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Disentangling Area Effects: Evidence from Deprived and Non-deprived Neighbourhoods

Rowland Atkinson and Keith Kintrea

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Summary. This paper focuses on the question of whether it is worse to be poor in a poor area or in an area which is more socially mixed; in short, does living in a deprived area compound the disadvantage experienced by its residents, and do area effects contribute to social exclusion? The idea of social areas having direct or mediated effects on the lives of their residents continues to interest and challenge academic and policy debates on the effect of concentrated poverty and on the creation of more mixed and, thereby, more sustainable neighbourhood forms. However, area effects remain contentious and British research evidence is scant. Following a review of the theoretical and empirical understandings of the relationship between households and neighbourhoods, the paper presents survey data from a comparative study of deprived and socially mixed neighbourhoods in Glasgow and Edinburgh. These data provide evidence that supports the area effects thesis, in particular in relation to area reputation and employment. The paper concludes that, with certain *caveats*, living in areas of geographically concentrated poverty creates additional problems for residents.

1. Introduction

The British government has recently announced that, within 10–20 years, no-one should be seriously disadvantaged by where they live (SEU, 2001b, p. 44). Since the Labour Party returned to power in 1997, there has been a focus on the 'worst estates' and socially excluded areas containing some of the most intractable problems for public policy. New initiatives, in particular a battery of area-based initiatives (ABIs) have been announced, driven by a search for 'joined-up solutions' based upon interdepartmental working and wide-ranging partnerships. This approach is based on a recognition that interconnected and intractable problems require interconnected policy solutions. Within these responses to poverty rooted in small areas is implicated a belief that where people live affects their chances to participate in an 'inclusive society' over and above non-spatial explanatory social categories such as gender and class, and specific disadvantages such as unemployment or ill-health.

The current emphasis on social exclusion suggests that the neighbourhood is an important location that profoundly affects such outcomes as education, employment

Rowland Atkinson and Keith Kintrea are in the Department of Urban Studies, University of Glasgow, 25 Bute Gardens, Glasgow, G12 8RS, UK. Fax: 0141 330 4983. E-mail: r.atkinson@socsci.gla.ac.uk and k.kintrea@socsci.gla.ac.uk. *The authors would like to thank the ESRC (Award number: L130251040) and Scottish Homes for their help in funding this work. The authors are grateful for the comments and suggestions made by Ade Kearns and Ivan Turok on earlier drafts of this paper. This paper was presented in an earlier form at the ESRC Cities Programme Neighbourhoods Colloquium held at Liverpool University on 5–6 June 2000.*

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and health. Nothing is more stark than the possibility that someone will die younger by virtue of where they live (Shaw *et al.*, 2000) or that a person's address affects their chances of getting a job (Dean and Hastings, 2000). The importance of this problem in Britain at present is intensified by the widespread recognition that spatial segregation between the poor and the better-off has become greater in the past 10 or 20 years (Lee and Murie, 1997; SEU, 2000a).

The literature on area effects has mainly derived from US cities and the plight of an urban poor concentrated in small areas that create additional impacts which prevent them from escaping poverty. The mechanisms for this additionality are found in processes such as burdens on local service provision, poor reputation that is projected onto individual residents, poor-quality or absent private services, lower standards of public service provision and the socialisation processes in poor neighbourhoods (see Figure 1 for a fuller exposition). Nevertheless, the propositions about area effects remain contentious and social scientific knowledge is still being assembled. While some commentators, such as Kleinman (1998), are critical of the area effects thesis, more conclude that area effects do matter (in particular the wide-ranging review by Ellen and Turner, 1997). However, little evidence on area effects exists for British cities to validate either position fully.

The remainder of the paper is divided into three sections. First, we discuss the debate on area effects in more detail and, secondly, we present the design and results of a comparative survey of poor and socially mixed neighbourhoods in central Scotland. The survey data show some differential outcomes for people in similar social positions living in different areas. The third section concludes that area effects appear to be identifiable through the use of a comparative methodology, but that there are limitations in such an approach due to the lack of dynamism found in survey data.

2. Area Effects: Do They Exist and Do They Matter?

The search for area effects is the attempt to consider the outcome in life-chances and opportunities that might vary if one lived or grew up in different types of area. We define area effects as the net change in the contribution to life-chances made by living in one area rather than another. In this sense, area effects can be both positive and negative—for example, the stigma of one address may have its counterpart in the prestige of another. This paper therefore uses data drawn, broadly speaking, from two different neighbourhood types: extensively deprived and socially mixed. Our definition of area effects distinguishes between simple aggregations of characteristics found in the residents of a neighbourhood (for example, concentrations of poverty) and effects based on threshold or non-linear relationships between such concentrations for specific groups in an area (for example, where social problems, such as anti-social behaviour, reach a point which 'tips' the area into a downward spiral).

There is a broad consensus that area effects exist. Those identified in the US literature have included impacts arising from the social isolation of the poor in ghettos including a 'ghetto culture' which stresses short-term goals and deviant norms (Murray, 1996); a lack of role-models occasioned by the absence of a successful middle class (Wilson, 1987, 1996); and the development of forms of social capital which are constraining rather than enabling (de Souza Briggs, 1998). Area effects also involve underfunded and poor-quality services (Duffy, 2000) and reduced access to new jobs in suburban areas (Kain, 1968, 1992; Wilson, 1996).

Area effects are difficult to identify as they are located among a number of social processes which are themselves circuitous and interrelated (Buck, 2000). In addition, there is a certain circularity about the debates themselves; while aggregations of poor people define poor areas, is there an additionality about such aggregations that further entrenches their poverty? For example, do peo-

ple in poor areas do less well at school because they live in poor areas, or do poor people just do less well at school? Another problem relates to the complex relationship between people, households and places. Galster and Zobel (1998) and Galster *et al.* (2000) draw attention to the problem of thresholds: at what level of poverty concentration do area effects start to have an impact?

An important critique of area effects is that, even where they can be identified, other factors are much more important as sources of inequality. Many writers stress the overwhelming influence of structural macroeconomic factors in creating concentrations of poverty (see, for example, Morris, 1995; Webster, 1999; Turok and Edge, 1999; Jargowsky, 1997) over cultural factors. Some of these authors believe that social problems such as family breakdown flow directly from unemployment (Webster, 1999; Donnison, 2001). In an important piece of analysis, Jargowsky argues that positive changes in the US economy also impacted positively on poor ghettos many of whose residents benefited from the upswing. However, he also found that neighbourhood poverty is important in addition to the circumstances of individuals, in particular identifying concern with the effects on children which may have life-long consequences. Recognising that the source of poverty lies outside poor neighbourhoods has led several authors to focus on the need for universal, rather than area-selective, welfare provision (Amin *et al.*, 2000) or measures which assist poverty wherever poor people live, such as the Working Families Tax Credit (Mitchell *et al.*, 2000).

