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**'THIRD WAY' URBAN POLICY AND THE NEW MORAL POLITICS OF
COMMUNITY : A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF BALLYMUN IN DUBLIN
AND THE GORBALS IN GLASGOW**

*Mark Boyle and Robert Rogerson, Department of Geography and Sociology,
University of Strathclyde, 50 Richmond St, Glasgow G11XN.*

*E-Mail : mark.boyle@strath.ac.uk
Tel – 0141 548 3762
Fax – 0141 552 7857*

'THIRD WAY' URBAN POLICY AND THE NEW MORAL POLITICS OF COMMUNITY : A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF BALLYMUN IN DUBLIN AND THE GORBALS IN GLASGOW

Abstract :

Whilst Third Way Urban Policy (TWUP) often associates itself with a kind of anarchic vision of self-regulating and self-reproducing local communities, it can in fact be thought of as a thinly veiled moral crusade targeted towards vulnerable residents in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Sustainable communities are defined as those who can stand on their own two feet *within* the terms set down by neo-liberal market economics. When these morally charged crusades fail to connect locally, they have the potential to stir local conflict over who has the authority to judge forms of community life. As third way urban regeneration rolls out across capitalist cities, mapping and accounting for the uneven development of moral conflicts over community is a pressing concern. Focusing upon the ongoing regeneration of two of Europe's most famous social housing estates- Ballymun in north Dublin and the Gorbals in central Glasgow - this paper presents a comparative analysis of the different ways in which moral disputes over community have surfaced in these two neighbourhoods. On the bases of an analyses of *both* the localisation of TWUP *and* the prior biographies of both estates, the nature of conflict is shown to be contingent upon who has ownership of the local social capital agenda.

INTRODUCTION

Although championed most visibly by the Labour Party in the United Kingdom, many governments throughout the advanced capitalist world have sought to re-work state institutions and policy so as to deliver 'third way' programmes across the main public policy domains (Jary 2002). If Tony Blair can be said to be the chief political exponent of the third way, for many it is Anthony Giddens who has served as its philosophical guru, crafting, elaborating upon and defending the principles of the underlying project (Table 1) (Giddens, 1998, 1999, 2000). At its core, the third way seeks to chart a novel course between the old political landscape of left and right, and in so doing aspires to reinvigorate the role which public institutions play in market economies. Contra the new right, the third way rejects the capacity of neo-liberal economics to deliver economic growth and to safeguard social justice. Contra the old left however, the third way also rejects welfare interventions which fail to buttress the capacity of individuals to re-engage with the market.

Reflecting the wider programme of welfare reform from which it derives, Imrie and Raco (2003; 53) note the way in which Third Way Urban Policy (TWUP) in particular is based on a collection of arguments which seek to steer a middle course between Fordist Keynesian (state interventionist) and neoliberal (free-market) positions;

'rather than leaving neighbourhoods to the operation and efforts of the property and labour markets, or intervening as a nanny state to shore up failing enterprises...the notion is that self-help activities undertaken within existing market and governmental structures is the way forward for disadvantaged groups and communities'.

In skeletal form, these arguments can be summarised as follows:

1. The Fordist Keynesian welfare state, insofar as it sought a universal bricks and mortar solution to urban regeneration, has created serialised landscapes populated by communities of despair, wastage, withdrawal and disengagement.
2. Neoliberal approaches in turn have further intensified social polarisation and the trickle down philosophy has failed to deliver for poor communities; marginalisation and alienation have deepened.
3. Learning lessons from the failure of unfettered neoliberalism, the third way recognises that state intervention remains necessary and that urban deprivation cannot be solved solely through the operation of the market.
4. Reflecting on the failure of the Fordist Keynesian welfare state, however, it also assumes that intervention must avoid creating a climate of welfare dependency.
5. The solution is for the state to intervene only to the extent that communities can be rehabilitated so that they can stand on their own two feet and reproduce themselves autonomously in the market economy.
6. In doing so, the third way recognises the need to redefine concepts of citizenship – state intervention will be provided but in return communities are expected to be comprised of active citizens; welfare is to give way to workfare.
7. To instil such active citizenry, attention needs to focus on rebuilding local social capital – taken loosely to refer to the vibrancy, intensity, and inclusivity of local social networks. Greater social capital is presumed to be midwife to increased participation and the formation of more sustainable communities.
8. Social capital can be nurtured in itself by a variety of interventions; urban design, social mixing, skills training, and community empowerment all play a pivotal role in germinating social capital.

Whilst TWUP often promotes a kind of anarchic vision of self-regulating and self-reproducing local communities, it can in fact be thought of as a thinly veiled moral crusade targeted towards vulnerable residents in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (DeFillipis, 2002, Raco, 2003, Back and Keith, 2004). Whilst these residents might

well be casualties of capitalist restructuring, they do bear responsibility for the ways in which they react to their economic circumstances. The state can help but communities themselves need to learn that irresponsible behaviour exacts a cost that someone has to pay for. Residents need to address their own 'failings' and 'weaknesses' which result in such social 'ills' as such as welfare dependency, benefits fraud, truancy, teenage pregnancy, single parent families, graffiti and vandalism, anti-social behaviour, substance abuse and alcoholism, obesity, poor diet, and lack of exercise.

According to Imrie (2004), whilst professing a deep commitment to local empowerment TWUP is indeed best approached in terms of Foucault's concept of 'governmentality'. TWUP serves as a new kind of normative discourse shaping the 'conduct of conduct': reifying concepts such as 'sustainable communities', 'social capital', 'quality of life', and 'active citizenship'; introducing new infrastructures of intervention and a new community of regeneration professionals and associated practitioner literature; and promoting new measures and metrics of evaluation. In turn, these instruments of governmentality have exercised a strong disciplinary force on local communities; making use of a convoluted apparatus of rewards and penalties to impose moral assumptions about which forms of community are 'good' and 'bad' / 'right' and 'wrong' / 'just' and 'unjust' / 'worthy' and 'unworthy'.

