diversity affects social cohesion comes also from the evidence of a range of other factors that were equally critical to the cohesiveness of social relations on the estate. Indeed, this research has shown that the greatest tension between neighbours in Noel Park was not around ethnicity but instead home ownership. Homeowners were noticeably dismissive of those on the estate who were

tenants, including making many generalizations about their activities and attitudes. So too it was manifest for many residents that the ability to speak English, rather than a shared cultural heritage, was more conducive to social relations.

This shows how communicative actions are integral to social relations: it is perhaps a self evident reality that neighbours need to be able to speak to each other before they can help each other or find a shared identity. A social psychological approach makes us aware being unable to communicate means individuals and groups cannot contribute to the shared lifeworld of an area. Indeed, some of the most excluded individuals on the estate were those who could not participate in both the conversations and interactions which supported and sustained estate life. They were also the people most likely to be positive about living on the estate, and did not share in the view that it was a neglected area; often explaining that in comparison to where they had come from it was a haven.

These examples illustrate how it is difference in of itself which influences the willingness of people to form social bonds, rather than any one form of difference such as ethnicity. Building on Howarth's work, diversity can be seen as a challenge to any shared sense of similarity which underpins a sense of cohesion. This then highlights the need to understand how such differences are understood and discussed – how do residents who by their own admission have little contact with asylum seekers come to have such a strong negative impression of a particular group? So too why does home ownership make a person a more favoured neighbour? At what stage do good neighbours become good friends? A social psychological approach illustrates that some forms of diversity created pressure on the cohesiveness of the community in Noel Park in equal but differing ways. Furthermore this research shows that where respondents had a way of understanding ethnic diversity within their community it could be a source of pride. Thus I argue that those who seek to

argue any one form of diversity is always problematic, or that those problems are intractable, have misread the issues in question.

Social Capital and the Public Realm

This research offers much to substantiate the approach taken by Bourdieu towards social capital - and much to challenge Putnam's work. The levels of deprivation within Noel Park and low levels of political participation would suggest that social capital was not present on the estate. Nonetheless this research shows the reality to be otherwise. As Chapter Seven described, residents offered each other a range of resources, from the practical such as assistance with childcare to financial and emotional support, in quantities which were similar to the levels of communal activity present elsewhere in the UK.

This research therefore disputes the focus on public realm engagement as an indicator of social capital. It challenges the notion that a lack of participation in political or civic structures also equates to a lack of the other factors associated with social capital such as social networks or resource dissemination. In contrast to the supportive attitudes towards community self-help present on the estate, there was a common distaste for the public realm. Amongst both residents and gatekeepers there was a shared representation of indifference towards community meetings, the Noel Park Initiative (NPI) and the wider political process itself. Few had a positive word to say about the effectiveness of public meetings, and many were openly critical of those who took part. Many expressed disinterest towards the wider political process, and there was a low level of turnout at both local and general elections.

Yet this lack of enthusiasm for public engagement was not mirrored by a lack of community engagement and it was clear that residents contributed a substantial amount of time and effort to helping each other. This reiterates Richardson and Mumford's argument that the present debates around social capital can underplay the importance to neighbourhood viability of community self help networks which do not fit into the schemata of regeneration initiatives. Certainly there appeared little connection between the various social and community structures on the estate and the formal regeneration forums or indeed public services; in essence the social fabric of the estate was unraveling itself from the public realm.

The evidence of community self-help also reveals the difficulty in measuring social capital effectively as many of the incidents of everyday assistance that residents gave each other described in Chapter Seven would not feature in the measurements discussed in Chapter Two. Stolle argued that it was important not to overlook other these other forms of social interaction, aside from membership of organisations, as ways of learning the values of reciprocity and mutual obligation presumed to support trusting behaviour and social capital. He argued "more informal contacts and gatherings, such as with friends or in cliques, could be equally productive of social capital." (Stolle 1998: p.500) Yet in common with Putnam, Stolle focused on the relationship between social interactions and "civil society and hence democracy" as the inevitable outcome of social capital and the trusting behaviour he investigated. Again this reveals the circular logic at the heart of these debates in which the social networks which do not fit into civic structures are not recognised to be social capital because their presence cannot be measured. In turn, this underplays their importance to the neighbourhoods in which they operate.

This supports the argument of Edwards and Foley (1998) that the problems with these debates lie in the emphasis on particular forms of "norms and values" as social capital. As Chapter Two discussed, many of those engaged in the social capital debates place an unquestioned emphasis on civic society and political engagement as reflections of the presence of social capital. In contrast Edwards and Foley argued democratic participation should not be seen as an inevitable result of social capital, but as a behavioural norm in itself. In common with Portes and Defilippis, they criticised Putnam for ignoring the insights of Coleman and Bourdieu about the value of all social relationships as a way of accessing capital in themselves, independent of any ethical questions such resource sharing may raise.

Building on the arguments of writers like Putnam, the core of the UK Government Neighbourhood Renewal agenda is predicated on intense and continuous participation by residents within forums such as the NPI, often linking funding to involvement. The logic behind this, that increasing participation in such civic forums is a reflection of developing social capital at a local level, stands in contrast to the genuine difficulties in getting residents to take part which this research illustrates. Indeed, during the course of the NPI meetings it was raised time and again that proposals for the renovation of Russell Park were dependent on a "Friends" group of volunteer residents being set up to oversee the project as a requirement of getting funding. As a result the renovation scheme for the park was stalled because of the unwillingness of residents to commit to such a project. To this present day the forum's activities continued to struggle to attract residents to take part and so gain

funding for activities[30]. The problems of encouraging participation have not gone unnoticed at a national level and the Government's own analysis of the impact of area-based initiatives acknowledges the difficulties of community engagement in regeneration work (ODPM 2002).

In the light of this some have challenged whether the focus on participation is missing the wider goal of tackling the deprivation for which such forums are intended. Taylor has argued:

"developing partnerships is a time-consuming and complex process. Involving communities is equally so. Faced with these difficulties, there are those who would argue that community participation is the right answer to the wrong question. Involving people in running their own services is time-consuming and irrelevant, dumps the responsibility for failed services on those least equipped to cope with that responsibility and fails to involve the bulk of the population. The real task has to be to improve the quality of existing services and their management." (Taylor 2000: p.1029)

Yet, as Taylor pointed out too, there are many reasons why community participation in public service decision making is critical to the life chances of those living in deprived areas. In common with Lupton (2003), Taylor argued that local residents are an important source of knowledge about local services and how to improve their delivery. So too she highlighted that whilst some regeneration initiatives have not been very successful in engaging with local residents, others have been. Taylor suggests that the problem lies not with a lack of interest in questions around service delivery for residents, and it was clear amongst the residents in Noel Park that they had strong views on their local area and services, but rather with the approach to engagement used. Certainly this research shows

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[30] On the 16th September 2005 I received an invitation to a meeting in Noel Park to re-launch the Friends Group. This invitation stressed the need for local resident participation to access funds for the renovation of the park and to show there was concern about its condition.

formal meetings and committee structures did not appeal to Noel Park residents and that many gatekeepers felt such mechanisms could be counterproductive as a way of engaging service users.

Returning to Bourdieu's description of social capital as the "aggregate of the actual or potential resources" which arise out of social interactions allows an acknowledgement of the totality of resources residents gained from their social interactions with each other. It highlights that being a neighbour was a relationship grounded in socialising but social transactions. This research shows that it is the representation of how neighbours should behave toward each other which allows access to capital for residents – be it in assistance with household tasks, childcare or more serious matters. Acting as a good neighbour serves then to reaffirm both the capital that the individual can access and also sustains the representation of what is a good neighbour.

The representations identified were not simply a reflection of the world in which the residents and gatekeepers lived but also helped to create it as well. Their role in shaping expectations means that they are critical to understanding not just the dissemination of capital within Noel Park, but also the potential resources available to residents in the future. As I will explore in the final section of this chapter, they act as a resource for residents in how to understand what could happen as well as what is happening. Edwards & Foley are right to be critical of many of the implicit assumptions about social capital, and especially the presumption that particular norms and values – i.e. political participation - are inevitable components of social capital. Yet, this does not mean that the role of norms and values as a form of capital themselves should remain unexplored and a social psychological approach reveals the critical role they can play. Clearly in Noel Park the behavioural norms and values attached to being a good neighbour had substantial implications for the quality

of life of residents on the estate and formed the basis for the social capital within the neighbourhood. Thus, in seeking to criticise Putnam, Edwards & Foley underestimate the powerful relationship between social interactions, social knowledge and social outcomes.

The solution to the problem this raises for our understanding of social capital is to uncouple notions of civic participation as an indicator of social capital and identify political capital in its own right. This serves to highlight the importance to tackling social exclusion of improving political participation as distinct from engaging with the social relationships which exist at a local level. As Taylor acknowledges, participation in decisions about public service provision are critical to improving life chances for residents in deprived communities. Yet amongst residents in Noel Park there was little or no connection between the social capital on the estate and political or civic engagement. Here instead the representation which defined political activity was separate from the representation about social relationships – to the detriment of both local and national governance and the work of the NPI itself.