Some authors, notably Kleinman (1998, 1999) dismiss area effects as much less important than inequalities arising from within the household—i.e. what might be identified as the intergenerational transmission of poverty. However, most extended reviews of the area effects literature–for example, Jencks and Mayer (1990), Brooks-Gunn *et al.* (1993), and Ellen and Turner (1997)—emerge with the conclusion that there are causal associations between poor neighbourhoods and other social problems which are more than the consequences of macroeconomic forces and household characteristics, even if there is no agreement over exactly which social outcomes are the result of which factors (Galster and Zobel, 1998). Ellen and Turner (1997) conclude that area effects may be less important than processes outside the neighbourhood, but suggest that the causal relationships between these processes remain to be more fully articulated.

Evidence from one-off studies of poor neighbourhoods and from national data-sets in the US is now being supplemented by emerging results from an experimental federal-funded programme designed to examine the impacts on households moving from poor to non-poor areas known as the Moving to Opportunity programme. The emerging results from the programme are discussed by Katz *et al.* (2001) and by del Conte and Kling (2001) who, in a summary of several pieces of research examining its impacts, conclude that

> there are significant and positive effects on child and parent health, as well as on child behaviour and youth delinquency and on safety and exposure to violence (del Conte and Kling, 2001, p. 3).

British or other European research on area effects has been scant, although some other research programmes are underway which take their cue from the US literature involving, in one case, a longitudinal study of deprived neighbourhoods in England (see Lupton, 2001) and, in another, an analysis of the British Household Panel Study (see Buck, 2000). Most authors who have reviewed the field from a British or European perspective conclude that links between poor neighbourhoods and social exclusion need to be taken seriously (Friedrichs, 1997; Somerville, 1998; Power, 2000). Power has argued that

> the larger and longer running the area problems, the stronger the cumulative impact becomes, leading to the flight of those most able to go and the gradual loss of control resulting from chronic instability.

She goes on to suggest that

> These 'clustering' impacts on people's life-chances and on neighbourhood conditions have wider consequences [they] generate a gradual loss of confidence in the system (Power, 2000, p. 8).

Most recently, Dabinett *et al.* (2001), following the prevailing US view, suggest that for Britain, the balance of the evidence does indicate

> the presence of adverse-compounding area-induced effects which imply that social exclusion in these [i.e. deprived] areas is more difficult to tackle (Dabinett *et al.*, 2001, p. 43).

Supporting evidence in Britain concerning area effects comes from studies such as that of Shaw *et al.* (2000) who note that 52 per cent of the 'worst health million' live in Scotland (which has a population roughly one-tenth that of the UK as a whole). They comment that

> Areas with a high level of socio-economic disadvantage may also be disadvantaged with respect to transport, retail outlets, leisure facilities, environmental pollution, and social disorganisation, in ways that influence health independently of the socio-economic characteristics of the people living in these areas (Shaw *et al.*, 2000, p. 83).

Figure 1, has been developed from Ellen and Turner (1997) and seeks to distinguish between mutually exclusive area effects based on the propositions and evidence contained in the literature. The effects we identify are as follows: concentration effects, location effects, milieu, socialisation, physical and service effects, although the paper is only able to focus on some of these. Within each of these types of effect, particular mechanisms which connect individuals or households to the neighbourhood are located. To give one example, concentrations of deprivation are partly mediated to the household and individual via the stress on local services that this creates. A primary outcome of such effects is a high demand on services with the secondary outcome being lower-quality 'outputs', such as educational performance or health care. The diagram is presented in a linear fashion which is not in line with thinking about the distinctly non-linear processing of area effects and so, to stress the interconnected nature of these effects, we have suggested that a feedback loop exists which affects the primary mechanisms of transmission.

There is a danger in the area effects approach that neighbourhoods are imbued with the characteristics of things which act upon their residents, independent of the rest of society or their economic public or policy contexts. To respond to this, in Figure 2 we set the neighbourhood in its wider context recognising that urban economic forces may ameliorate or exaggerate neighbourhood problems and that public policies beyond the neighbourhood may have more influence on residents' lives than specific area-based initiatives.

3. Approaching the Area Effects Debate: The Research Design

Our approach to researching the existence and importance of area effects in the British context is to compare residents' experiences of living in two pairs of deprived and socially mixed neighbourhoods through a household survey. Our reasoning for this approach is that it addresses head-on the central question of whether it is worse to be poor in a poor area than one which is socially mixed. By selecting paired neighbourhoods located close together in the same city, we are able to hold constant many of the contextual factors shown in Figure 2. Of further relevance is the contrasting economic positions of Glasgow, still struggling to recover from industrial decline, and Edinburgh with its successful service-led economy and higher employment rates (Bailey *et al.*, 1999).

In each city, an extensively deprived and a 'typically' integrated neighbourhood were selected using the revised Scottish deprivation index (Gibb *et al.*, 1998), census indi-