What kinds of interests might this new mode of governmentality be serving? Within the political economy literature, some critics argue that TWUP operates as little more than a flanking support infrastructure for the deeper neoliberalisation of urban policy (Fine, 2001; Peck and Tickell 2002, Callinicos, 2003). The concept of community is being put to use within neoliberal accumulation strategies as a fiscally prudent ideological tool capable of dealing with deepening social divides. The worth of any particular community is to be judged according to its ability to secure a niche in the division of labour. Sustainable communities are those who are able to accept a leg up and reposition themselves back into the market economy. TWUP is defining a new moral agenda for marginalised neighbourhoods in capitalist cities and in so doing is functioning as a cultural undergird for neoliberal urbanism.

To the extent that there is merit in these critiques, mapping and explaining the uneven development of what might be called *the new moral politics of community* presents itself as an important new research agenda. Is TWUP really serving as an ideological prop for neoliberal urbanism? What specific moral assumptions inhere

within different concrete interventions ? What local moral worlds are these assumptions being deposited in ? To what extent are policy practitioners sensitised to local cultures and how far do they tailor their strategy to make it resonate with local communities ? How do local communities respond when confronted with conceptions of the 'ideal' community they disagree with ? Why do some local communities react whilst others do not ? What contours do moral conflicts assume in places, how do they run their course and with what effects ?

The aim of this paper is to contribute answers to some of these questions by presenting case studies of the grounding of TWUP in two of Europe's most famous housing estates; Ballymun in north Dublin and the Gorbals in central Glasgowⁱ (Power. It argues that the rise to prominence of moral conflicts over the value attached to different forms of community has been fundamentally shaped by the structures of ownership of the social capital agenda in each neighbourhood. In gaining insights into competing claims over proprietary rights, attention requires to be focussed *both* upon the ways in which TWUP is locally produced *and* the histories of community activism in both neighbourhoods. The core argument advanced in the paper is that the uneven development of a new moral politics of community is a reflection of the degree of synchronicity between the moral assumptions which inhere within the sustainable community agenda and the local value systems which stem from the unique histories of the communities which are being targeted by this agenda

In presenting our case studies of Ballymun and the Gorbals we have chosen to adopt a comparative methodology. In the first section, we describe the ways in which TWUP has become manifest in both locations. Whilst sharing core, generic third way principles, the scale and nature of urban regeneration being undertaken on both estates varies to the extent that it is possible to speak of the localisation, or better still, *local production* of TWUP. In section 2, we then provide an overview of the historical unfolding of both neighbourhoods, paying particular attention to those events which have had the most significant bearing upon the subsequent local embedding of TWUP. Here, we offer the concept of 'compassionate wounding' as a lens through which the history of failed social housing estates might be viewed. The purpose of these first two sections is to provide a backdrop to the structures of ownership of social capital in both locations. In the final section, we develop an analytic framework through which the importance of proprietary rights over the social capital agenda might be better understood, and use this framework to provide

a reading of the character of moral disputation over the meaning of community in both Ballymun and the Gorbals today.

SECTION 1 – THE LOCAL PRODUCTION OF THIRD WAY URBAN POLICY IN BALLYMUN AND THE GORBALS

The housing estates of Ballymun in Dublin and the Gorbals in Glasgow are currently in the throes of significant regeneration projects. Whilst undertaken in the name of the third way, these regeneration projects vary greatly in terms of their location in their respective cities; the range of partners at play, the source and scale of the finance involved, and the nature of the concrete interventions being undertaken. When refracted through the two neighbourhoods, TWUP would appear to be being *locally produced* in important ways. These distinctive local forms help to unsettle structures of ownership of the social capital agenda and so it is necessary to begin with an overview of the chief characteristics of each regeneration project.

Manifestations of TWUP in Ballymun and the Gorbals

Situated some six miles to the north of Dublin city centre, Ballymun is the Republic of Ireland's most famous failed social housing estate. The regeneration of this estate is somewhat unique in that the ambition is a wholesale demolition and reconstruction of the neighbourhood. Whilst public private partnerships have a role to play, this root and branch clearance and reconstruction is to be financed and managed largely by the Irish state. The project began as early as January 1997. In March 1997, the Irish state announced that a new private limited company, to be wholly owned by Dublin Corporation, was to be established to oversee the regeneration of the estate. In June 1997, Ballymun Regeneration Ltd (BRL) was created. By March 1998, Ballymun Regeneration Ltd had drawn up its Master Plan for the regeneration of the neighbourhood. This plan envisaged a complete overhaul of the estate within a decade (Ballymun Regeneration Ltd 1998). Due to slippage, as of June 2005, the project is estimated to be only half complete.

The Gorbals is located immediately to the south-east of Glasgow city centre and stands as one of the most infamous of Glasgow's inner city modernist housing developments. In contrast to Ballymun the regeneration of the Gorbals is not being orchestrated under one centrally controlled nor centrally financed master plan. Instead, the focus is upon the incremental renewal of particular sites through innovative public private partnerships involving various tiers of the Scottish state,

quango bodies, voluntary and community groups, and various factions of finance, property and retail capital. Whilst the much vaunted *Crown Street Regeneration Project* launched in 1990 continues to stand as the flagship development (Fawcett-Thompson, 2003), attention has now turned to other sites and the regeneration of Queen Elizabeth Square in particular is emerging as the next major focus. The overall regeneration of the neighbourhood depends upon the ability of the state to stitch together these individual developments.

How can these different manifestations of TWUP be accounted for? The breathtaking scale of Ballymun's regeneration project can be explained in part by Ireland's exceptional economic growth, the fiscal surpluses this growth has delivered, and growing concerns over the socio economic inequalities which blight the nation. From 1993 onwards, guided by a series of neo-liberal economic policies, Ireland has of course secured a new found fame as a basing point for United States trans-nationals (O'Hearn 1998; 2000; 2001, O'Rain 2000, Taylor 2003). The phenomenon of the Celtic Tiger has been born.

Amidst the glitter of downtown Dublin however, growing social inequalities have served to undermine the case that 'trickle down' will eventually prove to be a panacea for growing urban deprivation (Allen 1999; 2000, Tallon 2000, Saris et al. 2002, Swyngedouw et al. 2002, Bartley and Treadwell Shine 2003, Cori, 2005). Ballymun emerged as one of the most visible examples of the gap that is growing between those who were able to jump on the tail of the Tiger, and those who were being crushed beneath its feet. With growing fiscal surpluses, the Irish state, through Dublin Corporation now had the resources to do something significant about this national blackspot.