There are clear implications for social justice if public or political institutions are no longer construed as vehicles for social change by any sector of the population. Indeed, the current public policy debates around how to devolve power down to neighbourhoods through a "Neighbourhood Charter" and commitment to "neighbourhood empowerment" make exploring these relationships all the more important for those concerned to ensure that such new methods of decision making are equitable (Home Office & ODPM 2005) . Whether this disconnection between social capital and political capital is intrinsic to Noel Park, or part of a wider representation present within British society about political participation, is not within the bounds of this research. It can certainly be argued that this disconnection was part and parcel of the exclusion residents experienced. Other research

has also shown a stronger connection between local and national political structures and community self help activities in more affluent areas. In their research in a middle class area of South London Butler and Robson (2001) detail how members of a residents association used their organisational status as a group not only to form networks of support in their neighbourhood but also to lobby their local authority for improvements to public services.

For those seeking to engage local residents in service delivery this research shows that it is important to understand how residents, and those working with them, view such activities rather than assuming that a lack of participation means there is a lack of community or indeed social capital. As Portes and Landolt have commented:

"For social capital to mean something, the ability to command resources through social networks must be separate from the level or the quality of such resources. When social capital and the benefits from it are confused, the term merely says that the successful succeed." (Portes and Landolt 1996: p.2)

For the debates around social capital, this research makes the case for seeing the concept as a way that helps us define how any social relationship can offer access to a range of resources. It is important to acknowledge the benefits of all forms of resources such social networks offer whether life changing, such as access to information about employment, or less substantial such as assistance with everyday tasks like putting out the bins. Not all resources traded through social relationships may equalise inequalities within society but as this research shows they can help improve the quality of life of their participants and lubricate social organisation at a local level.

This then removes the emphasis from specific forms of behaviour or resources which can confuse rather than clarify our understanding of the capital available to individuals and groups in any locality. Thus, it is possible to return to Halpern's (2005) description of social capital as taking three forms – networks, norms and sanctions - on the basis that no one type of network, norm or sanction can be prescribed as social capital. Rather, this encourages us to look for all the various ways in which networks, norms and sanctions are enacted in society and what they offer those who participate in their production. In this way all socially acquired capital, whether through informal networks, gossiping or civic engagement, can be recognised.

In addition it was clear local political and civic services in the area were not connected to community self-help activities meaning that it was not part of the social organization present at in Noel Park. Looking at the distribution of political capital in its own right helps clarify how engagement with the public realm influences resource allocation in a neighbourhood and so why disconnection between social networks and civic structures influences life chances. The challenge then facing public service providers concerned with tackling inequality is to find ways in which to connect with the social organisation which exists within neighbourhoods so that resources can flow from one to the other.

Predicting the Future: The Role of Social Representations in Regeneration

In Chapter Two I identified how in recent years a concern to tackle social exclusion had merged with the focus on spatially concentrated deprivation. I discussed how this had been translated into a policy perspective which sought to regenerate neighbourhoods and

rebuild those communities which suffer from persistently high levels of social deprivation. I have already discussed in this chapter the problems facing those seeking to implement this policy perspective on the ground in Noel Park, and in particular the difficulties with how these projects sought to engage local residents in community forums and political and civic activity. In this final section I want to consider what broader lessons this research offers those concerned with regeneration and social change.

In this chapter I have already discussed several examples of how the lifeworld present in Noel Park was integral to understanding the current context of the estate. Yet the importance of the lifeworld to the resident's predictions about the future was also evident. This can be seen not least in the way in which representations were often more powerful than experiences in defining the expectations residents held. Two strong examples of this within the research were the attitudes towards public services and politicians. Repeatedly residents were critical of public services as a whole but gave individual examples of good levels of service. This parallels national research that shows people tend to trust their local service providers but not national services as a whole (Cabinet Office 2004b). So too local political leadership was praised by both residents and gatekeepers, but "the council" and "politicians" were traduced. In their discussions about these issues both residents and gatekeepers often admitted their own experience was positive or indeed lacking, and yet felt no disjuncture between this and their stated opinions.

Here the concept of "cognitive polyphasia" discussed in Chapter Three offers a way to understand how it is possible for individuals to hold a range of competing representations about the same issue. This psychological concept acknowledges the potential irrationality of humanity. It removes the presumption that individuals or groups are troubled by contradictory information and so seek to resolve such inconsistencies

348

because in everyday life such inconsistencies are rarely challenged. When they were during the process of the interview, we can see that respondents resolved these discrepancies through arguing their experience was unusual rather than that their presumption of poor service was misplaced. This reveals how whilst their experiences were good, the representation of neglect shaped their predictions. Thus, they described themselves as lucky rather than seeing good service experience as indicative of the services overall.

The importance of this to public policy directed at regenerating localities or engendering social change cannot be underestimated. As Galster (2001: p.2115) argued:

"although some of the key features that define a desirable neighbourhood from the perspective of its many consumers can be counted on to remain constant (and therefore predictable) for extended periods, others cannot. This means that consumers' predictions about future changes in these less-durable features will play a major role in determining decisions about mobility, financial investments and psychological investments in neighbourhoods over the long term".

Whilst the regeneration work being done on the estate in the main accorded to the concerns of the residents, there was little acknowledgement of this by them as evidenced by their sense that both the place and people were neglected and their desire to leave. Where projects were acknowledged as a good thing for the estate, such as SureStart, they failed to impact on this sense of neglect because they were not part of any overarching narrative about improvement in the estate. Recognizing the social representations residents brought to their predictions about regeneration reveals why this might be the case. For example, it was telling that many residents were extremely negative about community meetings and the local authority whilst acknowledging that they had little or no experience of either. So too there was little acknowledgement that Haringey Council had brought the neighbourhood

wardens to the area to deal with the problems they identified. Indeed, much of the skepticism about the scheme reinforced the theme of neglect.

For the Noel Park residents the neighbourhood renewal process and the NPI was a passive experience which, whilst focused on their stated shared concerns, did not engage their interest. Without a predictive narrative to link the work being done on these shared concerns to the forum, residents instead used their representations of neglect to dismiss the NPI as irrelevant to them. This reveals the process of prediction is not simply the preserve of those with the resources to act on their views, such as having the funds to able to move out, because their predictions about the estate also influenced willingness to participate in the public realm. As already discussed, this mattered to the regeneration of the estate because participation of citizens and consumers in shaping services is acknowledged as a critical driver of change.

In his work on the Nigerian State Railways Hirschman (1970) contended that services need to give users both the option of "voice" and the possibility of "exit" to allow them to exhibit their dissatisfaction and so help determine improvements. This thesis shows that at the time of the project a large proportion of residents were resigned to poor service provision within Noel Park and were seeking ways to opt out of services, such as using schools outside the local area and or actively seeking to opt out of the area itself. Bluntly, the voice that the NPI and indeed political engagement offered to residents was not an option they wished to consider. This contrasts with the appetite for participation in SureStart which suggested this did speak to the interests residents felt they had in services for their children.

A social psychological approach also reveals why the lack of participation by residents in the regeneration process was so critical. It was clear that residents and

350

gatekeepers shared information and experiences with each other and trusted each other as arbiters of life in the area much more so than other sources such as the local or national news media. Without substantial resident involvement in the neighbourhood renewal work there were not only no voices to help shape the services required, there were also no voices to spread the word about the activities on the estate and so challenge the sense of neglect which pervaded the area. In contrast to the work of Moscovici (1961) in tracing how an original piece of knowledge was disseminated amongst social groups it has not been within the realms of this research to investigate where these particular representations around participation first started. However, this thesis shows how devastating it was to both public service provision and the regeneration of the estate.

There has been some discussion as to the direction of causation of this process in both regenerating neighbourhoods and preventing decline. Lupton and Power (2002) have suggested that a lack of resources heightens the experience of deprivation for residents and that this can turn into "concentration effects" which are cultural and psychological such as particular attitudes or beliefs. Others have claimed the relationship is the other way around. They argue neighbourhood change is driven not by economic or structural change but first and foremost by perceptions of the potential of an area. Galster (2001: p.2117) proposed neighbourhood change must be understood as a function of the:

"risk-laden decisions by consumer/producers that influence the on-going flow of resources to a neighbourhood. These decisions are based heavily on relativistic, inter-neighbourhood comparisons and futuristic expectations embedded within a highly interactive, multi-actor context".

Galster argued as a result that the attributes of any area are "mutually causal" over time with residents, gatekeepers and future residents and gatekeepers influencing the

351

perceptions and so potential of a neighbourhood. Whichever direction the relationship, both perspectives agree that this process of "mutual causation" is critical to achieving social change. This research has shown how this causation process is rooted in the lifeworld of the neighbourhood.

Furthermore, those on the ground clearly understood how critical the gap between experience and expectation was to achieving social change. For example, many gatekeepers were aware of the difficulties created by the fear of crime to their work as much as the actual level of criminal behaviour. At the time of the research the presence of police and street wardens on the estate had failed to reverse this fear or perception that the estate itself was a high crime area because it was neglected. This is despite the evidence presented in Chapter Four that crime and anti-social behaviour on the estate had been falling since their arrival eighteen months previously. Acknowledging the impact of this perception, and its roots within the discourse of neglect about the estate, helps us understand why this gap might exist and what it means for provision of community safety services in the area. Indeed, in practical terms it also helps explain a number of issues; from understanding why some sections of the local community would not participate in evening meetings to why there was resistance and skepticism amongst many towards the warden scheme.