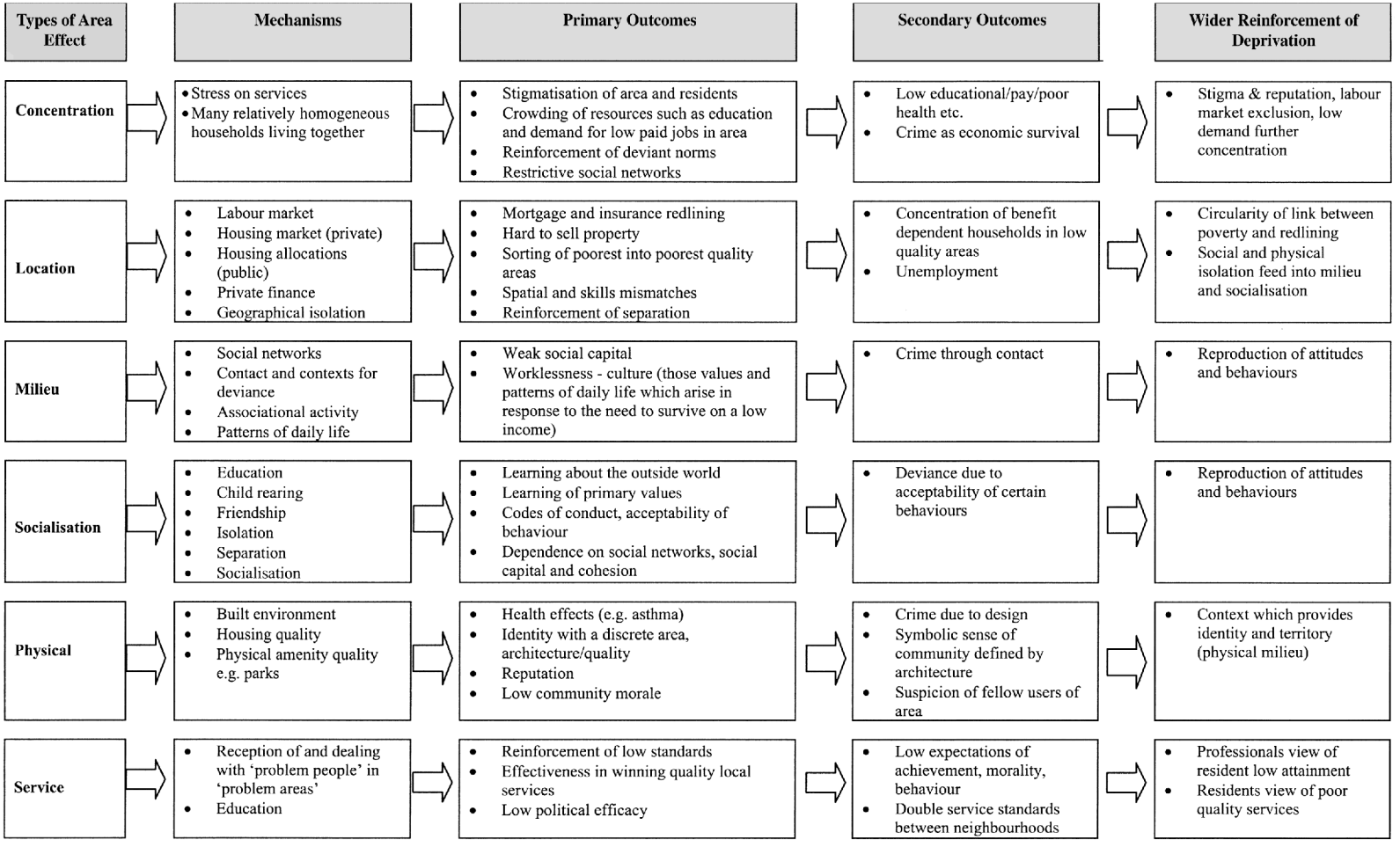

Figure 1. Outline of a typology of area effects in deprived neighbourhoods.

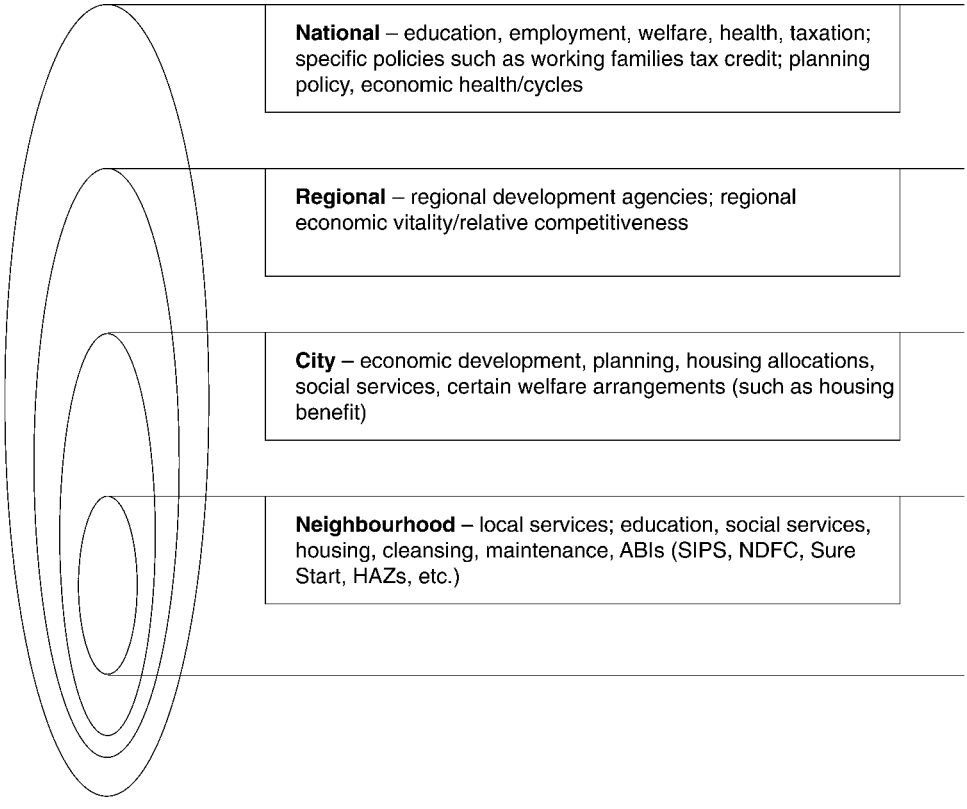

Figure 2. The British neighbourhood in its wider context.

cators and area classifications. The deprived neighbourhoods were both council estates ranked in the worst 5 per cent of deprived areas in Scotland and both had been subject to a range of area-based initiatives over the past decade: currently both are Social Inclusion Partnerships, Scotland's principal area-based initiative programme.

The mixed neighbourhoods were selected as pairings for the deprived areas with the rationale being that they contained a wider social and tenurial base. The more mixed social areas were also selected because they represent potential templates or forecasted visions for the deprived neighbourhoods; the policies that are being applied to the deprived areas are striving to achieve levels of social integration more often found in the mixed areas. Finally, the comparison of relatively mixed and deprived areas allows us to tease out which are place-based effects and which might be more strongly related to key explanatory positions such as membership of a particular social or tenurial group.

Tables 1 and 2 provide background information and data which highlight the social and economic, spatial and physical differences between the areas. Table 2 is drawn from the survey data and presents some critical information about key social exclusion outcomes such as the proportion of households on some kind of welfare benefit and the number without any kind of certificate of educational qualification. Table 2 also highlights the extensively deprived characteristics of our two poor neighbourhoods but also shows some distinct differences between our two non-deprived areas with different scores and profiles, notably in terms of property and household types as well as the key deprivation indicators. The names of the areas have been changed in order that the research,

Table 1. Summary of the neighbourhoods

Area characteristics	Edinburgh		Glasgow	
	Dalside	Lockhart	Westfields	Craiglee
Location	Periphery; 3 miles from city centre	Inner-city neighbourhood; half a mile to city centre	Peripheral estate; 6 miles from city centre	Peripheral suburb; 6 miles from city centre
History	Council estate constructed 1950s to 1970s; recent demolition and replacement with housing association and private housing	Mixed-use area developed in 19th century; some 20th-century council housing and new private flats	Council estate built in 1950s and 1960s; substantially restructured including new housing association and private housing	Originally a mining village of 19th century; changed into a mixed suburb of council and private housing (1930s to 1990s)
Built form	Diffuse spread of low- and high-rise flats and houses with some newer houses at edge	Tenements and some cottage-style housing; some high-rise flats	Mostly tenement flats and newer housing association houses; some recent terraced and semi-detached housing	Semi-detached and detached houses and sandstone tenement blocks and terraced houses
Deprivation	In top 5 per cent of deprived Scottish areas	Pockets of relative deprivation	In top 5 per cent of deprived Scottish areas	In top 20 per cent of deprived Scottish areas
Regeneration initiatives	Social Inclusion Partnership	None	Social Inclusion Partnership	None

as far as possible, does not contribute further to the stigmatisation of the poor areas.