Despite its renowned attempts to reposition itself within the global economy through place-imaging and hallmark events (Boyle & Hughes 1994, Boyle 1997; Mooney, 2004 Turok and Bailey, 2004)), Glasgow too remains a city with stubborn social and economic divides (Pacione . The neo-liberal experiment designed to transform the city from a de-industrial backwater to a post-industrial metropolis has largely failed and the economic benefits of property based, city centred focussed, culture led urban regeneration have also failed to trickle down to many communities in the city.

Rooted in a de-industrialised economy, Glasgow City Council however lacks the fiscal resources to do much about these inequalities (Pacione, 2001). What limited

resources are available have tended to be diverted to edge of city housing schemes. Consequently, unlike Dublin Corporation, the city council has been *forced* to continue to work with the private sector, to draw capital into the regeneration process in a more socially useful way. In contrast to the housing schemes on the outskirts of the city, the downtown location of the Gorbals has been viewed as one more likely to attract private capital. Consequently, the Gorbals has been the object of some of the more imaginative partnership arrangements

Unique children but same parentage ?

In spite of their different surface appearances both regeneration projects serve as icons of TWUP in their own ways. In each case, the most fundamental objective is to lift local residents out of welfare dependency, to reposition both neighbourhoods back inside the market economy, and therein to create sustainable communities. This is to be achieved by building social capital so as to energise local residents and refresh their enthusiasm for work and community service. Social capital is itself to be fortified by trusting the local community with co-authorship, co-management, and even co-ownership of projects aimed at achieving the main goals of community building: social mixing, development projects, skills training and employment provision, and improved urban design (Table 1).

Arguably, TWUP finds its clearest expression in the pre-eminent role which is given in both projects to urban design in particular. In Ballymun, urban design is indeed approached as a fundamental mediator of the strength and weakness of civic life (Pritchard, 2000). The landscape and land use patterns of the old estate have been held partly culpable for the degree of alienation, isolation, and disengagement experienced by residents (Plates 1 and 2). The spatiality of the new estate then, including patterns of land use, the quality and safety of public spaces, the geography of social mixing, and the design of new buildings has been viewed as a crucial mediator of the formation of a sustainable community (Plates 3 and 4). This in turn has resulted in the proposal of 15 key design ideas which have focussed upon improving architectural design, landscaping and public art, rearranging transport routes, patterns of service provision, recreational spaces, business parks, and tenure mixes, so as to create five distinctive sub communities (Coultry, Shangan, Silogue, Balcurris, and Poppintree), all gelling to form an overall community centred around a new town centre (Figure 1).

Likewise, in the Gorbals, the manipulation of urban design is viewed as pivotal to civic re-engagement and active citizenship. The barren and dehumanised landscape, symbolised most famously by Sir Basil Spence's post war high rise towers and multi-storey flats, is now viewed as part of the problem (Plates 5 and 6). Innovative urban design is therefore perceived to be an essential ingredient of the solution (Plate 7). As part of the Queen Elizabeth Square development for example, 400 high rise flats and maisonettes of 1960s vintage are to give way to 520 new 'living units' (Figure 2). Based on a mix of private housing and publicly owned flatted villas, the housing layout is to incorporate aspects of traditional tenemental life; the old communal backcourts are to return along with private gardens. Emphasis is to be placed on integrating existing community facilities (school, church hall, health centre, police station) into the new locale and introducing traffic calming measures (including a 20 mile per hour speed limit on all roads). Civic parklands, contemplative gardens and tree-lined boulevards are being introduced to transform the local ambience and streetscape.

However, TWUP is also expressed in both projects in the fostering of new channels of community involvement through which ownership of the building of social capital can be realised. In each case, such community involvement has been shaped by a reluctance to involve those who are perceived to have refused to become responsible and govern themselves in the past (Rose, 2000). In searching for new active citizens, in both areas the lead regeneration organisations' approach to community inclusion has been to tap into alternative groups within and outside of the community. In Ballymun, this has involved seeking out fresh talent from within the community and bypassing those groups which had been previously most active. In the Gorbals, new cohorts of active citizens have had to be recruited through the incomers attracted by the regeneration. Before exploring some of the moral politics arising from this action, we turn first to consider the genesis of these communities.

SECTION 2 – RECOVERING THE LOCAL WORLDS INTO WHICH THIRD WAY URBAN POLICY IS BEING EMBEDDED

Histories of compassionate wounding

Whilst the metamorphosis of TWUP into distinctively different local forms plays a significant role in shaping which social constituencies have emerged with proprietorial control over the social capital agenda, our reading of the moral politics of community which have arisen in Ballymun and the Gorbals focuses equal attention

on the prior histories of both communities. In presenting an overview of the unique biographies of both neighbourhoods the following discussion will centre of the importance of what we will call 'histories of compassionate wounding'.

The concept of 'compassionate wounding' was coined by sociologist Richard Sennett. In *Respect* (Sennett 2003), Sennett revisits Cabrini Green, the housing estate in Chicago where he spent his childhood. A utopian urban experiment when it first opened in 1942, Cabrini Green has steadily fell into decline and disrepair and has become widely stigmatised in as one of America's most dangerous and deprived ghettos. Sennett's focus is upon the existential injuries that that can accompany the historical mis-mangement of citizens by the state. It is here that he fastens on the concept of 'compassionate wounding'. By compassionate wounding Sennett means to draw attention to the ways in which the capitalist state, in spite of its best intentions can often aggravate alienation and further demean already marginalized groups. Projected initially as a flagships for new regimes of re-distributive justice, modernist housing estates like Cabrini Green now serve as de-humanised 'sink estates'.

Sennett's concept of compassionate wounding provides a useful vehicle through which the histories of Ballymun and the Gorbals can be read. Both communities have been profoundly wounded by modernist planning and utopian urban experimentation. Whilst equally bruised and battered, both communities have emerged from compassionate wounding with different degrees of life nevertheless. These differences have played a significant role in shaping the capacity of local residents to enter into debate as to who has moral authority to judge the value of different forms of community.