These problems highlight how regeneration cannot solely be a matter for bricks and mortar or training projects, no matter how well meaning or how well planned. The failure to engage the hearts and minds of residents within the Noel Park area in the work of the NPI had real implications for the potential success of the work overall. Reversing this would require recognising the role of the social representations which defined the estate and finding a language which speak to these images and so challenge them. This means developing a narrative which makes participation in the public realm and action directly

resulting from this the response to neglect rather than exodus from the estate. As this research shows, it cannot be taken for granted that residents will see regeneration projects as a positive factor in their locality.

Without the active propagation of an alternative narrative, this research shows why the sense of neglect will affect the long term future of the estate because it gives a motivation for many people to leave the area through lack of hope that the estate will improve. Clearly this interest in exodus also has implications for policies designed to regenerate the estate, from encouraging churn and so social instability to legitimizing the notion that other areas were better places to be and so reinforcing the sense of neglect residents felt. Paskell and Power have argued that many of the regeneration initiatives set in train by the Government, whilst variable in their impact on the ground, have contributed to "bringing confidence about the future condition" of disadvantaged areas (Paskell and Power 2005 : p.47). Sadly, it was difficult to see such confidence in the future in Noel Park in the discussions with most of the residents and gatekeepers.

One final aspect of social change that a social psychological approach offers new insights on is the around the question of gentrification – a form of regeneration favoured by both home owners and many of the gatekeepers in the study. It is impossible to be absolutely certain about gentrification on the estate because of the difficulty in ascertaining how many of those who owned their own properties on the estate were new residents to the estate and how many were existing tenants who had purchased their properties from the local authority. However it was striking amongst the respondents that the overwhelming majority of home owners were people who bought into the estate which would indicate a process of gentrification was taking place within Noel Park.

Furthermore, the research shows this was a process of which the residents were aware. As already discussed in relation to social cohesion, both home owners and tenants were responding to the changing demographics of their estate as property moved from the public to the private sector. Representations of what it meant to be a home owner influenced not just their own concerns in the area but also their views of their neighbours. This reflects how gentrification impacts not only on the economic context of neighbourhoods, as those who have the financial resources to buy housing move in, but also on the social networks in a locality.

What this means for the future of Noel Park is as yet unclear. Between the 1981 and 2001 census, home ownership in Noel Park increased by around 10% from 25.8% to 36.2% whilst at the same time the number of council rented properties fell from 56.1% to 33.7% (Haringey Council 1981: ONS 2001b). In 1981 only a small minority of housing on the estate was privately rented, but by 2001 this had changed to 20.9% whilst the amount of housing association properties remained at a similar level. These figures should be treated with some caution as they also include the section of Noel Park electoral ward which is not the estate itself and is mainly owner occupied. However, taken together with the evidence in the research, this trend does suggest a changing social make up in the area over the course of the last two decades as the social housing stock is depleted.

In their research into gentrification Butler & Robson (2001) identified three distinct approaches of middle class residents to their localities. The model they ascribed to Brixton resembles facets of life in Noel Park this research has present. In this model many middle class people moved into an area as an overspill from more solidly gentrified areas such as Clapham – with Muswell Hill providing this function for Noel Park. Butler & Robson argued the middle classes in Brixton live parallel lives to those of different social and

ethnic backgrounds, living geographically close but socially distinct lifestyles e.g. their children attend different schools and they participate in homogenous social networks. They described "this 'tectonic' social structure which celebrates diversity in principle but leads to separate lives" (Butler & Robson 2001: p.2157). As Paskell and Power (2005: p.2) have commented "many urban neighbourhoods now offer relatively cheap housing but fail to foster cohesion". This research shows why such changes to the social relationships on the estate can have implications for the social capital and social representations which circulate at a local level and so ultimately the relationship residents have with the public realm.

Atkinson (2001) also argued that some aspects of the new service culture that the process of gentrification can bring such as new bars or investment in new forms of shops for residents with different income levels can appear to suggest that an area is being regenerated, when the reality is that those on poorer incomes are being displaced from the locality. As this study has not been a longitudinal one it is not clear whether this is an issue for Noel Park or whether those on lower incomes in the area are sharing in the benefits of the redevelopment of Wood Green High Street. Certainly there was little evidence that the investment into the High Street area was impacting on the residents of the estate, given the fears that the jobs being created were not going to local people.

Whilst Haringey is in no sense following the policies of Westminster Council which actively pursued a policy of gentrification as a means of regeneration, the social pressures which gentrification has created for other similar areas such as Brixton may well come to bear on Noel Park in the future. As Atkinson has commented "gentrification has been construed as both destroyer and saviour in the regeneration of run-down areas, yet it is clear that it is not simply one or the other" (Atkinson 2001: p.324.) These concerns clearly raise questions for the attitudes of the gatekeepers and their positive approach to gentrification as

it suggests there can be a tension between attracting higher incomes to the area and tending to local existing needs. The difference that gentrification can make not just to house prices but also to social cohesion suggests that this is a development which not just estate agents should watch but also those concerned with neighbourhood renewal in Noel Park.

Debates around social exclusion have long acknowledged that it is not a straight forward phenomenon. As a result the importance of developing a way of understanding the often complex and delicate interplay between social structures, social networks and social thinking to aid public policy making has been acknowledged. As Perri 6 (1997b: p.7) has argued:

> "British political culture is more comfortable with devising technical 'fixes', usually of the kind that reshuffle the tax and benefit incentives or press other economic levers. Such measures have their place...but no package of technical or economic changes will themselves tackle social exclusion effectively. We need strategies that work further back in the causal chains that bring about social exclusion ...this means drawing on the informal social systems and influencing the 'cultural lens'- aspirations, time horizons, attitudes to risk and so on- through which socially excluded people perceive the incentives they face."

In this final chapter I have sought to bring together some of the key research findings within this project and identify what lessons they offer for the challenge Perri 6 identifies. In particular it is clear that within Noel Park the public service providers need to address the perception that the estate is a place of 'neglect'. In finding forums of discussion between residents and gatekeepers in which narratives which challenge this view can be created, it is clear there is not a hunger amongst the residents of the estate for more meetings, more chairs and more minutes to agree. This research shows that some public

service providers were better than others at getting individuals to participate but overall this lack of interest in the forums being offered to residents suggests Haringey Council needs to rethink its approach to engaging residents. Instead, learning from the interests and ambitions residents expressed themselves it would suggest that more informal ways of consultation and participation may prove more popular.

So too Haringey Council may well need to embrace the narrative of 'neglect' in order to overcome its corrosive effects on the expectations residents have. To do this , the local authority could benefit from using the resources it is currently putting into neighbourhood renewal to nurture the existing self help networks on the estate as a social benefit in themselves. Indeed, where schemes such as Surestart are delivering benefits to the locality as a form of social capital, they appear to be in facilitating the interactions which build contacts, friendship and support and so help restore a sense of ownership amongst participants for each other and the locality. Taking the time to build up relationships with the networks which do exist on the estate, rather than seeking artificially to create new ones through neighbourhood forums, would then allow local service providers to use them as a source of 'voice' in public services. In turn, this flow of resources and engagement with citizens on their terms would help to strengthen the community cohesion which exists in the area itself.

If policy makers in Noel Park recognise the need to work with the social networks communities create for themselves, they must also acknowledge the need to adapt governance structures to fit them and their needs, rather than simply expecting people to turn up to meetings because they are provided. Those who argue that social and political relationships have the potential to support each other are right to do so. However, this association is far from automatic; there is no guarantee that a greater level of social

357

networking in itself would enhance participation in the public realm. It can only be secured through a conscious and continuous articulation of the benefits to each of such a connection. Thus, any community development work on the estate to bolster a sense of social solidarity must be done with an explicit acknowledgement that shared interests are also expressed through collective political engagement. Democratic "voice" can be as empowering, if not more so, than individual "choice" but the way this is provided has to make sense for all, not just those who enjoy public meetings or tender documents.

As I stated at the start of this thesis it is important to differentiate the public policy outcomes a social psychological viewpoint suggests for a particular neighbourhood and the role of social psychological factors in public policy making itself. Thus, I do not claim that what emerges from this research as a requirement for Noel Park would necessarily be appropriate in other neighbourhoods. However, I would argue that these insights into what could improve public policy making in Noel Park show how social psychology can offer clear lessons for the Government Neighbourhood Renewal Agenda and its concern for public engagement. I have explored these issues further from a political perspective elsewhere (Creasy 2006).

In making these suggestions for improving the regeneration policy approach taken on Noel Park I have made explicit the premise of this research. Its central concern has been to show how social psychology offers tools with which to understand the complex issues facing public policy makers wishing to tackle social exclusion. For example, in the discussion of social capital and social cohesion within this research I have shown the importance of understanding how citizens perceive their relationships with each other. Whilst other social science disciplines have acknowledged the role of attitudes and questions of identity to these concerns, it is in using a social psychological perspective that

I believe public policy makers can understand the cognitive processes that form and change such attitudes and how these interact with social and environmental factors.

In doing so, I have shown how taking a social psychological approach informed by the paradigm of social representations can aid our understanding of what is social about social exclusion. Yet in making the case for a social psychological approach to social exclusion I do not argue that only a social psychological perspective can explain the differences in life chances residents within any given area experience. Indeed it would be a misreading of this research and the arguments it presents to say that all the residents require is a more positive representation of either the future of the estate or the opportunities available to them. Clearly there are real challenges within the Noel Park area that no amount of social interaction can address as Chapter Four reflects.