The data presented below relate to outcomes arising from a subset of the area effects presented in Figure 1. The reason for selecting the particular effects and outcomes discussed lies partly in the limitations of the questionnaire survey approach. Putative area effects, for example, relating to deviance or low self-esteem are better addressed through qualitative research instruments. Furthermore, the household survey generally denies access to some of the key groups who may be most affected by area effects, particularly young people, so we have not been able to touch on young people's socialisation or educational achievement in examining the survey results.

The survey was conducted among householders and/or their partners in the early part of 2000. Two hundred addresses were sampled randomly from the postcode address file of each of the four areas; 780 responses were recorded (a response rate of 53 per cent). While the survey provides robust data on which to work, the lack of accurate population denominators from census data means that the data could not be weighted to better reflect the areas' populations. However, the final data-set has been arrived at after weighting for respondents in newly built and older housing in order to compensate for a sampling bias designed to meet the needs of a parallel research project using the same survey. The data presented look at area effects in relation to the themes shown in Table 3. These were chosen because they were considered suitable for a quantitative approach in contrast to some of the more attitudinal outcomes which would

Table 2. Key statistical and socioeconomic features of the study areas (percentages)

	Edinburgh		Glasgow	
Tenure	Dalside ($N = 195$)	Lockhart ($N = 195$)	Westfields ($N = 195$)	Craiglee ($N = 195$)
Owner-occupied	18.5	68.7	23.1	67.0
Local authority	61.0	3.6	62.1	29.9
Housing association/co-operative	19.0	7.7	13.8	1.5
Private rented	1.5	20.0	1.0	1.5
Social class[a]				
A/B	2.1	24.7	1.4	12.0
C1	14.7	42.9	7.7	25.5
C2	15.8	15.7	8.7	26.6
D/E	67.4	16.7	82.2	35.9
Property type				
Flat	60.5	81	84.6	32.5
Detached house/bungalow	21.5	2.6	0.5	13.9
Semi detached or terraced house	17.9	16.4	14.9	53.6
Household type				
Single adult	29.9	47.9	15.5	13.4
Lone parent	12.4	4.1	19.6	6.7
Couple without children	16.0	10.8	15.5	26.3
Couple with children	12.4	18.0	15.5	26.3
Single pensioner	18.0	13.9	18.0	20.1
Pensioner couple	9.3	4.1	9.8	10.3
Households				
With no car	67.9	51.3	75.9	41.1
With illness/disability	36.4	13.3	50.3	32.8
On welfare benefit[b]	71.5	45.2	86.4	74.4
No educational qualification	47.2	17.9	63.6	49.7
Head unemployed	65.1	33.3	74.9	55.9

[a] The social class scale is built on the following categorisations: A: Professional, B: Intermediate, C: Non-manual, D: Skilled manual and E: Unskilled manual. With regard to time-constraints on the coding of the data, social class A has been collapsed with B, and D with E. Class E includes those entirely dependent on the state through sickness, unemployment, old age or other reasons and those unemployed for longer than six months as well as casual workers.

[b] Excludes those on state pensions, student grant/bursary and child benefit (which is universally available).

be better tackled by qualitative or ethnographic methods.

The tables are presented to allow ready comparison of results between areas. For example, in Table 4 below, 64 per cent of owners in Dalside had left their neighbourhood in the past day, this can be compared with the 68 per cent of owners in Lockhart who had also left in the past day. The number of respondents who gave an answer to each question is also given. Each table contains an overall average percentage response to contextualise the different figures and the total number of respondents to each question is indicated. The percentage columns therefore do not total 100 in the majority of tables because the cells represent a within-group figure. This style of presentation has been used to highlight interarea rather than intraarea variations in order to identify area effects. The deprived areas are shaded to allow easy identification.

Table 3. Focus of the paper

Section heading	Area effect	Primary outcomes examined
1. Patterns of daily life	Milieu and socialisation effects	Isolation
2. Barriers to choice of neighbourhood location	Location effects	Sorting of poor into poorest areas
3. Social networks	Concentration and milieu effects	Restrictive social networks
4. Stigma and reputation	Concentration/location and service effects	Feelings and perceptions of stigma
5. Unemployment, education and illness/disability	Location and concentration effects	Employment and health outcomes

Table 4. Percentage of respondents who had left the neighbourhood in the previous weekday, by tenure

	Edinburgh				Glasgow			
	Dalside		Lockhart		Westfields		Craiglee	
Tenure	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*
Owner-occupied	64.0	36	68.0	134	61.4	44	68.5	130
Local authority**	54.6	119	28.6	7	38.8	121	31.0	58
Housing association*	55.3	38	46.7	15	44.0	25	0.0	3
Private rented	0.0	3	65.8	38	100.0	2	50.0	2
Total	57.4	196	64.1	194	45.1	192	55.3	193

** Indicates significant at the 5 per cent level; * indicates significant at the 10 per cent level.

4. Identifying Area Effects: Households with Different Outcomes

4.1 Patterns of Daily Life

The physical isolation of many public housing estates compounds problems of communication, labour market access and wider social integration. Both Westfields in Glasgow and Dalside in Edinburgh lie at the relative margins of each city. However, it is not merely this geographical marginality which has led to the lives of their residents being viewed as disconnected from a mainstream society. Patterns of socialisation in poor areas are widely assumed to be largely restricted to the neighbourhood and have been associated with territoriality, an inward-looking viewpoint and weak social networks with those who live outside the area (see Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000).

This view of the 'estate as universe' is largely untested. We used a measure of isolation by asking respondents if they had left their neighbourhood during the previous weekday and what they were doing. The results highlighted a wide degree of variability fundamentally based on whether the respondent was employed or not. However, in the deprived neighbourhoods, people's jobs were more often based within the neighbourhood. Underclass theorists have sought to paint a picture of a class which is deviant and largely restricted to poor neighbourhoods which also act as normative containers. Our data indicate that the reality, at least in the areas we looked at, was more complicated than such theorists would have us believe.

Table 4 gives a breakdown by tenure of the percentage of respondents who had left their neighbourhood on the previous weekday. This table shows that there is a notably

Table 5. Percentage of respondents who had left the neighbourhood in the previous weekday, by household type

	Edinburgh				Glasgow			
	Dalside		Lockhart		Westfields		Craiglee	
Household type	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*
Single adult**	70.7	58	74.2	93	46.7	30	50	26
Lone parent*	45.8	24	57.1	7	60.5	38	67	12
Couple without children	64.5	31	76.2	21	66.7	30	75	52
Couple with children	71.0	24	67.0	36	62.0	34	71	41
Pensioner household*	39.6	53	34.2	35	13.0	54	29	59
Total	56.4	190	64.1	192	43.6	186	54.3	190

** Indicates significant at the 5 per cent level; * indicates significant at the 10 per cent level.

greater degree of out-movement in the mixed areas. However, broken down by tenure, a counter-intuitive pattern emerges. While out-movement rates for owners are slightly greater in the mixed areas, local authority tenants' movement out of the neighbourhood is greater in the deprived areas. It may be that peripherality leads to a greater need to move out of the neighbourhood, particularly if local services, such as shopping, are inadequate locally. However, rates of mobility are generally higher for the Edinburgh neighbourhoods. Regardless of the interpretation, these data point to a relatively high degree of boundary permeability and do not appear to support the contention that deprived area residents are physically isolated.