In Ballymun, the existential injuries inflicted by compassionate wounding has served as a catalyst for the flourishing of an incredibly dense network of local community groups. Not surprisingly, these groups have been relatively well equipped to articulate counter claims over ownership of the social capital agenda. Whilst Ballymun was born as a modernist housing scheme, in the Gorbals modernist planning sought to deposit a new landscape on a neighbourhood which had already been wounded by previous failed utopian experiments. As a result of injuries inflicted during prior botched interventions, modernist planning did not trigger widespread community activism but instead further fragmented the already demoralised local community.

Ballymun : Down but not out !

Ballymun was built in the period 1965 to 1969 by the National Building Authority (NBA), a central government quango. Making use of the new Balency method of constructing prefabricated 'industrial' housing, a total of 3021 housing units were built at a cost of IR£10 million. The result was a futuristic landscape, a new utopia, that consisted of 2621 flats and 400 houses, and a population of 20,000 residents (Figure 1). The flats in turn comprised seven 15 story towers, nineteen 8 storey spine blocks and ten blocks of 4 storey flats (Somerville-Woodward 2002). By February 1969, the National Building Authority declared the project complete and handed over the new estate to Dublin Corporation to manage (Power 2000).

Like so many peripheral estates constructed in the 1960s it did not take long for the utopian dream to lapse into a dystopian nightmare. By the mid 1980s, Ballymun stood in ruins, Ireland's most famous icon of the failure of modernist planning. In many ways, the spiral of decay the estate entered into in the 1970s was created by the premature discharge of responsibility for its running from the National Building Authority to Dublin Corporation. With the national economy performing so poorly in the 1970s and proving to be a disaster in the 1980s, Dublin Corporation endured a number of fiscal crises that made it impossible to do much more than administer some basic services from a distance. The result of this chronic neglect was predictable; a partially completed estate some 5 or 6 miles to the North of Dublin city centre that lacked the amenities necessary to conduct day to day life (Somerville-Woodward 2002).

If 1970s represented a steady demise of the estate, the early 1980s were to herald its almost fatal collapse. Without doubt the greatest damage was done in 1985 with the establishment of the national Surrender Grand Scheme. In an effort to encourage greater private ownership of housing in Ireland, this scheme paid IR£5,000 to citizens who were prepared to move out of the state sector. Almost immediately, the most able sections of the Ballymun community left the area, including those in employment and those that served as its leaders. In 1985, lettings rose to 1171, almost 50% of the total stock (Somerville-Woodward 2002).

With selective out-migration, income levels dropped and services in the area began to deteriorate further. Many vacant houses became vandalised and homeless people began squatting. Perhaps most seriously of all, the estate became perceived as a dumping ground for Dublin Corporation's 'problems' and the replacement stock

comprised a large proportion of Dublin's anti-social tenants, single parents, single men, and people with mental health problems. Now stigmatised as a 'sink estate' in the national press (Kerrigan 1982), those that could get out did and all too quickly the estate became little more than a 'transit camp' for the disaffected.

The spiral of decay that Ballymun entered into served as a trigger for widespread community mobilisation. Whilst community activism in Ballymun dates from the mid 1970s, it was not until the rapid decline of the estate in the early 1980s that real community politics took off. Whilst the Surrender Grant Scheme of 1985 represented the final straw, the catalyst for a more general mobilisation of the community came in 1984 with the closure of the Bank of Ireland branch in Ballymun. Already deprived of many basic services, the decision by the Bank to close its branch generated outrage on the estate. In response to this event the Ballymun Community Coalition (BCC) was established. This group erected three pillars which it perceived would lie at the heart of the regeneration of the estate: a new community controlled credit union (1987), the country's first community owned job centre (1987), and a new Housing Task Force (1987). Whilst Ballymun Community Coalition was unquestionably the most significant group to emerge in the 1980s, the period since has also witnessed a mushrooming of a much wider collection of community groupings. Today, a remarkably dense network of around 148 community groups is active in Ballymun.

At the heart of community activism in Ballymun is the desire to help residents cope with the existential anxieties they have had to endure by dint of their residence in a 'sink estate'. Whilst all community groups have a purely instrumental rationale for their existence, the majority harbour the more profound goal of building up human beings once again from the existential deformations they have been subjected. Prime examples would be: *Badig*, a group established to address mental health problems on the estate; the local *Drugs Task Force* an impressive organisation which combats drug abuse; . the *Ballymun Concrete News*, a local newspaper which counters negative stereotypes of Ballymun circulated in the national press; the *Community and Family Training Agency*, a training agency with a strong humanistic ethos; the *Ballymun Regional Youth Resource* which seeks to instil confidence and self assuredness into the lives of vulnerable children; and the *Community Action Programme*, which promotes greater awareness of citizen entitlements and obligations.

The Gorbals : Beaten into submission

Like Ballymun, the Gorbals of today is in no small part a product of Glasgow's post war embrace of modernist planning (Fyfe, 1995). Originating in the optimistic climate of reconstruction which prevailed towards the end of the Second World War, the *Clyde Valley Regional Plan*, prepared by Sir Patrick Abercrombie (1953-6) for the Scottish Office, sought to tackle the complex social and economic problems of the entire west of Scotland. Recognising overcrowded inner city slums to be the region's greatest problem, Abercrombie identified a need to disperse between 250,000 to 300,000 people from central Glasgow – through a campaign of slum clearance and the construction of new towns. The City Corporation, initially unhappy at losing its tax base, responded with its own *Bruce Plan* (1957). Whilst agreeing that slum clearance in the city centre was required, the Bruce Plan emphasised population retention within tower blocks and peripheral housing estates within the city boundaries.

In the end, a compromise between the *Clyde Valley Regional Plan* and the *Bruce Plan* was agreed which entailed slum clearance, the development of tower blocks, the building of peripheral housing estates, and the construction of new towns. Slum clearance was to be undertaken in 29 Comprehensive Development Areas according to priority. The Hutchesontown-Gorbals Comprehensive Development Area (CDA) was the first to be formally approved in 1957 and soon became a well-publicised example of the Corporation's determination to transform the urban landscape. Between 1961 and 1971, the population of the combined Gorbals and Hutchesontown wards fell from nearly 45,000 inhabitants to just over 19,000. To great acclaim, the area came to be dominated by new high-rise blocks. Utopia had arrived.