A central theme of this thesis is how a social psychological approach can offer a complementary, rather than contrasting, perspective on social exclusion. Just as the availability of services and resources at a local level can only ever be part of the story of social exclusion within a neighbourhood, so too the lifeworld which an individual or group uses is also only one facet of the complex processes that affect life chances. In highlighting the role of the lifeworld this thesis reflects the challenge to public policy that exists in trying to bridge the growing gap between informal social networks and organization at a local level in Britain with the way in which public services are delivered. This gap itself reveals how tackling poverty and inequality requires not just physical and social resources but also psychological assets to be redistributed more equally.

I have already indicated how I believe this psychological redistribution could start to happen in Noel Park. This would be first through a concerted effort by the local authority to build links into the local community which allow them to challenge the perception of

local residents about their neighbourhood. Eventually this would then enable residents from a wider range of backgrounds to participate in discussions with public service providers about how best to shape services to meet their needs.

Yet for public policy on social exclusion to truly be enhanced, there needs to be a more systematic engagement between differing social sciences in the insights each can bring to shared concerns. This research has shown how social psychology can add to anthropological and sociological findings, helping to flesh out the relationship between social structures and individual cognitive processes and so adding to our understanding of a complex phenomenon. As such it offers an example of how social psychology could, as the British Psychological Society suggested (BPS 2001), contribute to public policy debates and thus why its omission confines public policy making as a result. Yet this is a two-way process. In choosing the paradigm of social representations I have been explicit that I believe its benefit lies in its willingness to engage in the insights of other social science disciplines. To that end throughout this thesis I have documented the influence of sociology, anthropology, urban studies and geography on both the theoretical approach and practical research presented.

In this way I believe it this thesis sits well within the academic environment of social policy as a multi-disciplinary social science. In seeking to offer insights of relevance to government regeneration policies this thesis also upholds the importance of social policy as a discipline which seeks to inform public policy debates. As Alcock has described

"The term 'social policy' is not only used to refer to academic study, however, it is also used to refer to the social actions taken by policy-makers in the real world. So social policy refers to both the activity of policy-making to promote well-being and the academic study of such actions" (Alcock 2003: p.3)

Thus, in line with this approach, this thesis has shown both how social psychology can contribute to academic social policy debates and offer proposals for how policy making can be improved through understanding the social psychological factors at play. Indeed, the use in this research of a range of social science insights beyond those to be gained from social psychology reflects why this is a social policy thesis and, ultimately, the very nature of the topic it has sought to investigate. In highlighting the "working definition" of social exclusion set out by Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachaud (2002) at the start of Chapter Two I stated that each of the dimensions they identify should not be considered anything but equal. If we accept that social exclusion is a multi-faceted phenomenon then it is clear adopting a multi-disciplinary approach to tackling it is also vital. We must acknowledge social exclusion is a concept whose complexity in both cause and effect is beyond comprehension by any one academic discipline.

Progress in eliminating social exclusion will therefore require academics and public policy makers alike to put aside theoretical differences and to pool ideas in pursuit of policies which will tackle the inequalities in life chances which still affect too many people in modern Britain. In order to formulate the policies that will achieve this aim we must start by developing a more sophisticated and holistic appreciation of the nature of social exclusion: this research seeks to offer a way of understanding just one piece of a very complicated puzzle.

"The conception of a better society, by which the broad trends of our policy can best be instructed, is therefore of a specific kind. We need not be content with anything less, nor need we ask for more....nor need we fear that this society is far away, or difficult to establish. There is nothing in it that could not be established in a single generation, if we had the eyes to see, and the hearts to will, this reasonable programme of social betterment. We have only to open our eyes and stretch out our hands to pluck this precious fruit from the tree of knowledge."

(Evan Durbin 1945:p.333-334)

Appendix A1: Basic Demographic Information on the Resident Participants

	Decade of Age	Nationality	Gender	Housing	Employment status
Amber 1	50	White British	Female	Council	Unemployed
Amber 2	40	Iraqi	Female	Council	Asylum
Amber 3	30	Mixed British/ Turkish	Female	Council	Unemployed
Amber 4	30	Black British	Male	council	Unemployed
Black 1	40	Black Caribbean	Male	Council	Skilled Professional
Blue 1	60	White British	Male	Council	Retired manual
Blue 2	30	White African	Male	Owner	Skilled Professional
Blue 3	20	Korean	Male	Private Tenant	Student
Brown 1	20	Somalian	Female	Council	Asylum
Brown 2	40	Black British	Female	Council	Unemployed
Brown 3	60	Iranian	Male	Owner	Skilled Professional
Brown 4	70	Jamaican	Male	Council	Retired – manual
Brown 5	60	White British	Male	Owner	Retired – manual
Brown 6	20	Iranian	Male	Private Tenant	Semi-skilled
Cream1	30	Black British	Female	Housing Association	Unemployed
Diamond 1	30	Asian	Male	Owner	Professional
Diamond 2	50	Black African	Male	Owner	Semi-retired
Emerald 1	30	White Irish	Female	Council	Unemployed

Cont.

363

	Decade of Age	Nationality	Gender	Housing	Employment status
Emerald 2	18	Turkish	Female	Council	Student
Gold 1	70	White British	Female	Council	Semi-skill – retired
Green 1	19	Turkish	Male	Owner	Prof/semi-skilled
Green 2	70	White British	Female	Owner	Retired-manual
Green 3	30	White British	Male	Council	Self-employed
Grey1	20	White British	Female	Council	Unemployed
Jade 1	20	White British	Male	Council	Unemployed
Lemon 1	60	White British	Female	Council	Retired – manual
Lemon 2	40	Turkish	Female	Council	Unemployed
Lemon 3	50	Kosovan	Family	Council	Semi-skilled/ skilled
Lemon 4	30	Black British	Female	Council	Semi-skilled
Lemon 4	40	Black British	Female	Council	Semi-skilled
Lemon 5	20	Mixed British/ Afro Caribbean	Female	Council	Unemployed
Lemon 7	50	Cypriot	Male	Owner	Retired – manual
Lemon 8	15	Black British	Male	Council	Student
Mauve 1	70	White Irish	Male	Council	Retired – skilled
Mauve 2	50	White British	Male	Owner	Manual
Mauve 3	30	Portuguese	Female	Council	Unemployed

Cont.

	Decade of Age	Nationality	Gender	Housing	Employment status
Opal 1	30	White Irish	Male	Council	Unemployed
Orange 2	30	White British	Female	Council	Unemployed
Orange 1	10	Black British	Female	Council	Student
Pink 1	20	Albanian	Male	Private Tenant	Asylum
Pink 2	20	Kosovan	Female	Council	Asylum
Pink 3	30	Palestinian	Male	Council	Asylum
Purple 1	60	White British	Female	Owner	Retired – semi skilled
Purple 2	30	White British	Female	Council	Unemployed
Purple 3	80	White British	Female	Council	Retired-manual
Purple 4	80	White British	Male	Council	Retired – manual
Purple 5	30	White British	Male	Council	Unemployed
Purple 6	40	White British	Male	Owner	Skilled Professional
Purple 7	60	Turkish	Male	Council	Retired-manual
Purple 8	40	White British	Male	Council	Unemployed
Red 1	40	White British	Female	Owner	Semi skilled
Red 2	40	Indian	Female	Council	Skilled Professional
Red 3	60	White British	Male	Owner	Retired – skilled Professional
Rose 1	50	White British	Female	Council	Unemployed

Cont.

	Decade of Age	Nationality	Gender	Housing	Employment status
Ruby 1	50	White British	Male	Owner	Skilled Professional
Ruby 2	60	Asian Caribbean	Female	Owner	Skilled Professional
Sapphire 1	30	White British	Female	Council	Unemployed
Sapphire 2	30	Kosovan	Female	Housing Association	Asylum
Sapphire 3	30	White British	Female	Council	Semi-skilled
Sapphire 4	18	Indian	Male	Owner	Unemployed
Silver 1	60	French	Male	Housing Association	Self Employed
Silver 2	70	White British	Female	Housing Association	Retired manual
Silver 3	30	Black African	Male	Housing Association	Unemployed
Silver 4	40	Black African	Female	Housing Association	Semi-skilled
Silver 5	12	Turkish	Female	Housing Association	Student
Tan 1	30	Mixed British/ Afro Caribbean	Couple	Council	Semi-skilled/manual
Violet 1	20	Serbian	Male	Private Tenant	Asylum
White 1	20	Black British	Female	Council	Unemployed
Yellow 1	30	Albanian	Male	Council	Asylum
Yellow 2	30	White British	Female	Owner	Skilled Professional

Appendix A2 – Question Schedule Used For In-Depth Interviews with Residents

Section 1: Questions concerning the Resident

1. Can you tell me a little about yourself?
2. Where were you born? Where did you grow up? How long have you lived here?
3. What did your parents do? are they still alive?
4. Can you describe to me a typical day in your life?
5. Who are the people you see the most of? Where do they live?
6. Do you have many friends in this area? What do they do?
7. Can you describe to me the community which you live in?
8. What do you think other people think of this community?
9. Do you know many of your neighbours? What sort of people are they? How do you know this?
10. Who do you feel are the important people in your community? Where do they live?
11. Do you read any newspapers?
12. What about the local papers? Do you read them?
13. Do you watch or listen to any particular news programme on the television or radio?