Table 5 gives out-movement rates by household type. With the exception of pensioners and couples with children in Dalside, all household groups have a lower degree of out-movement in the deprived areas. Among the groups, pensioners and single parents have the least amount of out-movement and couples without children the greatest. In particular, single adults have a lower propensity for out-movement in the two Glasgow neighbourhoods. This may be linked to their peripheral location or to this stage in the life-course. Certainly, the relative proximity of the Edinburgh neighbourhoods to the centre may be linked to greater ranges of movement for this group.

The pattern of higher rates of mobility in the mixed communities could be linked to a number of factors, not least the quality of local public transport and local services more generally. For lone parents, two things are notable. First, that propensity to travel out of the neighbourhood was higher in both of the Glasgow neighbourhoods. Secondly, travel out of the neighbourhood was more pronounced in the mixed neighbourhoods in both Edinburgh and Glasgow.

As a further measure of isolation, Table 6 examines car ownership. It is noticeable that it indicates higher rates of ownership for those in social rented accommodation in the deprived areas. For owners, the reverse picture emerges, although the overall rates are much higher. It is difficult to know how to interpret this: the survey showed little difference between areas in residents' views about access to public transport, so it seems unlikely that differences in car ownership are driven by the availability of alternatives.

Lone parents were much more likely to have access to a car in the mixed neighbourhoods, possibly because lone parents in these areas were also more likely to be employed. Finally, locality and car use are bound together: Lockhart is closer to the city centre compared to all the other areas and thus its proximity to a major labour market could account for generally lower levels of car ownership than Craiglee.

Table 6. Car ownership, by tenure

	Edinburgh				Glasgow			
	Dalside		Lockhart		Westfields		Craiglee	
Tenure	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*
Owner-occupied**	55.6	36	60.0	135	51.0	45	72.3	130
Local authority**	14.0	119	0.0	7	14.0	121	3.0	58
Housing association	30.0	37	13.0	15	32.0	25	0.0	3
Private renting	0.0	3	33.3	39	0.0	2	0.0	3
Total	24.6	195	49.2	196	24.6	193	57.9	194

** Indicates significant at the 5 per cent level.

Table 7. Percentage of respondents who felt that they had moved to their current neighbourhood because they had no other choice, by tenure

	Edinburgh				Glasgow			
	Dalside		Lockhart		Westfields		Craiglee	
Tenure	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*
Owner-occupied	2.8	36	0.7	134	0.0	45	0.8	130
Local authority**	21.0	120	14.3	7	7.4	121	1.7	58
Housing association	13.5	37	13.3	15	11.5	26	50.0	2
Private renting**	50.0	2	0.0	39	0.0	2	0.0	3
Total	16.4	195	2.0	195	6.1	194	1.5	193

** Indicates significant at the 5 per cent level.

4.2 Barriers to Choice of Neighbourhood Location

When respondents were asked why they had chosen their particular neighbourhood, a significant response for the deprived areas among respondents in the social rented sector, particularly in Dalside, was that they had no other choice (Table 7). This could be for a number of reasons, but the most likely relates to the bureaucratic mechanisms of allocation systems for social housing. The differences in the Glasgow and Edinburgh results may be accounted for by Edinburgh's much tighter housing market.

The moving intentions of respondents varied widely, but some patterns were detectable. Overall, the numbers of respondents wishing to move if it were possible (a measure to include respondents who might *want* to move but might feel unable to do so) were 40 per cent in Dalside and 21 per cent in Westfields, compared to Lockhart and Craiglee which were 15 and 10 per cent respectively. This suggests a general dissatisfaction with the deprived areas in addition to 'normal' levels of household mobility, which is in line with other findings, for example, from the Scottish House Condition Survey. More specifically, it is clear that the reasons for moving were partially due to the quality of the area, since significantly higher numbers of respondents said they would want to move in order to go to a better area in the deprived areas (Dalside 15.9 per cent, Lockhart 8.7 per cent, Westfields 11.3 per cent and Craiglee 1.5 per cent).

Table 8. Percentage of all respondents with 'most or all' of friends and family in the neighbourhood

	Edinburgh				Glasgow			
	Dalside		Lockhart		Westfields		Craiglee	
Social network	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*
Most or all friends**	17.6	195	5.4	196	22.0	195	28.2	195
Most or all family**	22.1	195	3.9	196	10.2	195	23.5	195
Most or all friends and family**	15.8	195	2.5	196	6.1	195	18.4	195

** Indicates significant at the 5 per cent level.

The desire to move to find a safer area was greatest among those living in the deprived neighbourhoods (Dalside 16 per cent, Lockhart 9 per cent, Westfields 11.3 per cent and Craiglee 1.5 per cent). Commentators such as Murray (1996) have argued that deprived areas contain normatively deviant populations wherein criminality is seen as a standard response to and sustainer of deprivation. Our results, however, indicate that living in an area with crime does not lead to it being seen as normal. This is supported by evidence from studies of the abandonment of neighbourhoods in England (Holmans and Simpson, 1999) which show that crime is one of its key drivers.

4.3 Social Networks

Expanding on the question of whether the deprived areas were characterised by more insular or geographically restricted social networks, it was evident that those in the mixed area in Glasgow are more likely to have family members living in the same neighbourhood (see Table 8). This highlights perhaps the traditional working-class roots of the Craiglee neighbourhood in Glasgow. However, the overwhelming picture is one where the majority of respondents did not have family and friends living nearby. In the Edinburgh neighbourhoods, a different pattern emerges with households much more likely to have most of their friends and family living in the same area where they lived in the deprived neighbourhood. The area that stands out most is Lockhart where there are very few households either having friends or family in the same locality, reflecting its role in the housing market of providing transitional accommodation.

Based on previous research on social life in tenure-mixed but socially deprived areas (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000), we looked at the extent to which people in different tenures knew each other. Table 9 shows that owners in the deprived areas were much more likely to know residents in the rented tenures than in the mixed areas. This is likely to be related to the dominance of renting in the deprived areas and owner-occupation in the mixed areas. For example, in deprived Dalside, where the majority are renters, over 60 per cent of owners know people in the other tenures but, among social renters, only 24 per cent know any owners. A similar situation is repeated in Westfields, with broadly opposite findings for the mixed areas.