As with Ballymun, it did not take long for the utopian spirit to collapse into dystopian despair. Slum clearance had swept away the wide streets, the enclosed washing greens and the corner shops which had engendered community spirit in the previous decades. As with similar projects across the UK, residents found the new high level corridors poor substitutes for the wider streets as meeting venues, and the dark, windswept spaces between and beneath the high rise flats were no replacement for the back-courts of the tenements where much of the local gossip had taken place. By 1974 the Comprehensive Development Area scheme was abandoned and the Gorbals stood as one of its most visible casualties.

Unlike Ballymun however, the failure of modernist planning in the Gorbals did not serve to generate a vibrant base of community activists and the Gorbals has become recognised as an area with low levels of politicisation and limited volumes of social capital. Why has compassionate wounding exacted a heavier penalty in the Gorbals ? If slum clearance and the high rise solution had been the Gorbals' only experience of a failed utopian vision then perhaps the neighbourhood could be more easily compared with Ballymun. Circulating within the local community nevertheless are memories of the litany of failed urban experiments which have been visited upon the area. This history of broken promises has been transmitted between generations in the form of a lively oral history, and was significantly implicated in undermining the community's capacity to survive its destruction by modernist planning. When set into this longer historical context, the Comprehensive Area Development scheme in fact may be read as the straw that eventually broke the camel's back.

The story of the Gorbals can be traced to the early 19th century. In 1802 John and David Laurie embarked upon the construction of a fashionable and exclusive suburb - to be called Laurieston - characterised by broad classical streets named after English nobility. Planned around a showpiece set of two elegant tenement buildings, the Laurie's utopian aspiration faltered as the rapid development of industrial works nearby in the mid 19th century meant that the area never became fashionable. Instead, rail connections linking Govan Ironworks to local collieries passed through the area, dividing the neighbourhood. In place of the exclusive suburb envisaged, workers' tenements were to dominate the area throughout the 19th century.

Towards the end of the 19th century, increasing bouts of cholera and plague associated with poor sanitation, squalid living conditions, and narrow city streets encouraged the city authorities to set up a City Improvement Trust. This Trust was empowered to purchase and demolish slum property and to widen and re-align streets. Although originally planned as a partnership between the council and private sector, under-funding of the Trust meant that private builders were reluctant to develop housing on the cleared land, and from the 1880s the Trust (later the City Corporation who absorbed the Trust in 1895) began building houses intended for 'the poorest classes'. Drawing on the work of Baron Haussmann, in Paris, the trustees adapted the traditional tenement house style to re-house many thousands of people.

The Gorbals was among the first of the areas to be redeveloped and served as a test bed for the renewal of other parts of the city. The main street was demolished and

replaced with a variety of wide open streets lined with commercial activity and tenement housing. Water and sanitation was provided. The famous architect Alexander 'Greek' Thomson was commissioned to create the Gorbals Cross as a new focal point for the area. This redevelopment in the Gorbals area (now defined largely as today) was viewed positively at the time. By 1931, 90,000 people lived in the neighbourhood and jobs, shops and other services could be accessed locally. The area was famed for its strong community spirit, assimilating various waves of immigrants – the Highlanders, the Irish, the Jews, and the Lithuanians.

During the 1930s and in particular at the time of the post-1945 war housing shortage, however, many of the larger tenements and houses were subjected to subdivision, resulting in high residential densities (averaging 458.6 persons per acre). This was compounded by low levels of investment by (largely) private landlords, a visible decaying of the property stock, and a decline in the quality of the sanitation infrastructure (one toilet for every 3 houses). The once vibrant Gorbals had descended once more into a slum. Alcohol abuse became a significant local problem in spite of temperance movements. By the 1950s this once high amenity and welcoming location had become infamous across Europe for its squalor, levels of criminality, overcrowding and lack of sanitation (Plate 8).

SECTION 3 – MORAL DISPUTES OVER THE SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY **AGENDA IN BALLYMUN AND THE GORBALS**

Social capital, human capital, 'being building'

Having provided an introduction to the local forms which TWUP is taking in each community, and sketched a biographical overview of each neighbourhood, it is now appropriate to return to our initial questions. Is it possible to detect moral disputes over the kinds of community which each regeneration project is seeking to valorise? If so, do these moral disputes vary in character in each case? To what extent can these differences be attributed to locally specific battles over proprietorial control of the social capital agenda? In what ways are these battles a product of the ways in which TWUP is being locally produced *and* the different histories of the two neighbourhoods into which each regeneration project is inserted?

Over the past decade, arguably no single concept has more aggressively captured the scholarly imagination across the social sciences than social capital. And yet it is now becoming a truism that concept is vague, slippery, poorly specified, and in

danger of meaning all things to all people (Portes, 1998). Even a cursory glance at the competing definitions of social capital provided by seminal thinkers such as Pierre Bourdieu (1986), James Coleman (1988; 1990), and Robert Putnam (1993; 2000), reveals the difficulties which confront those who attempt to pin the notion down. A whole industry of private consultants, academic advisors and policy analysts has developed around this ambiguity, keen to feed the insatiable appetite of politicians who have now come to see social capital as a panacea for all sorts of policy problems.

It is clearly beyond the scope of this paper to enter into debate over the complexities associated with defining, operationalising, and measuring social capital. We will therefore follow Kearns (2003) who outlines three components; the social networks used by people, the social norms adhered to in people's behaviour, and the levels of trust people have in their neighbours and state institutions. On this basis, a community which is rich in social capital can be described as one characterised by cohesion, cooperation, and mutual support. These are communities with a colourful, vibrant, and inclusive array of community groups and social networks. On the other hand, a community poor in social capital can be described as one where people become isolated, suspicious of others, and reluctant to participate in social economic and political life. A community lacking in social capital can be said to be characterised by a breakdown of the social fabric which knits people together and an absence of overt expression of civic participation.

Within TWUP, one primary purpose of building social capital is to heal the injuries inflicted by previous rounds of compassionate wounding, thereby putting people back on their feet again and creating the conditions which necessarily underpin the formation of sustainable communities. To this end, social capital is often cited as being centrally implicated in three broad categories of what can be termed *being building*; body building, subject building, and citizen building.

- Body building refers to those regeneration interventions that actively try to improve the physical health and safety of residents. Here the emphasis is upon producing sufficiently healthy citizens so that attention can then be paid to dealing with the production of meaningful life trajectories.
- Subject building refers to the range of regeneration projects which are attempting to improve mental health and repair the psychological harm done by alienation, including dealing with everything from low levels of self

confidence through stress, anxiety, bad nerves, depression and suicide. Here the focus is upon healing existential wounds and equipping people with the assuredness needed to engage with the world effectively.