Section 2: Questions concerning Noel Park

1. What sort of neighbourhood do you feel this is?
2. Do you spend much time here?
3. Where do you do your food shopping? Socialising?
4. What do you think other people think of this neighbourhood / borough?
5. What do you think of the public services here starting with the health services?
6. What about the schools and education?
7. What about the council? Services such as street cleansing ? housing ?
8. What about the councillors? The local politicians? What about the MPs?
9. Do you take part in elections? Locally or nationally?
10. Do you take part in community events or meetings? Can you describe them to me?
11. What do you think are the main problems facing this area?
12. What do you think should be done to tackle these problems?

Section 3: The Neighbourhood Renewal Agenda

1. Have you heard of the term "Neighbourhood Renewal"? What does this make you think of?
2. Have you heard of the Noel Park Initiative? Have you ever attended it?
3. Have you heard of the Street Wardens? What do you think of them the idea?
4. Have you heard of SureStart? What do you think of it/the idea?
5. Do you think unemployment is a big issue around here? What do you think should be done to tackle unemployment?
6. Are you planning to stay in this area? If you left where would you go? Why would you like to stay?
7. Are you positive or negative about the future of Noel Park?
8. Is there anything else I should know about life around here?

Appendix A3: NUD*IST Schemata For Resident Responses

(1)	/General Demographic Characteristics
(1 1)	/General Demographic Characteristics/Age Of Respondent
(1 2)	/General Demographic Characteristics/Employment Status Respondent
(1 3)	/General Demographic Characteristics/Country Of Origin
(1 4)	/General Demographic Characteristics/Children In Household
(1 6)	/General Demographic Characteristics/Other Profession In Household

(2)	/Experience Of Area
(2 1)	/Experience Of Area/What Brought To Area
(2 2)	/Experience Of Area/Would Prefer To Live Elsewhere
(2 3)	/Experience Of Area/Same/Different To Other Places
(2 4)	/Experience Of Area/Lived In Area
(2 5)	/Experience Of Area/Area Changing Good Or Bad

(3)	/Family
(3 1)	/Family/Family Arrangements
(3 5)	/Family/(Family In Area
(3 7)	/Family/Child Centred Life
(3 8)	/Family/Children Centred Networking

(4)	/Social Interaction / Community
(4 1)	/Social Interaction / Community/Friends In Area
(4 2)	/Social Interaction / Community/Informal Assistance To Neighbours
(4 3)	/Social Interaction / Community/Road Better Than Estate
(4 4)	/Social Interaction / Community/People Like Me/ Anti Posh People
(4 5)	/Social Interaction / Community/Friendly Area
(4 6)	/Social Interaction / Community/Need For Community Spaces
(4 7)	/Social Interaction / Community/Anti- Outsiders
(4 8)	/Social Interaction / Community/Knowledge Of Neighbours
(4 9)	/Social Interaction / Community/Community Spirit/ Looking Out
(4 10)	/Social Interaction / Community/Social Isolation Example
(4 11)	/Social Interaction / Community/Longevity And Community
(4 12)	/Social Interaction / Community/Neighbour Contact
(4 12 1)	/Social Interaction / Community/Neighbour Contact/People Tell Me
(4 13)	/Social Interaction / Community/Neighbour Conflict
(4 39)	/Social Interaction / Community/Willingness To Participate In Soc Cap
(4 50)	/Social Interaction / Community/Attitudes Towards Community Meetings
(4 54)	/Social Interaction / Community/Majority Of Time In Haringey

(5)	/Problems With The Estate
(5 1)	/Problems With The Estate/Problems Caused By People
(5 2)	/Problems With The Estate/Lack Of Problems
(5 15)	/Problems With The Estate/Street Lighting
(5 16)	/Problems With The Estate/Problems On Estate – Environmental
(5 26)	/Problems With The Estate/Vandalism
(5 27)	/Problems With The Estate/Dogs
(5 48)	/Problems With The Estate/Poverty
(5 51)	/Problems With The Estate/Priorities For Area

(6)	/Education
(6 1)	/Education/Difficulties In Getting Place In School
(6 2)	/Education/Adult Education
(6 3)	/Education/Experience Of Education In Area
(6 17)	/Education/Education Services - Experience

(7)	/Healthcare / Social Services
(7 1)	/Healthcare / Social Services/Access To Services
(7 18)	/Healthcare / Social Services/Healthcare – Experience
(7 20)	/Healthcare / Social Services/Social Services Experience
(7 44)	/Healthcare / Social Services/Mental Health Issues

(8)	/Noel Park Neighbourhood Initiative
(8 29)	/Noel Park Neighbourhood Initiative/Awareness Of NPI
(8 30)	/Noel Park Neighbourhood Initiative/NPI Advertised
(8 31)	/Noel Park Neighbourhood Initiative/Attended NPI Meetings

(9)	/Government/ Politics
(9 21)	/Government/ Politics/Councillors Experience
(9 22)	/Government/ Politics/Attitudes To Voting
(9 23)	/Government/ Politics/Political Parties
(9 43)	/Government/ Politics/Negative Attitude To Government

(10)	/Council Services/ The Council
(10 1)	/Council Services/ The Council/Environmental Services
(10 2)	/Council Services/ The Council/General Positive
(10 3)	/Council Services/ The Council/General Negative
(10 4)	/Council Services/ The Council/Contact With Council
(10 5)	/Council Services/ The Council/Information Point About Services
(10 6)	/Council Services/ The Council/Parking

(11)	/Descriptions Of Physical Environment
(11 1)	/Descriptions Of Physical Environment/Too Many People / Busy
(11 9)	/Descriptions Of Physical Environment/Estate Is Quiet
(11 25)	/Descriptions Of Physical Environment/Noel Park
(11 46)	/Descriptions Of Physical Environment/Physical Layout Of Estate

(12)	/Young People/ Children
(12 1)	/Young People/ Children/Young People General Comments
(12 13)	/Young People/ Children/Children Playing Out On Streets
(12 35)	/Young People/ Children/Young People As Troublemakers

(13)	/Neighbourhood Renewal
(13 1)	/Neighbourhood Renewal/Need To Intervene In Area
(13 24)	/Neighbourhood Renewal/Concept Of Neighbourhood Renewal
(13 28)	/Neighbourhood Renewal/Local Businesses

(14)	/Neighbourhood Wardens
(14 32)	/Neighbourhood Wardens/Awareness Of Wardens
(14 33)	/Neighbourhood Wardens/Experience Of Wardens
(14 34)	/Neighbourhood Wardens/Views Of Wardens

(15)	/Surestart
(15 1)	/Surestart/Access To Nursery Services General
(15 2)	/Surestart/Influence Over Surestart As Parent
(15 36)	/Surestart/Awareness Of Surestart
(15 37)	/Surestart/Experience Of Surestart
(15 38)	/Surestart/Views Of Surestart

(16)	/Unemployment
(16 1)	/Unemployment/Job Seeking
(16 2)	/Unemployment/Childcare Issues
(16 3)	/Unemployment/Availability Of Work
(16 4)	/Unemployment/Get On Your Bike Style
(16 40)	/Unemployment/Unemployment – Problem
(16 41)	/Unemployment/People Around And Unemployment
(16 42)	/Unemployment/Causes Of Unemployment

(17)	/Attitudes Towards Media And Current Affairs
(17 1)	/Attitudes Towards Media And Current Affairs/Press Reporting Of Haringey
(17 53)	/Attitudes Towards Media And Current Affairs/Newspaper Read - National
(17 55)	/Attitudes Towards Media And Current Affairs/Interest In Current Affairs
(17 56)	/Attitudes Towards Media And Current Affairs/Read Local Papers -Advertiser

(18)	/Comparison With Rest Of Haringey
(18 45)	/Comparison With Rest Of Aringey/Comparison To Totham
(18 47)	/Comparison With Rest Of Aringey/Comparison To Aringe Hill Etc
(18 49)	/Comparison With Rest Of Aringey/Lack Of Investment In Poor Areas

(19)	/The Future
(19 1)	/The Future/Staying In Area
(19 1 1)	/The Future/Staying In Area/Planning To Leave Area If Possible
(19 2)	/The Future/Indifferent About Future
(19 3)	/The Future/Planning To Leave
(19 52)	/The Future/Positive About The Future

(20)	/Asylum Seekers
(20 1)	/Asylum Seekers/Experience Of Being One
(20 2)	/Asylum Seekers/ Nglish Speaking
(20 3)	/Asylum Seekers/ Nglish Speaking Children
(20 4)	/Asylum Seekers/Attitudes Towards Asylum Seekers

(21)	/Housing
(21 1)	/Housing/Temporary Accomodation
(21 2)	/Housing/Council Tenant
(21 3)	/Housing/Home Owner
(21 4)	/Housing/Attitudes Towards Home Ownership
(21 5)	/Housing/Attitudes Towards Council Tenants
(21 6)	/Housing/Experience Of Being A Tenant
(21 7)	/Housing/Cost Of Housing In London
(21 8)	/Housing/Quality Of Housing Stock
(21 9)	/Housing/Housing Repairs
(21 10)	/Housing/Right To Buy
(21 11)	/Housing/Housing Association
(21 19)	/Housing/Housing Services - Experience

(22)	/Ethnic Diversity
(22 1)	/Ethnic Diversity/Comment On Ethnicity – Positive
(22 2)	/Ethnic Diversity/Comment On Ethnicity – Negative
(22 3)	/Ethnic Diversity/Comment On Ethnicity – Neutral
(22 4)	/Ethnic Diversity/Reference To Ethnicity
(22 5)	/Ethnic Diversity/Ethnic Conflict