Social networks have been viewed as an essential element in the search for and success in obtaining work (Morris, 1995; Perri 6, 1997). As a simple introduction to this, we looked at the proportion of residents in different tenures with 'most' of their friends in work (Table 10). This is clearly only a rough indicator, but highlights that not only are the deprived neighbourhoods comprised of more workless households but also that respondents in similar tenure positions have very different social network contacts with others in work. In the deprived neighbourhoods, the

Table 9. Acquaintance with neighbours in different tenures, by respondent's tenure

Area	Tenure	Mostly/all owners		Some owners/renters		Mostly/all renters		Total (*N*)
		Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	
Edinburgh								
Dalside	Owner-occupied**	39.4	11	25.0	7	35.6	10	100 (28)
	Local authority**	9.2	9	14.4	14	75.2	73	100 (96)
Lockhart	Owner-occupied**	73.7	67	22.0	20	3.0	3	100 (90)
	Local authority**	—	0	—	0	100.0	4	100 (4)
Glasgow								
Westfields	Owner-occupied**	37.5	15	37.5	15	22.5	9	100 (39)
	Local authority**	10.8	11	14.6	15	70.0	72	100 (98)
Craiglee	Owner-occupied**	75.8	81	17.8	19	6.7	7	100 (107)
	Local authority**	15.4	8	44.2	23	38.3	20	100 (51)

** Indicates significant at the 5 per cent level.

Table 10. Percentage of respondents with 'most' friends in work, by tenure

Tenure	Edinburgh				Glasgow			
	Dalside		Lockhart		Westfields		Craiglee	
	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*
Owner-occupiers**	51.9	27	67.0	91	20.0	40	63.0	108
Local authority renters**	32.0	97	50.0	4	21.9	105	30.2	53
Housing association	41.2	34	28.6	7	21.7	23	100.0	1
Private rented**	0.0	0	62.5	24	50.0	2	0.0	1
Total	37.1	158	62.5	126	21.6	75.5	51.8	163

** Indicates significant at the 5 per cent level.

friendship network is largely comprised of those out of work, with the reverse the case in the mixed areas. Those in employment generally had more friends and family living in the same neighbourhood. This may suggest that such networks engender contacts and thus routes into employment.

Although our data provide some measures of isolation, it is important to examine the extent to which residents of deprived areas have a stronger sense of attachment to the area level. This idea of insularity and separation has been a strong theme in the underclass literature and has led to a belief that separate spatially defined sub-cultures exist. Table 11 examines the strength of attachment to the area of residence and to the wider city. The differences between the mixed and deprived areas are quite small although, in each case, attachments to the local level are stronger in the deprived areas. However, the strong sense of attachment to the city that residents in all areas have seems to contradict the hypothesis that residents in poor areas are predominantly isolated and inward-looking.

Finally, the percentage of those of working age, who were employed and who found their most recent job through word-of-mouth was examined and found to be surprisingly similar in all areas. The figures were 27.9 per cent for Dalside, 24.1 per cent for Lockhart, 20.3 per cent for Westfields and 21.5 per cent for Craiglee. This suggests that some commentators' concerns that informal and ex-

Table 11. Percentage of respondents with 'very' or 'fairly strong' belonging towards their city and area

	Dalside	Lockhart	Westfields	Craiglee
Feelings of belonging to the city**	86.6	88.7	82.6	74.3
Feelings of belonging to the area**	58.0	51.6	76.0	68.7

** Indicates significant at the 5 per cent level.

Table 12. Percentage of respondents from each tenure group citing stigma as a problem in getting a job

	Edinburgh		Glasgow	
	Dalside		Westfields	
Tenure	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*
Owner-occupied**	47.2	36	26.7	45
Local authority**	28.6	119	26.4	121
Housing association/co-operative*	29.7	37	16.0	27
Private rented**	0.0	2	0.0	2
Totall	32.3	194	24.6	195

** Indicates significant at the 5 per cent level; * indicates significant at the 10 per cent level.

tended social networks are an important route into the labour market but are unevenly distributed between deprived and less deprived areas are not supported here (Granovetter, 1972; Perri 6, 1997).

4.4 Stigma and Reputation

The clearest message from the survey was the importance of reputation in structuring opportunities and experiences for the residents of the two deprived areas. This is consistent with other treatments of area effects which view stigmatisation as a key mechanism for social exclusion stemming from residence in a deprived area. The question of the role of stigma was explored from two main angles; first, in a survey question which asked if there was anything about the neighbourhood which made it hard to get a job and, secondly, by asking what respondents believed other people from the same city thought of their neighbourhood *and* whether this was an accurate reflection of what it was like to live there.

The most significant finding lies in the unprompted answers to the question 'Is there anything about living in this area which makes getting a job more difficult?'. This elicited a response from 33 per cent in Dalside and 25 per cent of respondents in Westfields that the reputation of the area was problematic in this respect. Only one person (0.5 per cent) in Craiglee gave this response and no respondents in Lockhart. This suggests that stigma plays essentially no perceived part in the lives of residents in the two mixed neighbourhoods.

Of those who cited stigma as a factor in affecting job opportunities, roughly a third (39 per cent) in both Dalside and Westfields were employed. Given earlier hypotheses about a 'black box' of employer practices which are difficult to validate, this suggests that those who have direct and current experience of the labour market know more about working practices and, in this context, that they understand stigma to be a problem. We might speculate that this is because respondents have heard comments about where they are from or have observed discriminatory employment practices.

Table 12 indicates that the distribution of perceptions of stigma across tenures within

Table 13. Percentage of each household type who cited stigma as a problem in getting a job

	Edinburgh		Glasgow	
	Dalside		Westfields	
Household type	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*
Single adult**	31.0	58	30.0	30
Lone parent**	29.2	24	36.8	38
Couple without children**	38.7	31	20.0	30
Couple with children**	33.3	24	26.5	34
Single pensioner**	25.7	35	8.3	36
Pensioner couple**	36.8	19	26.3	19
Total	32.8	191	24.6	187

** Indicates significant at the 5 per cent level.

deprived areas is by no means even. A higher proportion in Dalside of those reporting stigma as a problem in getting a job are owner-occupiers who, on the whole, are a more advantaged group than the tenants. This suggests a relativity about the problems of these areas; those with more assets and a greater level of success in the labour market seem to be more aware of the way in which their address holds them back.

Much policy focus has centred on single parents as a source of social malaise (Murray, 1996) and as a disadvantaged social group. The results in Table 13 show that lone parents are the only household type citing stigma as a greater problem in Westfields (Glasgow) rather than in Dalside (Edinburgh). The views of the other household types show a consistent pattern of stigma being cited as a problem more often in the Edinburgh neighbourhood of Dalside, with single pensioners being three times as likely to cite stigma in Dalside compared with Westfields, and couples without children twice as likely to do so. The overall picture is of both a significant difference between the two areas overall and significant variations between the areas for most household types. This may suggest a city effect as well as an area effect–that is, that the deprived areas both suffer from stigma, but this is more pronounced in Edinburgh which is also the more economically successful locational context. It may be that, in a prosperous city, deprived areas are relatively more stigmatised because there are fewer of them.