- Citizen building, the final category, refers to regeneration projects which attempt to build very specific types of subjects, subjects that are equipped to honour the obligations that attach to the rights that are bestowed upon them. In this instance, furnishing people with an understanding of their legal rights, assisting them with their dealings with the state, and providing them with the resources necessary to facilitate greater participation is paramount.

Clearly the three categories of being building are not mutually exclusive and it is conceivable that any particular regeneration intervention might work across all three. It is clear nevertheless that citizen building must come logically after other two categories. Quite simply, one cannot build citizens until one has created a bedrock of residents who are in a position to think about cultivating a meaningful life biography. To be a good citizen is a luxury which rests upon a disposition to citizenship after lower order being building exercises have been completed. To the extent that TWUP does not pay sufficient attention to more elemental needs and rushes straight to citizen building it runs the risk of failure. To think that the tremendous amount of human wastage and ruined lives that languishes in so called sink estates can simply be turned around overnight to create neighbourhoods full of active and engaged citizens is clearly misguided.

This point becomes of particular importance when social capital becomes appropriated narrowly as a tool for bolstering *human capital*. In its purest form, being building speaks in terms of what it is doing for human dignity, self esteem, hope and respect for locals, with the instrumental function of the intervention being a means to an end rather than an end in itself. Human capital projects in contrast refer to forms of existential therapy which seek to build people back up again so that they can perform some pre-defined socially useful function; whether it be to serve as a reliable employee or an active community volunteer.

Given the different uses to which it can be put, ownership over the social capital agenda becomes of pivotal significance in shaping the kinds of moral politics of community which develop in any neighbourhood. It is here that the local manifestation of TWUP *and* the different legacies left by compassionate wounding become important. In Ballymun, compassionate wounding left in its wake a tradition

of firebrand community activism. Existing community groups whom have mobilised largely on the bases of being building have challenged the right of Ballymun Regeneration Ltd to appropriate social capital as an instrumental tool for building human capital on the estate. In contrast, in the Gorbals, compassionate wounding has alienated the local community to the extent that it has failed to engage with the regeneration process at all. In the light of the public private housing developments that Glasgow city Council has been are forced to enter as a consequence of fiscal constraints, a wave of gentrifiers have entered into the Gorbals and these incomers are slowly capitalising on this void, appropriating community life, and giving a steer to the local social capital agenda.

Towards a new moral politics of community in Ballymun

Ballymun is home to a distinctive and vibrant base of community groups. It has been this dense army of community groups which has shaped local debate over the virtues of the contemporary regeneration project. Whilst promoting a new sustainable community and reactivating citizens has been at the core of Ballymun Regeneration Ltd's Masterplan, it is clear that TWUP has failed to resonate with the humanistic being building crusades being pursued by many community groups. This in turn has given birth to a vigorous debate locally over who ought to have ownership of the regeneration project. This debate is crystallised in the ongoing conversations which are being held between the local Community Action Programme and Ballymun Regeneration Ltd.

The Community Action Programme (CAP) was established in 1990 as an umbrella organisation with a remit to energise community activity on the estate. Although recognising that Ballymun Regeneration Ltd had invested a great deal of time and effort in devising extensive consultation procedures, CAP has been critical of the extent to which local community groups have had a say in the preparation and implementation of the Master Plan. The vibrant existing community base had over thirty years of experience and ought to have been empowered to speak on behalf of the estate. Whilst official consultation mechanisms provided a forum for existing community groups to channel their concerns, these structures were viewed as largely by-passing existing groups.

The response of Ballymun Regeneration Ltd to these charges has been to acknowledge that the consultation process was deliberately designed to include but to go deeper than existing community groups. It was in fact more democratic and not

less. To Ballymun Regeneration Ltd, many community activists continue to act as though they were still in the 1970s and 1980s; there remained too many 'fractious shouters', 'moaners', 'agitators', and 'grandstanding' activists. Whilst this species of community group was essential in the 1970s and 1980s, it is not equipped to deal with the new reality of Ballymun. The Irish state had listened to, appreciated and acted on the plight faced by Ballymuners. There was no longer a need for the firebrand politics of many community groups that were a product of different era. Although the transition would be painful, what was needed now was 'doers not shouters'. In embarking upon extensive local consultation Ballymun Regeneration Ltd have sought to reach deep into the community to tap a fresh reservoir of talent that might serve for the new times. The talented youth with dynamism and professional skills needed to step forward, harness the fruits of the regeneration, and accumulate human capital.

CAPs critique of the consultation process was developed into major publication titled *On the Balcony of a new Millennium: Building on thirty years of community experience, expertise and energy* (Community Action Programme 2000). Arguing that existing community groups ought to be given a more central location in the regeneration process, CAP offered four sets of recommendations; to Ballymun Regeneration Ltd, to other statutory agencies working in Ballymun, to the Department of Environment and Local Government, and to the community itself. According to CAP, the existing community needed to get more organised, more structured, and more professional if it was to convince state bodies that it merited a greater voice. The existing groups should 'develop strategic plans for their futures', 'maintain and improve accountability', and work towards creating an army of specially trained 'community development workers'. Having put their own houses in order, groups should then form a democratically elected network that would represent a powerful singular voice. This was to be referred to as the Ballymun Community Network (Bcon).

Since CAP published *On the Balcony*, it has worked hard with Ballymun Regeneration Limited to implement these recommendations and some progress has been made. Nevertheless, it is true to say that both the community sector and Ballymun Regeneration Ltd exist in an uneasy alliance. Ballymun Regeneration Ltd is actively trying to create human capital as well as build a new estate. It is a surgeon of local culture as well as a surgeon of the built environment. It views many community groups as relics of past conditions and therefore incapable of serving as leaders of

the cultural revolution now required. Local community groups meanwhile are forced to work with the real politik in which they find themselves but perceive that their collective wisdom in creating a truly sustainable Ballymun is being insufficiently utilised. TWUP in Ballymun then, has been midwife to a moral politics of community, at the heart of which is a contest over who has ownership over the social capital agenda ; who in other words has the moral authority to define the ends to which community activism ought to be put.