(23)	/Crime And Fear Of Crime
(23 1)	/Crime And Fear Of Crime/Reputation Of Wood Green
(23 2)	/Crime And Fear Of Crime/Criminality And Ethnicity
(23 3)	/Crime And Fear Of Crime/General Comments On Crime
(23 4)	/Crime And Fear Of Crime/Stabbing
(23 5)	/Crime And Fear Of Crime/Crime Reported In Papers

(24)	/Good Things About The Estate
(24 1)	/Good Things About The Estate/Transport
(24 2)	/Good Things About The Estate/Shopping Centre
(24 3)	/Good Things About The Estate/General Good Comments

(25)	/Voluntary And Community Groups
(25 1)	/Voluntary And Community Groups/Mention Religious Group
(25 2)	/Voluntary And Community Groups/Experience Of Assistance From

Appendix B1: Basic Demographic Information on the Gatekeeper Participants

Gatekeeper Number	Decade of Age	Nationality	Gender	Public or Private Sector Worker
1	30	White British	Male	Public
2	50	White British	Male	Public
3	30	White British	Male	Public
4	30	White British	Female	Public
5	50	White British	Male	Private
6	Late Teens	Black British	Female	Public
7	60	Black British	Male	Private
8	50	White British	Male	Private
9	20	Black British	Female	Public
10	30	White British	Male	Private
11	40	White British	Male	Private
12	30	White British	Male	Private
13	20	White British	Male	Private
14	40	White British	Male	Public
15	40	Black	Female	Public
16	60	White British	Female	Public
17	50	White British	Male	Public
18	40	Black British	Female	Public
19	50	Asian	Male	Public
20	40	Black British	Female	Public
21	30	White British	Male	Public
22	20	Black British	Male	Private
23	40	White British	Female	Public

Gatekeeper Number	Decade of Age	Nationality	Gender	Public or Private Sector Worker
24	40	White British	Female	Voluntary Sector
25	50	Asian	Male	Public
26	20	Asian	Male	Private
27	50	Asian	Male	Private
28	60	Asian	Male	Private
29	20	White British	Female	Private
30	30	White Other	Male	Public

Appendix B2 – Question Schedule Used For In-Depth Interviews with Gatekeepers

Section 1: Questions concerning the Gatekeeper

14. Can you tell me a little about yourself?
15. How long have you been working on Noel Park?
16. What brought you to this area?
17. Can you describe to me a typical day in your job?
18. Who are the people you see the most of? Where do they live?
19. Can you describe to me the community which you work in?
20. What do you think other people think of this community?
21. Do you know many of the residents? What sort of people are they? How do you know this?
22. Who do you feel are the important people in this community? Where do they live?
23. Do you read any newspapers?
24. What about the local papers? Do you read them?
25. Do you watch or listen to any particular news programme on the television or radio?

Section 2: Questions concerning Noel Park

13. What sort of neighbourhood do you feel this is?
14. Do you spend much time here?
15. What do you think other people think of this neighbourhood / borough?
16. What do you think of the public services here starting with the health services?
17. What about the schools and education?
18. What about the council? Services such as street cleansing ? housing ?
19. What about the councillors? The local politicians? What about the MPs?
20. Do you take part in elections? Locally or nationally?
21. Do you take part in community events or meetings? Can you describe them to me?
22. What are the challenges you face in your job here?
23. What do you think are the main problems facing this area?
24. What do you think should be done to tackle these problems?

Section 3: The Neighbourhood Renewal Agenda

9. Have you heard of the term "Neighbourhood Renewal"? What does this make you think of?
10. Have you heard of the Noel Park Initiative? Have you ever attended it?
11. Have you heard of the Street Wardens? What do you think of them/the idea?
12. Have you heard of SureStart? What do you think of it/the idea?
13. Do you think unemployment is a big issue around here? What do you think should be done to tackle unemployment?
14. Are you planning to stay in your job? If you left where would you go? Why would you like to stay?
15. Are you positive or negative about the future of Noel Park?
16. Is there anything else I should know about life around here?

Appendix B3- NUD*IST Schemata For Gatekeepers

(1)	/Demographics Gatekeepers
(1 1)	/Demographics Gatekeepers/Live On The Estate
(1 2)	/Demographics Gatekeepers/Length Of Time Working On Estate
(1 3)	/Demographics Gatekeepers/What Brought To Area
(1 4)	/Demographics Gatekeepers/Live In Area
(1 5)	/Demographics Gatekeepers/Enjoy/ Hate Job

(2)	/Descriptions Of Estate
(2 1)	/Descriptions Of Estate/Physical Descriptions Of Estate
(2 2)	/Descriptions Of Estate/Noel Park
(2 3)	/Descriptions Of Estate/Estate Is Quiet
(2 4)	/Descriptions Of Estate/Estate Is Busy/ Noisy
(2 5)	/Descriptions Of Estate/Estate Is Nice Place To Be
(2 6)	/Descriptions Of Estate/Estate Is Not Nice Place To Be
(2 7)	/Descriptions Of Estate/Estate Changed?

(3)	/Social Interaction Community
(3 1)	/Social Interaction Community/Reputation Of Estate
(3 2)	/Social Interaction Community/Informal Assistance To Neighbours
(3 3)	/Social Interaction Community/Roads Better Than Estate
(3 4)	/Social Interaction Community/Social Contact With Residents
(3 5)	/Social Interaction Community/People Like Me/ Anti Posh People
(3 6)	/Social Interaction Community/Knowledge Sharing With Residents
(3 7)	/Social Interaction Community/Neighbour Conflict
(3 8)	/Social Interaction Community/Outsiders
(3 9)	/Social Interaction Community/Views Of Residents
(3 10)	/Social Interaction Community/Community Spaces
(3 11)	/Social Interaction Community/Sense Of Community

(4)	/Problems With The Estate
(4 1)	/Problems With The Estate/Parking/ Traffic Management
(4 2)	/Problems With The Estate/Problems Caused By People
(4 3)	/Problems With The Estate/Lack Of Problems
(4 4)	/Problems With The Estate/Street Lighting
(4 5)	/Problems With The Estate/Environmental Issues
(4 6)	/Problems With The Estate/Vandalism
(4 7)	/Problems With The Estate/Dogs
(4 8)	/Problems With The Estate/Poverty
(4 9)	/Problems With The Estate/Priorities For Area

(5)	/Crime
(5 1)	/Crime/Reputation Of Wood Green
(5 2)	/Crime/Working With Police
(5 3)	/Crime/Criminality And Ethnicity
(5 4)	/Crime/Crime Reported
(5 5)	/Crime/Stabbing
(5 6)	/Crime/General Comments

(6)	/Education
(6 1)	/Education/Difficulties In Getting Places
(6 2)	/Education/Experience Of Working With NOEL PARK School
(6 3)	/Education/General Comments On Education

(7)	/Healthcare
(7 1)	/Healthcare/Access To Services
(7 2)	/Healthcare/Working With PCT/ Health
(7 3)	/Healthcare/General Comments On Healthcare

(8)	/NPI. Community Forums
(8 1)	/NPI. Community Forums/Attitudes Towards Comm Meetings
(8 2)	/NPI. Community Forums/Awareness Of NPI
(8 3)	/NPI. Community Forums/Experience Of NPI
(8 4)	/NPI. Community Forums/Attend Community Meetings?

(9)	/Government Politics
(9 1)	/Government Politics/Views On Councillors
(9 2)	/Government Politics/Attitudes Towards Voting
(9 3)	/Government Politics/Political Parties
(9 4)	/Government Politics/Negative Attitudes Towards Government

(10)	/Haringey Council
(10 1)	/Haringey Council/Positive Contact
(10 2)	/Haringey Council/Negative Contact
(10 3)	/Haringey Council/Positive Services
(10 4)	/Haringey Council/Negative Services
(10 5)	/Haringey Council/Extra
(10 6)	/Haringey Council/Residents Complaining

(11)	/Young People
(11 1)	/Young People/Young People General Comments
(11 2)	/Young People/Young People As Trouble Makers
(11 3)	/Young People/Children Playing On Streets

(12)	/Neighbourhood Renewal
(12 1)	/Neighbourhood Renewal/Concept Of Neighbourhood Renewal
(12 2)	/Neighbourhood Renewal/Experience Of Bidding Process
(12 3)	/Neighbourhood Renewal/Need To Intervene In Area
(12 4)	/Neighbourhood Renewal/Local Businesses
(12 5)	/Neighbourhood Renewal/Partnership Working

(13)	/Neighbourhood Wardens
(13 1)	/Neighbourhood Wardens/Awareness Of Wardens
(13 2)	/Neighbourhood Wardens/Views Of Wardens
(13 3)	/Neighbourhood Wardens/Working With Wardens

(14)	/Surestart
(14 1)	/Surestart/Awareness Of Surestart
(14 2)	/Surestart/ Working With Surestart
(14 3)	/Surestart/Views Of Surestart
(14 4)	/Surestart/Nursery Childcare Services

(15)	/Unemployment
(15 1)	/Unemployment/Job Seeking
(15 2)	/Unemployment/Childcare Issues
(15 3)	/Unemployment/Availability Of Work
(15 4)	/Unemployment/On Your Bike Style
(15 5)	/Unemployment/Unemployment As Problem