Table 14 shows a fairly high degree of variability between perceptions of stigma according to residents' age and neighbourhood location. For younger age-groups, there is no clear pattern; while the 16–24 age-group are broadly the same between both deprived areas (35.7 per cent and 30 per cent) there is an extreme difference for the 25–30 age-group with a much higher proportion of Westfields respondents citing stigma than their Dalside counterparts. While in Westfields there appears to be a 'maturing out' of the perception of stigma, almost the reverse appears to be the case in Dalside where even in the oldest age-brackets we see over 40 per cent of 66–80-year-olds citing stigma as a problem.

We also asked what respondents thought other people from the same city thought of their neighbourhood and whether this was an accurate reflection of what it was like to live there. The results of these questions were particularly stark in the deprived neighbourhoods. Here we found a majority who thought the area had a bad image but who also believed that this was not an accurate reflection of what life was like in these areas.

Table 14. Percentage of household heads citing stigma as a problem in getting a job

	Edinburgh		Glasgow	
	Dalside		Westfields	
Age of head of household (years)	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*
16–24**	35.7	14	30.0	10
25–30**	11.1	27	51.9	27
31–50**	37.0	81	22.8	79
51–65**	27.0	42	14.6	41
66–80**	40.5	28	12.5	29
80 +	0.0	3	12.5	8
Total	32.3	195	24.6	194

** Indicates significant at the 5 per cent level.

Table 15. Employment, by tenure

	Edinburgh				Glasgow			
	Dalside		Lockhart		Westfields		Craiglee	
Tenure	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*
Owner-occupied**	58.1	31	84.6	117	61.0	41	72.4	105
Local authority	28.6	98	33.3	3	22.1	95	22.2	36
Housing association**	54.5	33	45.5	11	11.1	19	0.0	3
Private renting**	100.0	3	63.2	38	0.0	2	0.0	3
Total	40.6	165	75.8	169	31.0	157	56.3	147

Base: All respondents aged 16–65 years.
** Indicates significant at the 5 per cent level.

In the deprived neighbourhoods, most respondents believe that outsiders view the area as of poor or very poor quality (61.6 per cent in Dalside and 44.3 per cent in Westfields) but that this is *not* a fair reflection of what life there is like.

In the mixed areas, we found respondents were much more likely to believe that outsiders' views were positive, and also that this was a reasonable reflection of what it is like to live there. In Lockhart, 36.2 per cent believed that outsiders thought the area was good or very good and 57.1 per cent in Craiglee. However, in both areas there is a small group who feel that outsiders view the area as poor or very poor, but that this is not a fair reflection of the area.

4.5 Unemployment, Illness and Disability

In simple statistical terms, deprived neighbourhoods are classified as such partly because they contain large numbers of residents who are unemployed or otherwise outside the labour market. Our line of enquiry was to consider whether unemployment is linked to other social positions and, therefore, whether there is an additional neighbourhood contribution to joblessness.

In Table 15 it appears that home-owners are less likely to be employed in poor areas than their counterparts in the mixed areas. In relation to theories about neighbourhoods, this finding suggests a number of things. First, it is possible that owners may not be

Table 16. Employment by class in each area

	Edinburgh				Glasgow			
	Dalside		Lockhart		Westfields		Craiglee	
Social class	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*
A/B	100.0	3	93.3	45	100	3	86.7	15
C1	77.8	18	78.7	75	60	15	81.6	38
C2	81.0	21	80.8	26	50	14	66.7	42
D/E	26.8	123	33.3	24	24	125	23.6	55
Total	40.6	165	76.4	170	31	157	57.0	150

Base: All respondents aged 16–65 years.

able to escape the effects of living in a 'problem' area. However, the wide social base of home-ownership makes drawing this conclusion something of a simplification; home-ownership in the deprived areas is likely to be more marginal and consist in part of those who have bought under the 'right to buy' (Rosenburg, 1995). Secondly, because owners have better outcomes in the mixed areas, this suggests that mixed areas may play a role in better integrating this tenure group into the labour market. In relation to the other major tenure, it was found that social sector tenants do better in Edinburgh in general, especially housing association tenants, probably reflecting Edinburgh's stronger economy.

Table 16 shows that the employment of those in different social classes is not evenly distributed between the areas. The most striking aspect of the data here is that while employment rates by class in the two Edinburgh neighbourhoods are largely similar, in Glasgow we see people of similar class position less likely to be employed in the deprived neighbourhoods. The widely differing number of those in classes A and B in each neighbourhood makes comparison difficult; however, the C1s and C2s show much lower levels of employment in the two Glasgow neighbourhoods but almost identical levels in the Edinburgh neighbourhoods. For the D/E category in Edinburgh, there are significantly higher levels of employment in the mixed areas. Altogether the data suggest both contextual city and area effects.

Table 17 indicates the possibility of a further city effect. Employment is lower in the deprived area in each city, but relatively higher in both of the Edinburgh neighbourhoods. In general, the proportion employed is almost double in the mixed areas compared to their twin deprived neighbourhoods. The local and city-wide labour market is likely to be extremely important in this regard, which is supported by the generally higher number employed in the Edinburgh neighbourhoods. The data here seem to confirm that neighbourhoods are lifted by a wider tide of relative prosperity.

We found that the majority of respondents in all the areas work outside the neighbourhood, but that in each of the deprived neighbourhoods the rates are lower than for their more mixed 'twin'. The Edinburgh neighbourhoods both have more people working outside the neighbourhood compared to the Glasgow neighbourhoods and this cannot be accounted for by the amount of jobs available within each neighbourhood as all of the neighbourhoods are predominantly residential. One reason for higher levels of unemployment in the deprived areas may be related to stigmatisation and the low reputation of potential workers from these areas and low educational achievement.

Table 18 indicates the prevalence of long-term illness and disability by tenure. This

Table 17. Percentage employed in each area and percentage of employed working outside the neighbourhood

	Edinburgh				Glasgow			
	Dalside		Lockhart		Westfields		Craiglee	
	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*
Percentage employed**	40.6	165	76.4	170	31.0	49	56.3	84
Percentage employed working outside neighbourhood**	72.1	68	83.8	130	65.3	49	72.1	86

Base: All respondents aged 16–65 years.
** Indicates significant at the 5 per cent level.