Towards a new moral politics of community in the Gorbals

In contrast to the vibrant struggle over the values which underpin the regeneration of Ballymun, the experience of conflict in the Gorbals has been more muted, and yet just as profound. Successive rounds of compassionate wounding have had a major impact on the being building capacity of local residents who have been described (including in policy documents) as 'tired', 'embittered', 'dejected' and 'dispirited'. Many of those who *had* served as community activists or who might have served as community leaders have been removed to peripheral estates and new towns as a result of past challenges to the state.

The highly effective and locally orchestrated protests and protracted rent-strikes by local residents in the late 1970s which led to the demolition of many of the icons of the modernist era (most prominently the damp-ridden Hutchie E tower blocks which had created physical and mental health problems) and which gave birth to the current regeneration plans, resulted in activists being re-housed elsewhere. Similarly, young families and other 'priority' council tenants in the 1970s and 1980s were moved from the area to be replaced, if at all, by those least able to cope with the poor housing and living environment, further reducing the sustainability of local education, health, and community facilities.

Through this process of excretion, the energy of the community has ebbed away. It is just such apathy and disengagement which has enabled the state to seek a new approach to community building. Repeated attempts by the state to nurture human capital through addressing the stock of social capital have failed to reinvigorate the community of the Gorbals. As a result, and in contrast to Ballymun Regeneration Ltd's delving deeply into the community to identify, stimulate and support community builders, in the Gorbals there is an implicit acceptance by the state and its agencies that the local community lacks the capacity to build itself, and consequently that the talent required to engender citizen building has to be attracted into the area (Fawcett-

Thompson, 2004). To this end, each of the projects under the Gorbals 'masterplan' has targeted the formation 'new' communities. In the Crown Street Regeneration Project and the current Queen Elizabeth Square Project, the focus on socially mixed housing, new family-oriented public spaces, and high-quality built form is designed to attract just such a new population; one able to assist in community building.

This is not to argue that TWUP has ignored being building of the local community. Public consultations, for example, over proposals have occurred but appear little more than a veneer to maintain the involvement of local residents. And this is readily acknowledged by the community: "I mean they did ask us; it was a futile exercise. They asked everybody in a sort of way but it did no matter what you said ... the decisions I think they are already made. It doesn't matter what the community's going to say or what the community leaders are going to say, I think the decisions are made." (Focus group 2). The lack of appetite amongst the community for engagement with this process and the deeper malaise based on distrust of the regeneration agencies is unsurprising. The 'alternative' visions of community espoused in the regeneration plans are alien to the current residents: "its changing, its changing probably for the better but it is not changing for the better of the actual Gorbals' folks that's lived here for years" (Focus Group 4) is a recurring theme further separating the visions of the local community and those of local TWUP.

Consistent with city centre urban renaissance projects elsewhere under TWUP, many of the incoming residents can be accurately described as young, liberal leaning, and middle class gentrifiers (Ley, 1980, Lees 2003). Attracted by a desire to be close to the city centre, these new urbanites have developed a fresh genre of community organisations and groups which embody the values of third way community and being building. Thus, for example, the establishment of a local branch of the Creative Community Crafts offers workshops on nutrition, health and stress management for those with ME and other mental health issues, whilst youth cafes, jujitsu, pipe band, and bookstart groups have been spawned, supporting the social fabric of the community (Table 2).

In what ways are these gentrifiers shaping moral disputes over the value of different forms of community life in the Gorbals ? Firstly, incomers have proved to be more reliable foot soldiers of TWUP and the New Labour agenda than the existing community. By forming a significant cohort of the membership of committees and performing management roles in the new set of voluntary and community

organisations, incomers have become key brokers of consultation processes organised between statutory agencies, the private sector agencies, and the local community.

In so doing they have inculcated local debates with issues which reflect their priorities and have colonised the very mechanisms which have been the product of the TWUP – the New Gorbals Housing Association, the Crown Gardens Residents Association (CGRA) and Gorbals Healthy Living Network amongst others. In turn they have become ambassadors for many of the third way features of community building which have been built into regeneration projects. The CGRA - located as it claimed 'within the New Gorbals' – for example offers a forum to channel complaints on housing quality and public space to the house builders/factors and the local authority, but it also polices on behalf of the Crown Street Management Trust a ban on residential letting within the Gardens.

Secondly, the expansion of gentrifier-led social capital has percolated new community values into the soul of the area, even capturing the attention of the most disaffected and wounded indigenes. The focus group discussions revealed positive feelings about the 'new' Gorbals even when this was tinged with a sense the 'old' neighbourhood was dying. In redesigning the fabric of the community, incomers have endeared themselves by promoting the concerns of many of the longer term residents; single mothers (child care, road safety, school provision, ground level flats), the retired (personal safety, community spirit, housing, and local shops) and married couples (community involvement and spirit).

In contrast to the firebrand community campaigning groups formed in Ballymun, the quiescence in the Gorbals to third way interventions could be read, on the one hand, as indicative of the failure to instil new forms of community activism and the absence of a moral politics of community. On the other and more accurately, the silence reflects the subtle inculcation of gentrification values through the re-designing, rebuilding and repopulating of the area, the continuing marginalisation of the local community, and the channelling of debate over the future of the Gorbals through community structures policed by incomers.

CONCLUSION

The uneven development of moral disputes over community in Ballymun and the Gorbals

Advocates of third way welfare reform claim that the flawed 'bureaucratic respect' shown by the welfare state of the twentieth century is today giving way to a more sensitive regime of 'liberated welfare'. In so far as it seeks to regenerate people and not just places, to rebuild human beings and not just bricks and mortar, the third way surely promises to be less existentially ruinous and more compassionate. Critics nevertheless claim that in valorising certain kinds of citizen and certain forms of community, the third way can be shown to be actively piloting a new morality of community in its desire to reattach citizens to the 'mainstream'. Serving as a crutch for neoliberal accumulation strategies which are drawing ever yet sharper social divides, TWUP is appropriating the sustainable community agenda and striving to inculcate the logic of the market and active citizenship into 'unruly' welfare dependents.