(16)	/Media
(16 1)	/Media/Press Reporting Of Haringey
(16 2)	/Media/Newspaper Read- National
(16 3)	/Media/Newspaper Read Local
(16 4)	/Media/Interest In Current Affairs
(16 5)	/Media/Newspaper Read - Freesheet

(17)	/Comparison With Rest Of Haringey
(17 1)	/Comparison With Rest Of Haringey/Totham
(17 2)	/Comparison With Rest Of Haringey/Muswell Hill Etc
(17 3)	/Comparison With Rest Of Haringey/Lack Of Investment In Poor Areas

(18)	/Future Of NOEL PARK
(18 1)	/Future Of NOEL PARK/Planning To Keep Working There
(18 2)	/Future Of NOEL PARK/Planning To Move Jobs
(18 3)	/Future Of NOEL PARK/Positive About Future Of NOEL PARK
(18 4)	/Future Of NOEL PARK/Indifferent About Future

(19)	/Asylum Seekers
(19 1)	/Asylum Seekers/English Speaking
(19 2)	/Asylum Seekers/Attitudes Towards Asylum Seekers
(19 3)	/Asylum Seekers/Provision Of Services For Refugees

(20)	/Ethnicity
(20 1)	/Ethnicity/Comment - Negative
(20 2)	/Ethnicity/Comment Neutral
(20 3)	/Ethnicity/Comment Positive

(21)	/Good Things About Estate
(21 1)	/Good Things About Estate/Transport
(21 2)	/Good Things About Estate/Regeneration Projects
(21 3)	/Good Things About Estate/Shopping Centre
(21 4)	/Good Things About Estate/Working There Generally Good
(21 5)	/Good Things About Estate/Other Generally Good

(22)	/Voluntary And Community Groups
(22 1)	/Voluntary And Community Groups/Working With Vol/ Com Groups
(22 2)	/Voluntary And Community Groups/Mention Vol/ Com Group
(23)	/Housing
(23 1)	/Housing/Attitudes Towards Home Ownership
(23 2)	/Housing/Council Tenants
(23 3)	/Housing/General Comments

Appendix C1: Pre 2002 Ward Boundaries for the Borough of Haringey

At the 2002 local elections substantial changes were made to the ward boundaries of several wards in Haringey. Here I have described the changes. It is important to note that Noel Park is one of the wards which **has not** been altered.

1998	2002 Changes
Alexandra	Same
Archway	Merged with Highgate
Bowes Park	Bounds Green
Bruce Grove	Same
Coleraine	Merged into Northumberland Park
Crouch End	Same
Fortis Green	Same
Green Lanes	Renamed St Anns
Harringay	Same
High Cross	Merged into Tottenham Hale
Highgate	Enlarged
Hornsey Central	Renamed Hornsey
Hornsey Vale	Merged into Stroud Green
Muswell Hill	Same
Noel Park	Same
Park	Split between White Hart Lane and Northumberland Park
Seven Sisters	Same
South Hornsey	Merged into Stroud Green
South Tottenham	Split between Tottenham Hale and Tottenham Green
Tottenham Central	Merged into Tottenham Green
West Green	Same
White Hart Lane	Enlarged with addition of elements of Park
Woodside	Same

Appendix C2: Regeneration Initiatives Operating In Haringey During The Research Period via Ward [31]

	NDC	NRF	SRB	Objective 2 European Funding	Surestart
Bowes Park			Haringey Heartlands – round 3		
Bruce Grove		Bruce Grove/Tottenham Hale including Broadwater Farm	UVLP – round 1 Tottenham Futures – round 4 West Green Learning Neighbourhood –round 5	Yes	
Coleraine		Northumberland Park	UVLP – round 1 Tottenham Futures– round 4	Yes	
Green Lanes		Tottenham Green	Tottenham Futures– round 4 West Green Learning Neighbourhood–round 5		Sure Start Chestnuts (round 3)
Harringay			Tottenham Futures– round 4		
High Cross		Bruce Grove/Tottenham Hale including Broadwater Farm	UVLP– round 1 Tottenham Futures– round 4	Yes	Sure Start High Cross – in progress
Noel Park		Wood Green Town Centre	Haringey Heartlands– round 3	Yes	Sure Start Noel Park (round 5)
Park		Northumberland Park	UVLP– round 1 Tottenham Futures– round 4	Yes	Sure Start Park Lane?
Seven Sisters	NDC for Seven Sisters (second round)	Tottenham Green	UVLP– round 1 Tottenham Futures– round 4	Yes	
South Hornsey			Finsbury Park – round 5		
South Tottenham		Tottenham Green Bruce Grove/Tottenham Hale including Broadwater Farm	UVLP– round 1 Tottenham Futures– round 4	Yes	
Tottenham Central		Tottenham Green	UVLP– round 1 Tottenham Futures– round 4 West Green Learning Neighbourhood	Yes	
West Green			UVLP– round 1 Tottenham Futures– round 4 West Green Learning Neighbourhood –round 5	Yes	Sure Start West Green (round 1)
White Hart Lane		White Hart Lane	UVLP– round 1 Tottenham Futures– round 4		Sure Start White Hart Lane (2003 bid)
Woodside		Wood Green Town Centre Management	Haringey Heartlands– round 3		

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[31] N.B. Only electoral wards in receipt of funding listed e.g. Archway did not qualify for any of the above funding streams

Appendix D1: Newspaper Readership Chi Square Tests

This Chi Square compares readership of a national newspaper with home ownership.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
natnews * homown	66	94.3%	4	5.7%	70	100.0%

Reads A National Newspaper * Home Ownership Crosstabulation

			Home Ownership		
			Home Owner	Not Home Owner	Total
Reads A National Newspaper	Reads a national newspaper	Count	12	24	36
		% within Home Ownership	75.0%	48.0%	54.5%
	Does not read a national newspaper	Count	4	26	30
		% within Home Ownership	25.0%	52.0%	45.5%
Total		Count	16	50	66
		% within Home Ownership	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.564(b)	1	.059		
Continuity Correction(a)	2.558	1	.110		
Likelihood Ratio	3.720	1	.054		
Fisher's Exact Test				.084	.053
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.510	1	.061		
N of Valid Cases	66				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table
b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.27.

This Chi-Square compares readership of a national newspaper with employment status.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
natnews * employ2	66	94.3%	4	5.7%	70	100.0%

Reads A National Newspaper * Is in Employment Crosstabulation

			Is in Employment		
			Is In Employment	Is Not In Employment	Total
Reads A National Newspaper	Reads a national newspaper	Count	14	22	36
		% within Is in Employment	73.7%	46.8%	54.5%
	Does not read a national newspaper	Count	5	25	30
		% within Is in Employment	26.3%	53.2%	45.5%
Total		Count	19	47	66
		% within Is in Employment	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.942(b)	1	.047		
Continuity Correction(a)	2.932	1	.087		
Likelihood Ratio	4.084	1	.043		
Fisher's Exact Test				.059	.042
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.882	1	.049		
N of Valid Cases	66				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table
b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.64.

This Chi Square compares readership of a national newspaper with readership of a local newspaper.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
natnews * loclnewf	66	94.3%	4	5.7%	70	100.0%

Reads The Local Freesheet * Reads A National Newspaper Crosstabulation

			Reads A National Newspaper		Total
			Reads a national newspaper	Does not read a national newspaper	
Reads The Local Freesheet	Reads The Local Freesheet	Count	28	16	44
		% within Reads A National Newspaper	77.8%	53.3%	66.7%
	Does Not Read The Local Freesheet	Count	8	14	22
		% within Reads A National Newspaper	22.2%	46.7%	33.3%
Total		Count	36	30	66
		% within Reads A National Newspaper	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.400(b)	1	.036		
Continuity Correction(a)	3.369	1	.066		
Likelihood Ratio	4.426	1	.035		
Fisher's Exact Test				.065	.033
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.333	1	.037		
N of Valid Cases	66				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table
b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.00.

This Chi square compares readership of national newspaper with ethnicity.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Reads A National Newspaper * Non White Ethnicity	66	94.3%	4	5.7%	70	100.0%

Crosstab

			Non White Ethnicity		Total
			Non White	White	
Reads A National Newspaper	Reads a national newspaper	Count	14	22	36
		% within Non White Ethnicity	38.9%	73.3%	54.5%
	Does not read a national newspaper	Count	22	8	30
		% within Non White Ethnicity	61.1%	26.7%	45.5%
Total		Count	36	30	66
		% within Non White Ethnicity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.830[b]	1	.005		
Continuity Correction[a]	6.503	1	.011		
Likelihood Ratio	8.040	1	.005		
Fisher's Exact Test				.007	.005
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.712	1	.005		
N of Valid Cases	66				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 13.64.

This Chi square compares readership of freesheet newspaper with ethnicity.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Reads The Local Freesheet * Non White Ethnicity	66	94.3%	4	5.7%	70	100.0%

Crosstab

			Non White Ethnicity		
			Non White	White	Total
Reads The Local Freesheet	Reads The Local Freesheet	Count	19	25	44
		% within Non White Ethnicity	52.8%	83.3%	66.7%
	Does Not Read The Local Freesheet	Count	17	5	22
		% within Non White Ethnicity	47.2%	16.7%	33.3%
Total		Count	36	30	66
		% within Non White Ethnicity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.875[b]	1	.009		
Continuity Correction[a]	5.569	1	.018		
Likelihood Ratio	7.191	1	.007		
Fisher's Exact Test				.010	.008
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.771	1	.009		
N of Valid Cases	66				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.00.