Table 18. Respondents with self-reported long-term ill or disabled in household, by tenure

	Edinburgh				Glasgow			
	Dalside		Lockhart		Westfields		Craiglee	
Tenure	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*	Percentage	*N*
Owner-occupied**	41.7	36	14.8	135	42.2	45	18.5	130
Local authority**	39.5	119	14.0	7	51.0	121	62.0	58
Housing association*	27.0	37	33.3	15	56.0	27	50.0	2
Private rented**	0.0	3	0.0	38	100.0	2	0.0	3
Total	36.9	195	13.3	195	49.7	195	31.2	193

** Indicates significant at the 5 per cent level; * indicates significant at the 10 per cent level.

was clustered primarily in the deprived areas but, in the case of local authority tenants in Glasgow, the figure was higher (62 per cent) in the mixed than the deprived neighbourhood (51 per cent) overall. It is most striking that owner-occupiers have a greatly increased rate of sickness or disability in the deprived areas; less than 20 per cent of owners in the mixed neighbourhoods have an ill or disabled household member, but over 40 per cent in the deprived areas. However, local authority tenants have lower rates of illness/disability in the deprived neighbourhood of Westfields compared to its mixed counterpart which seems at odds with our anticipation of the results. This may be accounted for by the greater average age of Craiglee residents. Housing association tenants exhibited a similar pattern of illness levels to local authority tenants.

4.6 Summary of Findings

There is some evidence from this survey-based exploration for the presence of neighbourhood effects that they are present within the study areas. Conclusions now can be drawn relating to the each of the five main themes of the investigation.

Patterns of daily life. The results for the measure of isolation adopted do not show that the residents in the deprived neighbourhoods are significantly more isolated than residents in the mixed areas. Indeed, using council renting and low social class as proxies for poverty, the results show these groups to be rather less isolated than their counterparts in the mixed areas in terms of their travel behaviour and, for tenants, their car ownership rates. So, this particular result of

the investigation does not conform to the area effects hypothesis. However, the measure of isolation is extremely crude and does not consider at all the reason for travel beyond the neighbourhood nor the quality of social interaction that such travel involves.

Barriers to choice of neighbourhood location. There are some signs that living in the deprived areas is a matter of constraint rather than choice for a small group of residents, especially in Edinburgh. Similarly, there are indications that a larger group of residents have a desire to move away, but are constrained from doing do. Wanting to move is linked with the general desire to live in a better neighbourhood and, specifically, with wanting to live somewhere safer.

Social networks. The evidence seems to offer some support to the area effects thesis. Considering the proportion of residents who have predominantly locally based friends and family shows that, in Edinburgh, residents are much more inward-looking in the deprived area; however, this is not the case in Glasgow. However, measures examining residents' links with acquaintances who have jobs and acquaintances who live in different housing tenures suggest relative isolation among the jobless and council renters who predominate in the deprived neighbourhoods. Measures on feelings of belonging and the use of social networks for job information are inconclusive given that these diverged between both the neighbourhood types and between the two cities.

Stigma and reputation. The stark findings about the perception of stigma and reputation in the deprived areas, but not at all in the non-deprived ones, is an important finding and one which supports the area effects hypothesis. Stigma was felt more strongly in Edinburgh than Glasgow, and to a greater extent by people in work. This supports earlier work in this area, but its stark restriction to the deprived areas is surprising.

Employment and health. Finally, with respect to outcomes relating to employment and health, again the evidence points to the existence of neighbourhood effects in that people in similar positions were less likely to be in work and more likely to be sick or disabled if they live in the deprived areas.

5. Conclusions

The contribution of this paper, then, is to find some support in its empirical findings for the contention that, in Britain, it is worse to be poor in a poor area than one which is socially mixed. The paper also offers an extended conceptual framework which may be used for other studies for which there is clearly a great deal of potential. However, it also shows in its findings some evidence that the context in which the neighbourhood sits is also a very important influence on neighbourhood outcomes. Therefore, the conclusions tend to support a middle-range position within the area effects debate–that is, that both structure and agency are important in influencing neighbourhood problems.

In comparing the two deprived areas, which are more alike in their composition than the non-deprived areas, the data show that there are often important differences in outcomes which mostly point to the significance of the influence of the more buoyant labour market in Edinburgh in alleviating deprivation and lessening neighbourhood effects. These effects are accentuated by the impact of deprivation which is ultimately derived from Glasgow's weak economy and is manifested in the greater number of deprived neighbourhoods there. Stigma, however, was felt slightly more strongly in Edinburgh, which may be the result of there being fewer deprived areas in the capital city. Further, the specific locations of the neighbourhoods in relation to the wider city labour market and amenities are likely to be related to the outcomes we have observed. On a more general note, such locational characteristics seem to be important in structuring outcomes for residents. In the case of the Glasgow neighbourhoods, the peripherality of the areas may help to explain some of the similarity in some of the outcomes for these two areas.

The paper has attempted to use data from a survey of households to cut into the question of neighbourhood effects. While it is exploratory work, it illustrates at least four shortcomings with this approach which help to identify a future research agenda.

First, while the study was both costly and perhaps the first of its design, it is still quite small, both in terms of the number of areas and in sample size. We have covered only 4 areas and only 2 of almost 200 recognised areas of deprivation in Scotland. It is almost inevitable that some of the variation found between areas is the result of inherent neighbourhood characteristics, rather than poverty levels–for example, their location in relation to jobs and services. The small sample size means that there are difficulties in producing reliable results when some of the key groups are broken down.

Secondly, area effects are recognised to be dynamic, but the study is static, presenting a snapshot of experiences in early 2000. It can say something about the characteristics of people within the places, but not much about whether and how the places have changed these people from what they would be if they lived somewhere else. Nor can the study say anything about the difficult issue of thresholds and tipping-points discussed in some of the literature.

Thirdly, it is possible that some of the effects are a consequence of neighbourhood sorting mechanisms, rather than neighbourhood effects *per se*. It is well known that the allocations system for social housing, through a combination of rationing and people's ability to choose, tends to concentrate the most disadvantaged tenants in the worst estates. However, we would maintain that the comparative method used helps us to overcome this problem by highlighting variations between people in different areas but of the same social position. More specifically, this points to the need for an analysis of the qualitative differences between social positions located in different types of area. For example, being a home-owner in a deprived area may be a very different experience from that in a more mixed area.

Finally, a survey-based approach is not a very useful way to penetrate the question of the 'deviant' attitudes and values that deprived neighbourhoods are said to promulgate and thus to hold back residents of concentrated deprived areas.

Apart from these critical points, the work presented here goes some way to attempting conceptual and methodological clarity in building evidence for the affirmation or refutation of the area effects hypothesis. On the broadest canvas, it is to be hoped that future research can overcome some of the drawbacks we have identified from the point of view of improving the general understanding of the sources and consequences of concentrated urban poverty.

While some more evidence may emerge from studies which use national data-sets, the pointers are towards quite large-scale research with individuals which includes a longitudinal as well as comparative dimension, and which uses both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. However, it is also very important to gain a better understanding of area effects from a policy viewpoint. As background to its new National Strategy for Neighbourhoods (SEU, 2001a), there seems to be acceptance by the British government that area effects contribute to social exclusion. It seems clear, however, that not enough is known about them to assess their importance for social exclusion, nor whether the initiatives aimed at deprived areas are likely to be effective in overcoming them.

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