In mobilising communities to engage with this agenda, and in supporting the building of social capital locally, new spaces of contest can arise. Whereas early partnership working in the 1990s revealed community players as 'peripheral insiders' (Maloney et al, 1994) within asymmetrical power relations, under TWUP the power agenda has shifted towards a more equal, co-ownership of the social capital agenda. However, when the morally charged crusades of TWUP fail to connect locally, they have the potential to ignite a moral politics of community, creating local conflict over who has the authority to sculpt and judge forms of community life. Mapping and explaining the uneven development of this new moral politics of community across neighbourhoods which are currently being targeted by TWUP would appear therefore to be of pressing concern (Mooney, xxxx; DeFillipis and North, 2004)

Focusing upon the regeneration of Ballymun and Gorbals housing estates, this paper has sought to look beyond the specific manifestations of such local contest to present a reading of the different ways in which moral disputes over community have surfaced in each neighbourhood. Arguing that both the local manifestation of TWUP and the prior biographies of both estates play a crucial role in shaping local conflict, it has offered an analytic framework through which the grounding of TWUP might be better understood. Central to this has been the need to draw attention to the structures of ownership of the social capital agenda in both neighbourhoods.

In Ballymun, a relatively brief history of compassionate wounding has given birth to a vibrant base of community activism. Indigenous community groups have mobilised largely around a 'being building' agenda. Driven by a vision of repositioning the Ballymun community back within the market economy, Ballymun Regeneration Ltd has in contrast been more concerned to appropriate social capital to build human capital. Not surprisingly then, a heated moral politics of place has developed around this distinction. According to Ballymun Regeneration Ltd, Ballymun's community activism is a relic of historical conditions and out of touch with the new real politik. Community activists in contrast, recognise that they have a limited future unless they conform to the state's vision of what constitutes a sustainable community.

In contrast, in the Gorbals successive rounds of compassionate wounding have left in their wake a dejected and apathetic local community which has failed to engage with the regeneration process. Once more the state has been keen to use social capital to nurture human capital but this agenda has fallen on deafened ears. Citizen building has failed because the proper bedrock of being building has not first been put in place. Into this stand off have entered middle class gentrifiers who not only populate new housing developments but who also have exploited the apathy which exists within the indigenous community to colonise the committee structures of existing and newly established community groups. It is as yet unclear as to the direction which community politics which take under the stewardship of gentrifiers, but it is more likely that incomers will serve as better advocates for New Labour than embittered locals. To the extent that the new entrants come to view social capital as an instrument for improving human capital, it is possible that they might animate a response from the local community, giving birth to new moral politics of community *within* the neighbourhood as opposed to *between* the neighbourhood and the state.

Towards a revived humanistic geography

The process of ethical reconstruction, reattaching people to 'virtuous communities' opens up important research areas on the moral politics of communities, within and beyond those defined here. The concept of the moral politics of place derives from an emerging strand of geographical research which is seeking to promote new engagements between human geography, and morality and ethics (Philo 1991, Matless, 1994, Proctor and Smith 1999, Stump, 2000, Cloke 2004, Smith 2004). Whilst one component of this work seeks to promote a more ethical human geography, much of the work seeks to map the complex and conflictual geographies of morality, defined as 'the different moral assumptions and supporting arguments

that particular peoples in particular places make about 'good' and 'bad' / 'right' and 'wrong' / 'just' and 'unjust' / 'worthy' and 'unworthy'.' (Philo, 1991 16).

In seeking to understand the construction and differentiation of such judgements in specific locations, we argue that a deeper appreciation of the existential histories of the places and communities is required. In so doing, the production of material landscapes by regeneration projects conceived of and operationalised by the capitalist state interacts with the existential condition and values of the people who inhabit these spaces is important and to this end, concepts of 'compassionate wounding' and 'being building' offer important insights.

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Table 1 : Third way interventions designed to Cultivate social capital

Goal	Intervention intentions
Social mixing	Develop new cadre of community leaders and role models of active citizenship Support multi-identity communities and breaks down monopolistic hierarchies Improve consumption power and encourages development of local, private services
Skills training	Build capacity of community to engage in labour market Improve local economic confidence/optimism
Supporting voluntary groups	Nurture active citizens to reduce welfare dependency Build capacity of the third sector
Urban design	improve community spirit and nurture civic pride and ethic create civic and community spaces for interaction employ sensitive landscaping and high quality build
Community involvement in regeneration planning	Empowering local community participation in formulation, implementation, and evaluation of regeneration strategies
Discouragement of welfare dependency	Focussed initiatives to enhance self-worth and remove barriers to entry to labour markets Increased use of voluntary and community organisations to foster self-help
Community safety	creation of safe spaces for interaction across age, gender and other social groups.
Healthy community	raising overall healthiness through education, and targeted remedial actions and facilities. support voluntary mental and physical health support services

ⁱ This paper is based upon research projects which the authors have undertaken in Ballymun and the Gorbals. **Ballymun** : Beyond a range of secondary literature produced by state organisations and community groups, the account of Ballymun offered here makes use of four principal sources of information. First, field visits were made to Ballymun in November 2002, May and June 2003, and May 2004. These visits incorporated interviews with twenty key movers and shakers in the neighbourhoodⁱ Secondly, a feedback session was organised in a local community centre in October 2003 at which one of the authors (MB) presented his preliminary findings back to over thirty members of the local community. The discussion which followed offered useful additional insights into the opinions held by community activists in particular. Thirdly, an analysis of both local and national media coverage was conducted. This included scrutiny of all articles on Ballymun's history and regeneration contained in the Ballymun Echo (1996-present), Northside People (1997 to present), Ballymun Concrete News (1998-present), Local News (1996-present), Irish Times (1987-present), Irish Independent (1996-present), and The Examiner (1997-present). Finally, all questions on Ballymun raised between 1996 and the present, in the Seanad and Dáil, Ireland's upper and lower parliaments respectively, were examined. **The Gorbals**: The account of the Gorbals offered here draws on three main sources beyond secondary literature produced by local state agencies, and community and voluntary organisations and local historians. First, focus groups discussions were held with four groups of long-term residents in the Gorbals and who identified themselves as being those most marginalised at the start of the third way regeneration of the area in 1996-7. Second, interviews with management groups and members of local community organisations and voluntary sector bodies involved within the area were conducted during the period between 1999 and 2004. Thirdly, interviews were held with key players in the city council, regeneration agency, and health board.