Appendix E1: Friendship Chi Square Tests

This Chi Square compares having friends in the area with stating that you know your neighbours.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Has Friends In Area * Knowing Your Neighbours	70	100.0%	0	.0%	70	100.0%

Knowing Your Neighbours * Has Friends In Area Crosstabulation

			Has Friends In Area		Total
			Has Friends In Area	Does Not Have Friends In Area	
Knowing Your Neighbours	Does Know Neighbours	Count	29	20	49
		% within Has Friends In Area	82.9%	57.1%	70.0%
	Does Not Know Neighbours	Count	6	15	21
		% within Has Friends In Area	17.1%	42.9%	30.0%
Total		Count	35	35	70
		% within Has Friends In Area	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.510(b)	1	.019		
Continuity Correction(a)	4.354	1	.037		
Likelihood Ratio	5.647	1	.017		
Fisher's Exact Test				.036	.018
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.431	1	.020		
N of Valid Cases	70				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table
b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.50.

This Chi-Square compares stating that you have received help from your neighbours with stating that you know your neighbours.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
neighbou * neihelp	70	100.0%	0	.0%	70	100.0%

Receives Help From Neighbour * Knowing Your Neighbours Crosstabulation

			Knowing Your Neighbours		Total
			Does Know Neighbours	Does Not Know Neighbours	
Receives Help From Neighbour	Gave Example of Help From Neighbour	Count	23	4	27
		% within Knowing Your Neighbours	46.9%	19.0%	38.6%
	Did Not Give Example of Help From Neighbour	Count	26	17	43
		% within Knowing Your Neighbours	53.1%	81.0%	61.4%
Total		Count	49	21	70
		% within Knowing Your Neighbours	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.826(b)	1	.028		
Continuity Correction(a)	3.721	1	.054		
Likelihood Ratio	5.156	1	.023		
Fisher's Exact Test				.034	.025
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.757	1	.029		
N of Valid Cases	70				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.10.

Appendix E2: Ethnicity and Attendance at Community Meetings Chi-Square Test

This Chi Square compares ethnicity with stated attendance at community meetings.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
nonwhite * attendco	69	98.6%	1	1.4%	70	100.0%

Attends Community Meetings * Non White Ethnicity Crosstabulation

			Non White Ethnicity		
			Non White	White	Total
Attends Community Meetings	Does Attend Community Meetings	Count	10	18	28
		% within Non White Ethnicity	25.6%	60.0%	40.6%
	Does Not Attend Community Meetings	Count	29	12	41
		% within Non White Ethnicity	74.4%	40.0%	59.4%
Total		Count	39	30	69
		% within Non White Ethnicity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.302(b)	1	.004		
Continuity Correction(a)	6.938	1	.008		
Likelihood Ratio	8.407	1	.004		
Fisher's Exact Test				.006	.004
Linear-by-Linear Association	8.182	1	.004		
N of Valid Cases	69				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table
b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 12.17.

Appendix E3: Stay in Area Chi Square Test

This Chi Square compares happiness to stay in the area with home ownership.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
stay * homown	70	100.0%	0	.0%	70	100.0%

Happy to Stay In Area * Home Ownership Crosstabulation

			Home Ownership		
			Home Owner	Not Home Owner	Total
Happy to Stay In Area	Would Like To Leave Area	Count	6	36	42
		% within Home Ownership	33.3%	69.2%	60.0%
	Is Happy To Stay In Area	Count	12	16	28
		% within Home Ownership	66.7%	30.8%	40.0%
Total		Count	18	52	70
		% within Home Ownership	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.179(b)	1	.007		
Continuity Correction(a)	5.762	1	.016		
Likelihood Ratio	7.114	1	.008		
Fisher's Exact Test				.012	.008
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.077	1	.008		
N of Valid Cases	70				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table
b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.20.

Appendix F1: Councillor Contact Chi Square Tests

This Chi-Square compares ethnicity with stated contact with local councillors.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
nonwhite * cllrcont	70	100.0%	0	.0%	70	100.0%

Has Had Contact With Local Councillors * Non White Ethnicity Crosstabulation

			Non White Ethnicity		
			Non White	White	Total
Has Had Contact With Local Councillors	Has Had Contact	Count	6	13	19
		% within Non White Ethnicity	15.0%	43.3%	27.1%
	Has Not Had Contact	Count	34	17	51
		% within Non White Ethnicity	85.0%	56.7%	72.9%
Total		Count	40	30	70
		% within Non White Ethnicity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.959(b)	1	.008		
Continuity Correction(a)	5.600	1	.018		
Likelihood Ratio	6.984	1	.008		
Fisher's Exact Test				.014	.009
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.860	1	.009		
N of Valid Cases	70				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table
b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.14.

This Chi Square compares home ownership with stated contact with local councillors.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
homown * cllrcont	70	100.0%	0	.0%	70	100.0%

Has Had Contact With Local Councillors * Home Ownership Crosstabulation

			Home Ownership		Total
			Home Owner	Not Home Owner	
Has Had Contact With Local Councillors	Has Had Contact	Count	8	11	19
		% within Home Ownership	44.4%	21.2%	27.1%
	Has Not Had Contact	Count	10	41	51
		% within Home Ownership	55.6%	78.8%	72.9%
Total		Count	18	52	70
		% within Home Ownership	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.668(b)	1	.055		
Continuity Correction(a)	2.585	1	.108		
Likelihood Ratio	3.461	1	.063		
Fisher's Exact Test				.070	.057
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.615	1	.057		
N of Valid Cases	70				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table
b 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.89.

Appendix F2 : Awareness of Noel Park Initiative Chi Square Tests

This Chi Square compares awareness of the NPI forum and ethnicity.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
nonwhite * npi	69	98.6%	1	1.4%	70	100.0%

Awareness of Noel Park Initiative * Non White Ethnicity Crosstabulation

			Non White Ethnicity		
			Non White	White	Total
Awareness of Noel Park Initiative	Has Heard of NPI	Count	9	18	27
		% within Non White Ethnicity	23.1%	60.0%	39.1%
	Has Not Heard of NPI	Count	30	12	42
		% within Non White Ethnicity	76.9%	40.0%	60.9%
Total		Count	39	30	69
		% within Non White Ethnicity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.705(b)	1	.002		
Continuity Correction(a)	8.217	1	.004		
Likelihood Ratio	9.851	1	.002		
Fisher's Exact Test				.003	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.565	1	.002		
N of Valid Cases	69				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table
b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 11.74.

This Chi-Square compares awareness of the NPI forum with stated attendance at community meetings.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
attendco * npi	69	98.6%	1	1.4%	70	100.0%

Awareness of Noel Park Initiative * Attends Community Meetings Crosstabulation

			Attends Community Meetings		Total
			Does Attend Community Meetings	Does Not Attend Community Meetings	
Awareness of Noel Park Initiative	Has Heard of NPI	Count	18	9	27
		% within Attends Community Meetings	64.3%	22.0%	39.1%
	Has Not Heard of NPI	Count	10	32	42
		% within Attends Community Meetings	35.7%	78.0%	60.9%
Total		Count	28	41	69
		% within Attends Community Meetings	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.519(b)	1	.000		
Continuity Correction(a)	10.805	1	.001		
Likelihood Ratio	12.713	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.001	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	12.337	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	69				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.96.

Appendix F3 : Awareness of SureStart Chi Square Tests

This Chi-square compares gender with awareness of SureStart.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
surestar * gender	69	98.6%	1	1.4%	70	100.0%

Awareness of SureStart * Gender of Respondent Crosstabulation

			Gender of Respondent		Total
			Male	Female	
Awareness of SureStart	Has Heard Of SureStart	Count	22	7	29
		% within Gender of Respondent	59.5%	21.9%	42.0%
	Has Not Heard Of Surestart	Count	15	25	40
		% within Gender of Respondent	40.5%	78.1%	58.0%
Total		Count	37	32	69
		% within Gender of Respondent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.949(b)	1	.002		
Continuity Correction(a)	8.466	1	.004		
Likelihood Ratio	10.312	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.003	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.804	1	.002		
N of Valid Cases	69				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table
b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 13.45.

This Chi Square compares awareness of SureStart and having children in the household.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
surestar * chidhou2	69	98.6%	1	1.4%	70	100.0%

Awareness of SureStart * Children in Household Crosstabulation

			Children in Household		Total
			Yes	No	
Awareness of SureStart	Has Heard Of SureStart	Count	9	20	29
		% within Children in Household	29.0%	52.6%	42.0%
	Has Not Heard Of Surestart	Count	22	18	40
		% within Children in Household	71.0%	47.4%	58.0%
Total		Count	31	38	69
		% within Children in Household	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.902(b)	1	.048		
Continuity Correction(a)	2.994	1	.084		
Likelihood Ratio	3.968	1	.046		
Fisher's Exact Test				.055	.041
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.846	1	.050		
N of Valid Cases	69				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table
b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 13.03.

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Finally I should like to thank my parents and my brother: Dr Matthew Creasy has carefully and kindly encouraged me put my thoughts on paper and never doubted my capacity to write this thesis. Without the influence and inspiration of my parents I would never have developed a passion for social justice and this research wouldn't exist.

"I wouldn't read this if I were you"

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